A HISTORY OF KARU, KURAPB ANIJ KURUDU KINGDOMS A STUDY OF ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE AMONG GBAGYI OF CENTRAL NIGERIA IN "THB 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES.

By

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1994

DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, that it is a record of my own research work, and that it has not been presented in any previous application for higher degree. All quotations and sources of information are to the best of my knowledge duly and specifically acknowledged in the references.

Mailafiya Aruwa Filaba

27th January, 1994.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Post-Graduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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DEDICATION:

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF LATE ADAYILO MY SON WHO WAS BORN ON SUNDAY 22ND JANUARY, 1989, AND SLEPT WITH THE LORD ON TUESDAY 29TH OCTOBER, 1991.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt at the reconstruction of the history of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms c. '1700-1900 A.D. These were Gbagyl kingdoms located in the heart of Nigeria. By the beginning of the 17th century the area had been occupied by the g'bagyi and under the political control of Kurape for at least a century. However, by the end of the 18th centuiy the internal contradictions and the pressures of external forces disabled Kurape effective control of Karu and Kurudu area. By the beginning of the 19th century Karu and Kurudu had become splinter states with defined boundaries. Although they had become indapendent of Kurape, they still maintained some economic, cultural and military ties, and sometimes organised consorti im military efforts in order to ward off and curb external attacks.

In the course of this study it was consistently argued that the internal factors were of paramount importance in the emergence of the kingdoms. And tJ split of Kurape kingdom was to a larger extent caused by the rulers of Kurape who raided their subjects.

The major challenge these kingdoms faced in the 19th century was the jihadista activities in the region. First, there sharp demographic changes. The jihadists activities forced down the Hausa, Gwandara,

Pulani, Gade, Yeskwa and Koro groups who were given respite by the kingdoms. There was also drastic loss of Gbagyi population because of head-hunting. Second, there was the evolution of new settlements which had strong ties with the Caliphate, and the subsequent change of balance of power in the region in favour of the new centres that became Emirates.

It was again posited that the relationship between the emerging Emirates and the autochthonous Kurape, Karu :nd Kurudu was very complex type and not as simple as portrayed in the dominant literature - the Emirates versus the 'pagan* states. Rather, there were sporadic alliance systems whereby the emirates sometimes took side with the 'pagan* polities against a rival emirate and vice versa. We are of the view that there seemed to have been co-existence than a situation of perpetual war in the 19th century.

However, the coming of the new groups strengthened the centralisation of the kingdoms, increased economic activities, increased trade and external relations with the neighbouring states and so on.

In the heat of various struggles against the nvading surrounding emeirates of Nassarawa, Keffi, Abuja, Bida and the kingdoms of Igu and Opanda, the European traders and crusaders came in. The Royal Nigeria Company (NRC) Biffied traties with many chiefs

for trade purposes, and in pre ex to protect the nailer kingdoms against the jihadists. But the RNC eoon revealed that it was for trade, and prefered the emirs in the alliance since the emirs promised the PNC trade rights and were forcibly trying to break the trade barriers put by the autochthonous kingdoms. The emire of Nassarawa and Keffi signed some treaties which implied ceding out the whole area under study to the RNC without the knowledge of the rulers of the auto-chthonous polities. In particular, the emir of Nassarawa requested for rifles and soldiers from the company in order to subdue the kingdoms. And this emir was one of the earliest omeirs to submit to the British invasion and conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1902 (after the Emirs of Bida, Ilorin, Muri, Adamawa, Kontagor and Bauchi had .submitted between 1897-1902). The attitude of Nassarawa, like the emirates above, dissabled collective resistance to the conquest. Thence the British had changed their attitudes as friends to become foes and conquerrors, and finally as administrators

Again, it was the colonial invasion that actually destroyed the three kingdoms under study, and not the emirates as normally claimed in the colonial historio-graphy.

However, the stiff ;resistance put by the kingdoms partly influenced the British ideology of colonial administration, and marginalised them in the scheme of things.

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A B R E V I A T I O N S :

A.B.U. - Ahmadu Bello University

A.D.O. - Assistant District Officer

D.C.C. - District Church Council

D.O. - District/Divisional Officer

E.C.W.A. - Evangelical Curches of West Africa

F.C.D.A. - Federal Capital Development Authority

F.C.T. - Federal Capital Territory

FO - Foreign Office

K.I.L. - Karshim Ibrahim Library A.B.U. Zaria

L.G.A. - Local Government Area

N.A. - Native Authority

NAK - National Archies Kaduna

NHRS - Northern History Research Scheme

R.N.C. - Royal Niger Company.

G L O S S A R Y :

(Origin of the words in brackets)

Key (G) = Gwari/Gbagyi, (H) = Hausa, (GD) = Gade, (N) = Nupe.

Abokin wasa[H] = play-mates.

Aga[G] = fishing using the method of packing out water.

Agwe-lubwui-kpma[G] = ambushing area in way-lay for the jihadists.

Akpelc[G] = head hunting (slave raiding).

Anughu[G] = independent farm from that of the general house's - fako.

Ashan[G] (sing. Eshna) = shrines or cults, see APPENDIX IV.

Asurugu[G] = slave officials and norminal palace servants.

Atuwa[G] = land-chief or chief-farmer.

Azakwoi-boknu[G] = Assembly/Council of elders.

Bago[G&H] = community hunting rally/festival, ambushing.

Batachi/Batati[N] = Gbagyi peasants among the Nupe, marsh dwellers/farm

Barde/Bezye[H & G] = youth leader/commander; Bezye-yasako = commander of the army.

Bei[G] = Priest.

Dobwui[G] = granary.

Ebe/'Beyasko[G] = knife, dagger, sword, staff of office.

Ekn)/Okni[G] = land.

Faapa[G] = co-operative farm/labour; Gaiya.

Fadowna[G] = exchange/rotational labour.

Fazna[G] = hunting.

Fenu[G] = slave, Mwayi.

Galu[G] = city/city wall, Ganuwa[H].

Galuko[G] = palace, king's court.

Ganakuwa[G & H] = war trumpeter/drummer.

Gandu (pl. Gandaye)[H] = slave entaten Like Ninji/Rumada/Murgu.

Gbakuku[G] = iron ore/stone, also Kukuru or Gbekna.

Kabwandyaje^{G} = harvest festival, the largest festival.

Kmigna^{G} = border/boundary.

Nyiko-gba-fa^{G} = courtship labour.

Osm^{G} = indigo; also Baba.

Opya^{G} = month (Apya, pl., see APPENDIX IV)

Osu/Esu^{G} =king; chief.

Piwn^{G} = house

Piwada = land-lord.

La-Gbagyi = paramount king.

SaKaruyi = king of Karu.

SaKurapei = king of Kurapo.

Sakuruduyi = king of Kurudu.

Salaka^{G} = hunting forecast.

Sarki^{H} = king, chief.

Sepada^{G} = ward head.

Shekwoi^{G} = God/sky.

Tagowyi^{G} = grinding mill.

Togawyi^{G} = market day.

Vniiko^{G} = wet/rainy season.

Zazm^{G} = Zaria, Zagyiya.

Zoku^{G} = forecast, foretell.

Zyiba^{G} = town cult.

Zyida^{G} = village head, chief.

Zyiko^{G} = city, zyiyaako.

P R E F A C E :

This thesis focuses on the reconstruction of the historical development of the kingdoms of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu c.1700 - 1900.

The area covered by these kingdoms is located between 10.6°E - 10.8°E and 10.3°N - 10.5°N (roughly 600km^2). See MAP 1. The kingdom of Karu is located in Karu Local Government Area of Plateau State and the eastern part of the Federal Capital Territory. Kurudu kingdom is located on the western part of Nassarawa LGA, northern part of Toto LGA and a bit of the southern end of the Federal Capital Territory. Kurape kingdom is in the middle, covering the north-western part of Nassarawa LGA, south east of Karu LGA and the eastern part of the FCT. See MAP 4. The three kingdoms share boundaries with Karu to the north, Kurape in the middle and Kurudu on the south. See MAP 2.

These kingdoms were founded and occupied mainly by the Gbagyi. However, there were in these kingdoms some settlements occupied mainly by the Gade, Gwandara, Bassa, Hausa, Ebira and others. The neighbouring tribes around Abuja were still the Gbagyi, Gade, Koro and Hausa. The Yeskwa, Koro and Jaba bordered the Karu kingdom to the north. The Afo and Agatu bordered Kurape and Kurudu Kingdoms to the east, and the Bassa, Agatu and Ebira to the south. See MAPs 2 & 3.

Kurape was the first to evolve a centralised authority by the beginning of the 17th century , and controlled the region covered by the three kingdoms until about the beginning of the 19th century when Karu and Kurudu became independent splinter

levels of the forms and substance of government, and more clearly defined borders. However, they still maintained some economic military and cultural ties that gave them some confederal character. These ties became stronger whenever they were been threatened from the outside, and when they faced the challenge of the emergence of the Kingdom of Abuja, the emirates of Kefti and Nassarawa, which, with the support of the Caliphate, changed the balance of power in disfavour of the three kingdoms. And the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century ushered in th e invasion and subjugation of the whole region, and the subsequent subordination of the three kingdoms to the new emirates in the British colonial policy of Indirect Rule.

The reconstruction of the history of these kingdoms will involve the assessment of the dominant assumption on the people of the region essentially as it relates to inter-group relations, origins of the peoples and the nature of their socio-political development during the period in question, and revealing why such advanced assumptions are unacceptable. And where the established v cannot be refuted, other related issues will be raised that will ride the wave to stimulate the need for further research and deepe study of these views.

We are aware of the fact that there is an increasing interest in Gbagyi factor in this new age, particularly with the increasing tribal and religious crises in the region and the coming of the Federal Capital Territory, and hence discussed in one form or another for deliberate governmental planning. In the various discussions, it is obvious that the Gbagyi factor has been satisfactorily studied by none of them. Hence, this thesis offers a consitent view based on historical perspective in order to give an insight to the backgroung of the problems, and this may help administrators.

Towards approaching this end, the topic has been divided into chapters, each addressing a specific theme as follow:

Chapter one examines the riationship between the people and their environment as the base for historical movement. It also includes the examination of who are the people we are studying.

Chapter two traces the pre-dynastic situation, their political set up, dominant economic practices, cultural tion and external relations in the 17th and 18th centuries that came to favour the evolution of the centralised authorities in the proceeding period.

Chapter three analysis the forms and substance of the kingdoms, the relationship among them and with their neighbouring polities by the end of the 18th century.

Chapter four focuses on the external challenges particularly the jihadists activities in the region and the demographic changes and evolution of new administrative centres resulting to changes in the borders, inter-relations and balance of power in favour of the new centres in the 19th century.

Chapter five continues to examine the challenges of the 19th century essentially from the side of the British up to the conquest of the kingdoms by the beginning of the 20th century. Other related issues like the response to the invasion, conquest and initial occupation are also analysed.

Chapter 6 is the summary of this study and the epilogue which highlights the major issues discussed and the significance of this study.

NOTE ON SOURCES:

There is need to make brief comments on the major authorities from which this study benefited:

I. 19th Century Travellers' European Accounts:

There are some travellers' reports which analyse the ethnic composition, cultural practices, economic activities and diplomatic relations in the Niger-Benue Confluence area up to Lake Chad in the first half of the 19th century. For instance, Commander Hugh Clapperton and Captain Richard Lander travelled from Badagry to Yauri in order to establish trade relations with the people, they attempted to have contact with Funda (Opanda) where they might establish a port for evacuating British goods to be carried to the Caliphate. In this travel, most of their itinerary were the Hausa, liberated slaves and other indegenous peoples assigned to them by the rulers of the polities who protected them in their territories. In the bid for Lander to know the interior, he left Kano and reached the three kingdoms under study on the 8th June 1827. The map, location of the towns, description of the physical features in the region and the anthropological description of the people strongly suggest that he passed through the three kingdoms in question, from June 1st and 13th July 1827. He called the people of the region as the Bowchee. The names of the settlements they passed through were Pullindushie, La Zumee, Catica, Bowchee, Coorokoo, Coodoonia, Cuttup, Coogie, Dungoora, Dunrora, Accoran and Cowroo.[1]

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1. Hugh Clapperton and Richard Lander, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato. To which is added the Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the sea coast partly by a more eastern route. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1966. pp.292-301.

About Cuttup/Kuttup, Lander reported that it was at the bank of a river Coodoonia which empties itself into the Niger near Funda,

> having heard, on my route, so many reports of Cuttup, its wealth, population, and celebrated market, I was rather surprised on finding it to consist of nearly five hundred small villages, almost adjoining each other; ... and in a flourishing condition... A considerable traffic is carried on here...daily.[2]

The ruler of Cuttup and his wives visited him daily and exchanged gifts. He also saw Arabs and Fulanin in the town, and that people from the most distant parts of the country resorted there to purchase or sell various articles.[3]

In another expedition of the 1930 which was aimed at verifying the reports of earlier travellers, and to further strengthen and establish trade relations, Richard and John Lander gave an account of the peoples and settlements from the confluence up to Yauri. Their itinerary were again local travellers, soldiers of the polities they passed through and slaves. They reached Kotton Karfe area which border the three kingdoms under study. They realised that Kotton Karfe was also a termini of trades coming from these kingdoms and beyond. They again saw European goods been exchanged with local manufactures and slaves.[4]

The European travellers' reports seem to suggest that there was extensive trade all over the central Sudan which was linked with the trade in the Niger-Benue Confluence area, and this was the area or termini of trades from Hausaland, Awe and Doma area, Nupeland and Gbagyi confederation. Although their accounts do not focus on other economic activities apart from trade, they mentioned some socio-political contra-

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2. ibid. pp.293-294. 3. ibid. p.295.

dictions in the region. For instance, they reported that there were internecine wars and slave raids. Their accounts stress the role of the Fulani in the political turmoils in the region. They reported that the Fulani (Fillattas) made encampments from where they were "constantly making predatory excursions to the neighbouring villages, from wh ich they generally returned with captives, whom they enslaved."[5] It is further recorded that the Fillattas had made the whole of Nupeland their subject and had become the "tax master" of the Nupes whom they continually robbed "of their agricultural implements, their clothes, their crops, and even their children, they are kept in a constant terror and poverty."[6] The Europeans also seemed to have given more regard to the Fulani whom they feared, and who monitored their activities and movements. For instance, Yamuna the Emir of Zaria (1821-34) prevented Richard Lander from visiting Opande in 1827, and made it known to Lander that Opanda was an enemy state of the Caliphate, and frightened Lander that he might be killed by the ruler of Opanda since Lander was a friend of the Sultan.[7]

Like the above reports, the records of Laird and Oldfield are informative about the economic activities and the demographic situation of the region - the whole Central Sudan to the Confluence. They also emphasised the jihadists' activities in the area.[8] The impressive reports of these expeditions encouraged the sponsorship of another expedition to the Niger and Benue in 1832-34. The vessels were armed and under Captain Trotter. The members of the expedition

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5. Allen and Thompson(vol.2) A Narrative of an Expedition sent by Her majesty's Govt. to the River Niger in 1841 under the Comman of Capt. H.D.Trotter. Cass, 1968, p.80, op.cit.

6. ibid.p.92, op.cit.

7. Clapperton and Lander, pp.291, 296, 298, 300 & 304.

were scholars and evangelists. These evangelists were Rev. J.F. Schon and Rev. Samuel Crowther. Their aims were many: to explore the Niger Basin; acquire land for agricultural project; sign anti-slave treaties; preach the gospel;; take a geographical account of the region; take note of the people, culture and political organization of the region; and essentially observe the economic activities in the confluence area. Apart from employing some Hausa and Yoruba interpreters, Schon could speak Nupwa and Crowther could speak Yoruba.[9]

Despite the information these accounts gave, there are many problems in these accounts. The names of the villages and towns and those of the tribes are badly written, and confusing the ones indicated in their maps. For instance, the textbook named the settlements visited as follow: Cookie, Carifo, Cuttup, Nammaleek, Lazumee, Coorokoo, Coodoonia, Cuttup, Coogie, Sharry,[10] are indicated in the map as Coohie, Canfo, Kuttup, Nanunaleek, Lazume, Coorakoo, Coodinia, Coojie, Rary, etc. In short, his publishers drew the readers' attention to the fact that

> with regard to the Journal of Clapperton, it may be necessary to observe, that it is written through-out in the most loose and careless manner; all orthography and grammar equally disregarded, and many of the proper names quite impossible to be made out; full of tautology,... much therefore, has been left out, in sending it to the press.[11]
> [emphasis mine]

This problem might have been partly caused by their obvious lack of the knowledge of African languages. They used abusive language/words to describe Africans, and had the preconceived

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8. Macgregor Laird & R.A.K. Oldfield, Narratives of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by River Niger in the Steam Vessels Quorra and Alburkah in 1832, 1833 and 1834. Richard Bitley, London, 1837, (2 vols).
9. Allen and Thomson, loc.cit.

notion that Africans were uncivilized, dirty, poor and held in contempt. For instance, the political activities of the Fulani brought them in contempt, and were "described as the most barbarous in the world;"[12] or that the Fulanis "appeared more as spies, or people whose countenances indicated that they were engaged in bad cause."[13] The rulers of the Sokoto Caliphate were described as despotic, usurpers, currupt, pognastic, liers, ingrates, thieves and robbers.[14]

Again, they seemed to have lumped the Hausa and Fulani slave raiders and refered to them as Felattas. They assumed that slave raids was organised in purely tribal basis - a thing quite impossible. Furthermore, there are problems of interpretations and misconceptions, probably caused by the interpreters and due to lack of understanding the way of life of the Africans. There is the problem of assuming that the way of life of the people by the coast or the banks of rivers Niger and Benue, or in Zaria or Sokoto, was similar to the way of life of their neighbouring peoples, and that the only rulers in the Niger-Benue Confluence area were the Fulani and Nupe to the north and Igala to the south. This problem was very likely caused by the obvious misinformation given by Sultan Muhammed Bello, and his Arabic manuscripts given to the travellers. These Arabic manuscripts were written by his secretary A.V.Salame who also interpreted some of the manuscripts handed to Clapperton and Lander.[15] These manuscripts attempted to describe the people, polities, economies physical features, etc of the Central Sudan.

12.Clapperton and Lander, p.314 op.cit.

13. Allen and Thompson, p.99, op.cit.

This problem was partly caused by the explorers' dependence on the Hausa, Fulani and Igala informants and chiefs who wanted to appear grandiose infront of the Europeans, and partly due to the fact that the Europeans did not have enough time to visit all the polities and the interior in order to see things for themselves.

Despite these weaknesses, their accounts corroborate oral traditions on the economy and the dominant role of certain imperial groups like the Nupe, Ebira, Hausa and Fulani who continually raided the region. Also, the dominant role of Kurudu and Kurape in their accounts seem to gain heavy support from oral traditions. Hence, chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis benefited from the explorers' accounts.

2. ROYAL NIGER COMPANY'S RECORDS:

This category of source reference are preserved in Arewa House Kaduna. Some of the records and microfilms are preserved in MHRS Dept. of History A.B.U. Zaria and KIL A.B.U. Zaria. The microfilm F.O. 84/2/09 List of Documents contain the reports of the RNC some of which records focus on the economic, social and political activities of the peoples of the confluence area. Very informative too, is the intelligence reports of W.B.Baikie which reports the composition of the ethnic groups of the confluence area. This is supported with a map of the locations of the major ethnic groups in about 1880. See MAP 6.

However, the information gathered about the peoples - principally the Gbagyi (Gwari), Ebira (Igbirra), Nupe, Igala, Bassa, Gwandara, Hausa and Fulani- contain some bias and inaccuracies, and all the ethnic groups from Hausaland to the confluence area were wrongly assumed to be under the suzereign of Zaria. There is also the

mention of a tribe they called GULEVE /Gwari?/ supposed to inhabit part of Gbagyi country to the north which is not known to the Gbagyi. Despite this weakness, the map reflects the geographical composition of most of the tribes as they still are. Another Microfilm of the colonial reports gives the principles, plans and execution of the Indirect kule between 1900-1915.[16] This Microfilm is the record of Lugard's justification for the conquest and rule of Nigerian area with special emphasis on the Gbagyiland.

One of the basic weaknesses of these type of reports is the over-emphasis and exaggeration of the political tumoils that characterise the N.Nigerian area prio to the conquest. Their exaggerated analysis was to legitimise their undue stress for the need for colonial 'civilization' and 'good government' for the Gbagyi. The colonial domination and repression were however contradictory to the laid ideology and principles of colonial rule. Chapter five derives a lot of information from these records as regards the conquest and occupation of Gbagyiland, and the Epilogue depended on these reports as regards the principles and rule of the pagan groups in the indirect rule.

3. Colonial Administrative Records:

Most of these records are archival materials and contain rich information on the people in the kingdoms under study. They are the reports of the colonial administrators on the activities of of the government, and the response of the colonized.[17] Some of the records also contain information on the political structure of the region prior to the conquest. Most of these reports relevant to this study

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16. MICROFILM BOX 90 KIL ABU, "Colonial Reports - Annual, N.Nigeria 1900-1915.

17. NAK No. NS/2109/1913 Assessment Report on Jiri of the Abuja Div. of Nass. Prov." by J.C.Sciortino; Same topic/title by H.Cadman; no.1567/1915 "Karu District., AR" by Morgan; No. 615/1921 "AR on Karo District 1921/22 Nass. Div. .." by A.H.Hooks; to mention few.

cover the period between 1902-1932. Some of the Assessment Reports describe the colonial repressions and the creation of new social class - the Emirs, the District Heads, and their emissaries.[18]

The records contain obvious misinterpretation of Gbagyi culture, political set up, intergroup-relations and their traditions of origin. This problem might have arisen partly from misinformation got from the chiefs and colonial agents imposed on the Gbagyi, as well as the deliberate intention to justify colonial rule.

However, the reports contain a lot of information on the experiences and changes the Gbagyi had during the invasion, conquest and occupation. It should be stressed that the informants of the colonialists were the District Heads, court messengers, Emirs and clerks who had vested interest in the colonial structures. Thus their information suffer from intentional bias and anachronism. This bias is very clear in the accounts. That is why the records are full of non-Gbagyi or derogatory references to Gbagyi as the Hausa, Ebira and Nupe refer to them. That is why all the names of the places and tribes are in Hausa terms. That must be why they erraneously assumed about 32 names intended to refer to the Gbagyi.[19]

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18. SPN 5316/1907 "Nass. Prov., Pagan Tribal Laws and Customs." by J.L.E.Blankeney; SNPIOK/3148 "Gwari Tribe, Anthropological Notes on." by J.M.Smallwood, 1932; 3148 "Karu District, Notes on" by Morgan; ASCOM file No.cc/24 "Historical Notes on the Tribes of N.Provinces." SPNIOK/4047 Nass.-Keffi Div. Benue Province Report on." by John, 19[illegible] SPN83/KI922 (I) Indirect Admin., method of:(2)Pagan Admin.; Lokprof 735 "Subordinate Native Authorities for Pagan Communities in Muslim areas."; P.C.J.293 Nass. Div. Ass. 1933634.; PCJ239 "Reassessment Report on Nassarawa District."; PCJ760 "Nass. Div., General Correspondence;" Minprof II5/1910 "Reorganization of Kuta Div. Niger Prov." 281/1935/5 Makurdi 2/3/1931 "Annual Reports and Returns, Benue Prov.

19. Westermmann & Bryan, The Languages of West Africa. Lond. 1925,p.[illegible] used eleven names for Gbagyi; Gunn and Conant, Peoples of the Middle Niger Region of Nigeria. IAI 1960, pp.85-6, reveals 25 names referring to the Gbagyi; S.F.Nadel, A Black Byzantium, Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria. 1942, p.71, refered to a section of the Gbagyi among the Nupe as zazi-kati (out-cast?) and Gbari Bauta (slaves?); Daryll Ford, West Africa Part X, People of the Niger Benue Confluence, IAI 1955, pp.20-21, refered to a section of the Gbagyi among the Nupe as Bafati(peasants?); Temple O. Notes on Tribes, Provinces, States... also gives other five different names for the Gbagyi.

Another probable cause for the misinformation and the multiplfcation of Gbagyi names[20] was the semantic problems as the compilers of the reports and the informants were non-Gbagyi. J.Ohiare noted that some of the informants told the colonialists what they thought the colonialists desired in the way of information.[21]

Apart from these problems which reduce the quality and reliability of the colonial records, most of the colonialists that wrote the documents were not trained historians, and therefore lacked the necessary tool or knowledge of how to go about reconstructing the past of the Africans.They could not assess the accounts handed to them by their informants. And as colonialists, their culture and imperial background influenced their conception and analysis of the colonised. In short, they were not really interested in the reconstruction of the history of the colonised. Their notes were merely to justify their changing and contradicting colonial ideology and principle of administration. Their notes did not go beyond anthropological studies and impression.

Again, apart from the scanty nature of the reports, and lack of broad information on the way of life of the Africans, they used derogatory references and abusive words like 'pagans', natives, heathens, uncivilised, dirty, and so on, on the Gbagyi. These references on the Gbagyi was intentional in order to make the colonization look like 'civilization' on the assumed 'backward' people. It is most likely that the colonialists described the Gbagyi in the worst language due to the stiff resistance the Gbagyi put to the invasion.[22]

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20. The various names the colonialists used on the Gbagyi were: Eastern Gbari (Gwarin Gabas), Western Gbari(Gwarin Yamma), Gwarin Hausa, Gwari Kunu, Batati, Bataci, Zazi-kati, Gbari Bauta, Matai, Matayi, Matali, Vwezyi, Ngenge, Genge, Gyen-gyen, Yemma, Botai, Jezhu, Konge Kwange, Agbawyi, Wake, Waiki. Washe, Wi, Wi, Genguem, Ganagana, Gaye Kange, Gwari, Gwali, Goali and Guari.

And whenever the colonialists wanted to cover resistance the Gbagyi put, they claimed that they were "peace-loving and docile", whenever they wanted to justify the subordination of the Gbagyi to Emirates they claimed that the Gbagyi had been subjects of their muslim neighbours like the Fulani, Hausa, Gwandara or Koro.[23] Because of these apparent weaknesses, the reports have been carefully used in this study.

4. Published Colonial Anthropological Studies:

This thesis has also immensely benefited from some published colonial records that contain the anthropological studies of the area in question.

One of such works is that of C.Temple and Temple.[24] C. Temple was an anthropologist who rose to the rank of the Governor of the N.Provinces. Apart from his own studies, there are many articles "by the political staff" which he edited. The notes are on well over 100 tribes and dialects whom the colonialists administered. In this voluminous compilation, the studies on the Gbagyi is the largest. This is due to the fact that the Gbagyi were one of the earliest groups to be invaded and occupied by British. The earliest capitals of the N.Protectorate were sited among the Gbagyi, and had railways linking the major towns - Zungeru, Wushishi and Kaduna. Hence the colonialists had ample opportunity to study the Gbagyi. About nine administrators wrote to Temple.

The essence of the anthropological focus at the African societies was to enable the colonialists know how best to exploit

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23. NAK 3148; SNP/10K/1932.

the Africans by avoiding mass resistance and the use of minimum effort. Temple made it clear that the anthropological notes or studies provided

> a close and detailed and complete possible knowledge of the habits and customs of the native [which] is of the first importance to the European administration....the rather elementary duties of the government in eliminating disturbances and securing a peaceful state of affairs are completed, the larger [one] that more important problems of establishing and continuing an administration which works with and for, and not against, the natural and national evolution of the natives. These can be resolved only by a help of a complete knowledge of the daily life of the individual native. [25]

This is the major work that consistently studied all the tribes in N.Nigeria, and the studies on the Gbagyi is the dominant in the compilation. The stories of origins of the Gbagyi, and the demographic data of the areas they occupy are given. Although the population figures are incomplete, they provided an estimate that is hardly come by in any single study. Without this type of work it would have been difficult to know today that the Gbagyi speaking people were still in Daura, Zamfara and Zaria areas at the eve of the colonial conquest. To a great extent, the study corroborate some oral accounts on the cultural and economic activities of the region.

However, most of the informants were the Emirs. One of such informants and whose article is in the compilation was the Emir of Keffi, Abdullahi.[26] His article touched on the three kingdoms under study, but with no emphasis on the Gbagyi who constitute the majority and the earliest settlers - owners of the land. His article focused mainly on the establishment of Keffi and Nassarawa . their relations and their predatory activities in the region. This article seem to exonerate the palace tussles and the

ambition of Makama Dogo, and claimed that some flimsy family matters made them kick Dogo out of Keffi. And that Makama Dogo was mischievious by retaining the girl that was given to the woman who came from Katsina demanding that Makama Dogo was his run-away slave. The story claimed that the girl given to redeem Makama Dogo was mischieviously exchanged and Makama handed to the woman a different girl and retained the other as his wife. That this angered the father of the girl who always threatened Makama until Makama referd the case to Zaria. This angered the people of Keffi and they refused Makama enter Keffi when he returned from Zaria. This story further claimed that Keffi people still supported Makama when he subdued the Afo, Agatu, and Bassa and Ebira country. The rulers of Keffi gave Makama Dogo respite when Zaria raided Nassarawa country. That before Makama died he advised his people to go back to Keffi in order to be protected against Zaria raids which threatened the establishment of Nassarawa.[27]

It is interesting to note that the version of the Emir of Nassarawa Jibrin Mairiga disagrees with the story of the Emir of Keffi. The story of Jibrin Mairiga reveals clearly the palace tussle in Keffi, the ambition of Makama Dogo leading to the expelling of Makama from Keffi. His story claims that Makama Dogo went to Zaria and was crowned as the king of Keffi, but Keffi people did not like him and was kicked out of Keffi.[28] Again, it is interesting to note that some indegenes of Nassarawa attempt to deny the vesion of the Emir of Keffi, and argue that Umaru Makama Dogo could not have been ever slaven due to the fact that the title of 'Makama' confered on him was normally reserved for heirs, and that were he of slave origin (i.e. obscure or non-Fulani) he would not have been crowned by the Emir of Zaria as the next (third) king of Keffi.[29]

27. ibid. pp.212-5?0

see the next page for fns 28 & 29

They argue that there is still a strong relationship between the people of Nassarawa and 'Yan Tumaki, which symbolise that Makama Dogo came from there. And that were he a slave he would not knit his origin to 'Yan Tumaki. They strongly argue that to believe the story of the Emir of Keffi is to deny the relationship between Makama Dogo and 'Yan Tumaki, and to say that his origin is not known.[30] This argument draws our attention to the fact that most of the informants of the colonialists framed their stories in such a way that potrayed them better vis a vis the people about whom they discussed. This seem true because, taking into consideration the fact that the colonialists favoured Nassarawa vis a vis the older polities of Kurudu, Kurape, Karu, Keffi, Abuja, Igu and Opanda, the Emir of Keffi could have been jealous of Nassarawa, and could have framed his story in such a way that Nassarawa looked like an off-shoot of Keffi which should have been the Provincial Headquarter. Furthermore, the Emir of Keffi wanted to show that Makama Dogo was their servant and was not eligible to be enthroned as the king of Keffi. Despite this, the position of Makama Dogo as an ex-slave is not dismissed. This is due to the fact that a larger percentage of the soldiers of the jihadists were slaves and ex-slaves, and the earliest title holders in the whole Caliphate and the Emirates were not from the line of the rulers but mostly the able mercenaries and ex-slaves. This was evident and clearest in Nassarawa Emirate which earliest title holders were mercenaries from Katsina

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28. Joseph Aliyu Ohiare, "The Kingdoms of Igu and Opanda..." pp.400-413.

29. Interview with Ahmed Dangaladima Marmara in 1993.

30. Interview with Danladi Mohammed Nassarawa in 1993.

Kano, Rano, Gupe and Yoruba countries.[31a]

Interestingly, too, the work of Temple admitted some of its weaknesses. Temple admitted that the sources of reference of the ethnographers were "sketchy", without information from the "natives" about whom they wrote, and claimed that the "natives [were] unwilling to impart information." Temple further made it clear that their collections were "incorrect [with] many omissions of important facts."[31b]

Other problems in the work of Temple include undue emphasis on hamitic and outside origins of the peoples of Nigeria. The work is also full of derogatory terms and filthy descriptions. Also, the colonialists assumed that each tribe existed distinctly and independent of another, or clearly separated from their neighbours. Or where they noticed any link, they interpreted it to be the rule of the Fulanis on other tribes. They portrayed the peopling of the Niger- Benue confluence area with the notion that the area was vacant until the mid 19th century when the Chadic speaking groups moved into the area and found communities and states.

However, despite these limitations, some forms of relations among the communities and the socio-political and economic activities of the peoples as well as the stories of their origins are helpful to this thesis as regards the reconstruction of the history of the region under study.

Another important source reference is the work of Charles Kingsley Meek.[32] Like Temple, Meek was also a colonial anthropologist. He was an eminent scholar with wide knowledge on the history and culture of Asia and Africa. This influenced his work to be rich in information

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31a Adamu, M. The Hausa Factor in W. Afr. History, 1979, p. 103
31b Olofinsola, P.I

32. C.K.Meek, Tribal Studies in Nigeria. London, 1970; & The Northern Tribes of Nigeria. 2vols. London, 1971

and comperative analysis and made his concepts to be full of hamitic hypothesis - that most of the culture of the people in Nigeria were a by-product of superior Asian, Arabic and Berbern culture or had their blood.

As a primary source, it informed readers about the colonial and pre-colonial situation. He divided the pre-colonial socio-political organization in typologies and models for his convenience. It is the only single work with extensive ethnographic mapping of the peoples of the N.Nigeria. He also focused on the analysis of the local industries. Meek considered the Gbagyi throughout his analysis. Also very importantly, the work started with a focus on the human geography and the influence of the environment on the people. He discussed the people of N.Nigeria in their terra firma. A chapter is devoted on the local industries that influenced the wealth, markets and external contacts of the region.

Also, Meek took time to study the pre-colonial states, their locations, structures and traditions of origins of the peoples.

Like other ethnological works, apparent biases are glaring throughout the work. For instance, Meek expressesed his notion that Nigerians were 'primitive' despite the civilization much talked about in his work. Meek therefore started with the definition of concepts like 'ethnic type', tribe, clan, native, and their paraphernalia like totems, dodo, soul, artificial relations, and so on. These concepts will be critically examined in order to see whether they were applicable to the people under study in the period in question.

Since Meek assumed that the best culture in Nigeria were difused from Asia and N.Africa or East Africa through the war-like people and shepherds, Meek therefore paid special attention to this category of people who knit their origins to North or East Africa and tagged

as "Hamito-Negroids" - ie: the Hausa, Kanuri, Fulani, Nupe and Yoruba. He traced their origins to East and North Africa and as the light-skinned shepherds and war-like people who migrated to present day Nigerian area. He claimed that they were the dominant political activists in the region in the pre-colonial period. This thesis has been partly influenced by this notion, and this thesis will examine the extent the so-called centralised states influenced the area under study.

Despite the fact that some oral sources support the ethnographic mapping of Meek, and further butress the fact that the people in the Northern part of Nigerian area must have had contact with the people down to the confluence area, his speculated date for their seperation - the mid 18th century - seem to be too late for the peopling of the confluence area. Also, the Linguistic and Glottochronological mapping of the region suggest that the peopling of the region is much older than is suggested in the oral tradition or migration stories.

Generally speaking, Meek paid much attention on the Gbagyi culture which he compared with others'. He noted that the Gbagyi in the whole Nigerian area were almost homogeneuous and less affected by outside influences even though they interminglied with their neighbours and among the Hausa communities up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another consistent and elaborate study of the Gbagyi was carried out by Gunn and Conant.[33] Their study depended to a large extent on the colonial historiography some of which articles they re-assessed. They closely examined the socio-political organization of some of the major Gbagyi towns like Kuta, Karu and Kurape. They were intere-

33. Gunn and Conant, Peoples of the Middle Niger Region of Nigeria. IAI London, 1960.

sted in the nomenclature and demographic data of the Gbagyi. They also focused on the culture of the Gbagyi. They again gave an elaborate examination of the Gbagyi economic practices and as well compared their marketing with those of their neighbours. It is interesting to note that the market centres among the Gbagyi became the dumping ground of the British goods. They critiqued the assumption of some of their contemporaries who assumed that the Gbagyi were always under the political control of their neighbours, particularly the Gwandara. They also exposed the deliberate attempt by the colonial government to subordinate the Gbagyi to other groups particularly the muslim groups. Their findings are useful to the last three chapters of this thesis. Infact, their study is consistent and impressive.

However, their work was greatly influenced by some of their source references, and thus suffer from methodological and conceptual problems that becloud their source references. It is very evident that their study was purported to justify the colonial rule. Thus they closely examined how the Gbagyi were administered, grouped and re-grouped under the NAs, Districts, Provinces and so on. They consciously avoided the principles behind such ever-changing policies. It seems most probable to me that the colonialists subdivided the Gbagyi into numerous units and put under non-Gbagyi people in order to curb mass revolt as Gbagyi were resisting. Again, Gunn and Conant consciously neglected the nature of the British conquest of the Gbagyi which was characterised with violence. They created the impression that the colonial rule of the Gbagyi was peaceful and docile atmosphere.

And as recists, noth-ing of the colonised was worthy of praise. Hence they ironically condemned some economic contribution to the colonial government and economy. For instance, the yam farming which

during the colonial repression, and the very most essential crop - cotton - that were repartriated to Britain for British industrialisation were all declared as "usually poor" among the Gbagyi.[34] It was unscholarly for Gunn and Conant to uncritically accept by 1960 that

> it has been reported recently, crops [among the Gbagyi] are usually rather poor, alleged because of lack of, and ignorance of crop rotation, inadequate fallow periods, poor ridging, late planting, and the much debated custom of burning potential farmlands. 35

This type of the colonial assessment of the Gbagyi farming is not only sarcastic but also very wicked. This reveals the ignorance and the ungrateful attitude of the colonialists. This type of prejudice and shallow conclusion was a calculated attempt to belittle the much contribution of the Gbagyi to the colonial economy which was depended on cash-crop production. The colonial gin-crack is very clear in this undue emphasis:

> The yield of ground-nuts [among the Gbagyi] is small [sic.] and they do not constitute a major article of diet. Yams are recent introduction. Though wild yams [sic.] have always been imported in the diet in time of scarcity.... Cotton, though grown extensively, is said to be poor quality; locally, it is used, however, to produce a superior, rugged homespun cloth. 36

These are the types of the mumbo-jumbo analysis to be examine in chapter of this thesis.

5. Secondary and Tertiary works:

The works of Nana Fenu Byanyiko[37] contain a lot of information on the traditions of origins of the Gbagyi generally, and of the political set up of the kingdoms of Kara and Kuta in the 19th century. His works

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34. Ibid. pp.89-90. 35. Ibid. p.90. 36. ibid.

37. Nana Fenu Byanyiko, Topics on Gbagyi History. Jos Museum, 1979.

" " " "The Gbagyi People of Nigeria: Origin and Political System." Paper presented at Gbagyi Ghedoonu Festival at Yelwa, Nasarawa LGC Plateau State, on 16/4/1988.

contain some assessments of the speculations about the Gbagyi been under the political control of their neighbours, particularly in the area under study. However, the works of Byanyiko are encapsulated in the hamitic hypothesis that becloud his source references. Again, Byanyiko did not extensively and factually discuss any Gbagyi culture, political organization and economic practice, nor do his works focus on specific period or identify some changes the Gbagyi have experienced. Again, it is expected of his type of works to identify the factors that make the Gbagyi a unit of study. Byanyiko over-depended on the colonial historiography.

Despite these short-comings, Bynanyiko's works try to reveal the nature of the inter-group relations whereby the Gbagyi employed the Koro, Gade, Gwandara, etc for fetish services.

Naibi and Hassan[38] attempted to document traditions of origins and chronicle of events in Abuja area. Although their works are limited to Abuja only, they attempted to document the stories of the surrounding settlements and tribes, and their relationship. Their works were the first local histories of the region based on field work than on colonial historiography. Their works extensively discussed the supremacy of Abuja in the region in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

However, their works suffer from uncritical acceptance of the traditions of origins of the peoples. And the founding of Abuja settlement is potrayed much older than when it was realy founded. There also seem to be glaring exaggeration as regards the supremacy of Abuja. Also, most of the analysis lack any scientific base to be taken seriously. They uncritically accepted information on superstitions

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and taboos as if they were historical realities. They did not discuss the people in time perspective, they assumed that the people were monolithic. Despite these weaknesses, their works give us much information on the traditions of most of the settlements in the region and the early contacts with the Europeans. Also, they focused on Abuja relations with the neighbouring people and with the Caliphate.

The article of Alhaji Ibrahim Tazyibei Tukura, the Turaki of Kubochi[39] reveals his vast knowledge on the traditions of origins of the peoples around Abuja and the confluence area in particular. He also highlighted the type of relationship among the various ethnic groups in the region.

However, the work of Tukura suffers from the problem of chronology and hamitic derivations. He uncritically accepted the view that the Gbagyi migrated from Hausaland and arrived at their present abodes through Birnin Gwari during Usman Dan Fodio jihad. This date for their arrival is too late. He seemed to stress the fact that the Gbagyi put confederal effort in order to check the jihadists' incursions. And the article throws light to the fact that there was sharp demographic changes caused by the jihadist activities, and some Gbagyi and Hausa might have left Hausaland to meet their brothers who gave them respite in Gbagyi country. It is also clear in his article that other groups like the Gade and Gwandara were pushed into the Gbagyi country by the jihadists who raided them.

It. Tukura ignored the contradictions which propelled changes in the confluence area and overwhelmingly assumed that everything was OK. For instance, he claimed that

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39. Ibrahim Tazhibei Tukura, "A Brief History of Migration." A Paper presented at Gbagyi Gbedogwu Festival, at Kelwa on 16/4/88.

> The Igbira Kwotto [Ebira] also live side by side with the Bassa, Gbagyi people and Hausa. History reveals that the Igbira people, the Gades, the Bassas and the Gbagyi people never fought any war among themselves but peaceful co-existence. 40.

It is most probable that Tukura consciously avoided inter-tribal conflicts in the region in order to boost the Gbagyi Gbedognu Festival which aims at cohesion and peace in Nigeria.

Another writer on the Gbagyi is Ishaku Baraje Diko[41] who tried to study the Gbagyi way of life. His work started with the origin of the Gbagyi as is obtained in the colonial historiography, and ended with some Gbagyi vocabulary. His work is of great value to whoever wishes to know the idiosyncracy and mythology of the Gbagyi. Hence, the work is more or less ethnological.

Diko depended largely on his field work, particularly on his own experience at Diko. Born in 1933, Diko started his elementary school in 1942 and acquired his diploma in 1951. Then he became a cultural officer with Sulejan LGA. He also served with the Ministry of Sports and culture Kina. This experience among the Gbagyi influenced him to give the culture of the Gbagyi a curious look.

He attempted to trace the origin of the Gbagyi generally, and like many scholars, he is encapsulated in the stories of out-side origins. He therefore believed that the Gbagyi originated from Mecca and started to migrate away at the time when Mohammed introduced the religion of Islam. He claimed that the Gbagyi left Mecca and passed through Borno and Hausaland until they reached their present abodes.

Apart from this monolithic origin which seems imagenary and unscientific, it appears to Diko as if the Gbagyi are monolithic. He did not give us the significance of his study, nor did he show the forces that enable the Gbagyi retain their culture for centuries. However, his work is a challenge which this thesis takes up.

40. ibid. p.1.

41. Ishaku Baraje Diko, Gbagyi(Gwari) Culture. Ebenezer Graphic Printer No. 2. Jerma[illegible] Kaduna, 2nd edition 1990.

6. Oral Sources:

This study was largely dependent on oral accounts. The method adopted was individual and group interviews conducted by me. Most of my informants reside in the area under study, hence I followed them to their villages and houses. The criteria for choosing an informant was the socio-political and professional position of the person and the age. I therefore consulted the village-heads, the elderly people and the heirs of the thrones. I was further directed to some elderly people whom it was believed that they knew about certain aspects of the history of the area under study, and about particular episode.

Although I sometime employed research assistants who introduced me to some informants, and sometimes as interpreters, I did not have the problem of interpretation since most of my informants were bi-lingual and could speak both Hausa and Gbagyi languages fluently. The beginning of the interviews varied from some informants to another. In the group interviews I asked series of questions which some of the people or chief-spokesman answered and elaborated on other's. Most of the individual interviews started with open discussion through which I gathered some relevant information which I did not earlier conceive. I was again opportuned to re-interview some of the informants in the villages around mine in order to assess their consistencies.

It is important to note here that one of the most peculiar problems in such oral information was the issue of dating, and sometimes reporting of different episodes as if they occured synultaneously. There was also the problem of confusing the achievements of some popular kings and placing them as if

they reigned longer than they actually did. These problems have been noted in the discussion, and compared with their variants.

The following people were the informants:

Individual Interviews:

I. Adamu Kwanaki, 45 years old, Principal of Govt. College Loko. He is highly interested in this study and has been accessible during the research. He is knowledgeable on the stories of the rise and decline of the kingdoms of Igu and Opanda, the rise of Nassarawa, and intergroup relations in the region.

2. Ahmed Dangaladima, 30 years old, a civil servant with A.B.U. He claimed to have listened to his grand-parents and parents tell the stories of the rise of Karmara and its relationship with the neighbouring settlements. His information was relevant to chapter 4.

3. Atiku, Garba Yahaya, about 35 years old, an History Lecturer with Usman Danfodio University Sokoto. We met at Sokoto on 13/2/93 during an International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and the Europeans. He is currently carrying out research on Keffi. He informed me about the relationship between Keffi and Zaria, neighbouring Emirates and autochthonous polities in the region.

4. Late Azaki Tukura, died in 1984 at the age of about 85. I first systematically interviewed him in 1979 when I was carrying out a research on the history of Christian missionaries among the Gbagyi in Nassarawa area. As an evangelist he knew very much about Christian missionaries in the region, which account was useful to chapter 5. Also, he was always with Rev. Anyitomizmi Tukura the king of Kurape, from whom he learnt about Kurape kingship institution. His kinglist was used in chapter 3.

5. Bako Gbagama, about 65 years old, was interviewed thrice at Marmara and at Nassarawa in 1992 and 1993. His accounts were mostly on Nassarawa-Kurudu wars.

6. Bako Sarkin Pada, about 65 years old, was interviewed at Tamah on 3/I/92 and on 2/3/92. He was consistent on the origins and relations between the Gade, Gwandara and Gbagyi people in the region.

7. Bamayi Wakili, about 32 years old, a farmer, was interviewed on 3/I/92 and 5/I/92. His accounts centred on the origin of the Basaa in the kingdom of Kurape.

8. Bmiyidubegye (alias Papa) son of Tukura, son of Gwamawyiyi, about 70 years old, a farmer, was interviewed at Marmara on 31/12/91 (BPTG). He claimed to be highly knowledgeable on Gbagyi war strategem, units and the kinglists of Kurudu and Kurape and their relationships.

9. Rev. Chidawa Nyagwa, about 60 years old, was interviewed thrice during the study period. He was highly informative on the early Christian missionaries among the Gbagyi. He also gave me some secondary source materials that were very useful to the study.

10. Pastor Damishi son of Damashiri son of Dalo son of Anvibawuiye (DDD) is about 80 years of age. He was interviewed four times at Tamah. He was informative on the earliest Gbagyi settlements in the region, and was helpful in drawing the maps of the kingdoms. He also informed me about the christian missioneries in the region.

11. Daniel Zaki Ebin is about 38 years old, a teacher at Govt Sec. School Panda. he was interviewed in February 1993. He claimed that his parents told him about the migrations from Kurape area to the northern and eastern direction, and on Gbagyi culture.

12. Danyaya(Shekwotawnuanyiya) son of Arande son of Auta is about 50 years old, a farmer and evangelist, was interviewed at Shamage on the 4/I/92 in the presence of his family. He claimed that his parents informed him about the superiority of Kurape before Kurudu and Karu became splinter states.

I3. Late Daso daughter of Saadumi king of Kurudu, my grandmother who died at the age of about 100. She used to tell us about the dynastic/royal marriages between Kurape and Kurudu, and local and inter-regional trades. She also told stories about the colonial repression which were useful to the reconstruction of the history of the area under study.

I4. David Efuna, about 45 years old, a teacher (and Chairman, Karu LGA 1992-93) was interviewed twice in 1992. He also accomodated me during my research period. He was very informative on the origins of the Koro and Yeskwa and their relations.

I5. Dogara Tuta Tukura (DTT) is about 100 years old, a farmer, was interviewed 3 times in his house at Wuzye. He was versed on the relationship between the three kingdoms, Gbagyi war strategem, cultural practices, Nassarawa forays in the region, and on colonial invasion, conquest and occupation.

I6. Duza(Alayi) son of Nathayi son of Mamwayo (king of Kurape), is about 90 years old and was interviewed at Takpa in 1989. He was informative on the cultural practices of the Gbagyi in Kurape kingdom.

I7. Gaiya Shamage Musa is about 45 years old, a farmer and foreteller, was interviwed twice in 1992 at Shamage. He claimed that the founders of Shamage settlement were from Sokoto area, and helps us asses other accounts on the origin of Shamage people.

I8. Gideon Dogo is about 45 years old, an administrator (Secretary Karu LGA) . He hosted me at Karu during my field-work, and also introduced me to the palace of the Osu of Karu thrice. He was informative on the Karu kinglist.

I9. Ibrahim Tazhibei Tukura (ITT) the Turaki of Rubochi is about 50 years old. He is the Chief accountant, Municipal Local Govt. Abuja. He has attempted documenting the traditions of origins

of the peoples in Niger-Benue Confluence area, some of which articles I used . As a personal friend I have been opportuned to interview him thrice. His information was mostly on the inter-group relations among the people in the Niger-Benue Confluence area, the Nassarawa-Kurudu wars and the relationship between the Gbagyi and the Hausa states in the 19th century.

20. Iliya Dike is about 55 years old and the Director, Jos Main Market. I have been opportuned to interview him in his office and in his town Uke three times. He directed me to some old people who became my informants on the Kurape kingship institution. He again aided me financially. He has attempted to document the migration stories, which futher corroborate the claim that most settlements in the region were once under the kingdom of Kurape, and some of them fled to found new settlements.

21. Jezyi son of Nature son of Kaura son of Gade son of Zhubai (Sakumaduyi), is about 50 years old, interviewed at Nabuce on 26/4/92. He claimed that his information was handed to him by his grand-parents who traced their origins to Gyinu/Kupan Gwari and Kurudu. He was one of the informants whose accounts on the relationship between the three kingdoms and the Emirates was clear.

22. Jezyi walu (Rtd. Hon̄ourable Wakili), is about 70 years old, a farmer, interviewed at Wuzye on 25/12/90 and on 12/2/92. His information was mostly on Kurape Calvary and strategem, missionaries in Gbagyiland and on colonial repressions.

23. Joseph D.Opongo, an experienced civil servant who had been a judge, police and now a security officer A.N.P. is about 60 years old. He claimed to have attempted documenting the traditions of origins of the Hausankono and Gbagyi in the 1960's, and whose accounts were critically used in chapters I and 2.

24.Rev. Joel Dohodai, about 50 years old, was interviewed in 1989 and in 1993. He attemptempted documenting the traditions of the Gbagyi contact with Christians, which article was helpful to chapter 5. He showed his interest in this study.

25. Late Kaka Baba was about 90 years old, the mother of Barkin Laminga (with whom I was brought up) told us about the Gwandara of Zakun Bello in old Zaku settlement on the hill, and their relationship with the Gbagyi.

26. Kura (Chesnabmiyilo) son of Talupwuf son of Damdoho (KCTD). He was interviewed on 12/2/92. He is about 100 years old and still healthy and brisk, a foretelier and great story teller. He was once a colonial interpreter in the 1930s. His most relevant infomation was on the origins of settlements, Kurape supremacy, Gbagyi relations with the Gwandara and Fulani of Keffi and on colonial rule.

27. Kure Adogo is about 75 years old, a preacher and farmer (my uncle who sponsored my secondary school), was very informative on Kurudu-Kurape relations, early missionaries and colonial repressions.

28. Ladi (mrs Pastor Tukura Madaki, my uncle) daughter of Abmidanyadu son of Wnuanyita. I had four systematic interviews with her . She informed me about the Gbagyi textiles, markets, body-marks and mythology. Her accounts were relevant to the discussion on the economic aspects of the kingdoms. She is about 60 years old.

29. Lazarus Azaki Tukura is about 35 years old. He is an accountant with the United Textiles Limited Kaduna. He claimed to have listened to his grand parents and parents tell about Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms -- particularly stories of their kings, wars, instalation ceremonies and burial ceremonies. He again read some of my manuscripts and commented on some issues relevant to this study.

30. Manaseh Tukura is about 33 years old, a Geology Lecturer S.P.S.Keffi (now the Director, Raw Materials Processing Dev. Plateau State) , a heir of Kurape kingdom was of immense help to this study. He travelled with me through the kingdom, analysed the rocks of the region which constitutes chapter 1. He again made available to me some MEMOS addressed to Plateau State on the issue of Karshi/Kurape district and intergroup relations in the area.

31 Muhammad Hamzat Abubakar(Maishamu) is about 40 years old, a teacher with Plateau State Teachers Service Board. He claimed to have listened to his parents tell the stories of the origins of Lamfinga people. I interviewed him four times and his accounts were consistent. He was the major informant on the history of Lamfinga.

32. Mucheic Maitoro Maikamangu (MMM) is about 60 years old, a farmer, was interviewed twice at Marmara in 1991. He was versed on the socio-polical and cultural practices of the Gbagyi.

33. Shehu Adamu D. is about 45 years old, secretary of the Scholarship Board Plateau State. He is currently carrying out research on the history of Gbagyi in Nigeria. He helped me in many ways during this study. He transported me to the field work in order to contact my informants. He again financiall, aided me, and gave me his manuscripts and some memos related to Karu kingship institution.

34. Late Dr Shekwo Amali Joseph was about 55 years (died in Nov. 1993) and was helpful to me during the research. He was then the Director of MAMSER Abuja. Despite his tight schedule he spared time and discussed with me on how to improve the thesis.

35. Alhaji Yusuf Maigyada Ara, about 60 years old, a farmer and business man, was interviewed at Ara on 12-10-92. His information was on the origins of Ara Gwandara.

36. Alhaji (Hon. Dr.) Waifd Jibrin is about 45 years old, the MD United Nigerian Textiles Kaduna helped me in many ways. He financially assisted me and transported me several times to the field work. He is interested in the documentation of the traditions of the people in the aredof study. He also gave me some of his research articles on the migration stories of the Fulani of Keffi, Karmara and their neighbours. He has held the titles of the Ciroman Fulani, the Dangi of Massarawa and now the Sarkin Fulani.

37. Late Zagbica daughter of Nyidagyibanyi son of Madaki Gbendobo, died at the age of about 80. She was the Priestes of Amadawa cult and Queen of Nahuce . Her stories were mostly on Gbagyi pottery and markets which were relevant information to this study.

38. Zaigwami daughter of Mainaje son of Nyidanyi (ZBN) wife of Late Padawa Tsaman Nyidagyibanyi Karu, is about 100 years old and still healthy. I interviewed her twice at Karmara in 1992. She was informative on Gbagyi textiles, Potery, sylvan produce, local markets and inter-regional markets with the Afo, Agatu, Ebira and Hausa, and had the clearest account on trade-net-work in the region.

39. Zozyiwo Finabwui Dogogyi(king of Kurudu) Koche Bawa (ZFDK) is about 90 years old, the Barde of Dogon Dutse. He is a great story teller and versed in his geneology. He was systematically interviewed at Karmara thrice, and mostly informative on the earliest settlements around Kurudu, migration stories, Gbagyi wars, Gbagyi relations with the Gade, Bassa and Ebira of Kurudu kingdom, the confederal ties between the Kingdoms in the region and the supremacy of Kurudu.

Group interviews (GI)

1. GI/AB%/30-12-91; 1-2-92; 2-I-93:

These interviews were organised in my house, and headed by Late Adakoya (Bowu) daughter of Zakwoi, about 90 years old. Present in the interviews were Nupuyi Ayidagyibanyi Tukura (my mother), about 65 years old, and Late Mitazahoyi Sagbisibmiyi (my step grand muay), about 90 years old (died in Jan. 1994). Their accounts were mostly on trade relations in the whole region and Gbagyi marriage system.

2. GI/AB/30-I2/91:

This interview was headed by Adogo Bezawu, about I00 years old in his house at Tawah. In attendance were Pastor Sunday son of Agwai son of Azyaga son of Zakwoi son of Bawai (about 45 years old); Laagyi Yitoto(about 85 years old); Asibi Kpakuru (about 30 years old) a nurse; and others. Adogo Bezawu was very informative on the migration stories and the confederal ties between Aurape and Nuruku kingdoms. He knew very much about the kinglists of these kingdoms. Pastor Sunday Azyaga was versed in his geneology, migration stories and the founding of Azyaga settlement. Asibi Kpakuru reported on the peculiar diseases in the region, and also helped me to draw Maps 2&3.

3. GI/AB/3-I-92:

This interview was conducted in the premises of Peoples Bank Nassarawa, with Late Alhassan Garba Abdulrahaman (about 50 years old) then the Manager of Peoples Bank Nassarawa, and Shehu son of Akawu son of Tukura son of Asuma son of Udoka son of Isadi the founder of Karmo settlement (about 45 years old and a civil servant. Their main account was the origins of the Gwandara and Gade and their relations. They also reported on Gade cultural practices.

4. GI/Osu ATM/25-I2-79; 30-I2-85

The interview was organised in the palace of Sakurapei Anyitomizai and his palace attendance, when I was writing an 'AL' project titled "The coming of Christianity into Nassarawa-Keffi area." I have been opportuned to meet the king many times since then. Late Anyitomizai (Rev.) Tukura son of Mamwawye (king of Kurape c.I907-I908) died in I99I at the age of about I20. He was among the earliest christian converts in the region, he became a christian in I895 when the missionaries assumed that he was about 25 years old. As a heir to the throne he was in position to know very much about the Kurape kingship institution. His information was used throughout the thesis. As an evangelist and interpreter he was in position to know very much about the christian activities and colonial repression in the region.

5. GI/AM/I-I-9I; I6-4-92:

This interview was organised at Laminga in the house of Aruwa son of Maishanu Jarmai son of Dadai (the Tax-collector in the Kingdom of Kurape during the reign of Isalu), my uncle, about 60 years old. He is a business man and priest of Amwamwa cult, Muzye. Present in the interview were Kande Maishanu (my aunt), Zhima Maishanu (my aunt) - both are elder sisters to Aruwa Maishanu. Their accounts were mostly on family geneologies, migration stories and the founding of settlements east of Kurape, and relations among the peoples in Kurape kingdom. The interview of the I6-4-92 was organised at Marmara in my house. Present were Nupuyi Tukura my mother, Baha Nyidagi Amyi (my aunt) and my brothers. Their accounts were mostly on the migration stories of people from Kurape to the south.

6. GI/BN/7-I-92:

This interview was held in the residence of Joe Gade (a veterinary doctor with NAPRI ABU Zaria) at Zango Zaria. The chief spokesman was Solicitor Bitrus son of Narai son of Zakwoi son of Ali son of Kanyiko 'Su-bwa-gmanyida (Osu of Karu c.I729-I776) who is about 45 years o'

working with the Min. of Justice Plateau State. He has collected a lot of oral traditions on the Karu kingship institution, with the view to documenting them. Hence he was highly knowledgeable on the kinglist of Karu, the relationship between Karu and its subordinate villages and with neighbouring polities. Present in the interview were Joe Gade (about 45 years old), Gowon Danjimiko (about 30 years old, a History student ABU Zaria) and Nuhu Poyi (about 30 years old also a student of History). They helped me draw the Maps 2 and 3.

7. GI/GAT/30-12-91:

The interview was conducted in the palace of the village-head of Tamah. The Chiefspokesman was Galadima son of Anyidakuzo son of Topmiwyi (about 90 years old), a farmer and evangelist. In attendance were the village head of Tamah Osu Awuba Anyidakuzo (about 70 years old) and his palace attendants. Galadima was versed on the nature of the confederal ties of the three kingdoms, their political organization and their kinglists. He was also highly knowledgeable on the jihadists activities in the region, the coming of Keffi, Gbagyi war-strategem and the colonial conquest and occupation. Osu Awuba was also informative on the ties between Kurape and Kurudu and Gbagyi cultural practices. I was opportuned to re-interview them in 1992 and they were consistent in their accounts.

8. GI/Osu HS/1983; 16-4-89:

Late Osu Habu son of Shekwoshawye son of Gbako son of Toto son of Znigbolo son of Zagoma son of Chikpe son of Mwuinabei died in 1990 at the age of about 110. He was the chief of Yelwa, Toto LGA. I first interviewed him in February 1983 when he came to receive treatment at Kefii General Hospital, and stayed with his son Abuson (then the Manager Keffi Hotel, now the Manager Sharaton Hotel Abuja). I again organised an interview in his palace on 16-4-89 during

Gbagyi Gbedognu Festival in the presence of about 6 village -heads and palce attendants.He showed his great interest in this study. He was the most versed family historian I ever met. He knew very much about the origins of the peoples around the Niger-Benue Confluence and their relations. He also reported on Gbagyi relations with Zaria, the jihadist activites, European conquest and missionary activites. He claimed to have learnt most of his accounts from his grand-parents. His accounts were used throughout the thesis.

9. GI/ITT/23-12-91; 3-1-92:

These interviews took place in the house of Alhaji Dogo Abubakar at Marmara. Alhaji Dogo is about 65 years old, a businessman. Alhaji Ibrahim Tazhibei Tukura, the Turaki of Rubochi is the Chief Accountant Abuja Municipal Local Government, and about 50 years old. ITT is a local historian who gave me some of his articles and showed great interest in this study. He also assisted me financially. He is versed on the stories of migrations in the region. He also reported on the cultural and inter-group relations among the people around the Niger Benue Confluence area. He again reported on Nassarawa-Kurudu war, and the relations of Gbagyi country with Hausa cities. I was opportuned to re-interview him and he was consistent in his accounts.

10. GI/Osu IB/ 16-4-92; 24-4-92; 6-8-92:

Osu Ishaku Bulus is about 65 years old, a surveyer and businessman. The first interview with him was organised by late Dr Joseph.A.Shekwo at Lugbe. There were village-heads and some educated people in attendance. The second one was organised by Gedion Dogo (Sec. Karu LG/ 1992-93) and the third by Manasseh Tukura (Dirctor, Min. & Raw Materials Processing, Plateau State,. The interview was conducted infront of his palace attendants. The king showed his interest in this study. Apart from his information on Karu kingship institution he made available to me some Memos that are relevant to this study.

II. GI/Sarki JA/4-4-92:

Sarkin Laminga, Alhaji Jibrin Adamu is about 60 years old, and in whose house I was brought up. He was systematically interviwed in front of his palace attendants. He was versed on the migration stories of the Hausa and Fulani in the region and the establishment of Keffi, Nassarawa, Laminga, Marmara and the neighbouring settlement

I2. GI/KM/3-I-92:

This was organised in the house of Aruwa Maishanu at Laminga. Kande Maishanu is about 80 years old, my aunt. In attendance were Zhima Maishanu her sister and Aruwa Maishanu. Kande was the chief-spokesman. Their acounts were mostly on the pre-dynastic relations among the settlements around Kurapa and Kurudu and family geneologies.

I3. GI/NT/26-I2-9I:

This interview was held in my house at Marmara. Nupuyi Nyidagyibanyi Tukura is my mother; she is about 70 years old. In attendance were my grand mothers Adakoya Rowa, Mitozahogyi Sagbisfbmiyi and my brothers. Their accounts were mostly on family geneologies, local and regional trades and Gbagyi manufactures.

I4.GI/Osu NAD/I-I-92:

This was held in the palace of Osu of Kurudu, Nyazaazyi (alias Alkali Ahmadu) Dookwabmya. He is about 75 years old and a pius muslim. The interview was conducted in the presence of his palace attendants. His accounts were mostly on Kurudu kingship institution, Nassarawa-Kurudu wars and the relationship between Kurudu and the neighbouring polities.

I5. GI/PWK/4-6-I980:

This interview was conducted in the house of Late Padawa Nyidagyi-banyi Taman Karu, who was then about I00 years old. In attendance were Kure Adogo (about 76 years old, Osu Nyitomizai Tukura, Tepwui Idako and some other elderly people. The chiefspokesman

was Late Padawa son of Gbendobo (the madaki of Kurudu) son of Anyiwyi (commander of the forces of Kurudu who fought Mekama Zoro in the 1850s). He claimed to have become a Christian about 1910 at Wuzyegnu. His father was from Kurudu while his mother was from Kurape, and his uncle was the commander of Kurudu forces in the Abuja and Keffi forces, by name Znimyisjeatna. His stories were mostly on the kings of Kurape and Kurudu, wars with the jihadists - AJ21,- the missionaries among the Gbagyi and Ghagyi mythology. His stories greatly nourished the thesis.

16. GI/SG/30-10-92; 30-12-93:

This interview was organised in Sunday Gimba's house at Sumaru. He was born in 1930, a civil servant and evangelist. Present in the interview was his wife Sawoyinya Bowo born in 1933. Sunday Gimba worked with the missionaries since his childhood. Their accounts were mostly on missionary activities around the Niger-Benue Confluence area - among the Gbagyi and Hausa people; Zaria and Gbagyi relations before colonial rule and colonial repressions.

17. GI/Traditional Rulers/12-10-92:

I was invited by a committee set up by the Plateau State Govt. to consider the Memorandas demanding for creation of Districts in Nassarawa LGA on 12-10-92. I seized that opportunity to interview some of the traditional rulers present. They included:

1. Usu Ahmadu (alias Alkali Nyazaazyi) king of Kurudu, about 75 years old;
2. Alkali Tuluwa, village-head (vh) of Tuluwa, about 60 yrs old;
3. Awuba Anyidaakuzo, vh of Tawah, about 65 yrs old;
4. Ayuba Tukura, vh of Daama, about 60 years old, the chiefspokesman;
5. Dawuda Giwa, vh of Gora, about 60 yrs old;
6. Giwa Gbibwayi, vh of Pasali, about 90 years old;
7. Jembowu (Gbagyi-chief of Lamminga) about 60 yrs old;
8. Joshua Gaiadima, vh of Dogon Dutse, about 50 yrs old;
9. Maikasuwa Kaka Atiye, vh of Nahuce, about 60 yrs old;
10. Shesipo Allate, vh of Dumu, about 50 yrs old;
11. Zami, vh of Gbaita, about 50 yrs old;
12. Bello Auta, vh of Mararaban Ara, 45 yrs old;
13. Hon. Akawu Gaiadima Ara, Sec. of NRC Nassarawa L.G.C.; about 50 yrs old.
14. Hon. Dawuda Padawa Counsillor) about 50 yrs old;
15. Hon. Hussaini Gajere Umaru (Councillor) about 25 years old.

The interview was conducted in this Chronology. I asked them series of

questions, and the chief-spokesman was Ayuba Dana who knew most of the answers. Others commented or expanded on his accounts. What I gathered most in this interview was the origins of settlements in Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms, confederal ties between them, Gbagyi relations with the Basaa, Gade, Gwandara, Ebira and the Hausa,,the Kurudu-Nassarawa wars, Nassarawa forays in the region, Gbagyi- Nassarawa wars which they claimed enabled Nassarawa to survive the raids from Zaria, Abuja and Ebira wars and the colonial repressions.

I8. GI/TM/I-I-92:

Pastor Tukura Madaki, brother of my mother, is about 60 years old. He is the son of Gbendeno (the Madaki of Kurudu in the 1910s), son of Zakwaibiyi Anyiwyi (alias Jatau the Sonye-yanko of Kurudu who fought against Nassarawa in the 1880-90s before he withdrew to Takpanuwa). This interview was conducted in the presence of Nabuyi Tukura, Ladi Tukura his wife and my brothers. Pastor Tukura Madaki claimed that his grand-father was his informant, on Kurudu-Kurape kingship institutions and the migration stories. Ladi Tukura was informative on the Textiles, manufactures and trade relations in the region. She also identified the textiles, their sources, and also identified Gbagyi marks for me. I was opportuned to re-interview them seperately, and were consistent. It is interesting to remark here that Pastor Tukura is a genius in retention of people's names, dates and episodes.

I9.GI/TS/28-I2-91; 3/I/92:

Tukura Sabeda, husband to my mother, is about 70 years old. I interviewed him twice together with his friend, Yamayi son of Wazili son of Bawa son of Alesa (the founder of Bokoko). They are fishermen, hence their accounts were mainly on fishing and the origin of Bassa in Kurape kingdom.

20.GI/YI/5-4-80;

Late Iepwui Idako (Rev.) died in 1979 at the age of about

130 years. He claimed to have become a christian convert about 1890 when the missionaries assumed that he was then about 30 years old. I had earlier listened to his stories in 1975 during the installation ceremony of the Osu of Karu Ishaku Bulus. Present in this interview were Padawa Karu who brought me to Yepwui's house, Sakurapei Anyitomizai and two of his palace attendants. Yepwui was a great story teller. The information I gathered was mostly on the pre-dynastic relations in the region, Gbagyi mythology and culture, Gbagyi wars with Keffi and Abuja, the coming of the Whites and Christianity, family geneologies and Gbagyi economy.

21; GI/ZG/24-4-92:

This interview was organised by Hon. Lazarus Zaka Gaza at his village Pyakasa Abuja. Zaka Gaza Cetube was the spokesman. In attendance were Hon. L.Z.Gaza (about 35 years old), Adachamnazaho Dabo about 75 years old. Banyigyi Zniajakpi about 70 years old and Adu Dabo about 65 years old. Their accounts were mainly on the missionary activities among the Gbagyi, slave raids, jihadist activities in the region, Gbagyi war strategem, Karu relations with the northern and western settlements and Gbagyi cultural activites.

22. GI/ZT/16-10-93:

Hon. Zephania Tukura, heir of Kurape throne, is about 30 years old, councillor Karu LGA. He organised the interview at Kurape palace in the presence of some palace officials. The chiefspokesman was Maikasuwa Nakako (about 55 years old). The interview was mainly to verify Kurape kinglist which I intended to use in this study. They also took me to Kurape old site on the hill of Kurape. They again gave me some Memos that are useful to this study. Zephania again took me to the king of Karu to collect more information and secondary works on the kingship institutions and intergroup relations in the region.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLES OF THE KINGDOMS OF KARU, KURAPE AND KURUDU

1.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the location of the kingdoms of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu, environmental factors and the peoples that created the basis for the emergence of the state system. In other words, the environmental factors of this area conditioned the settlements and economic activities which later influenced the emergence of the kingdoms that transcended their earlier distinct kinship authorities. In line with this approach, J.N. Ukwedeh stressed that modern historiography emphasizes the relationship between natural environment and the historical changes of a given society, since the natural environment significantly influences the history of man.[1]

To serve as the background to the central theme, it is therefore logical to start the analysis with a close examination of the climate and physical features of the area in order to know the ecological context which shaped socio-economic and inter-ethnic relations in the region.

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1. Joseph Na'mi Ukwedeh, "The History of Igala to c.1830 A.D. with Special Reference to the Rise of the Attah Kingship." Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria May, 1987. P.1 (unpub.) also see J.N. Ukwedeh, "Man and Environmet: Some Theoritical and Historical Examples." Geography Department, (and in NIRS) A.B.U. Zaria, 18/5/84.

The dominant groups in the kingdoms under study were the Gbagyi (Gwari/Gbari), Gade (Egbe/Gaden-ciki), Gwandara (Apoi/Gade-ra), Hausa (Ogwe), Bassan-Komo (Baha) and the Ebira (Igbira/Okpoto), Koro, Yeskwa and the Fulani (Bololo/Gwe-bei/Ajei). Of these ethnic groups, the Gbagyi were the dominant in all the kingdoms. The Bassa-Nkomo and the Ebira were more concentrated in the kingdoms of Kurudu and Kurape. The Gwandara and the Hausa were found mainly in the market centres particularly in Kurape and Karu kingdoms. There was close affinity between the Gade and the Gwandara. However, to a large extent the kingdoms were diverse and heterogeneous. Except for the nomadic Fulani, the other groups settled permanently and sometimes intermixed.

The Gbagyi seem to have been the earliest settlers of the kingdoms. However, the group that joined them later contributed to the growth of the settlements, enlarged production and broadened the pre-dynastic administrative units, leading to a more complex state-like system. Thus, Karu, Kurape and Kurudu settlements emerged as the dominant socio-economic and political centres, surrounded by subordinate settlements.

Our discussion will start with the examination of the location, sizes of the kingdoms and the physical environment in order to know the extent the environmental opportunities contributed to the emergence of Karu,

Kurape and Kurudu as great civilization centres and the historical changes which followed.

1.2 Location

Natural barriers conspicuously confined the location of the kingdoms. The three kingdoms bordered each other, with Karu to the north, Kurape in the middle and Kurudu to the south. The Kurudu kingdom was bounded by river Kokona (also called Gbagana or Kooto - its oldest names, a tributary of river Benue) in the east and the gorges running south of Abuja to Abaji. Along river Kokona, Kurudu kingdom started at Gyinu a few kilometres east of Keffi and continued down to Toto area the boundary of Opanda kingdom, from where it protruded lineally south-westward along the ravines terminatiog at Rubochi in Igu. The western boundary of the kingdoms was demarcated by the ravines and hills from Gwargwada to Kuje. The northern boundary of Karu kingdom was demarcated by the hills running from Panda (Yeskwa) to Gunduma and river Antau (the upper part and tributary of river Kokona) to the east. (See maps 1, 2, 3 and 8).

The location of the three kingdoms in terms of the current local governments and state boundaries can be seen in Maps 9 and 10. The three kingdoms of Karu,

Kurape and Kurudu were situated in the middle of colonial Nassarawa Province (see map 9). The kingdom of Karu covered the eastern part of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the whole of Karu Local Government Council (LGA). The kingdom of Kurape covered part of the eastern part of the FCT, southern part of Karu LGA, western part of Keffi LGA and part of the northern part of Nassarawa LGA. The kingdom of Kurudu covered the northern part of Toto LGA and the western part of Nassarawa LGC. These areas fall in Plateau State (see Map 10). The contemporary significance of these kingdoms is the fact that it influenced the boundary of present day LGAs.

1.3 Sizes

The three kingdoms covered an area located between latitudes 10.6°E to 10.8°E and Longitudes 10.3°N and 10.5°N (see map I). These kingdoms also covered an area about 80km from east to west and about 120km from north to south, which was about 9,600km^2. Karu and Kurudu were almost equal in size while Kurape was smaller when compared to any of the two.

The kingdom of Karu extended to Wushapa near Zuma in the present FCT in the west, to Lakpma which is close to present day Yeskwa-Panda, and from Oba in Karu LGA to Kugburu in the north. The area covered by the kingdom of Kurape extended from Dnako in the present

day Karu LGA to Wuzye/Zakun Sarki in the present day Nassarawa LGA in the east, and from G'gyigbo/Girigo in the present day Nassarawa LGA to Koya in the present day Karu LGA in the north. Karuda kingdom covered the area from Zokutu in the present day Toto LGA to Tamah which is in the present day Nassarawa LGA in the North-East. (See maps 2 and 3).

It is important to point out here that the sizes of the kingdoms were not static, although natural barriers made the boundaries conspicuous. There were problems in arriving at the borders even between the kingdoms and with their neighbours due to demographic changes and socio-political contradictions. Before they attained their sizes in the late 18th century there were communal clashes and wars caused by the expansionist attitudes of the rulers of the capital towns. Thus, the increase in size of the kingdoms could have been gradual. Some of the boundaries in the plains were demarcated with walls (Galu[G]), like the two parallel walls from Saka in the present day Karu LGA through Gwagwa and Nahuce, down to the confluence of river Wuzye and river Uke (then known as river Kurape), some few kilometres NW of Nassarawa. It is claimed that the walls were built by Kurape kings who hoped to check the cavalry of the jihadists who raided the region, as well as to control the carravans to Awe and Hausaland.[2]

2. Interview with Dogara son of Tuta son of Tukura (100 years old) - D.T.T. on 12/2/92, at Achale-Wuzye (known as Zakun-Sarki).

These kingdoms also planted Aduruku tree (Newbouldia laevieg) by the road to serve as a border post in the plains. The tree was planted on a heap of sand, ashes, broken pieces of pots and stones. A dagger was put inside the heap. This form of boundary was sometimes arrived at after communal clashes.[3]

1.4 Topography

The topography of this area was very instrumental to the composition of the sizes of the kingdoms, settlement pattern, hydrology and the technology of the peoples.

The elevation of the plains of the kingdoms of Karu and Kurape is generally higher than those on the kingdom of Kurudu. The plains around Karu and Kurape is between 300 to 600m above sea level, and below 300 around Kurudu. The elevation rose to 900m above sea level in the hilly areas. (See map 2). The rocks of these hills are older granite and is black in colour. They are mostly schist, iron stone, Gneiss, Bassait, Trachyte, Dolerite (all of them are called Kuta-zhiyi[G]), Biotitie granite (Wyigo-Kuta[G]) and volcanic bomb (Pugye[G]). Some white rocks and quarts could be found

3. Interviews with Dogara T.T. and Kura (Chesnazaholo) son of Talupwui son of Damdoho - K.C.T.D. - (100 years old) on 12/2/92 at Nakuludi (Gidan Kura).

in pebbles scattered round the hills and rivers. These white rocks are Feld spars (Kuta-Buyi), marble (Pugye-buyi[G]), phosphate rock (ash-like stone) and muscovite (Shekwoyi-madubi[G]).[4] The hills are of the pre-cambrian age and the period of the formation of the hills here belong to the cretaceous period of about 65-140 million years ago. This pre-dates human activities in the central Nigerian area since the activity of earliest man in this area is only 40,000 years old.[5] Many Sangoan tools have been found scattered in these kingdoms around the streams and the hills and have been dated to about 40,000 B.C.[6]

The western part of the kingdoms is characterised by the range of hills that start from Zumwa-pe (Zuma hill) down to the middle of Kurudu kingdom. The topography in the northern part of the kingdom of Karu is the continuation of the Panda hills from

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4. I am grateful to Mr. Manasseh Tukura a Geology Lecturer S.P.S. Keffi who identified the rocks for me during the field work.

5. P.S. Soper, "The Old Stone Age in Nigeria." JHSN Vol. iii: No.2, 1965, pp.175-194.

6. T. Shaw, Nigeria, Its Archaeology and Early History. Hudson, 1978. pp.31-32.

Yeskwa country and extending over much of the FCT. There are isolated hills like Gunduma, Kugbaru, Selemai, Nyanya, Karu and Ganuwna hills. Local names and attributes are attached to the hills. Between Kurape and Kurudu are Pe-yaako and Pe-biyi (Ara hills) which form the border between Kurape and Kurudu. Kurape (Kurape hill) and Zaku-pe (Zaku hill) were in the middle of Kurape kingdom, with Gyinu hill at the extreme east. Kurape Plateaus start from Kurape punctuated with plains until it is joined by Golope in Kurudu kingdom.[7]

Due to the concentration of hills at the western side of the kingdoms, the areas are also characterised by gorges and patches of forests while the eastern part of the kingdoms consists of plains with many paddy zones as far as river Kokona. As a result, the general scenery of this region is often described as "a rolling country ... with occassional thick forest, particularly in the deep cut ravines."[8]

The plateaus in the kingdoms contributed to the people's world view, their quest for sustenance, shelter, and way of life generally. Like among the

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7. Nuhu Anyido Yerima Poyi, 30 years helped me with the local names of the hills in Karu kingdom during a group interview. In the presence of Bitrus Narai and Joe Gade on 12/3/92 - GP/BN/12 - 3-92 - I have travelled extensively within the area during the field work.

8. Gunn and Conant, Peoples of the Middle Niger Region. AFRICA. Vol.X. IAI, 1960. p.89. op.cit.

people on the lower Niger-Benue Confluence,[9] the highlands in this region have influenced the historical development of the people since human habitation of the region. The hill settlements, to some extent, served as natural fortifications and as refuge centres for the settlements in the plains. The mountains were vantage points for locating enemies like the slave raiders from Hausaland (Agwe-Iubwui-kpma[G]). The hills also provided secret training grounds.[10] It can be argued that the jihadists based at Abuja, Keffi and Nassarawa could not subjugate the kingdoms due to the inaccessibility of the villages on the hills to the jihadists' cavalry. It is however interesting to note here that most of the hill settlements in the kingdoms were forced to move to the plains by the colonialists in 1920s.[11]

The hills also served as areas for stone manufacture as utensils. And most importantly, some of the hills and inselbergs contain iron ore (Gbekna/Gbakuku/Kukuru[G]) which influenced the manufacture of iron implements and the subsequent boost in

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9. J.N. Ukwedeh, Ph.D. Thesis, 1987, loc.cit., pp.6-9.

10. Interview - 01/DTT/ 12-2-92.

11. Sule Mohammed, "The Impact of the British Colonial Rule on the Gbagyi 1900-1960: A Study of Political Change." M.A. Thesis A.B.U. 1988 (unpub.). pp.166-7; NAK 694P/1913 "Nassarawa Province..." by Morgan; Memorandum No.565 dated 20th August 1912, by W. Morgan.

agriculture, war techniques and marketing. Iron ore was mined around Rubochi, Wushapa, Mugarawyi-Karu and at Nike. Iron slags are still found in these places,[12] only that they have not been dated by archaeology. In fact, it was the factor of iron that enabled the people to have a tremendous impact on their environment. Also, the use of iron weapons enabled them to become militarily formidable, which had direct impact on the emergence of kingship institution in the area.

Furthermore, the hills in this region were natural reserves of games which were hunted for food and for exchange. Besides, the hills contain springs and ponds, and hence were never affected by drought. Foothills and gorges particularly from Kurudu down to Rubochi were very fertile and could have been farmed for several decades without any decline in the agricultural yeilds. Hence, the hills naturally attracted settlement.

The hills in this region were given supernatural attributes and thought to contain spirits, and to be better served there. A piece of stone removed from a mountain usually symbolised a shrine of fore-father-spirit (Zakoi-kuta^{G}) - a belief in historical continuity since the hills were the first areas of

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12- Group interviews with Ibrahim Tukura Tazhibei the Turaki of Rubochi (50 years old) - GI/I.T.T. - in the presence of Alh. Abubakar Dogo at Marmara; Kura Talupwui and with Bitrus Narai in 1991.

settlements and held to be areas of the emergence of human existence. It was believed that mountain-spirits were nearer the sky which they assumed to be God - Shekwoyi-pata[13] This means that the relief, too, had great influence on the mythology of the people in this region. Their mythology further influenced cult consultation and religious ties across the villages and clans which strengthened kingship institutions.

Despite these opportunities around the hills, the hill settlements must have limited or restricted expansion and communication in the region. This might be a major reason why large cities comparable to those in Hausaland did not develop in this area during the period in question. In fact, it was due to the difficulty of suppressing them that the colonialists forced them to the plains.[14]

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13. Shekoyi-pata, or the God of Sky is the Supreme God of Creation, and believed to be communicating to people through fore-father-sprits.

14. Sule Mohammad, loc. cit. pp.166-7. It is very probable that S. Mohammed was considering the hill settlements in this region in the light of Hausaland cities that Gbagyi settlements were assumed "not normally large" and that they had never been noted for large population. pp.65-66.

1.5 Hydrology

The two most important rivers in the three kingdoms are river Kokona - the name is believed to have been derived from Gbagana - and river Uke - derived its name from Wuzye. They have many streams which take their head water from the plateaus within the kingdoms and from Panda hills. River Kokona served as the border of the three kingdoms to the east, and its tributary called Antau (the name of the stream is believed to be Gbagyi lamentation - anyi nu tom - the wanton destruction of nature[15]) which served as the border of Karu and Kurape kingdoms to the east while river Uke ran through the kingdoms. Other important streams were Dnako, Dagbadna, Papladna, Wuzye, Pmadna and Rafin-Kwara. Most of these streams take their water heads from Karu hill and run through Karu and Kurape kingdoms to the west emptying in river Uke. Wuzhye streams takes its head from Gbagbape and Saka and run through the middle of Kurape kingdom and empty into river Uke at Tamah about 6 kilometres north of Nassarawa. There are many streams that run through the gorges in Kurudu kingdom. It is important to stress here that some of the rivers

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15. Oral tradition reports that the Fulani migrants under the leadership of Amadu came with large cattle that destroyed many streams and drinking pools, and resulted in the disappearance of the head-waters of Antau, and was the source of conflict between them and the Gbagyi in 1830s to the end of the 19th century.

take their names from either the earliest settlements in the area, or from the flora and fauna. For instance, River Kokona derived its name from Gbagana, Uke/Kurafe river from Wuzye/Kurafe settlements; Wuza river from Wuza settlement, Dagbadna from elephants - meaning river elephants, Papaladna - river ants, Shadna - bamboo tree river, and so on.

Like the hills, the streams also influenced the nature of pattern of settlement in the region. Most of the Bassa and Ebira peoples in Kurudu kingdom lived by the banks of river Kokona as they were mainly fishermen. The other ethnic groups like the Afo and Hausa fishermen were attracted into the region. In fact, Kurudu, Dodo, Gbagana and other settlements by the banks developed as fishing settlements. This also encouraged communal fishing and festivals (Azufi[C]). Again, fishing encouraged crafts as there was need for various instruments and tools for trapping fish, which in turn encouraged trading.[16] The role of fishing in the economy of Kurudu will be highlighted in chapter two.

1.6 Soils

The soil type had its significance in the history of the region, especially the nature of the economy and settlement. A close study reveal that the soil

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16. Group interview with - G1/TS & BW.

type in the confluence area which cover a large part of the kingdom of Kurudu, is made of alluvial soil which is sticky and fertile. On the other hand, the kingdoms of Karu and Kurape is covered by sandy soil. This soil have been found to be rich in silica and salt. The upper layer of the laterite soil contains much aluminium and iron oxide very much needed by living organisms. And the red or brown loams have granite, schist or sand-stone which develop good humus for the growth of plants. There is also varying proposition of nitrogen and phosphorus in the soils.[17] But the paddy zones (Dnapa[G], Padama[H]) forests, (Kuchi,[G] Kurmi[H]), the river banks (Dnagbe[G]) and the foot-hills are very much more fertile than the soils in the flat plains, and could be farmed longer than the soils in the flat plains.

The significance of the soil type can be seen from the dominant activity - farming - the primary factor attracting people to the region. The boost in agricultural production was related to the fertility of the soils. Oral accounts report that some Gwandara and Gade peoples, as well as others,

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17. Wall, J.R.D. (ed), Land Resources Division of the British Government (LRDBG) Central Nigeria, Project Team; Land Resources of Central Nigeria Agriculture Development Possibilities. Vol.5A, The Kaduna Plains. Eng. 1978. pp 9-10; Pritchard, J.M. Africa: A Study Geography. 1973, p.37.

moved to the area primarily to farm.[18] It is interesting to note here that farming in this region is of great antiquity. The ethnobotanical and archaeological findings suggest that farming date back to 3,000 BP, and that the cultural styles of the figurines have striking similarities with the hair and dressing styles of the present inhabitants. This seem to suggest that there was cultural continuity in this region.[19]

Despite this long period of farming in our region, some scholars like J.M. Pritchard and D.J. Clark, to mention few, argued that the soils in this region are not as fertile as the soils in the forest and sahel belts. Pritchard concluded that the tropical soils were generally poor, and specifically stressed that the "Middle Belt of West Africa lying approximately between latitudes 7.5°N and 10°N, is a poor area in soils and natural resources."[20] J.D. Clark overwhelmingly claimed that the whole "African continent was ill situated for cultivators" and "agriculture

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18. I.T. Tukura, "Brief Legend of Traditions of Migrations of Gbagyi People." Paper presented in 1987. p.2; NAK 3148, 1932 "General Notes on the Gwari Tribe, Keffi Emirate." by Smallwood.

19. Desmond J. Clark, "The Pre-historic Origin of African Culture." in MacEwan, P.J.M. (ed). Africa from the Earliest time to 1800. 1960, p.19.

20. Pritchard, loc. cit. p.58

did not posses here the rich potentialities that belonged to it in other regions." This Eurocentric speculation led to the conclusion that such plight of Africa was the cause of its poor agricultural method and scanty population.[21] Gunn and Conant specifically emphasized that the Gbagyi were noted for poor farming method which consequented poor harvest.[22]

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21. Desmond J. Clark, "The Pre-historic Origin of African culture." in MacEwan, loc.cit. p.19. Similar argument can be found in Agboola, "Some factors of Population Distribution in the Middle Belt: The Basis for its Geographical Unity." in Nigerian Geographical Journal. Vol.4:1, 1961, pp.41-46.

22. Gunn and Conant, p.90. It is not easy to persuade any body that the Gbagyi in particular have poor farming method. They rather seem to be one of the most advanced farmers in Africa.

The basis for their conclusion that our region has poor soil, poor harvest and scanty population was not given. Their conclusion did not come from any comperative study of the soils, types of crops farmed in the regions, duration of tendering crops, out-put per hecter without the use of fertilizers, farming instruments and methods, etc, from which a scientific assessment of the extent of the fertility of the soils can be made. To assess the fertility of the soils in terms of population density alone is not convincing. This is not however to deny the fact that some patches of our region have fertility limitation and could be exhausted after few years of farming. Since farming has consistently been going on for centuries in our region it has grown weaker than the regions not been farmed for so long. What seems to me most probably is that the efficient utilization of the natural resources by the people in this region had great ecological impact. Farming is high level of sedentary and agrarian life characterised by great interaction of man with nature which impacts like gradual loss of the fertility of the soils and so on is contended with.

Whether a comperative low concentration of population in this area of study is a result of 'poor soil' in the region, it has not yet been scientifically proved by any one scholar. The more probable factors responsible for spatial population in our area will be highlighted in the following discussion.

Some scholars like C. Wringley dismissed such speculations, and argued that the tropics is neither desert nor jungle but savannah with easily worked soils and rapid vegetation growths which provide a more suitable agricultural environment than the arid sub-tropics or the cold dark forest of the temperate zone.[23] This is true because a recent study of this region by J.A. Ohiare reveal that the region grows more crops than the other belts of Nigeria and most suitable for agriculture than the forest or sahel belts, and the recent agricultural research and demonstration in this area has proved that this area is one of the best zones for Nigerian potential extensive and large scale agricultural investment.[24]

However, the fast exhaustion of soil nutrients had its significance in the historical demography of the area. Whenever farms around settlements became increasingly exhausted and were characterised by quick growth of weeds and strigers and subsequent poor yeild, the people abandoned such settlements for virgin lands nearby. It is therefore not surprising that

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23. Christopher Wringley, "Speculations on the Economic Pre-history of Africa." in MacEwan, passim, p.68.

24. Joseph Aliyu Ohiare, "The Kingdoms of Igu and Opanda, c.1700-1939: A Study in Intergroup Relations." Ph.D. Thesis ABU 1988 (Unpub.), pp.429-432.

the Gbagyi were generally organised in scattered settlements or hamlets.[25]

As a result of this problem of the decline in the productivity of the soil type, the Gbagyi developed techniques and science of coping with the situation. The people learned that crops that need heavy nutrients aid the deterioration of the land due to over-cropping. Hence they adopted the method of inter-cropping that involved living wide gaps, and planting different types of crops on the plot after a year or two. The other methods used to check quick deterioriation of the land included the non-planting of crops that need heavy nutrients like yams (dioscorea rotundata, dioscorea cayenensis, dioscorea alata), guinea-corn (sorghum bicolor), maize (zea mays) and others. Thus, they planted crops that perform well in the poor land like millets (pennisetium typhoids), hungry rice (fonio), Beni-seed (Anuhu[G], Ridi[H]), cotton (gossypium ssp, ceba pendatra) beans (phasseoulus ssp), ground-nuts (arachis hypogaeoe), lotus, green-leaf (desmodium intortum), Aleyafo[H] (amaranthus hybridus), pepper (panicum whitie) and others. In addition, Fulani herders were often asked to camp on a plot so that the cow dungs could rejuvinate the land.[26]

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25. Interviews with Zozyiwo Finabui, Galadima Anyidakuzo in the presence of the Chief of Tamah Osu Awuba Anyidakuzo and his palace attendants 30/12/91 - G1/GAT.

26. Interviews with Aruwa Maishanu Dadai (60 years old) at Laminga in 1991-2. I am grateful to Jonathan Gade a Veterinary Doctor with NAPRI ABU who helped me with some botanical names. Also the botanical names are in E.C. A[illegible]shi and N.M. Mzamane, Common Scientific Names of Fo[illegible] Plants. NAPRI 1988.

1.7 Climate

The climate of the area was also instrumental in the history of the peoples of these kingdoms, it therefore deserves a close examination. The climate is influenced by wind pressure and air masses that bring about rainy and dry seasons. The N.E. Tropical Continental air-mass come from the Sahara desert in October to May. It is dry and brings harmattan (Ese[G]: Dari[H]) and the dry season Mikegye[G]: Kaka[H]). From April to November the wind pressure reverses and comes with the SW Tropical Maritime air mass across the Atlantic that is warm and wet. This air brings rain. The annual rainfall of this region is 100cm in Karu and 200cm in Kurudu. Oral accounts have shown that the quantity of rain-fall in the area has gone down as the formerly paddy and marshy areas that were not farmed just 50 years ago are now been farmed. Small streams that used to feed river Wuzye and Antau have disappeared.[27] The surface temperature of the area ranges between 30° to 35°C but with varying degree from dry to rainy season. The hottest months are March, April, May and October.

The climatic condition of this region significantly influenced the way of life of the peoples of the area. Firstly, they developed the concept of time from what they feel and see. Hence the year is divided into

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27. Interviews with Aruwa Maishanu; and with Muchelo Maitoro (75 years old) in 1990, at Marmara, GI/AM/4-4-92: &MMM)

four seasons - the dry season (Nikeeye[C]) and the rainy season (Vniiko) with their transition period of summer (Wyepe-sa) in April and May, and winter (se-sa) from November to February. The two major seasons - wet and dry - naturally condition distinct activities. The wet season is the busiest time of the year because farming is the dominant activity. Farming in these kingdoms shall be highlighted in chapter two. The dry season, too, is the period for preparing seedlings, clearing new farms, building new huts, hunting, fishing and the time for crafts and marketing (markets prosper most during the dry season as there are harvested crops to be sold). Hunting and fishing increase consumption of proteins which in turn contribute to improved health and procreation. The dry season is also the best time for recreation, festivities and ceremonies especially when been influenced by good harvests and general health and peace of the whole society. In fact, these activities compliment agriculture which contribute to their integrated nature of their economies and in turn sedentary life.[28]

Furthermore, the climate of this region greatly influenced the flora and fauna which is the subject of discussion in the next section.

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28. Ibid.

1.8 Vegetation

The flora of this region is greatly influenced by the climate and partly by human activities. Flora has important implication since it influenced man and his history over time. The flora of this region was closely linked with development of early settlements based on what could be exploited for shelter, medicine and edibles.

The dominant vegetation of this region is guinea savannah. The vegetation type is characterised by tall grass with scattered trees and bushes (compared to the thick covered trees of the forest belt south of the kingdoms, or the lightly covered upper sahel region).[29] However, it is important to note here that the scenery of the vegetation is not uniform when one travells through the kingdoms. There are patches of forests or virgin lands (Kuchi[G]) in the western part of Karu kingdom and in the southern part of Kurudu kingdom. There are also open grasslands (okni[G]) some of which were left as fallow (Afabwa[G]); there are narrow paddy or marshy lines (Dnapa) some of which were farmed. Some forests and old settlement areas were believed to contain spirits and hence not farmed.[30]

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29. J.D. Walls, loc. cit. pp.9-10; Iloeje N.P. A New Geography of Nigeria p.77.

30. GT/AM/14-4-92; GT/PNK/1980. The practice of declaring some forest land as taboo areas was also common among the Igala. See Ukwedeh, P. thesis, p.152.

The combination of trees and tall grasses make the region look like parkland. This vegetation type is also a result of many years of human activities - farming, bush burning, tree cutting, etc, and the natural attempts by the plants to rejuvinate or survive the climatic environment by developing long roots, thick backs and shade leaves during dry season.[31] The commonest trees in this region are Bmayi[G]) (believed to contain spiritual powers thus they are not used for cooking); Agyagya[G] (Mahogany),(afzeliaquanzensis), like iroko and Kadaci[H] is also taken to be spiritual tree; Dabursheiᴳ; Dnayi/Durumi[H] - (ficus polita) the biggest of the tree type in the region; Baobab (Kwayi[G]: Kuka[H]) - Adansonia Digitata, Kalagbayi[G]/Baure[H] (Ficus Sycomorus), Gbagba/Baushe (Terminalia avicennioides), Gbaayi/Chediya (ficus thonningii), Ashi/Bogogyeyi[G] Giginya[H] (Phoenix dactylifera), Jiyi/Dinya (vitex doniana), Gbaayibeyi/Gamji (ficus platyfila), Lagbayi/Gaude (gardenia erubescens), Gbankopi Gwandandaji, shea-butter tree (Kwoi/Kadanya) - butyrospermum paradoxum, Myimyi/Kokiya (strychnos

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31. Iloeje, loc, cit., p.77

spinosa), Jemui/Lemun-tsami (carissa edulis), Kutugbalayi/Madacin padama (khaya senegalensis), Naknayi/Marke (anogeissus leiocrpus), palm tree - Znuyi/Kwara (elaeis guineensis), Rimi (Ceba Pendatra), thorn tree - Knawyi buyi (balanites aegyptiaca), Legelege zogalla gandi^{H} (molinga oreifera), etc, etc.[32]

The people of this region were quite resourceful and effective in the utilization of what the environment offered. Wood among these people was for fuel, craft and shelter. And some leaves were used for various purposes like food, medicine, poison and colouring. The grasses on the other hand were used for many purposes, i.e. grazing, thatching, straw weaving, hedge-making and ropes. These various activities particularly craft manufacture stimulated both the regional and inter-regional trades.[33] This will be examined subsequently.

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32. J.C. Sciortino, "Notes on Nassarawa Province" 19th Dec. 1919. In Gazetteers of Northern Provinces 1920. p.3. The botanical names are also in Agishi and Nzamane, loc. cit.

33. Gunn and Conant, loc. cit., pp.99ff.

Furthermore, the vegetation harboured several animals which the people hunted. Hunting played an important role in the history of the area and this will be examined subsequently. The climate condition and the vegetation favoured the prevalence of some diseases which had serious implication for the health of the people. Some of the vectors found in the kingdoms are mosquitors, tsetse-flies, house flies, lice, cockroaches, ants, bed-bucks, rats and jigger. The more dreaded diseases of this area are river-blindness, malaria, guinea-worm, hook-worm, amobias, yellow-fever, jaundice, gastro-utorratties, measles, catarrh, tuberculosis, pneumonia, ring-worm, scabies, small-pox, cerebro-spinal menegitis, filarias's, sleeping sickness, veneral diseases, trypanosomiasis and bilhaziasis. Other dreaded diseases identified in the area are leprosy and anaemia/scycle cell.[34]

These diseases have directly influenced settlement pattern, science of medicine and mythology. In the olden days, Gbagyi people often change settlements whenever there was an outbreak of an endemic or epidemic. For instance, whenever 2 or 3 adults in an

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34. Thurstan Shaw, Nigeria, Its Archaeology and Early History. p.23; Group interviews with Asibi Kpakuru (30 years) a nurse G1/AB/30-12-91; Tukura Sabeda (65 years); Bamayi Wakili (35 years) - G1/TS/BW/5-1-92; and with Pastor Damishi Dalo - DDD/ 30/12/91.

hamlet died within a week, the Gbagyi often condemn the site on the ground that it had evil spirits. It was assumed that an enemy brought evil to the settlement. It was therefore common that the causes of the diseases were mystified and said to be caused by evil spirits, animals, bad omen, curse, enemies, witches, wizards and insatiable fore-father-spirits. Some diseases that were peculiar with some families such as scycle cell, mental disorder, problem of hearing, hernia, and so on, were believed to be a result of curse. Some Gbagyi, Bassa and Gade people, like those around Diko, often ask elders to find out from sooth-sayers and herbalists the cause of illness and cure for their afflicted member. And since these groups believed in witchcraft, the accused suffered capital punishment.[35]

Thus, the prevalence of diseases in this region significantly influenced the settlement pattern and mythology of the peoples. Since they believed that disease and sicknesses were sometimes some form of punishment, people were warned to stop doing evil in order to avoid sickness. Diseases also influenced the evolution of cults and shrines which were seen as providing security for their adherents. The consultation of cults brought about

35. Ishaku Baraje Diko, Gbagyi/Gwari Culture. Ebenezer Graphic Printers Kaduna, n.d p.28. Na'ibi and Hassan, Gwari, Gade and Koro Tribes. Ibadan Univ. Press. 1969. pp.10-13: and GI/KM/14-4-92; GI/KM/3-2-89; & GI/NT/26-12-91.

cultural integration between various ethnic groups, which further influenced and strengthened centralised authorities of the kingdoms.

Easy penetration is another important factor which influenced the dispersed nature of the settlements. It has been shown that the vegetational cover in the region is much easier to penetrate than the forest belt. This might have encouraged peoples to change sites at the slightest opportunity. For instance, the Gbagyi were constantly on the move within the boundaries of the kingdoms in search of more fertile lands.

It is important to stress here that the vegetational cover of the kingdoms encouraged the scattered type of settlements which significantly influenced the coming of new groups. The dispersed nature of the earliest inhabitants - the Gbagyi - enabled new groups like the Bassa, Gade, Ebira and the Hausa to penetrate the area and to be intermingled within them. Hence, the region was heterogeneous. This development had serious political, social and economic implication for the history of the region. For instance, the kingship institution then evolved as the lineage chiefs of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu extended their authorities over peoples of diverse origins. The coming of these immigrant groups with specialised

economic activities further boosted the economy of the kingdoms. The Ebira for instance became the middlemen supplying Gbagyi with goods which came through Niger and Benue rivers trade in exchange for several Gbagyi produce like crafts and food items.[36] And in Karu and Kurupe kingdoms, the Gwandara traders were the dominant middlemen in the trading networks that developed there. Huge revenue was derived in the taxes charged in the trading systems that developed and from gifts and fees paid for the use of farmlands.[37]

1.9 Fauna

The whole region is like a game reserve. The commonest fauna in the region are rabits (fanyiko^{G}), monkeys (Abe), gorillas (Akna), baboons (gogo), wart-hog (Ogyi); wild cat/lynx (pigyi), hill dog (snuwyi), fox (tumine), squirrel (gbednu), rat (oku), mouse (gowyi), porcupine (pai), hedge-hog (shnife), grass cutter (ossu), wolve (chamcham), and antelop (gada). The animals that were once in the region but are no more seen are hyena (gbisi), elephant

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36. Ohiare, pp.188-9; Sule Mohammed, p.81; Interview with Zhnignamyi Bosnaje Nyidanyi (ZBN) on 2/1/92 at Marmara.

37. NAK 3148, "Notes on the Gwari," 1932 by Smallwood, p.2; Interview with Pastor Tukura Madaki.

(Dagbu), reindeer (eyu), giraffe (o dnu), Zebra (odnu-sa-da), lion (gaba), tiger (nakpmi), jagua (chamcham), bufallo (olo), and so on. Some of the water animals still found in Kurudu kingdom are hippoputamus (eya-nuwnanya), crocodile (ewyi) and so on. Snakes and birds of various kinds are in the kingdoms.[38]

Oral tradition and folktales claim that some of the big animals like elephant and lion were in abundance in the area during the period in question until the introduction of guns. It is again reported that dogs (omwui) and horses (doko) were hunted in the foothills of Karu and Kurape.[39]

Some aspects of the fauna were important to the history and culture of the peoples of these kingdoms. This explained the tradition of hunting among the peoples of this region, and the complex methods of trapping animals and fishes, and the totemic relations which were the background to political relations that later evolved. Also significant to our understanding of the peopling of the region is the role of hunting. Most of the settlements in this region claim to have

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38. Sciortino, Notes on Nassarawa Province, loc.cit., pp.2-4; interviews with Aruwa Maishanu; and G1/TS & BW 29-12-91.

39. Various interviews with Daso Maishanu, Kande Maishanu, Aruwa, Muchelo, Kozyiwo, Nupuyi in 1991-1992; also see J.A. Shekwo, Gbagyi Folktales and Myths. Vol.I. Gaskiya Corp. 1984.

been found by hunters, and the issue of the adjustment of boundaries of the polities was greatly influenced by the fauna and hunting zones. Similarly, the issue of fishing along the major rivers was significant to the rise and size of Kurudu kingdom in particular. These apart, the fauna attracted new groups like the Hausa-Gwandara who were professiona hunters into the area. In short, the fauna influenced economic activities and inter-group relations in the kingdoms.[40] This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two under the discussion on the pre-dynastic economy of these kingdoms.

1.10 Demography and Ethnic Geography

The size of the population in these kingdoms can be infered from the earliest available colonial population data and from the settlements. It is important to draw attention to the fact that colonial censuses were not consistent and suffered from lack of adequate skill and apparatus for efficient exercise. Hence census figures used here were mere estimates. In the first place, there were many settlements not visited by the census officials nor known even by 1960, for which reliable figures

40. Group interview with Zaka Gaza (90 years old) at Fyakasa FCT on 24/4/92, in the presence of Ada Adachasnazabo and the elders of the town - 01/20C and with Habu Shekoshawye, Galadima Anyidakuzo, and Dogara Tu on various days.

can be given. Secondly, our region is so heterogeneous due to migrations and inter-tribal marriages that it was unwise to conduct censuses on tribal basis. Apart from the fact that the officials that conducted the censuses were messengers and local chiefs who did not have adequate training; the peoples were also not mobilised to turn out for the exercise. Again, there were no roads for easy accessibility to hamlets and nomads who move from one area to another. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that District Heads and Village Heads gave low figures so that they might embezzle taxes unnoticed, and to avoid heavy repression since censuses were believed to be conducted to assess taxes and forced labour. Besides, the Gbagyi are known for their plan of not allowing their neighbours to know their strength especially in terms of population for security reasons. Hence they do not readily release the correct figure of their members.[41]

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41. Various interviews with Aruwa Maishanu, I.T. Tukura, Padawa and Dogara. These oral testimonies have striking consensus with written critique of colonial census. R. Mansell Prothero, "Post-war West African Censuses," using R.R. Kuchynski, Demographic Survey of British Colonial Empires, West Africa. London 1948. in K.M. Barbour & R.M. Prothero, Essay on African Population, London, R.&KP 1961, p.7., critique that the demographic data for British West African colonies prior to the second world war "was unsatisfactory, it was often fragmentary and incomplete, based on assessment rather than on enumeration and with inevitable discrepancies and inaccuracies resulting from the method, and circumstances of compilation."

As a result of these problems, there are conflicting figures on the population of the area in our sources. For instance, the figures given in the works of C. Temple, J.D. Ballard and Gunn and Conant, sometimes conflict with the figures given in the works of Sciortino and Daryll Forde.[42] These reports reveal that the estimated population of the whole of Nassarawa Province including Lafia, Akwanga, Abuja and our three kingdoms by the beginning of the 20th century was 267,140. The population was based on ethnic groups and not according to towns or occupational groups. The population figures were therefore simply ethnic and there were about 40 ethnic groups in the Province.[43] (See Appendix I). And based on the settlement pattern, one can argue that the population was mostly concentrated by the banks of river Benue - in Igu, Opanda, Kurudu and Lafia areas.

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42. C. Temple, Notes on the Tribes of Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Provinces of Nigeria. London, 1922, pp.1, 4, 41, 108, 120,155,238,320 & 374; J.D. Ballard, Historical Inferences from the Linguistic Geography of the Middle Belt. AFRICA. Vol.XLI: 4 1971, IAI London, p.298; Gunn and Conant, Peoples of the Middle Niger Region. AFRICA. Vol.X, IAI, 1960, p.87; Sciortino, "Notes on Nass Province, 1919" in Kirk-Green (ed.) Gazetteers of Northern Provinces of Nigeria 1920 London, 1920, p.25; Forde, C.D. (eds.) Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence: Ethnographic Survey of West Africa Part X, London IAI. 1970, p.56. Some notes on these sources have been given in the Preface.

43. Sciortino, loc. cit, p.25.

In order to clearly bring out the problem of inaccuracy in the census figures we will present the figures as given by our sources. By 1919 the various ethnic groups in our area of study had the following population: The Afo numbered 9,575 (Forde recorded 4,430)[44] and constituted about 1.7% of the whole province. They are concentrated in Afoland/hills which is the area that border Kurudu kingdom in the east. The Afo fishermen usually cross over into Kurudu kingdom to fish and trade.[45] The Agatu who also lived among the Afo had a population of 1,370 (Temple recorded 1,500)[46] which constituted of only 0.5% of the total population of the Province, and 1% of that of Kurudu kingdom. The Agatu also lived among the Bassa and crossed into Kurudu kingdom to hunt, fish and trade.[47] Large number of the Agatu lived in the kingdom of Opanda to the south of Kurudu kingdom. The population of the Bassa was 25,000 (Temple recorded 47,400)[48] which constituted 9.5% of the population of the Province. 9% of these figure

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44. Temple, P.I., Fordes, p.56.

45. Interviews with Znignawyi Besnaje Nyidanyi (100 years old) at Marmara on 29/12/91 and with Zozyiwo and Pastor Dalo on various days.

46. Scirtino, p.25 and Temple p.4.

47. See footnote 45.

lived in Kurape kingdom, 20% in Kurudu kingdom while about 70% lived in Igu and Opanda areas and in their kingdom of Ikereku.[49] The population of the Gade was 8,394 (Temple recorded 8,800)[50] which was 1.6% of the total population of the Province. They comprised about 5% of the total population of Kurape kingdom, and about 10% of the population of Kurudu kingdom. A large number of the Gade lived in Gwargwada Abuja area.[51]

Also, the population of the Gbagyi in the Province by 1919 was 68,730 (Temple recorded 70,000)[52] which was the largest and about 26% of the total population in the Province. They comprised about 70% of Karu kingdom: 70% of Kurape kingdom and 56% of Kurudu kingdom. The population of the Gwandara was 7,883 (Temple's record is 4,128) which is 2.9% of the Province, 10% of Kurape kingdom, 10% of Karu kingdom and 3% of Kurudu kingdom. A larger number of the Gwandara lived in Garaku and Yeskwaland.[53] There were 15,956 Fulani in the whole Province. They constituted 2% of Karu kingdom, and 2% of Kurape kingdom. It would seem that the Fulani prefered to

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49. See footnote 45.

50. Sciortino, p.25, and Temple.

51. Various interviews with Maikasuwa Nakako, Bako Sarkin Pada, and group interviews with Alhassan Garba and Shehu Akawu - C1/AG2/SA/3-1-92.

52. Sciortino, p.25; Temple, p.120.

53. Sciortino; Temple, p.119

live in the upper parts of the Province, in areas such as Jema'a, Lafia and Yeskwa, because it had lower rainfall which was conducive for their cattle.[54] On the other hand there were 13,149 Hausa speakers in the Province which constituted about 5% of the total population of the Province, and about 3% of the population of the 3 kingdoms.[55] There were also about 4,728 (Sciortino recorded 3,930)[56] Ebira people in the Province, who constituted 1.4% of the total population of the Province, and found in Kurudu kingdom only. They were about 10% of Kurudu kingdom.

The other groups were the Yeskwa, the Koro and the Nupe who constituted 5% of Karu kingdom, 1% of Kurape and 4% of Kurudu respectively.[57] Thus one can see that the area was heterogenous and consisting of various ethnic groups.

In the course of our discussion we noted that each tribe was concentrated in particular kingdoms and this was the situation up to the eve of colonial conquest.

It is clear from the foregoing that the three kingdoms were the main centres of Gbagyi speaking people who border to the east of Nassarawa Province. The Gbagyi in these kingdoms had cultural and biologica

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54. Sciortino; and interviews with Maishanu Jarmai.
55. Sciortino.
56. Ibid.; Temple, p.115
57. Various interviews with David Efunn, Chairman, Karu Local Government Council, and with Bitrus Narai.

ties with the Gbagyi in Kuta and with other groups in Niger Province. Colonial records show that the Gbagyi live peacefully with their neighbours - notably the Gade, Ebira, Bassa, Gwandara, Koro, Yeskwa and the Hausa peoples. This has been corroborated by oral traditions collected by Tukura I.T.[58] The Gbagyi in this area of study were culturally close to the Bassa, Gade, Gwandara, Yeskwa and Ebira. While the Gade and the Gwandara were regarded as one ethnic group and were called APOI. The Hausa in the area were of diverse origins. Some people were simply refered to as Hausa because they were muslims and mainly traders, craftmen and butchers who lived in separate quarters. Some indigenes who became muslims moved to settle with the Hausa.[59]

There were also Fulanis who were also muslims in the region. These were however divided into several clans namely: the Agologoje, Tintimawa, Yagwamawa, Ajei and Agwebei. These were local names, and the settled Fulani of Dangi clan were called Agwebei, while the rest wandering Fulani were called

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58. Gunn and Conant, p.85; NAK 3148 p.2; Tukura, P.I. and Ohiare, pp.79-119.

59. Various interviews with Padawa, Dogara and Tukura Madaki. The practice of muslim converts moving to Hausa settlements still goes on as they feel that doing so brings prestige. In fact, muslims in this area feel that they are a superior class to the pagan and christian groups.

Bololo. They were mainly found in Karu and Kurudu kingdoms, and would retreat northwards to avoid heavy rains in the region.

Although our informants insisted that the settlement pattern of the region was to some extent on tribal and clan bases and that some villages were exclusively clan settlements, it is difficult to draw a map on the basis of clan differentiation of the three kingdoms. The pattern of settlement did not support differentiation along clan basis rather it was heterogenuous. This was due to frequent migration of the peoples, the practice of adopting totemic symbols from neighbouring clans and tribes, inter-marriages across tribes and clans, socio-economic and political ties. In fact, it was common among the Gbagyi not to marry within same totemic group or clan, and one was allowed to identify himself with either Oda-Be/Anyitnu-Be (Patrilineal clan) or with Yabwa (matrilineal clan).[60]

The question of population and settlement pattern in the area is an issue that has attracted debate among scholars. This is the fact that the region is scantly populated as compared to those to its north and south. Comparing the demographic data of

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60. Various interviews with Zaka Gaza, Kura Talupwui, Zozyiwo, Habu Shekoshawye, Adogo Bezawu, Galadima Anyidakuzo, Kande Maishanu and Dogara Tuta in 1991/92.

Nigeria, particularly the 1952/53 census, it is glaring that the Middle Belt which include our area of study is the least populated.[61] T. Bingel for instance, in his study suggested that this characteristic low population of the region, does not seem older than 300 years ago. His suggestions are based on archa-eological findings which reveal that the Middle Belt of Nigeria was one of the earliest farming zone, from where the NOK culture evolved, flourished and spread to neighbouring parts of Nigerian area. He suggested that this spread of culture in turn lead to the spread of peoples in the region. Thus he argued that the present relatively and absolutely sparse population of the area today does not correspond to the fact that this is an area which had some of the earliest and most wide-spread settlements, relative to other parts of the world.[62] We shall discuss some of the existing explanations on the spatial population of our area of study in the preceeding chapters.

Furthermore, some geographers have suggested that pre-18th century Niger-Benue Confluence area had similar structural arrangements of human

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61. Census of Nigeria 1952/53. The Government Statistician, Lagos, 1953.

62. Thomas Bingel, "Historical Demography of Nigerian Middle Belt A.D. 1400-1900: An Explanation of the Role of Historical and Environmental Factors in Shaping the Population of Niger Province." Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria 1991, pp.24-62 (unpubl.).

habitation.[63] And as highlighted earlier, the organization and lay-out of the settlements in the kingdoms was affected by several factors which include: topography, flora, fauna, water supply, diseases, soil type, economic practice and religious beliefs. It was also mentioned that some of the settlements derived their names from some of these geographical features.

It is important to note here that there are several pre-18th century villages in Kurudu kingdom that are now extinct. These included Nyigbala (an iron ore mining village), Gbisibmi, Takpanuwna, Tamah (old), Snita, Peshishi, Zyibwuigna, Gbagba, Degede, Babara, Gyagba, Gbagara, and others. Most of these villages were by the western side of river Kokona. And from the Kurape kingdom the following are now extinct: Shacipi, Gidan Bassa/Alessa, Gyinu, Dotoo, Pebiyi, Alubwo, Kuseci and Gbesepi.[64]

Some of the existing oldest settlements in Kurudu kingdom are Kooto, Dodo, Gora, Wuzyegnu, Kurudu, Tuluwa, Ara, Peseli, Dana, Danyisna, Wacei,

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63. J.A. Gana, "Rural Settlement." in J.S. Oguntoyinbo, O. Areola and M. Filani (eds), A Geography of Nigerian Development. Nig. 1978, p.138.

64. Various group interviews with Adogo Bezawu (G1/AB 30-12-91) in the presence of Pastor Sunday Agwai, Asibi Kpakuru, and Asibi Yitoto, and with D. Damashiri Damishi D.D.D.; Zozyiwo Z.F.D., G1/BN, and Aruwa Maishanu.

Doron-Dutse, Naknuse, Gudun-Karya, Burga, Gedewuce, Nyawnu, Luku, Zokutu, Kulo, Kubochi, Yewuye, Gova and others. The following on the other hand were some of the oldest villages in Kurupe kingdom: Bakin-Wuza, Keleyi (Karshi), Azyayita, Zyiipe, Kpataluma, Galukokninya, Begyewogye, Roguwa, Pezo, Shadnagnu, Rafin-Kwara, Babaru, Koya, Zaku (Gudo), Zabutu (Takpa), Wuzye, Dnako, Nahuce, Bokoko, Gigyigbo, Uke and others. And the oldest from Karu kingdom were Wushapa, Waru, Pei (Garki), Kabuwa, Lugbe, Kuchidna, Znunwa, Asokoro, Kugbaru, Kapa, Chukwa, Gurku, Shiipe, Gbaradna, Dagbadna, Lakpma, Luvu, Jankanwa, Jewnukoro, Masaka, Kucikau, Oba, Paparadna, Nyanya, Orozo, Kurudu, Aso, Pyape, Sukwa, Jukoi, Karu and others.[65]

1.11 The Gbagyi

The Gbagyi speaking people are a major ethnic group in Nigeria apart from the Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Fulani and Igala. Gbagyi people occupy a large territory in central Nigeria where the kingdoms under study are located. Hence, the Gbagyi constitute a major ethnic group in the kingdoms. The Gbagyi in these kingdoms are subdivided into two dialects -

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65. Various interviews with Habu Shekwoshanye in 1990; KCTD 12/2/92; G1/GAT/12-3-92; Tukura Madaki; Nuhu Anyido; and Group interview with Osu of Karu Ishaku Bulus at his palace in the presence of his palace officials (G1/1B 16/4/92) 3/2/93.)

the Gbagyi G'eng'e and Gbawyi. The Gbawyi dialect is numerically small and spoken in Kurudu kingdom only.

There is need to analyse the meaning and origin of the names Gbagyi and Gwari as it is relevant to this study. The meaning of the name Gbagyi or Gwari as understood by the people who speak the language, and the meaning accorded the names by their neighbours is significant to the understanding of the history of the kingdoms and the nature of intergroup relations that existed among the peoples during the period in question.

The Gbagyi in these kingdoms, like their counterparts elsewhere, accept that they are also called or refered to as Gwari by their neighbours. Gbagyi is language spoken by people in a given territory as can be seen in maps 4 and 5. This study found some interesting explanations of the meaning and origin of the name GBAGYI.

Some people think that the name Gbagyi simply means the majority, or jama'a, or the commonest - implying the peasantry. The people who share this view further explain that the Gbagyi were the first or original inhabitants of these kingdoms and have been the majority.[66] Another meaning for the word

66. Group interviews with Kande Maishanu and Znima Maishanu on 16/5/90 at Laminga; G1/AB/30-12-91, and Asibi Kpakuru, in 1991.

Gbagyi which is accepted by all Gbagyi speaking people, is person. And according to this view-point GBAIZA means human being. AGBAGYI on the other hand mean people that speak Gbagyi language. It is further contended that GBAGYI-GENGE means real Gbagyi or aboriginal, while the other dialect called GBAGYIWYI/GBAWYI means Gbagyi immitation.[67] Thus it can be said that C.K. Meek was correct in his remark that Gbagyi means "the men" or "people."[68]

The word Gbagyi has also been given other meanings or conotations by others. For instance, some people refer to Gbagyi-Genge dialect as Matai. Matai are two words Ma = be by, and tai arrow and bow, put together to mean the armed, like the Fulani who moved about armed. And GBAWYI dialect prefered calling Gbagyi Genge as Matai who were more war-like and hunters.[69] This meaning seems to shed light on the cultural dominance of the Genge group on their neighbours, and the assimilation of the new commers into the region.

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67. Ibid.

68. Gunn and Conant, p.85.

69. Naibi and Hassan, Gwari, Koro and Gade Tribes. p.vii; interview with Aruwa Maishanu.

There is another meaning of the word Gbagyi which stresses the factor of culture. According to Abdulahi Zamai the word Gbagyi was formed from GBA/ OGBA meaning artful, and GYI = practice, put together to mean the artful.[70] Another meaning similar to this according to Alayi Dizawo contends that it is derived from GBA (worship) and YI (practitioner) put together to mean the worshipper or the religious.[71] Other interesting views stressing the cultural factor maintain that Gbagyi stands for two words - GBAIZA = human being, and GYI = neat together mean the clean. Gyi also means holy, and attributed to the Gbagyi to mean the holy people who did not indulge in secret societies.[72] This meaning seems to be a recent inference when other groups started coming into Gbagyiland. Some oral traditions collected from Kurudu Kingdom claim that secret societies - NUWNALO[G] - were introduced into the area by the Ebira and Gade peoples.[73] This oral accounts are corroborated secondary sources which claimed that the Gbagyi employed their neighbours - the Gwandara, Gade, Ebira,

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70. Interview with Abdullahi Zarmai in 1991.

71. Interview with Alayi Dizawo in 1991.

72. Various group interviews with Sakurapei Anyitomizai Tukura (120 years old) (G1/ATM/25-12-79;) Unuanyiya Arande; G1/GAT/30-12-91; Rev. Chidawa Nyayisa and Adakoya Bowu in 1989-92. Despite the fact that Gbagyi condemn secret societies and other forms of underworld, many Gbagyi indulge in practicing them - like Aguzyenyi and Nuwnalo. See NAK 3148 pp.3-4, and Diko, pp.17 and 34.

73. Group interviews with Adakoya Bowu Zakwai, Nupuyi, Mitozahoyi SaGbiaibmiyi in (G1/ABZ/29-12-91; and with GAT/30-12-91; and with Bako Sarkin Pada.

Koro and Hausa who claimed to have "superior charms" and the knowledge of the underworld that brought Agricultural success.[74]

Apart from the cultural meaning, some people attribute the origin and meaning of the word Gbagyi to the commonest fruits and crops in Gbagyi country. For instance, Rev. Yepwui Idako Karu claimed that the name GBAGYI was formed from EGBA (sycamore fruit) and GYI (eat), put together to mean fruit eaters.[75] Similarly, it is also said that GBAGYI as a name was formed from EGBA-WYI - which means guinea-corn - believed to have been first domesticated by the Gbagyi. This view contends that EGBA (guinea-corn) and GYI (eat) when put together mean GBAGYI or guinea-corn people.[76] Some people also think the name GBAGYI

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74. Nana Fena Byanyiko, Topics on Gbagyi History, p.35; N.F. Byanyiko, "The Gbagyi People of Nigeria: Origin and Political System." A paper presented at GBAGYI GBEGNU CULTURAL FESTIVAL at Yelwa, Plateau State on 16/4/89; pp.2 & 3; Ibr.T. Tukura, "Brief History of Gbagyi Migration." Paper presented at Yelwa on 14/4/89, p.2; Adamu Mahadi, Hausa Factor in West African History. This meaning seem to stress the influence of other groups on the Gbagyi.

75. Interview with Rev. Yepwui Idako Karu and Padawa N. in 1980 at Karu G1/YIK/5-4-80. Although it is true that the Gbagyi used to plant the tree and ate its fruits, there were other groups, like the Hausa who also valued the tree (Chedia) for its shade, however they (Hausa) were not called Gbagyi. If the meaning of Gbagyi connotes fruit gathering, some neighbours of the Gbagyi such as the Koro and Gwandara were greater fruit gatherers and lived in forests, who depended on the Gbagyi for the supply of arables (see Jumai Abubakar, "The Coming of the Zegizegi and its Impact on the Koro/Gwari." B.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria 1984; yet they were not called Gbagyi.

76. Interview with Goodiya Deye at Keffi in 1991.

was imposed on the people who first domesticated the yam called GWARI. Gwari yam is the commonst type in this region. And that since the neighbours of the Gbagyi could not pronounce the nasal vowel GƁ, they simply prefered GW.[77] The last two meanings are very plausible but the question is: why is that other groups that farm similar crops were not called GBAGYI or GWARI? All that those meanings indicate is that they try to reflect the dominant economic practice of the Gbagyi as well as their sedentary nature.

From the foregoing discussion it is important to stress here that the name Gbagyi has different meanings to different people. Some people trace the origin of the name to their cultural practices while others believe that it was derived from the commonest thing found in the area. It is evident that each meaning relate to the experiences to the people speaking Gbagyi and how their culture has been perpetuated or influenced by other changes. It is however quite probable that the original meaning of the name (GBAGYI) is now lost, and various groups now refer to it in terms of their prevailing dominant cultural practices.

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77. Some Gbagyi negate being addressed Gwari and would answer that Gwari is a yam and not human being.

The Use of GWARI in the Dominant Literature

In the available literature, Gbagyi has many references. For instance, the name Gwari is often used to refer to people who are not Gwari speaking people. Gunn and Conant noted that "the older Hausa /Katsina and Zaria/ equate the term 'Gwari' with 'slave' ... not Gbari but some other pagan people south of Hausaland raided for slave."[78] Therefore, Hausa people loosely use Gwari to denote a variety of non-Hausa people whom they denigrade as slaves or pagans.[79] A Hausa man could also mock his friend by calling him Gwari when the friend appear unfoxy, very simple or infatigable. Hence, because of the loose use of the name, the Gbagyi shun being refered to as Gwari.[80]

It can be argued that the Hausa usage of the nomenclature Gwari - implying slave - to refer to the Gbagyi ma, have arose from the nature of the intergroup relations that existed between the Hausa and the Gbagyi during or even before our period of

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78. Gunn and Conant, p.85.

79. Ibid. p.88

80. I have over-heard many Hausa joke with their friends by calling them Gwari.

study, whereby the Gbagyi were raided and haried to Zaria and Katsina, as they were the nearest group bordering the Hausaland.

Suffice it to say that O. Temple lumped together other groups like the Maguzawa whom he refer to as Gwarin Hausa.[81] However, scholars like Muray Last did not refer to the Maguzawa as Gwari. He explained that Gwari was "the Hausa term for these non-Maguzawa peoples" - i.e. the Gbagyi and other non-Hausa speaking peoples.[82] Similarly, Y.B. Usman maintained that there are similar traditions and folklores in parts of Kasar Hausa which refer to the earliest inhabitants of the area as giants (Samodawa, etc) or dwarfis (Gwai-Gwai, etc); and in some accounts these are said to be 'Gwari' or 'Baibai' - which only means that they are non-Hausa speakers, and located at the more wooded regions southwards, and unlike the Tuareg or Kanuri and Fulbe who are non-Hausa speakers not located in the kurmi (wooded) areas. He also argued that Gwari applied to the non-Hausa speakers living south of the Kasar Hausa.[83]

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81. C. Temple, p.123; Gunn and Conant, p.86.

82. Muray Last, "Before Zaria, the Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma), and its Successor States." in Y.B. Usman (et al), "Facts, Values and Nigerian Historiography..." 1988, p.170ff.

83. Discussion with Dr. Y.B. Usman on 28/10/91.

The significant issue to emphasise here is that, the Hausa use the name Gwari to refer to all non-Muslim/Hausa speaking groups, which seem to suggest that the Gbagyi constituted the majority in the region south of the Kasar Hausa. Some secondary sources like Temple, Gunn, etc suggest that the Gbagyi border the Hausa states of Zamfara, Katsina, Daura, Zaria, etc and were found in these cities at the eve of colonial conquest.[84] Indeed, Muray Last suggested that the population of the Gwari was substantial in the Kankuma confederation of the 11th to 14th centuries (before the rise of Zazzau which superceded it in the 14th century).[85] The KARGI manuscript also seemed to suggest that the Gwari were one of the dominant groups on the Zaria plains in the 14th century.[86] (See map 7) and even by the end of 19th century the Gbagyi were still in the majority in the region.[87] It can thus be surmised that it is as a result of this dominance in terms of population that there is a reference to them and several things often given Gwari identity or suffix. For example,

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84. O. Temple, p.123 and Gunn, p.86.

85: See footnote 82.

86: NAK SPN 172245 KARGI MANUSCRIPT: "The History of Kargi."

87: E. Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960." Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria, 1987, p.24. (unpubl.).

88. R.C. Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language. Univ. of London Press 1986.

the commonest grasshopper in Hausaland is called Gwari; the commonest type of groundnut is also called Gyadar Gwari; Gatarin Gwari - jack of all trade; hajar Gwari - jigida girdle; kudin Gwari - cowries; Gwari-gwari - state bluntly/simplified.[88]

Apart from this problem of calling or refering to some non-Gbagyi speaking groups as Gwari in the available literature, there is also the problem of using many names to refer to the Gbagyi speaking people, and unwisely dividing them into many sub-dialects. For instance, Bryan and Westernmann suggested that there are three Gbagyi dialects with different names as follows:

> GBARI GYENGUEN (Matai, Ganagana)
> GBARI YAMMA GAYEGI
> GBARI KANGYE (KWANGYE)
> Gbari (Gwari, Gwali, Goali) call themselves gbari.[89]

This problem of using these names to refer to the Gbagyi is mere semantics; what might have arisen from over-reliance of Europeans on second-hand information which they never bother to verify. Again, it is most probable that most of the informants of the

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88. R.C. Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language, University of London, Press 1946.

89. D. Westermann & M. A. Bryan, The Languages of West Africa. London, 1925, p.86.

colonialists were non-Gbagyi since the eleven (11) names are the names their neighbours i.e. the Nupe, Ebira, Kamuku, Gwandara, Koro, Ganagana and Hausa call them. It should be noted that the Gbagyi speaking people are not aware of the many dialects in the colonial historigraphy. Apart from the eleven names of the three dialects Westernmann and Bryan proposed, Temple added more dialects using six names, which are quite different from the former, i.e. "Gwarin Hausa", "Gwarin Wike", "Gwarin Waiki", "Gwarin Gabas", "Gwarin Yamma" and "Gbari Kunu." He (Temple) further contended that there are eight main Gbagyi dialects in the Niger Province alone. It is claimed that the basis for identifying the dialects was the difference in pronounciation. What Temple did was to give names of villages or regions as dialects.[90]

Like the above problem of using many names and dialects to refer to the Gbagyi, Gunn and Conant noted that even though there are two main Gbagyi dialects there are many names or sub-divisions of the two dialects as follows:

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90. Temple, pp.121, 127 and 131.

> Eastern Division: Gbari Matai (Maiyi, Matayi, Matali), or Gbari Vwezhi (- eastern); Ngenge: called Genge, Gyange or Gyeng-gyeng by Hausa (Matai fighters; Nge derived from the word frequently used.)
>
> Western Division: Gbari or Gwarin Yamma or Yemma (- H, west), or Gbari Botai (- west), or Gbari Jezhu (- west); also called Agbawyi, Gbari Wake or Waiki (Gbari of Birnin Gwari) by Eastern Gbari; Gbari Wahe or Wi by Kamuku; (Agbawyi - pamper or goat). "Gbari Bauta" or Wushishi.91

A synoptic examination of the references to Gbagyi reveal 33 names intended to differentiate the dialects and their sub-divisions - Gbagyi itself is not used. Most of these names were intended to mock the people or names used by play-mates such as the Hausa, Nupe, Kamuku, Zuru, Kadara, Koro and Gwandara. Again, Gunn and Conant realised that the references to Gbagyi dialects in directional terms like "Western" (Yamma) and "Eastern" (Gabas) was unwise since the assumed dialects were not in precise locations, as they were intermingled and interspersed by other peoples.[92] The references to directions in the description of Gbagyi dialects would seem to have been influenced by the universal conception that civilization as well as migrations, diffused from the

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91. Gunn and Conant, p.86.

92. Ibid.

east to the rest of the world - a factor of Islam - which has influenced perspectives in the Central Sudan, and hence the traditions of origins and relations.[93] In this case, it was assumed that the Genge dialect was the first to have contact with the Hausa and were more exposed to outside influences. These influences were from the northern and eastern directions i.e. the Hausaland and Borno. Thus the Genge dialect were termed the Gwarin Gabas/Eastern/ Hausa. This simply mean the Hausa-ized Gbagyi. This really reflected the high level of Hausa-ization of the Gbagyi bordering Zaria, Ikara, Chikun, Birnin Gwari, Keffi, Nasarawa and Abuja in particular. The Gbawyi dialect less influenced by Hausa culture were thus termed the Yamma/Western Gwari. Although the dialects were interspersed around Birnin Gwari, Kuta and Abuja down to Abaji, the Gbawyi dialect here were more to the south and bordered or influenced by the Gangana, Nupe, Ebira and the Kamuku. Hence the Hausa use of direction to refer to Gbawyi dialect was aimed to connote civilization than purely directions conception.

Furthermore, it can be argued that foreign reference to Gbagyi in the colonial historiography

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93. Ade Obayemi, "The Yoruba and Edo Speaking Peoples..." in Ajayi and Crowther, HWA 1 p.203.

suggest that most of the informants of the colonialists were non-Gbagyi. That is why the added meanings to the assumed dialects are derogatory used by the Hausa, Nupe and Kamuku who look-down on the Gbagyi. For instance, as Gunn and Conant have indicated the Nupe and Kamuku despise the Gbagyi and refer to them as "pauper" o· "goat".[94] These neighbours of the Gbagyi as well as other ethnic groups in Kaduna, Nina, Wushishi and Bida refer to them as "Gbari Bauta".[95] This is due to the fact that the Gbagyi have remained the major ethnic group supplying urban centres with foodstuffs and firewood. The other ethnic groups on the other hand were the professionals and traders in these centres and consequently were richer than the Gbagyi who were marginalised in the scheme of things.[96] Again, Gbagyi peasants who lived among the Nupe were called by the Nupe as ZAZI-KATI (- out-cast), or GBARI-BAUTA (- the suffering people[97] or BATACI (- peasants or second-class citizens).[98]

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94. Gunn and Conant, p.86.

95. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium: Nupe Kingdom in Nigeria. 1944, p.71.

96. Oyedele, "Gbagyi Factor in the History of Kaduna." Lokoja, 1987.

97. Nadel, loc. cit., p.71.

98. Daryll Ford, loc. cit. pp.21-22.

Another derogatory reference to Gbagyi was reported by C. Temple who claimed that the Genge dialect used to refer to Gbawyi dialect as "Gbari Kunu," kunu meaning black", on the basis that the Gbawyi are mostly dark in complexion.[99] The Genge dialect could not have refered to their Gbagyi brothers a Kunu or 'black Gbagyi' because kunu in Gbagyi language means culture and not black. Besides the Genge are also black. In addition, there are blood and cultural relationships between the two dialects that such racist reference do not exist. Thus one can see that the meanings that the Europeans attached to the names were either caused by misinformation or a preconceived notion of the Gbagyi, or both.

Furthermore, there are only two Gbagyi dialects and not many as the colonialists would want us to believe. The two dialects - Genge and Gbawyi - are the only dialects also identified by J.A. Ballard, and Hansford and others.[100] It can be argued that the anachronistic subdivision of the Gbagyi into many dialects was done deliberately by the colonialists in their bid to justify their policy of dividing

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99. Temple, p.121.

100. J.A. Ballard, pp.294-299, and Hansford (et al), loc. cit.

Gbagyi country into districts subordinated under the Emirates for easy occupation. The British refused to create Emirates for the Gbagyi for reasons which will be highlighted in chapter five.

It should be stressed here that the British classified the Gbagyi as dialects and regarded as acephalous in order to justify the policy of pagan administration, whereby alien District Heads who helped the colonialists to subdue Gbagyiland were imposed on them.[101] In addition, the problem is rooted in the way the colonialists have studied the Gbagyi which is merely superficial based on preconceived notion of Gbagyi. On the contrary the diversity of the Gbagyi is not so dominant as the literature attempts to portray it. The relevance of this analysis is its implication to our study as it sheds light on why so many references in the dominant literature were used on Gbagyi.

1.12 The Bassa-Nkomo

The Bassa-Nkomo were found in large number in the kingdom of Kurudu, with a fever in Kurape kingdom. The Bassa are known to be the closest ethnic group

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101. Gunn and Conant, p.99.

to Gbagyi. This is due to the fact that they live in the same villages and have similar culture. however, they do not have language affinities. It is interesting to note here that the neighbours of the Gbagyi and Bassankomo mock them especially in songs thus:

Da Gwari da Bassa
Bakinsu daidai
Da Gwari da Bassa
Ga kaya a doro
Sun haka rami domin uban wani
Amma nasu ya shiga.[102]

The Gbagyi and Bassa
Have one concensus
The Gbagyi and Bassa
Have load on shoulder
Have dug a pit for someone's father
But theirsfell victim.

The Bassa in Kurupe kingdom were found mainly in Zaku (Gado or Gidan Maikabulu), Alubo, Bokoko, Tanah and Gigyigbo, and in the villages along river Kokona and river Wuzye but mainly at Tanah, Dodo, Gbaga and Gbangara in Kurudu kingdom.[103] They lived by the river banks because they cherish fishing. The location of the Bassa and their dominant economic activity

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102. Alhaji Jibrin Adamu, (Sarkin Laminga) interviewed in 1992. Hausa boys in our area of study used to mock Gbagyi and Bassa with this songs.

103. Various interviews with Kura Talupwui; G1/AB/30-12-91 and with Zozyiwo.

- fishing - was recognised in one of the Gbagyi songs:

Kakai ɓolo snituko
Nuwnaa shepwuiko
Nuwnaa shepwuiko nu agbe
Kwa ce wulele
Nuwna ko ɓa wna Baha-nyiko nyi
Ko ye bebelo.[104]

A Kaka cult dancer went to the south
Water splash on him
Water splash on his shoulders
And he screemed
The water that will drawn Bassa woman
Is yet to come.

The significance of this song relate to the linguistic geography of the area as the Bassa were mostly found around Ikereku, Igu and Opanda to the south and were the dominant fishermen among the Gbagyi communities.

1.13 The Ebira

Like the Bassa, the Ebira were mainly fishermen, hence their settlements were restricted to the banks of the Benue. Other Ebira in our kingdoms lived in the market centres as they were traders. Other ethnic groups refer to them as IGBIRA, or KPOTO

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104. Interviews with Maishanu and with Zagbice Shnizashi. This song was one of the most popular dirges (AKANYI[G]) for mery-making whenever an aged was dead. AKANYI were nomally in proverbs symbolising human interaction with nature and with themselves.

(Akpoto pl.), or Kwotto.[105] There are many dialects of Ebira in the Niger-Benue Confluence area. There are the Kpoto (Nya), Tao (Okene) and Igarra).[106] The Ebira in our area of study are the Kpoto or Ebira-Nya.

1.14 The Gade

The Gade know and call themselves Baabe. Baabe (pl.), Obeni (sing.) means love one another, or unite, or unity. Gbagyi also called them Egbe (meaning the dancer). They are generally known by their neighbours - the Gbagyi, Koro, Ebira and Hausa - as Gade/Gede because they were fond of the remark Ngede - I said, and Ngedelaa - I said that.[107] Galadima Bezawu also reported that the Gade in these kingdoms can be categorised into the Gade-la-Gade in Ara-pisi; Gade-Chanchala - Gwandara who came from Kano; and Gade-Tenyi - Gade + Apoi; Apoi = Gwandara.[108] It should be stressed here that the Gade and the Gwandara in Kurudu

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105. J. Ukwedeh, Ph.D. thesis, pp.58-666 clarifies that the name AKPOTO, as used in the European Travellers' accounts, refer to the Igala, Idoma and Ebira. And the AKPOTO was the proto-language of the three. Hence, the name represents an evidence of existence of early inter-relationship of human cultures along the Niger within the vicinity of Idah and the whole area of the Niger-Benue Confluence.

106. J. Ohiare, Ph.D. thesis.

107. Interview with Aruwa Bako (25 years old) a Gade man, A.B.U. undergraduate interviewed thrice in 1992. Also see I.T. Tukura, loc.cit, p.2.

108. Interview with G1/GAT/30/12/92 at Tamah in 1991.

and Kuru-pe kingdoms are regarded as a single ethnic group and called APOI. This is due to the fact that their majority live in common villages and share common culture.

1.15 The Gwandara

The Gwandara were found mainly in Lafia, Garku, Kabusa, Lafiaro, Jau Kagarko and other Gade settlements in Keru kingdom. And in Kuru-pe kingdom they were found mainly in Kurmi, Rafin Kwaro, Uke, Tunaliyu, Gwagwa and Sabo; while they were mainly found in Are and Gade settlements in Kuruda kingdom.[109]

1.16 The Hausa

The Gbagyi in our area of study used to call the Hausa OGWE (pl. AGWE), and Hausa language as ESHE. The Hausa who were mostly traders and artisans were found mainly in the trading centres. Some of the permanent Hausa settlements in the area of study only developed in the late 19th century. Some of these

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109. NAK 1567/1915 "Keru District, Assessment Report on." by Morgan; and interviews with Baba Are and Salihu Mohammed from Are and Kurshi respectively.

were Keffi, Lamingo, Gwanja (5km east of Lurmara), Narmara, Gunki, Shenaye, Saaka, Dansa, Toto and Zonga.[110] Hausa traders were evenly distributed in the kingdoms as they were engaged in various trades like leather works, dyeing, weaving, butchering, music, magic, barbing, marking (body marks), building, hunting, fishing, medicine, carriers and water suppliers. Most of them prefered to live in their quarters - ZANGO (trading quarters and strangers' lodge). They normally lived in separate quarters because they wanted to avoid Gbagyi religions.[111]

One of the advantages the Hausa had on the other ethnic groups in this area was the fact that they had travelled wide, hence they were quite eloquent, adventurous and politically more conscious. In fact, the Hausa traders and butchers were often deceptive, hence the other ethnic groups did not tend to trust them. Generally, the muslim Hausa look-down on the 'pagan' groups even when they had better living standard. For instance, some of these traders bought arables from their 'pagan' neighbours mostly on credit, which they often fail to liquidate. Hence the other ethnic groups used to refer to the Hausa traders as "Bahaushe

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110. Interviews with Sa-Danayi Ayuba Tukura and other chiefs on 22/10/92 (C1/Chiefs/22/10/92).

111. See Ashna in the Glosary.

mai bada Hausbi", meaning "Hausa person moneys.' And most of the 'pagan' converts (who become muslims) were termed by their kins as sell-outs.[112]

It should be stressed that the Hausa influenced the economy and culture of the region. They also were very instrumental to the series of political contradictions that characterised 19th century developments in the region.

1.17 The Fulani

A significant number of the Fulani moved into the region in the 19th century. They settled mostly in Karu and Kurape kingdoms. They were probably fewer in Kurudu kingdom because the area had heavier rains which affected their cattles.

The Fulani can be categorised into four groups. There were the settled Fulani who spoke some Hausa and were called AGWE-BEI[G] or AGWAI[H]. The other category was the Tintimawa and Yagwamawa clans[113] whom

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112. Various interviews with Aruwa Maishanu, Galadima, Daso and Kura in 1992.

113. Y.B. Usman, "A Reconsideration of the Relationship ..." pp.27-29 reveal that some Fulani groups like the Danji, the Baawa, the Yermawa, the Dallazawa, Dangawa, Tintimawa, and the Gallawa came from around Borno into Hausaland in the 18th century. Local histories collected by Walid Jibrin the Dangi of Nassarawa, Sarkin Fulanin Nassarawa, Ciroman Fulanin Karmara, ACK UNTITEL Kaduna agrees with Y.B. Usman, and reports that the settled Fulani of Keffi and Karmara were Dangi clan who left Borno area in the 18th century, settled at Yan Tumaki and migrated southwards to the confluence area in the 19th century. See Walid Jibrin, "TARIHIN DANGAWA DAGA 'YAN TUMAKI" a paper presented at Nassarawa in 1992 when Walid Jibrin was turbaned as the Dangi of Nassarawa.

the Chuprt called BOICLO or BOLOCOJE or Jomjom or Wrajam (meaning people fo-n of Warue and Jom). They hardly stayed for more than one month in a place except in the months of August and September due to heavy down-pour that affected movements. This group were more nomadic than the AGWAI pastoralists who could stay or settle for years at a particular spot. The ABOICLO (pl) had more cattles and were timid. Their cattles were cheaper than the Agwai's. Similarly, they produced purer and cheaper milk (NONO). Agwai women used to dilute their Nono because they had little for sell. It is also believed that the Agwai love money like the Hausa. The BOLOLO did not bother much about religion hence they were not as learned as the Agwai who must have had a taste of Islamic or Quaranic Education. The cattle of the BOICLO often caused a lot of destruction to farm crops.[114]

The other category was the ABOKOLO or AJEI[G]. They were thought to be refuges from Niger and Chad Republics. Like the ABOLOLO, the ABOKOLO never stayed in any place for more than a week. They move about with huge, black and spotted cattles which were fears and destructive. They always had clashes with farmers.[115]

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114. Interviews on various dates with Aruwa Maishanu, Daso, Kure Adoge and Sakurapei Anyitomizai.

115. Ibid.

The Gbagyi were more friendly with the Agwai as they settledin the bush or in fallow land between Gbagyi farms for months. They also requested the Gbagyi for land to farm in order to augment their livelihood/income. Some of them were muslim scholars who attracted clients as they claimed to be good in quoting Quaran as charms that bring success. It should however be noted that some Gbagyi in Kurepe and Karu kingdoms, like those in Kuta, kept cattles (LUTURU stock). They also kept some of their cattles with the AGWAI some of which were embezzled by them.

On the whole, the coming of the Fulanis was significant to the historical developments in the kingdom, as they influenced new economic ties and ecological changes as shall be highlighted in chapter four.

1.18 The Other Ethnic Groups

The other ethnic groups that were found in Karu kingdom were the Yeskwa, Koro and Jaba whose main abodes bordered the kingdom to the north. The Yeskwa are settled between the Kagoma people and the Gbagyi (see maps 4 and 5). They were interspersed by the Jaba, Koro and Gwandara. And they have great cultural affinities with the Gbagyi.

There was a settlement of Kanuri or Beriberi in Kurape kingdom. This was Pagaji (10 kilometres north of Keffi).

The history of origins of these groups will be discussed in chapters two and four.

1.19 Conclusion

The history of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms developed under a definite environment condition, a condition which influenced their social and economic relationships. It is therefore necessary to examine closely these environmental factors in order to meaningfully understand the history of the region. We have therefore examined the locations and sizes of the kingdoms, the implication of the climate, flora, fauna, soils and relief among other things on the settlement and economy of the region. It was stressed that the wealth of the people in the area was largely produced from the available resources of the environment. The resources attracted immigrants and also influenced economic and social relations of the people. Hence, the human and physical geography at the area influenced human interaction from within and with neighbouring region. The environmental opportunities reveal the possibilities of human history and continuity. The outcome of human interaction with the environment like

agriculture, crafts, hunting and fishing subsequented population increase and the platforms for socio-economic and poli ical relations, and the basis for unity and bilateral ties. We have also discussed the peoples that inhabited the kingdoms, the demographic data and the diverse and heterogeneous nature of the kingdoms.

With this background chapter the next chapter will examine the origins of the kingdoms, pre-dynastic economy of the polities and the linkages between the various settlements in the region.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

2.1 Introduction

In the last chapter we focused on the ecological factors and the peoples that inhabited the region. We discussed among other things the influence of the environment on socio-economic and political developments in the area. This chapter shall focus on the origins of the people and their pre-dynastic economy and political organization.

2.2 Explanations of the Origin of the Kingdoms in the Colonial Historiography

In the first place it should be pointed out that anthropological studies have greatly influenced subsequent studies on the Gbagyi. Colonial historiography has traced the origins of the Gbagyi to either Hausaland or Borno as with several other ethnic groups. For instance, W. Morgan reported in 1912 that the Koro and Gbagyi "claim to have come Westward, being driven out by the Beriberi in their old home

/Borno/."[1] Similarly, N.F. Nadel concluded that the "Gbagyi came originally from Borno and are Beriberi in origin and spoke Beriberi."[2]

Although there is no linguistic similarity between the Gbagyi and Beriberi, some cultural similarities between the two groups seem to support the claim.[3] However, it is clear from the reports that the view that the Gbagyi came from Borno and beyond is part of the hamitic hypothesis.[4] This is evident in the report of H.F. Backwell who emphasised that

> Borno is their /Gbagyi/ traditional country of origin, and the Gwari Genge of Abuja claim to be of Egyptian descent and treasure a substance resembling lapis lazuli which is said to have been brought from Egypt...[5]

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1. W. Morgan, (Assistant Resident, Abuja Division) "Ethnographical and Historical Notes in Resident Nassarawa's Memorandum No.565/N 20/8/1912.

2. Nadel, "MS Notes on Gbari of Kuta, Minna and Bosso." 1936, p.1.

3. SEE APPENDIX 1.
C.K. Meek, The Northern Tribes... reveal striking cultural similarities between the Gbagyi and Maguzawa, Kutumbawa, Kerkeri, Dakarkari and Kanuri.

4. B.A.Ogot, (ed) Zamani, A Survey of East African History, Longman, London, 1974, pp.95-97, clarified that the hamitic influence is a racist perspective which unduely attribute civilization, technology and political organization in Africa to European-like and Shepherd people who are believed to be more intelligent than NEGROES. Hence, the colonialist thought that the founders of Kingdoms in our region had a tint of white blood, i.e. the Fulani, Arabs, Berbers, Tuaregs, and the groups who claim to have come from Northern Africa, were thought to be more superior than the indigenous group/peoples.

5. Extract from M.P. No.1, 671 Vol.1, 3148, p.31. By H.F. Backwell, Res. Niger Province.

Apart from the fact that colonial perspective of African society was hamitic and racist, it is also very probable that the colonial anthropologists were mis-informed in the traditions they collected. For instance, the Gbagyi and Koro traditions claim that they were close society, abokan wasa,[H] in which the Koro and the Gbagyi called each other names like slaves, servants, and so on, and in which they demanded token fees.[6] This social tie was misunderstood by the colonialists

as real and true. And since colonialists prefered muslim Koro to 'pagan' Gbagyi in their administrative scheme, they merely translated the traditions literally to justify their actions. For example, W. Morgan reported that

> In all cases where Gwari and Koro live close together the Gwari acknowledges the superiority of the Koro... The immigration of the two races possibly took place at the same time; or the Gwaris followed the Koro... In their old home /Borno/, as here /Gbagyiland/ the Gwari are said to have been Talakawa of the Koro.[7]

Smallwood also stated that the Gwari in our region

"affirm that they have always been subservient to the

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6. C.K. Meek, p.213. The jocking relationship involving calling others names was prevalent in the whole of Central Sudan.

7. W. Morgan, NAK, No.565/N., 1912.

Koro and they came with them from Borno."[8] This claim seem to be an uncritical acceptance of the traditions and to justify colonial policies.

It is important to stress here that the hamitic hypothesis gained emphasis from the various works of H.R. Palmer the Lt. Governor of the then N. Province of Nigeria (1919). This can be clearly seen in his introductory remark/note to most anthropological works.[9] Following on this the colonial Gazetters amplified on this view of origins for the peoples of Nigeria.[10] Besides, the anthropological notes also give the impression that our region up to C.1750 A.D. was empty.[11]

This colonial perspective was uncritically accepted by some Gbagyi scholars who expanded on the hypothesis. For instance, Ishaku Baraje Diko uncritically accepted the traditions claiming that the region was empty and the Gbagyi came from the Middle East:

> It is believed that ... Gbagyi lived in Saudi Arabia and later migrated into Africa... At the time when Islam was brought to Mecca and Medina many people began to change their religion but the Gbagyi continued with their idol worshiping, when the Islamic religion spread in the country the Gbagyi left Saudi Arabia. They crossed to Africa in small groups and later came to Borno where they settled for many years... with Kanuri/Beriberi and other ethnic groups...[12]

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8. NAK K3148, "General Notes on the Gwari Tribes of Keffi Emirate." By Smallwood, p.1.

9. See the works of Meek, A Sudaneese Kingdom,..(1931) & Tribal Studies,..

10. Kirk-Green, (ed), Gazetteers of Northern Provinces of Niger a (2 vol.).

11. Temple, loc.cit.

12. I. Baraje Diko, Gbagyi/Gwari Culture. Kaduna, p.1.

These views are mere speculations since it is not corroborated by other primary sources. Also, there is no linguistic affinity between Gbagyi language and that of Kanuri. (See Appendix 1).

It is interesting to note that in support of outside origin for the Gbagyi, some scholars have argued that the Gbagyi and some Niger-Congo speaking groups were pushed down from the North as a result of the invasion of the Chadic language speaking peoples.[13] Some scholars go further to speculate dates for such migrations. Larry and Magaji hazard that the Gbagyi movement started in the 12th century when some North African migrants forced them from what is now Hausaland to Gbagyiland.[14] N.F. Byanyiko gave a later date. He remarked that the

> Gbagyi migrated from the Chadian region into Borno about 1400 A.D. They later migrated southwards from Borno into Kano... [from where] they moved further south into ... Zaria by 1700 A.D.[15]

Similarly, some oral accounts claim that the Gbagyi came from Hausaland particularly Kano and Zaria.[16]

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13. Nehemia Left-Zion, "The Early States of Western Sudan to 1500 A.D.," and I.J. Magogunje, "The Land and Peoples of West Africa." in Ajayi and Crowther, HWA I, Long., 1971, p.17.

14. Larry, H.M. and Magaji, D.M. Essentials of Gbagyi Grammar. Ibadan, 1970, p.5.

15. N.F. Byanyiko, Topics on Gbagyi History. p.10 op.cit

16. Interviews on various dates with Bitrus Narai, Pastor Tukura Madaki and Dogara Tutu in 1991.

This might be an attempt to stress the ties between the Gbagyi and the Hausa. This will be discussed later in the proceeding analysis.

However, it seems to me that these views are intentional. It is very clear that the colonialists wanted to justify their policies which amalgamated many ethnic groups into large administrative units under the headship of muslims. That is why there are apparent contradictions in their accounts. For instance, on the eve of the colonial conquest of Gbagyiland Mr. Morgan assumed that the Gbagyi acknowledged the superiority of the Koro.[17] In 1915 three years later the same administrator reported a contradictory tradition (which certainly reflected the justification of colonial rule and changing policies) that

> all the above villages /in Karu District/ were independent of each other /before the conquest/... (each Gbagyi village had its separate collector of tributes to Zaria, and paying Keffi gaisua, but the Koro refused doing either)... In this tradition may perhaps be found the reason for the fact that the Koro authority does not extend over the neighbouring Gwaris here as is invariably the case in Abuja division. /my emphasis/[18]

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17. NAK No.565/N 20/8/1912. by Morgan.

18. NAK No.1567/1915 "Karu District - Assessment Report on." by Morgan, pp.1-2 op.cit.

Apart from the contradiction that can be noted from the two reports written by the same author, it can be argued that the Gbagyi and Koro have not been together for very long. Had they been in the same settlements for many centuries where Gbagyi greatly out number them, the Koros would have lost their language and culture for Gbagyi. Apart from their cultural dissimilarity, Sule Mohammed also argued that the Gbagyi and Koro could not have come from Borno or Saudi Arabia. He based his arguement from the fact that the Koro and Gbagyi do not speak Arabic nor Kanuri (see Appendix 1) a clue to the claim that they came from there.[19] Based on linguistic evidence it can be argued that the Gbagyi as well as other Kwa language groups around the Niger-Benue confluence could not have migrated to their present abode from the East or Borno. Some scholars like Ade Obayemi, Stanford (et.al), Armstrong and K. Williamson[20]

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19. Sule Mohammed, pp.30-39.

20. Ade Obayemi, "The Yoruba and Edo Speaking Peoples and their Neighbours before 1600 A.D." in Ajayi and Crowther, (eds) HWA I, London, 1979, p.201; Hansford, Bendor-Samuel and Stanford, "A Provisional Language Map of Nigeria," in SAVANNA, V:2 1976, pp.122-125; K.Williams, "Indigeneous Languages of the Niger-Benue Confluence Region: Their Classification and its Implications for Pre-history." Paper presented at the Conference on Confluence Nigerias, Sept-Oct., 1987 at Lokoja, pp.2-3; J.H. Greenberg, Languages of Africa, Hauge, 1966, p.22; Armstrong, "The Use of Linguistic and Ethnographic Data in the Study of Idoma and Yoruba History." in J. Vansina (et.al) The Historian in Tropical Africa, London, 1969, p.132 and Armstrong, "Glottochronology and African Linguistics." in JAH iii: 2, 1962, pp.283-290.

associated the Gbagyi language with KWA group of languages (Williamson regrouped them under the Benue-Congo) like the Yoruba, Nupe, Igala, Ebira, Idoma, Gade and Arago which separation period varied between 1,500-6,000 years ago. And a provisional map of Nigerian languages by Stanford (et al) reveal that the Koro and Gbagyi do not belong to the same linguistic classification neither with Kanuri, Gbagyi language belong to the KWA group while Koro belong to the Benue-Congo. Kanuri on the other hand belong to the Nilo-Sahara language group. Thus from this linguistic evidence it is clear that the Gbagyi, Koro and Kanuri could not have been together. And in line with this view traditions collected among the Koros show that they migrated into Gbagyiland following Jihadist raids into Yeskwa district in the 19th century.[21]

It is based on this linguistic evidence which suggest that the Gbagyi speaking groups must have lived in the Niger-Benue confluence for many centuries, that the stand of the colonial historiography and any other tradition which seeks for the origin of the Gbagyi from outside their present home should be examined. Some scholarly assessment of the traditions

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21. Naibi and Hassan, Gwari, Gade and Koro Tribes. pp.40-44;
Interviews with David Efuna, (Chairman Karu LGC, Plateau State) in 1992.

seeking for the origins of the peoples in the central Nigerian area found that such traditions are recent formulations. For instance, A. Obayemi noted that some people have the propensity of building up traditions of prestigious outside origins to serve the legitimate function of the ruling class. This was an attempt by the ruling class to define their identity in a way that set them apart from groups over whom they had established their rule.[22] Sule Mohammed also noted that such traditions are mere palace accounts which knit their origins to celebrated centres of Islam in order to derive security from the 19th century jihadists.[23] Similarly, Ohiare argued that most of the traditions in our area of study are serio-type, and "have the tendency of substituting the origin of the dominant group either culturally, or politically, for that of the whole."[24] In this case, it could be argued that the traditions of the peoples of the Middle Belt of Nigerian area have been influenced by traditions from outside which tend to look-down on local traditions, this in turn

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22. Ade Obayemi, loc.cit, pp.98-99.

23. Sule Mohammed, pp.42-46.

24. Ohiare, p.4. Abdullahi Smith (see A Little New Light. Edited by Kwanashie G. (et al.), Gaskiya, 1987, p.24), drew our attention to the fact that there is need for scholars to question the validity, authenticity, reliability and antiquity of traditions of origins. He noted that the illiterate Africans who do not know the details of their remote ancestry invent myths of celebrated ancestors in order to justify their present claims to social distinction. Similarly, the educated African muslims are unscruplous and can purposely falsify their ancestry in order to decei

led to the changing nature of the traditions in order to suit universal perspectives. Hence, it is difficult to belief the postulation of Sule Mohammed that 'alien' Borno and Hausa conquistadors came and "established themselves as rulers over the Gbagyi", and the 'Borno Arab' and his Katsina-blood woman came to constitute "the line of chiefs than to the descendants of Gbagyi."[25] Similarly, Naibi and Hassan collected some traditions which claim that the rulers of Diko were descendants of Jarawa and Kanuri tribes while the rest Gbagyi around Abuja migrated from Kano and Zaria Provinces,[26] which should not be accepted at face value.

It is important to stress here that we are not dismissing the claim that some group of Hausa or Kanuri or Gbagyi who were in Hausaland migrated into Gbagyiland and were assimilated as Gbagyi.[27] Our arguement is that the Niger-Benue confluence could have not remained vacant until the 18th century when some groups migrated into the area to found Gbagyi language and polities since archaeological evidence with linguistic evidence suggest that Gbagyi people

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25. Sule Mohammed., pp.58-62.
26. Naibi and Hassan, pp.2-4.
27. Sule Mohammed, pp.94-106.

have been where they are for about 6,000 years ago. Although there was immigration into Gbagyiland the 18th and 19th century was not the beginning of human habitation of the region.

2.3 The Origins of Karu

Here, we shall critically examine the traditions of origins of Karu. For instance, we shall focus on internal evidence such as the earliest settlers into the area from which the present demographic profile of the region might be said to be a logical development. Karu settlement derived its name from a hero called Karu. Bitrus Narai collected some traditions which claimed that KARU was a brother to one Queen Amina of Zaza (Zazzau or Zaria) who migrated southward. He left Zaria in about c.1400 A.D. to Dotoo (Angwan Karofi of present-day Keffi). Karu and his people later left Dotoo in c.1500 to Maraba hill (about 15 kilometres east of Kurape). It is claimed that Karu died at Maraba at the age of 150. His descendants migrated further southward to found old Karu in the forest, in c.1600. The tradition further states that Karu settlement in the forest grew in size and had a population of about 5,000 by the beginning of the 19th century. Not all the people left Dotoo. And

other migrants from all directions joined Dotoo and founded new wards like Pe-biyi (meaning small hill - compared to bigger hills of Kurape and Gyinu) from which the name Keffi was derived, Reno near river Antau/Anyinutom and Kupan-Gwari south of Dotoo. These settlements are claimed to have been purely Gbagyi's, and they grew in size and merged into one settlement which was later named Piyaako, meaning urban centre. This development happened when Karu had long left Dotoo. It is also claimed that until his death at Maraba Karu maintained his ties with Queen Amina by sending to her yearly gifts/gaisuwa of 100 slaves.[28]

The chronology of this version is doubtful and seem to be stressing the 19th century episodes when the region received waves of new immigrations and new alliances. This view seem to be most probable because the available traditions in Zaria that corroborate very Gbagyi relations with Zaria do not go beyond the 19th century. Hence, the tradition might be an attempt by the Karu rulling class to link its origin to Zaria and Keffi in order to stress their alliance of the

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28. Interview with Bitrus Narai on 7/1/92. Bitrus Narai has collected a lot of oral information on the history of Karu with a view to documenting them. He is about 42 years old and a judge with Plateau State.

1850s when the Zaria forces based at Keffi sought Karu support against Abuja.[29] It is very probable, too, that Karu sent slaves to Zaria only in the 19th century, by which time it had successfully severed its ties from Kurape. Also, the number of slaves said to have been sent as tributes to Zaria must have been exaggerated.

There are other traditions which claim that Karu settlement was founded by a group of migrants who lived in Kago and Padan-Gwari near Zaria. The migrants were led by Kago the eldest among them and his younger brother named Karu and arrived at Karu settlement in 1600. The settlement was named after the younger brothers who became the head of the settlement while his elder brother moved to Kurape village in 1720 which was already occupied by Gbagyi. This tradition further claims that they came through Jere settlement before they arrived at Karu, and that the migration was caused by Fulani raids.[30] Smallwood also collected some traditions which agrees with the one above reported by Daniel Z. Zee, and claims that the founders of Karu and Kurape were two brothers from Jere. Smallwood believed that the two settlements

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30. Daniel Zakwoi Zee, "The History of Kurape Chiefdom." a MEMO to the Sec., Uke LGA, Plateaus State, dated 19/11/1981. Daniel Zee is SEO, Rubochi Development Area FCT.

29. GI/GAT; KCDT; GI/AMT

were founded before 1750. Similarly, some title holders in Karu district claimed that all Gbagyi speaking people originated from around Kano and Katsina, but migrated to Zaria during the reign of a queen they called "Amina" in 1536. That the Queen of Zaria was also in control of Bakwa and Turunku at that time. Later they moved to Birnin Gwari from where they dispersed to the confluence area due to Fulani raids. This tradition also claimed that it was these migrants who founded Karu in 1600, and were brought under the suzereign of Queen Amina in 1689.[31]

Like Bitrus Narai's report, these traditions seem to me to be speculated in the 19th century to stress the confederal ties or bilateral ties between Zaria and Gbagyiland, particularly when Zaria was campaigning against the establishment of Abuja and sought the support of Karu and Keffi against Abuja. It might also be an attempt by the Karu ruling class to try to link its origin to Zaria to obtain security against the jihadists. Since the traditions claim that the major cause for the migrations was Fulani raids, it must be refering to the jihadist activities of the 19th century as there are no traditions of Fulani raids before the jihad.

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31. NAK 3148/1932, "General Notes on the Gwari of Keffi Emirate." by Smallwood, p.1; "Karu Traditional Headship" a NEMO to the Military Governor, Plateau State, 16/5/1975, signed by 12 people from Karu District Headquarter. This tradition strikingly corroborate with another collected from Zaria (Arnett, Gazetteer of Zaria Prov., 1920 pp.8-9), claiming that Zaria town was founded by Bakwa Turunku, the 22nd ruler c.1536 in the chronicles of Zaria, when he moved away from Turunku. Zaria was named after his second daughter, whose elder sister by name Amina later ruled the settlement. Despite the corr-

There are other variants of the above focus to external origin of Karu. There are also traditions which report that the ruling house of Karu hailed from Kurape.[32] Sakurapei (King of Kurape) Anyitomizai Tukura Mamwawye reported that the founder of Karu (Cilayi Kalu c.1777-1809?) was an elder brother to Sakurapei Tutugye (c.1773-1793) who left Kurape after some political tussle in the palace and in search of farmland.[33] In fact, the traditions collected by Bitrus Narai corroborate this view, it further claims that the founder of Karu was an uncle of one of the rulers of Kurape. This is reflected in the relationship between Karu and Kurape as the people of Kurape call their Karu kinsmen Ayakoi (meaning uncles).[34]

It is important to note here that the site of the present capital of Karu kingdom had changed over time while retaining its name. The report of Bitrus Narai corroborated by Smallwood reveal that the founders of Karu once lived in Dotoo, from there to Maraba hill near Kurape, thereafter Karu was founded.[35] Smallwood also disclosed that sleeping sickness compelled the

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oboration, the date claimed by Karu people as the date of their arrival does not agree with the date Amina ruled as in the tradition collected in Zaria. It might be very likely that some of the story tellers in Karu might have learnt of this tradition in secondary sources which they knitted to their origin. This could be so since no tradition of migration could specify 1536 as the date of Gbagyi arrival at Zaria, even by this time Zaria had not been found. Hence the story from Karu is a stereo-type. Also see fn 28.

32. Various interviews with Iliya Diko (the Gen. Man. Jo market) as 3-9-91 and GI/PNK/1990.
33. GI/Osu ATM/1980; 1990.
34. GI/BN/7-1-1990.
35. ibid.

inhabitants of Karu to change the location of the settlement three times.[36] Regrettably however, these old sites of Karu which are located in the forest have not yet been excavated by archaeologists. We would have to await archaeological studies of these sites to establish their antiquity. What is very clear in the traditions is the fact that the inhabitants of Karu came from various places: these include Kurape area, Keffi area, and from around Jere and Abuja. It would also seem that Karu received more waves of immigration in the 18th and 19th centuries. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapters three and four.

With regards to the other Gbagyi settlements around Karu, it is claimed that most of them were founded by migrants from the kingdom of Kurape, who fled from the raids of the kings of Kurape in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, oral tradition claims that there were some Gbagyi settlements in the region that were as old as Karu, and were significant in the evolution of kingship institution of Karu. Some of these settlements were Peei (Geleci), Waru, Wushapa, Znumwa/Zuba, Kabusa (whose migrants founded Pyaakasa in the 19th century), Gurku, Aso, Kuchikau, Kugbaru, Oba, Kurudu, Koti, Chilaakpa, Barai, Taknushara, Kohodalo, Dube, Kpaku, Mitama and others.[37] We will

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36. Smallwood, p.5.

37. Interview with Sakarui Ishaku Baba on 26/4/92, and with Zaka Gaza Pyakasa (70 years old), same date.

discuss how these settlements became incorporated into the kingdom of Karu in the next chapter.

2.4 The Origins of Kurape

Daniel Zee in his accounts claimed that Kurape settlement predate 1600 A.D. and was originally inhabited by Gbagyi people. He again claimed that the Gbagyi of Kurape were joined by some migrants from Zaria area. This group of migrants was led by Kago (a name derived from the former town near Zaria). They left Kago and Padan-Gwari in 1600 and passed through Jere, Karu (where he left his brother the first ruler of Karu) and joined Kurape (already occupied by Gbagyi people) in 1600 . Kago then became the ruler of Karu for 81 years - 1600 - 1686.[38] This tradition did not give any date for the founding of Kurape settlement. It was claimed that they left Kago and Padan Gwari to escape Fulani raids, and that the group was led by the eldest man - KAGO. It seems to me that this tradition merely seeks to stress some relationships between Zaria, Jere, Karu and Kurape polities in the 18th and 19th centuries and stories of immigrations into Kurape. That might be why the report of Smallwood corroborated that the settlement was founded much earlier than 1750 by some migrants from Jere.[39] However, the antiquity of this

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38. Daniel Zakwoi Zee, loc. cit. pp.1-2.

39. Smallwood, p.1.

tradition is doubtful. Kago who is assumed to have been the eldest of the migrants could not have reigned for so long.

It is interesting to note that there are traditions that claim that creation started inside Kurape hill from there to other parts of the world.[40] This tradition can be dissmissed as merely suggesting that the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of Kurape canno be known. And that only the migration stories of new commers can be known, or stories of people leaving Kurape to found other settlements.

However, the antiquity of Kurape settlement on the hill can only be ascertained by archaeologists. It is clear in the traditions that Kurape received large number of immigrants in the early 17th century. Its urbanization process will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is interesting to note here that most Gbagyi settlements between Karu down to Kurudu area trace their origin to Kurape. Some of the oldest settlements that were influential in the emergence of Kurape kingship institution were Gbosopi, Shachipi (they are now extinct), Galukokninya, Shadnagnu, Wuza, Peze, Kpataluma, Gado, Alubo, Zabutu, Wuzye, Wuke,

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40. Group interview with Kande Maishanu, Ondai and Zhima Maishanu on 3/2/89 at Aruwa's house, Laminga (GI/KM/3-2-89).

that took place in our region, the bilateral and cultural ties among these kingdoms, the economic relations and confederal ties particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Also, the tradition might be seeking to emphasise the incorporation of Peyaako (Ara area) into Kurudu kingdom.

A similar tradition claim that the founders of Kurudu hail from a village called Gorom near Zaria. That the migrants were led by Kugnazyi and his nephew Lukagyi.[43] This version, too, might be trying to reflect the 19th century relationship between Kurudu and Zaria when king Kugnazyi imported his horses from Zaria.[44] These traditions might be an attempt by Kurudu rulling class to trace their origin from outside in order to look superior to the indegenous group.

A variant of these traditions claim that the founders of Kurudu were migrants from Kurape who fled the repressions of Kurape kings in the 18th century.[45] The cultural relationship between Kurudu and Kurape seem to reflect the fact that the two have common origin. It is evident in the traditions that Kurudu, like Karu and Kurape, received waves of migrations during the period in question.

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43. Group interview with Pastor Tukura Madaki, Ladi Tukura and Nupuyi Tukura 1/1/92 (GI/TM/1-1-92).

44. Interviews with Sakuruduyi (king of Kurudu) Nyazaazyi Amadu Alkali on various days. GI/Osu MAD/I-I-92.

45. GI/PMK/1980; KGTD & GI/TM/I-I-92

However, the oral traditions are clear that some settlements around Kurudu were founded at the same time or even older than Kurudu. Some of these old or ancient settlements are Gbagba (whose migrants founded present-day Dogon Dutse), Degede, Zyitwuigna, Zokutu, Wacei (which was near Arapisi), Gyinu/Kupan Gwari, Peyaako, Pebiyi/Arapisi, Chidoko and Gbisibmi. Other ancient settlements include Daache, Kolomu, Gora, Myachi (formerly called Pangaji/Paakoto), Dodo, Buga, Mizyaga, Chidoko and others. The migrants of Peyaako founded Tuluwa and Pasali also called Bmuknukni. The founders of Tamah were from Ikereku, Lugbe and Kurape; and Azyaga was founded by a man called Azyaga from Peyaako. The traditions on the founding of these settlements did not give us reliable dates for ascertaining their antiquity.[46]

The lineage chief of Yelwa near Toto migrated from the Abuja area (before the establishment of Suleja/Abuja) to settle first at Tako, then at Zokutu, then at Chido, then Gova, then left to found Yelwa.

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46. Group interview with traditional rulers: Nyazazyi Amadu Sakuruduyi, Alakali Chief of Kurudu, Tijani Kwoto Village Head of A/Habibu. Ayuba Tukuru Village Head of Dana, Giwa Gmibwayi Village Head of Pasali, Joshua Galadima Village Head of Dogon Dutse, Awuba Anyidaakuzo Village Head of Tamah, Dausa Giwa Village Head of Gora, Jambowu Village Head of Gwari Laminga, Maikasuwa Kaka Village Head of Nahuce. Zyami Village Head of Gwaita, Tanko Damyiwyi Village Head of Araba/Majawal, Zagagyi Zakoi Village Head of Azyaga, Shetubo Alache Village Head of Dumu, Akawu Galadima (Secretary NRC Nass. LGA) from Ara, Dauda Padawa, (Councillor) and Husaini Gajere (Council). They were interviewed at NASS. LGC Chamber on 12/10/92. (GI/Village Head/12/10/92).

Other old settlements south of Yelwa are Chikara, Tawari, Madeci, Warakata, Anyigiji, Rubochi, Kulo, Chika and Luku.[47]

2.6 Origin of the Bassankomo

There are however different views in the literature on the origin of the Bassa. Some colonial anthropologists reported that the Bassa (not indicating whether it is both Bassange and Bassankomo or either) are a scion of the Fulani, and still had cattle and practiced 'SHARUP' up to the beginning of the 20th century.[48] Some Bassankomo oral informants seem to corroborate this claim, that they are a scion of Fulani.[49] This claim seems to me to have evolved from the etymological derivation and interpretation of the name Bassa in Hausa meaning no cattle (Ba = no, sa = cattle). This is similar to that of the Tiv/Munci who claim that the meaning of their name is that we have eaten up - the cattle - in Hausa. As at now we do not have any scientific data to show any blood connection between

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47. Various interviews with Habu Shekoshawye (100 years) Chief of Yelwa, in 1989, 1990. GI/Osu HS/I6-4-89.

48. Temple, O. pp.40-41.

49. Interview with Bamayi Wakili, A. Bassankomo, at Marmara on 5/1/92.

the Bassa and the Fulani nor the Tiv and the Fulani. Some traditions collected by Crowther reported that the Bassa (not specifying which dialect) migrated to the area they now occupy from Gabi near Zaria, and from Gumna (Kwongoma). It is claimed that they arrived at their abodes long before the 19th century. This tradition contends that they migrated to Kontagora area and later to Lokoja area.[50b] Agreeing with the colonial historiography, Yakubu Habi and Wabare Paul argued that the spread of Bassange from Nupeland across river Niger to Egga was caused as a result of the political tussle between the princes and the jihadists' intervention in Nupeland in the 19th century.[51]

The Bassange around Ikereku and Kurudu claim that they have common source with the Gbagyi, namely the area around Zaria.[52] It is based on these migration stories of the Bassa that J.A. Ballard deduced some tentative linguistic inferences which seem to support the migration of Bassa people from around Zaria across

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50b. Crowther and Tailor, The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger: Journal and Notices of Native Missionaries Accompanying the Niger Expedition of 1857-1859. London, 1960, p.70: J. Ohiare, p.58; Gunn and Conant, p.58. cf. Crowther, Journal of... 1854, pp. 61-64 & 201.

51. Yakubu Habi, The People Called Bassange. A.B.U. Zaria, 1982, pp.1-8 and Wabare Paul, The Bassa Speaking People of Nigeria. A.B.U Press, 1993.

52. Interviews with Joseph Opango D., who has attempted collecting and documenting the oral traditions of the Bassa in Nassarawa and Benue Provinces. He is about 70 years old.

Gbagyiland to Niger-Benue Confluence area.[53] It is most probable that this claim of common origin for Gbagyi and Bassa might have been influenced by their long contact and cultural similarity. But linguistic evidence of the two languages does not indicate any closeness between Bankomo in our area of study and Gbagyi language. (See Appendix I). However, the Bassange language is closest to Nupe and Gbagyi. Standard's mapping shows that Bassange (Bassa Kaduna) and Bassankomo belong to the Benue-Congo group of Languages whereas Gbagyi belong to the KWA group of languages.[54] One can therefore argue that had the Bassa been with the Gbagyi for a long time (as is claimed in the oral tradition) their language at least would have been very similar. Besides, the north-south direction of migration of the Bassa from Zaria to the Niger-Benue confluence is yet to be ascertained. A close look at the Bassange and Bassankomo languages reveal a surprise difference, and should not be grouped into one language (See Appendix I). It is very probably that lumping them together was influenced by the traditions of the Bassa which claim Gumna as their home of origin,[55] and not based on true linguistic or cultural studies.

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53. J. A Ballard, passim, p.299.
54. Stanford (et al), p.125.
55. See footnotes 48 and 50.

However, the Bassa of Bokoko one of the oldest Bassa settlements in Kurape kingdom maintain that the family of Alesa left the suburb of Kurape to found Bokoko over 200 years ago.[56] This version is corroborated by another tradition that claim that the Bassa in the southern part of Kurape were living at the bank of the stream called Tonai (some few kilometres north of Kurape town).[57] Another variant of this tradition contend that the Bassa in Gigyigbo and Bokoko came from Tama (10km north of Nassarawa). This tradition also assume that Tamah was the oldest Bassa settlement, from where they spread to other settlements close to the Gbagyi. This version claims that the Bassa came along river Kokona to Tamah, from where some of them were forced back to Umaisha area.[58] Another tradition claims that the Bassa had been within the Niger-Benue Confluence area for a very long time, hence they could not have come from elsewhere. And that the Bassa who founded Umaisha were the clans of Baace and Kaka the fore-fathers of Azyiya who once ruled Umaisha.[59] Some oral traditions also claim that

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56. Interview with Bamayi Wakili Azazeci Tazawa Alesa (30 years old) on 5/1/92.

57. GI/AB/30-12-91.

58. GI/TM/1-1-92

59. Interview with Zozyiwo. ZrDK/I-I-92.

Udege (now dominated by the Afo/Eloyi) was founded by the Bassa who were the earliest inhabitants of the area between river Kokona and Udege hills down to the confluence.[60]

It is clear in the oral tradition that the Bassankomo have occupied the area east of Kurudu kingdom for a long time. And according to Adeleye, they were pushed from this region by internecine wars across the Benue to Oguma in Igala territory.[61] The important issue to stress here, however is the fact that the presence of the Bassa in our region constitute to the emergence of the kingship institution in Kurape and Kurudu.

2.7 Origin of the Ebira

Both oral and written information on the origin of the Ebira claim that they migrated to their present abode part of our area of study from the other side of the Benue. Habu Shekwoshawye claimed that the Ebira-Nya (Akpoto) came from Kaina across the Benue to Panda.[62] Similarly, I.T. Tukura claimed

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60. Interview with Mallam Ibrahim Udege.

61. Adeleye, "Hausa and Borno, 1600-1890." in Ajayi and Crowther, HWAI, pp.564-662.

62. CI/Osu 85/16-4-89.

that they migrated from among the Idoma (not specifying the area) across the Benue to Opanda from where they moved to Koton Karfe (Igu) and Umaisha. Their earliest settlements - which later became part of the kingdoms of Igu and Opanda - include Ugya, Kuwa, Kolo, Sofio, Toto, Zono, Kanyehu, Gate, Chiji, Toto-Gabiya, Ukya, Atako, Abaji, Aluko, Girinya and Gegu.[63] There also exists a tradition that there were Bassankomo in the area before the arrival of the Ebira.[64]

Similarly, the traditions of origins of the Ebira collected by the colonial anthropologists corroborate the claim that the Ebira came from the lower Benue and met some people already occupying the area. Various studies and works such as those of C. Temple, Paula Brown and J. Ohiare reveal that the Ebira came from two main areas namely: Igalaland and from Wukari.[65] J. Ohiare maintained that the tradition was influenced by the hamitic hypothesis and the colonial preference for the kingship institution in its Indirect Rule policy which made them to trace their origin to Jukun and Igala areas.[66] However, Templ argued strongly that the ancestors of the Ebira originated from the area south of river Benue about 1400 A.D.[67]

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63. I. T. Tuura, p.2

64. GI/Osu HS/I6-4-89, & ZFK I-I-92.

65. Fordes, loc. sit, p.57; Ohiare's thesis, chapter one; Temple, pp.155 footnote.

66. Ohiare, pp.25-28.

67. Temple, p.155ff.

Other accounts agree unanimously that the founders of Igu and Opanda were the descendants of Ohimi, son of an early chief (Ata) of Idah, who crossed the Benue about c.1750 A.D. That the immigrants conquered the peoples - most probably Bassankomo and Gbagyi - who were already in the area. It is further claimed that Opanda and Igu - the capitals of the Ebira were external fiefths of the Igala in the 18th century. This version also claim that Ohimi entrusted with the control of the Ebira people tried to be independent of the control of Atah of Idah, but was later killed. This version further claimed that Ebira language was 'formed' by Igala migrants through the adoption of the languages of the local inhabitants.[68] A scholarly studies on the Igala and Ebira by J. Ukwedeh reveal that the Ebira had been in their abode much earlier than the 18th century, and Attah Ayegba Om'Idoko appointed Ohimi (representative?) on the Ebira since the beginning of the 17th century.[69] However, the acculturation and linguistic affinities of the peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence area (see Appendix I) seem to corroborate this tradition and shed more light on their origins. (Also see maps 4 & 5).

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68. Temple, pp.155ff, Sule Mohammed, p.5.

69. J. Ukwedeh, pp.498-505.

And it is interesting to note that some Ebira of Eika-Ohizenyi (Okene) claim that the Bassa from around the confluence area were their fore-fathers.[70]

The coming or the evolution of the Ebira kingdoms in the confluence area was very significant. With this development some Gbagyi were pushed northwards.[71] The Gbagyi that were pushed northward swelled the population of Kurudu area. Similarly, Bassankomo migrated into the area. This might have been caused by the raids organised by the Ebira. Ohiare stressed the fact that one of the characteristics of the evolution of Igu and Opanda kingdom was the gradual annexation and raids on the Bassa and Gbagyi in the area. This created space for the occupation of the Ebira.[72] In fact, the emergence of the kingdoms of Igu and Opanda directly and indirectly influenced the consolidation of Kurudu kingdom.

2.8 Origins of the Gade and Gwandara

There is a tradition which points to common origin for the Gade and Gwandara. This tradition claimsthat the fore-fathers of the Gade and Gwandara came from Kano and Awe area in the days of Fulani Jihad. This version maintains that the Gwandara of

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70. Interview with Shayibu (95 years old) Eika-Ohizanyi.

71. Sule Mohammed p.51.

72. Ohiare, p.63; Gunn and Connant, p.86.

Karshi and Ara were descendants of the Gade with whom they have always maintained close relations. And that this is evident in their contiguous settlements and common cults. Apart from this, Gwandara language contain several words borrowed from Gade.[73] It would therefore seem that Gwandara language is a mixture of Gade a.d Hausa. These evidence all point to the fact and strengthen the assumption that the Gwandara and Gade have been together for long. It may be due to this close affinities between the Gade and Gwandara that the Gbagyi refer to the Gwandara of Ara as Gade-chanchara or Gade-ra (meaning the Gade who are fond of using chanchan and ra or the Gade of Ara). Similarly, the Gwandara of Karshi and Gwagwa are called APOI (meaning the people who have been Hausanised) and the real Gade people/speakers are called Gaden-chiki (meaning the aboriginal or real Gade or difficult Gade language speakers) who live in Karmo and Saada area.[74]

Despite these areas of similarity, it is interesting to note that the Gwandara have always attempted to distinguish themselves from the Gade. This attempt is influenced by the recent neo-colonial

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73. GI/AG/3-1-92 (Manager, Peoples Bank Nassarawa) and Sheju Akawu on 3/1/92 (GI/AG/3-1-92); Bako Sarkin Pada (70 years old) and Aruwa Bako.

74. Group interview with Sakaruyi Ishaku Baba at his palace on 6/8/92 – GI/OSUIB; GI/ZT-16-10-93; ZFIK; DDT; GI/GAT/30-12-91.

politics in the area and the inclination of the Gwandara to Islam which make them feel a sense of superiority over the Gade who were mostly 'pagans'.[75]

Naibi and Hassan reported that the Gade under the leadership of Kafati and Kwaka left Doma on hunting expedition until they reached Kuje. They moved from there to Gwargwada (their chief town), Gaube, Kusaki, Kabi and Agwai. (See map 8). They suggested that they arrived at the area in c.1750 A.D. It is claimed that when they were still in Doma in 1750, Doma was under the control of Zazzau.[76] If it is true that the first Gade migrants were still at Doma when Zaria controlled it, then Gade could not have been in our area of study earlier than in the 19th century, when Zaria through the jihadists had the wherewithal to extend its influence down to the confluence area. Zaria did not seem to have effectively controlled any part of the confluence area earlier than the 19th century.[77] Thus, the assumption of the colonialists[78] that the Gade were in our area of study before 1750 A.D. is anachronistic.

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75. GI/AG/3-1-92 and Shehu Akawu; Bako Sarkin Pada.
76. Naibi and Hassan, pp.27-29.
77.

78. Temple, pp.108 and 121.

This apart, the reason attached to the migration also suggest that the Gade arrived at our kingdoms in the 19th century. Some Gade groups claimed that the Gade who are still found in Kontagora area and known as Kede left Kontagora area in the 19th century in response to the jihadist raids. They first settled at Wacei and Karmo then to Abuja area where most of their settlements are found.[79]

Apart from the traditions collected among the Gade which butress the fact that they are a recent arrival to the region of study, their political development was very slow and suggests late arrival. It is interesting to note that all the informants claim that the Gade people in this region did not experience independent centralised authority as there were never any two Gade villages under one Gade chief prior to British occupation. And the Gade villages were attached to Gbagyi villages binded by common cults.[80]

Oral traditions collected around Keffi and Ara maintain that the Gwandara were aboriginal Hausa from Kano, and that is why Gwandara language has great

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79. GI/AG/3-1-92 and with Bako S/Pada; I.T. Tukura, p.2.

80. Ibid.

affinity with Hausa language.[81] Similarly, Abdullahi, the Emir of Keffi (1902-1921) recorded a tradition which claimed that the Gwandara came from Kano. That they left Kano at the time when Islam was introduced there, and when Gaiki-ga-kuma was the ruler of Dalla. The king's brother called Gwandara-'Madaki-Girke na kuwa' left Kano because he would not change his belief. Then he led his people to Gwagwa - 25 kilometres south of Keffi. Hence Gwagwa is regarded as the head of all the Gwandara that live in Yeskwa District, Abuja, Karshi, Ara and Garaku.[82]

It is important to stress that the propensity by peoples of the Niger Benue confluence area to claim to have come from Hausa cities like Kano, Zaria, Daura and Katsina was very common. For instance, the Gbagyi from Kurudu kingdom and in Madalla claim that they came from Kano, and from Kankuma a suborb of Kano, that they had their Azhiba cult on Dalla hill under their king called Gunguma (= the huge in Gbagyi) who used to lift an elephant single handedly.[83] The mention of the names Gakuma, Nakuwa, Gunguma, Dalla and Gaiki/Girke seem convincing that they might have come from Kano. It might also mean that the name

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81. Interviews with Alhaji Yusufu Maigyada Ara and Salisu Mohammed 12/10/92.

82. Temple, pp.118-119.

83. Interview with I.T. Tukura and Alhaji Abubakar Dogo on 23/12/92 (GI/ITT/23-12-91). The claim by the Gbagyi that they were once in Hausaland is heavily corroborated by the traditions prevalent in Hausaland that the origin of the Hausas started when some north and east African migrants came through Borno to Daura and had contact with the Gbagyi/Gwari, and where/when they migh t have learnt of Gunguma (see M.G.Smith, The Affairs of Daura, pp.53-56; T.Hodgkin, pp.384-6; Gunn, p.88; A.Burns, p.61; & Arnett, Gazetteer of Zaria Province, 1920, p.10).

Gaiki-ga-kuma and Girke na kuwa were epithets for giants called GUNGUMI (derived from Gunguma/Kankuma) who rulled Hausa cities in the 11th to 13th centuries.[8]

The assumption that the Gwandara, Gade, Koro and Yeskwa who have close cultural affinities and tradition of common origin [85] are a later arrival to Gbagyiland is further butressed up from linguistic inferences. (See Appendix I). These languages have close affinity with Hausa and are among the Chadic group of languages which is quite different from the KWA speaking languages which include Gbagyi spoken in the Niger-Benue confluence area and which separation period is about 6,000 years ago.[86] And Sule Mohammed's studies

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84. Muray Last, "The Evidence for Karkuma/Kangoma..." in Y.B. Usman, Facts, Values... p.163. Despite the fact that this assumption that the Gwandara came from Kano is widespread in the area, it is interesting to note that the account has not been corroborated in the Kano chronicle or other independent primary sources. Furthermore, the claim seem to suggest that they adopted the name GWANDARA after they left Kano. In fact, some of them claim that GWANDARA means 'prefer dance to Islam'. It also seem most probable to me that the Gwandara reached our area of study in patches after they had been influenced by the Arago, Migili, Yeskwa and Koro with whom they now have cultural affinities. The Gwandara of Gwagwa and Ara are believed to have come from Kano, while those of K'eleyi/Kashi are believed to have come from Zaria, the rest Gade and Gwandara are believed to have come from Yeskwa and Doma areas, and from Kontagora. Therefore, their claim of Kano origin could be a recent invention following the jihadist penetration of the region, and with the aim of deriving some security advantage. They may also want to appear superior to their neighbours through a claim with popular centres of civilization.

85. Gazetteers of Northern Provinces of Nigeria Vol.4 1934, p.235.

86. See footnote 20.

have shown that the various ethnic groups in our area of study still maintain to a high degree their linguistic differences.[87] Therefore, these are indications that the Chadic group of languages in the Niger-Benue confluence are a later arrival.

However, the coming of the Cwandara and Gade into our region influenced some historical developments that took place particularly in the later half of the 19th century. This shall be highlighted in chapter four.

2.9 The Pre-Dynastic Economy

It was stressed in chapter one that the environment was quite suitable for agriculture which became the dominant activity of the peoples of the region. Other economic activities that supplemented agriculture and which helped the diversification of the economy were also lightly mentioned. We will now closely examine these major economic activities in order to understand how they influenced the emergence of the kingship institutions and the state system under study.

(i) Agriculture

Agriculture in this region has undergone several changes especially in terms of techniques and the introduction of new crops. The earliest form of

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87. Sule Mohammed, pp.39-46.

agriculture that continued for a long period was fruit gathering and processing. Agricultural practice since human habitation of this region was dominated by farming. Like in all agrarian societies, they also engaged in fishing, grazing, hunting, handcraft and leather working.

Agriculture in this region became so prominent partly due to the fact that farming implements were locally produced by the local blacksmiths. Hence, the blacksmiths were held in high esteem. The farming implements included cuttlasses (Apya/Ada^{G}), Axes (Gbaknu, Aze), thick dagger (Magna), knife (ebe), weeding hoe (zukwo-biyi), ridge-making hoes (Gbefegye, Zukwo-yako, Gala), cycle (lumzye), chopping cycle (knayi), saw (zooto), and so on. Farming necessitated the demand for farming implements. This in turn attracted blacksmiths from Nupe and Hausaland into the region.[88]

The crops which constituted a major source of income were calabash (obwe), cotton (lulu), pepper (nyagba), ginger (citah), beni-seed (anuhu), ground-nut (gbegbe), Aya^{H} (opwa), garden-egg (knunyia), tobacco (taaba), indigo (Esni), and others. The major food crops in this region were yams (dioscorea rotundata and dioscorea cayenensis), guinea-corn

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88. GI/HS/16-4-89; GI/AM/3-[illegible]-92.

(sorghum bicolor), millet (pennisetum typhoides), okro (okpmi),[G] sugar-cane (dakuyi)[G], saccharum officinarum, Acca (diggitari exhilis), maize (zeamays), cocoyam (koko[G]), sweat potatoes (duku[G]), beans (phaseolus),banana (gbaduma)[G], pawpaw (sheknuba)[G], and so on.

The people of this region also made effective use of wild fruits as food and for sylvan produce. Some of these trees were mangoes, Tsaminya, Dinya (vitex doniana), Kadanya (butyrospermum paradoxum), kokiya (srychnos spinosa), locust bean (ceratonia siliqua), Lemun-tsami (carissa edulis), wild yams (budu, dugba-shnama, aknama, kpalu, zabwana, etc) and so on.[89]

Hunting complimented farming. It was organised in various ways. For instance, there was individual hunting where one or two people went to dig rats in holes, chase rabits and other small animals and birds. There was also hunting ralies or community hunting refered to as bago or kaso or fazna or kuchishna in which the whole community including strangers designated an area for chasing animals and birds. Community hunting sometimes involved consulting cults like zoku or salaka or adafa.[90] The abundance of fauna and the hunting systems that developed were

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89. Ibid.

90. GI/ZGC/24-4-92; GI/TS/5/1/92; ZFKD.

significant to the historical changes in the region. It influenced for instance their technology, crafts, hunting methods and war strategem of the people. Thus they developed the use of arrows and bows (atai) strings (gbataaknu), rope traps (awnu), iron traps (agam), salt-spreading (snakpegye-zyi), poison (omwui), digging of holes (bo-nyi), bush burning, life-park (kapa) and hunting ralies that further enhanced cohesion. And with the introduction of den-guns in the 18th century the number of wild life in the region was greatly reduced. This prompted the then colonial government to declare Kurape hill as a "No hunting Zone."[91]

It was therefore common in the past to have professional hunters (Anagbei/Baushe). It is therefore not surprising that most of the settlements in this area are claimed to have been founded by hunters. In addition, some clans adopt the names of animals as totemic symbols. This is due to their admiration for the animals. It is in this sense that some clans revered and protected such animals or ate them ceremonially. It was also beleived that such animal or bird telepathically communicated with the members

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91. Ibid. All our informants claimed that their settlements were founded by hunters.

of the totem, and that the totem members transformed into such creatures at times of trouble. For instance, the Gwandara/Gade were well known for transforming into hyenas, and were proud of this.[92] Similarly, the Bassa and Ebira who were fishermen were said to be capable of transforming into crocodiles which symbolised water spirit.[93] The Fulani and Bassa were said to be capable of transforming into monkeys,[94] while the Agatu, who were mainly hunters, were said to be capable of changing into bufallos. Gbagyi totemic members were believed to be capable of transforming into birds and cats, in addition they did not eat such animals publicly. The ADODA cult members did not eat or kill Golugolu (white egret/heron that follow cows) which they use to bless marriages.[95] Some titles which symbolise societal position were in the local names of these animals and birds. For instance, Zaaci (lion) was the praise name of the Osu (king), Jiwa (elephant) was the salutation of Madaaci (commander of the cavalry), Shaho (falcon) salutation of youth-leader, Kanari (canary) salutation

92. Interview with Bako Sarkin Pada.

93. Group interview with Alayi and Bamayi Wakili (GI/AB/5-1-92). Some Bassa traditions claim that some old Bassa never died but transformed into crocodiles. Ohiare, loc. cit. p.59 also reported that Opanda became urban because it was centre for the worship of water spirit called Age.

94. GI/NT/26-12-91; GI/AM/16-4-92.

95. GI/AM/14-4-92 & ZFK D.

of the best singer, Musuwyi (cat) for the thrifty, Nakpi (tiger) for the captain of the archer and zyiwyi (cocoon/hare/rabit) for intelligent palace messenger. Animals and birds are also used in folklores as a means of socialization.[96] Apart from the fact that some people derived some income from meat and animal skins, special animal horns, tusks, the skin of lions, tigers, zebra, crocodiles and snakes; and feathers were kingly regalia. The kings of Kurudu and Kurape were burried with the skins of lion and tiger, and the king of Karu was burried with the skins of a bull.[97]

Fishing was another important economic activity in the region. It was carried out by both men and women. Women adopted the method of trapping and packing water - AGA. Men used various methods, like the use of seines (abulugi, Akali, awnu), znica and kara (arranged sticks in a form of a room with a small door which acted as trap in water, the door was attached with certain food that fish like, and could pull off when substantial number of fish pull the food), Azufi (use of poison) etc.[98]

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96. J.A. Shekwo, Gbagyi Folktales and Myths Volume I. Gaskiya, 1984; documented some of the folktales. Animals are made to act like men to show wit, patience, obedience, pity, truth, hard-work, tidiness, etc.

97. Interviews on various dates in 1990, 1991 and 1992 with Lazarus Azaki, Bitrus Narai and Daro

98. GI/TS/5/92; 28-12-91; and with Aruwa Maishanu.

These various agricultural practices influenced the life of the people in many ways. There was no issue of unemployment since everybody had something doing. Hence the whole region was self-sufficient in food. In pursuance of heavy yeild the people - the Bassa and Gbagyi in particular-lived in scattered hamlets, which afforded them access to large acreage of fertile land. This Gbagyi scattered settlement pattern coupled with their communal land-holding system created space or made it possible for other peoples such as the Gade, Gwandara and Hausa to settle among them. This gave the region a heterogene character which directly influenced the kingship institution in the area.[99]

Agricultural practice allowed time for leisure, particularly during dry season. Bumper harvests were followed with sacrifices and festivals. Some of the festivals among the Gbagyi were Zyibaje, Akabwa-nya-j Lubwuije, Amadawaje, Abolije, Bwagyije, Kudamiyije, Golobeje, Mwamwaje, Kaluma/Malekaje, Kakaje, Odoje, Gbmunuje, Wasa, etc. And because the cults were consulted by the various ethnic groups the festivals served as a means of strenghtening cultural ties and relationships which were significant in the state systems.[100]

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99. Interviews with Dogara, Kura and Zozyiwo on various dates.

100. GI/GAT/30-12-91; GI/ZG/24-4-92; GI/TM/1-1-91 and with Muchelo Maitaro

This apart, agriculture influenced Gbagyi concept of time and their cosmology. This is why all the names of the seasons and months (opya) were derived from agricultural practices. For instance, the Gbagyi start counting months from the setting/beginning of rains: Gbmama (April), meaning beginning of rains, May - Nyako-pya (month of breaking old ridges), June - Kpenyigo (time for Guinea-fowl to scratch heap), July - Gezokola (time for widening paths), August - Zara (unnoticed rain), September, - Mwamwa-pya (month of plants' growth), October - Gonupya (month when yam ridges are made), November - Wyidopya (month when guinea-corn is harvested), December - Bwagyipya (month of cheap food), January - Pyakasa (bad month because of cold), February - Ashnamalapya (month when yam is harvested), and March - Ashnama-bi-pya/Faznapya/ M'ikegye kau (yam sowing/Hunting/high dry season). Some Gbagyi cults like Bwagyi and Mwamwa took their names from the months and were sacrificed during the months.[101]

Agriculture also made it possible for the people to finance or practice other types of productive enterprises which in turn permited or stimulated specialization in local industries.

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101. Ibid.

(ii) Local Industries

Local industries complemented agriculture, and also influenced agricultural activities. The most important of these industries were pottery, metal smelting and smithing, crafts and sylvan produce.

Pottery was the most wide-spread since the clay for potting is found in patches all over the region. Pottery in our region is of great antiquity and has been identified as part of the Nok culture.[102] During our period of study the manufacture of pots was carried out mainly by women. The work was done mostly in the dry season. Pots were used as and storage facilities which augmented calabash and wooden materials. Bassa pots were sold in Ebira markets in Igu and Openda area. Gbagyi pots were sold at Ninkoro, Awe, Lafia, Nupeland and to the Ebira.[103] The pot business was so brisk that some Gade and Gwandara people became pot traders.[104] Oral tradition indicate that Kurape pots were the best in the region. The ceramic art and potability of Gbagyi pots drew admiration that the Gbagyi were praised for been "famous for their pottery."[105] This high quality and remarkable beauty

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102. Basil Davidson, The African Past, p.65.

103. Interviews on various date with Daso , Znignamiwyi, Ladi Tukura, (GI/NT/26-12-90).

104. Interview with Daso .

105. C.K. Meek, p.165.

of Gbagyi pottery led the colonial government to make Abuja a major national pottery centre.[106] It is however important to state here that pottery industry was one of the oldest industries that influenced the growth of local and regional trades in the pre-dynastic period.[107]

Another industry that had significant impact on the historical process of the kingdoms under study was metal smelting and smithing. The metals mined in the region were iron (snikna), tin (sni-buyi), coper (snibeyi), alminium (obwa), Dalma[H] and gold (snibeyi). The mining sites of these metals is obscure in tradition except for iron, copper and gold. Iron ore - known as Gbekna, Kukuru, Gbakuku, snikna - was found in patches all over the three kingdoms. Hence smelting and smithing (Pyagbe)[G] was an important industry in the region. The most important centres of smelting and smithing were Rubochi, Chikara, Wushapa, Taruga, Znumwa, Mugarawyi, Kurape, Nike, Nyigbala and Kurudu.[108] Only the Taruga site (a Gbagyi settlement) has been dated by archaeologists, and found to be one of the oldest iron working site in the world.[109] However,

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106. Gunn and Conant, p.92.

107. Interviews with Daso , Znignamiwyi and Ladi Tukura on various dates.

108. GI/BN/2-3-92; GI/ITT/23/12/91; GI/ZGC/24-4-94: GI/AB/30-12-91.

109. Thurstan Shaw, Nigeria, Its Archaeology..., pp.78-81.

the quantity, quality and antiquity of the iron work in the region is yet to be ascertained.

It should be stressed here that the various economic pursuits of the people influenced their high demand for iron implements. For instance, farming, crafts, hunting, etc, needed heavy or large iron implements. Therefore, it may be correct to assume that the volume of iron manufactures was large. These iron implements were for both local use and for regional trades. These implements included: hoes, knives, daggers, spears, axes, traps, arrows, horse-shoes, hooks and beads.[110] Ohiare has noted that the iron in this region was of high quality and was an item of export to Hausaland.[111] There was also the manufacture of copper pipes, bells, spoons, bowls, saddles, bracelets, rings, horse-shoes, saddles and stirrups that were of high commercial value.[112] Oral traditions are also clear on the use of gold in the region, and claim that gold dust was brought from the neighbouring Gbagyi settlements to the north like Zuba, Kownu (Diko), Izom, Kuchiko, Dushepe, Alawa, Beni, Kuchiko, Ohachanga, Lapai and Madaki, and was resold to Hausa and Wangarawa traders.[113] The fact that there was almost an absence of gold particles or articles that were locally manufactured supports the claim that raw gold was largely exported.

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110. Ohiare, loc.cit, pp.238-240.

111. Ibid, and various interviews with Bitrus Narai and Jezyi Walu.

112. Ibid.

113. GI/Usu HS/ 1989; GI/AM/14-4-92.

The use of iron had significant impact on the historical development of the peoples of this region. Apart from its direct impact on food production, iron aided or gave rise to improved techniques on hunting, fishing and other forms of food processing. This meant better diet intake for the people which in turn led to population growth and socio-political changes.[114] Besides, the use of iron greatly influenced the military technology of the people. The traditions attributed the ability of the Gbagyi kingdoms to withstand the incursions of the jihadists in the 19th century partly to their striving iron industry. The Gbagyi attach great value to iron. In fact, they adopt it as a symbol of power, success, military might and sovereignty Hence, swords, daggers and chains were adopted as staff of office of the king.(Sagbagvi/Osu).[116] Furthermore, some cults like the Amadawa used iron implements like chains (worn on the leg), iron axe, spear, bells, bow and arrows as symbol of membership, and for dancing and drama. Iron decorants were symbol of wealth, durability and prowess. And very importantly, too, some iron implements shaped like small hoes (pataka[G]) were used as money.[116]

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114. Basil Davidson, The Growth of African Civilization, pp.12-17.

115. Interviews on various dates: Lazarus Azaki,1992; GI/ZG/24-4-92; GI/GAT/30-12-91 & GI/ZT/16-10-93.

116. Ibid and O. Temple, p.139.

It is interesting to note that the use of iron as staff of office symbolised the sacredness and the level of the king. Only the king was to use sword as symbol of power, village heads did not. The day a new king was enthroned, the Ebe (staff of office) was brought by its keeper - Bochi zaci in Kurudu kingdom, or the Turaki in Karu kingdom, or the chief priest (Bei) or Danyinya in Kurape kingdom - to be given to the new king. It was believed that the Ebe had mythical powers and was not to be seen by ordinary person.[117]

Apart from strenghthening the kingship institution the use of iron implements influenced demographic changes in the region. Iron smelting and smithing attracted immigrant blacksmiths into the area from Hausaland. On the other hand, the use of iron had its ecological impact on the area as farming and cutting

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117. Various interviews with Lazarus; GI/HS/16-4-89, also see Tanimu S. Aduda, "The Traditional Concept of God..." 1982, p.16. On the day of the enthronment, the EBE was smeared the blood of a Lion or Tiger (in the Kurape kingdom) or the blood of a bull (in the kingdom of Karu), and the king's food included the blood for one week (when he was not seen, and only the chief priest attended to him 'purifying' him). The new king was dressed with a traditional regalia on a stool. The OBE/EBE was placed in his pocket or Bante (panties). The priest said some incantation or prayer which was intended to strengthen the new king. It was believed that the powers of the de-ceased kings were embeded in the sword, and that the sword had the power of protecting the king from his enemies. O. Temple reported on this practice among Gbagyi around Zaria where the townsmen used the sword to slaughter animals and birds to be sacrificed, the knife was sprinkled with blood, and was spoken to: "Oh knife, behold thy husband (designating the late chief's son), may his town be prosperous, we marry thee to him, do thou give him prosperity for the sake of his parents and fore-fathers. May he rule the village well." p.124. See also C.K. Meek p.211.

down of trees changed the natural environment. This also in turn contributed to the Gbagyi living in scattered settlements. Other economic activity of the predynastic time was wood-carving (into bowls, spoons, carriers and statutes); straw weaving into bags, mats, hedges, carriers, fishing baskets, drier baskets, purifiers, hangers, doors, boxes and ropes, etc. Some of the straw materials were died in various colours. Mat weaving was very popular and was carried out on part-time basis during dry season.[118]

The Gbagyi also practiced textile production. The principal weaving centres were Wushapa, Kuta, Kurape, Karu, Kurudu, Peze and Azyayi.[119] Men wove on vertical looms that were narrow while women wove on wide ones. The Gbagyi faced a serious challenge in this craft from the Hausa, Dibbo and Ebira.[120] The textile industry was very significant in the pre-dynastic economy, as it contributed to the growth of both local and regional trades. This will be highlighted in chapter three.

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118. Ohiare, p.67; and interviews: GI/Usu HB/1989; & GI/PNK/1980.

119. Interviews on various dates with Ladi Tukura and Znignamiwyi. Some of the Gbagyi textiles included: Je-bwagyi (rapa with loose hand/tie), Jezyi (black/deep die), Logoi-sada (smooth), Ptada/Pmaptapi (lizard-like design), Shalufni (net-like), Akugyiknaje (with small holes); Abwuibwuije (with cobweb-like design), Shalufni-bwe-begyeda (with many strips), shalufnibweg-manyida (single strip), Bwe-begyeda (many parts stiched) Jegmada (with chain-like design), kukuma (with numerous/assorted design), Azazazoko (Zaria import), Akapi (Hausa manufacture), Jebwe (a narrow piece of cloth), Gbavni (women panties), Bache (men panties) etc.

120. Gunn and Conant, p.92.

Of equal importance was sylvan production, i.e. food and beer/alcohol. Alcohol (Eje/Luka/Giya) was consumed locally and was a source of income for women. Beer was not taxed. This was probably due to the fact that much of it was taken as 'taste' - Jetowo/Maho Sylvan produce included oznu/kwalami (Mibeyi/Kwalami), shea-butter (Gbagyimyi), soap (oko), locust-bean (nyise cotton-seed sauce (awucegye),palm oil source (adabwa), and various gums and medicines used as industrial chemicals. There was massive production of ash-water (Esna) and largely consumed in cooking, medicine and industrial chemicals. Natron and Kanwa were imported into the area from Hausaland, while salt came from Awe. The other crafts among the Gbagyi were embroidery, dyeing and leather works.[121]

These economic activities contributed to the emergence of the state systems under study. This will be highlighted in the subsequent chapters.

2.10 The Pre-Dynastic Society

The pre-dynastic settlements discussed above were characterised by diverse units of territorial organization. There were hamlets (Api), villages (Ayi), towns (Azyi) and cities (Galu), each man had his farm/land (okni/ofa) since farming (fanu)was the dominant

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121. Interviews with Jezyi Walu (75 years old).

activity of the people. The mode of acquiring land was either individual, family or community based. Land was theoritically said to belong to all members of the community which each member had equal rights to enjoy or exploit the resources deriving from it.[122]

The basic unit of production was the household (piwa) comprised of families of the same forbear (azakoi) and extended relations (obeh) who lived in a common compound (piwa). The household normally splited into smaller units for effective control and administration.[123]

The lineage-head or chief was normally the descendant of the founder of the settlement. Therefore he could allocate land area to new commers. The portions allocated to immigrants such as the Bassa, Gade, Afo, Hausa and Gwandara were usually delineated.[124] Natural barriers like streams and hills, Aduruku tree (Newboudi a laevis), Nwayi (milk tree), Kuratoosogyi (green milk plant) and baobab tree were used to demarcate the boundaries.[125] The ownership of land was retained by the earlies settler - normally the chief lineage/owning lineage - allocated farmlands to new commers. The new commers were expected to give certain percentage - normally

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122. Interviews with Aruwa, Zozyiwo and Kura in 1991.

123. Interviews with Dogara and Habu.

124. Ohiare, p.10; and interviews with Sakurapei Anyitomizai Tukura.

125. Interview with Aruwa Maishanu, Broken pieces of pots and ashes were also used in demarcating.

about one-twentieth of arables - or gaisuwa (gifts) to the chief/owner of the land. The new commer could not exploit the trees in the farm without the permission of the chief/owner. Like among other people in the Central Nigerian area the lineageheads sometimes were larger than any other house in the village. This was due to large number of wives the chief lineage had, and the subsequent large number of children. And due to large number of labour force upon which farming activities depended, and their right to monopolise the use of land, the chief lineage subsequently became wealthier than others. Their wealth, however, was in terms of farm produce mainly. The chief lineages desplayed their wealths through their generousity occassioned in festivities and ceremonies, and through their leadership qualities.[126] In fact, the chief-lineages were the background of the ruling families of the kingdoms under study.

Labour was another central factor in farming, wood gathering and other related agrarian life. This was due to the fact that farming and its related activities were labour intensive. Since labour came from every member of the family, the larger the household the more labour that was available. The

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126. M.Y. Mangvwat, "A History of Class Formation in the Plateau Province, 1902-1960: The Genesis of a Ruling Class." Ph.D. thesis A.B.U. 1984, pp.21-35; and interviews with Dogara Tuta.

household has been noted to be "most important economic unit in virtually all West African societies." This household labour was very efficient, flexible, cheap and "covered individual inability" since the disabled were taken care of. Also, "it was highly competitive because family labour was costless (in the formal sense of not receiving a wage) and could be used to a point where its marginal product was zero."[27]

Each family had its farm - Anugba on which its members worked. The whole household also had a general farm called FAKO and also a central granary called Dobwui-Yaako. Every member of the family was expected to work on the FAKO for certain number of days which vary from once to thrice a week. The Dobwui-Yaako was normally built in the middle of the household. The eldest in the family determined the labour for FAKO and also rationed the proceeds - NYAKPA - of Dobwui-Yaako. Although every family controlled its Anugba independently, the right to farm a plot was decided by the whole household. Since male members played a more dominant role in farming, a family with several boys often helped those with fewer number of boys.[128]

The labour force was divided between the sexes, and this continued from a very early period. This division of labour among the sexes influenced the

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127. Hopkins, A.G. An Economic History of West Africa. Longman, 1973, pp.19, and 22.

128. Ohiare, p.89, and interview with Dogara.

nature of socio-political development in our kingdoms. This division of labour ensured men chauvinism and marginalization of women especially in terms of position and property. Gbagyi women were assigned domestic activities while men were more dominant in hunting and farming. Women assisted in farm-work, they planted vegetables which assisted or supplimented the food supply of the family but they could not own land nor inherit it.[129] Women also moved the harvest home from the farms as well as sell them in the markets. The implication of these is that it ensured the dominance of men in socio-economic and political developments in Gbagyiland. For instance, women were not allowed to offer sacrifice to cults, except to make propitiations through men. They were also not to set their eyes on the incarnate fore-father spirits. This ensured men's superiority in the family.[130]

In the pre-dynastic society, apart from the Chief there were some officials/offices principally for organisation of labour, and were recognised titles and extra labour rendered for them. These title holders - ATUKUDA/ABEDA and some elders dominated decision taking and held jurisdiction power.[131]

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129. Ibid.

130. GI/GAT/30-12-90.

131. Interviews (GI/GAT/30-12-91); Zozyiwo; Aruwa and Dogara. All of them once held the post of BEZYE (youth leader).

Since labour was the most valuable means of production, it is important to identify them here. This will enable us to understand the functions of the various organs of the pre-dynastic stage - the foundation of the state system that later emerged. The evolution of office holders in our area was directly linked with the appropriation of labour. This can be seen from the fact that labour was controlled right from the household level to the community level. The eldest in the family controlled the labour of the family, while the eldest male in the house-hold was the overseer of the household. Similarly the title holders controlled community work. In addition, there was a special labour officer called Atuwa. The Atuwa adjudicated over land cases and labour exchange of the community.

Labour/farming outside the household was organised and carried out in age-grades: The most senior age-grade was called ACUBABA-GBEI (shrub clearers) under the supervision of the ATUWA. This grade comprised of eldems who were then retired from community or collective labour. The next grade comprised of youth known as Azuko-Da (hoe-holders). This grade was the most productive. It was made up of adults between the ages of 20 and 40. The group was led by Bezye or Sarkin Samari (leader of the youths). The last grade was known as Abi or Yaalambaya made up of boys between

ages 7 and 19 and under the leadership of Tuta/Shaho. The leaders of the age grades were chosen on the basis of personal achievement - particularly those that have demonstrated outstanding achievements in private and community works - hence it was not hereditary. And individual held a title for three to five years depending on the number of villages engaged in the community labour and the number of the youth. The larger the number of the villages and youth involved, the less the duration of tenure of office. In community work that needed women participation such as cooking, sowing of crops or cutting down of trees the group was monitored by the Soroninya - women leader.[132]

This means that apart from household labour obtained from kinsmen and families, labour was also obtained from outside. Again, it was common among the Gbagyi, like among other groups on the Zaria plains down to the confluence area - to freely exchange labour for goods and services. Everybody was employed and those who were hard-working were regarded in high esteem.[133]

The labour that involved people outside households were the community labour - Gbegnu-Fa, Co-operative/ Collective labour - Faapa/Gaiya, etc. These types of labour were slightly different from each other due

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132. GI/NT/26-12-91.

133. Ohiare, p.100.

to the circumstances that occasioned them. There were other forms of involuntary and obligatory labour which will be highlighted here.

The Community labour - GBEGNUFA - was organised by the leaders of the society for executing projects like road constructions, building of cult rooms (Dawyiyagbe), milling rooms (Tagowyi), clearing of market places (Gniko), the deepening of wells and pools (Nuwna-knaya), and for getting rid of male-volent monsters (like snakes, dangerous animals, etc). Every adult member was expected to participate in community labour except on genuine grounds or request for special arrangement for their contribution at their convenience. Absentees of community labour were punished with working on the chief's farm or propitiated the elders with beer.

Another form of community labour was co-operative or Collective labour - Faapa/Gaiya/Gbegnufa. This was organised on rotational basis whereby a whole community worked on members/individual farms in turns. Faapa was organised in such a way that every family had a Faapa in a year. There was also labour requested for - Gaiyan-Safe - caused by an elder who needed more labour than that of the community. The number that attended such depended on the popularity of the applicant, and it cut across clans, villages and

tribes. Like labour requested for, Honourary/Conferment was on and rendered on the turn of the individual to be confered with a title of Atuwa - Chief farmer. There was also Bwazuifa - help labour - a special request for help for the aged, sick, and was restricted to intimate friends and relatives.

Exchange labour - Fadowun or Gawyi among peers and friends was more prevalent. Among women, it involved the gathering of firewood (Shiwunghe) and the baking of pots (Shaknu-nu). All marriage ceremonies involved the gathering of firewood and filling of pots with water for the bride. Similarly, boys helped their peers in courtship labour - Nyiko-Ghu-Fu/Aye/Yeyifa/Gbepe/Yakonufa/Dudufa. Courtship labour was divided into 'engagement labour' - Gbepe, ' courtship labour - Dudufa, 'marriage labour' - Aye, 'Consumation labour' - Yakonufa, etc. Some Gbagyi marriages were contracted through labour: 21 days' labour + 21 bundles of thatch grass, etc, every year from engagement period till consumation - usually a period of three to seven years.[134]

Purchasing labour - Wyegyifa was also practiced. Services were offered in exchange for goods and services of professionals. This was similar to

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134. GI/AM/16-4-92 and GI/TM/1-1-92

consultancy labour (Nyago-fa) rendered to a diviner or priest. Some priests and priestess were held in high esteem since many people consulted them. In fact, some of them became judges. These priests/priestess also appropriated surplus value from the Gbagyi and their neighbours.[135] This was similar to the practice among the Igala where the office of the Onu-Ewo (Village Council) and the Onu-Ane (earth-priests) had both the spritual and political functions interwoven so much so that "the Onu-Ane (earth-priest) controlled in essence all activities connected with land (ane) such as farming, hunting, harvest and fishing."[136]

There was also a warning labour - Fagyi metted on elders who felt too wise to accept their faults, or a title holder whom the youth could not convict. This happened when an elder made an assertion the youth termed to be 'uncustomary', or ungrateful', or 'indignant', etc. The youth then went to work on the farm of this person they called a 'careless talkertive' without informing him. Although the labour was normally not much, it was aimed to force the elder propitiate the youth with a he-goat and some beer.

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135. GI/GAT/30-12-91 and GI/KM/3-2-79.

136. Ukwedeh, Ph.D. Thesis, pp.203-204.

The Gbagyi people also had punishment or bailing labour - Tatafa/Zabwashifa. This labour was imposed on notorious adults who could not pay off the fines imposed on them. Such labour was rendered on the farm of the chief or the benefactor as payment of the fine.

Another common involutary labour like the last one was pawning. It was known as Wyegyifa or Nufambwa. This contract arrangement involved the debtor performing certain services to his benefactor as security or liquidation for as long as the benefactor desired. Sometime a household that was in shortage of food or seedlings demanded arables or money from wealthier members to be repayed through pawning.[137]

The Gbagyi also practiced contest or respect labour called Azuko-Du. Azuko-du was incumbent on boys (Abi) only. Whenever a day's farming was about to be concluded, elders withdrew one by one; and this type of labour was normally steered by arguements in order to exhibit prowess and style, and a tacit attempt to enlarge the farm. In these kingdoms music (Afanya) which aroused vigour accompanied ridge-making. Every youth had his favourite song (Atake) which, when sang for him spur him to be crazy, frenzy and nervous to farm faster and better.[138]

137. Interviews on various dates with GI/AM/14-4-92 and Alayi Alanana.

138. GI/AS/16-4-89; GI/ZG/24-4-92; GI/TM/1-1-91 and with DTT.

2.11 The Pre-Dynastic Political System

Authority structure of the pre-dynastic Gbagyi society was spiritually based, paternally controlled and monopolised by the foundersof the settlements. Age-grade system was fundamental in the administration as only the elders constituted the council that adjudicated, legislated and performed sacrifices. Again, it was the grade of men between ages 30 and 40 that dressed in fore-father spirit costumes (Dawyiya), while only the grade of youth of ages 20-35 performed Kaka cult dance.

The socio-political setting of the pre-dynastic chiefdoms had at the highest level the village council (Boknu/Abeda) which comprised of village heads (Pida, Apida pl.), ward-heads (Sepada) and clan-heads (Abe-tuko) who had large followership and whose views were always sought on minor issues while some were advicers. Smaller villages or farm settlements were headed by Zyida (Village Head) or ward-head (Sepada). The administrative centres were also market centres and were called Ezyi, with palace called Galuko.[139]

Although most villages and hamlets had a common ancestry, there were villages composed of people of diverse origins or distinct tribes, each forming its ward or household. The wards and households entered

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139. Ibid. and with K CTD; C1/SM/14-4-92.

into loyal association in form of age-grades, labour exchange, share farmlands, festivals and religious ties which went beyond clan and village levels. In the pre-dynastic time religious ties were stronger than political cohesion. The various religions and cults among the Gbagyi included Zhyiba, Kudamiyi, Bwagyi, Golobe, Mwamwa, Madawa, Kaluma, Maleka, Kaka, Odo, Gbunu, Gbaka, Eka, Bago, Zoku, Wasa, Ana, etc.[140] On the other hand the dominant cults and religions among the Gade were Akwoina, Asama, Aznagbada, Ukpoku, Uwuna, Eyigabo, Atakpo, Gade-hango, etc.[141]

It is important to stress here that the political system in this period was a form of theocratic state since the rulers were mainly priests in which the cults were the legitimate source of power. The religions were particularistic. Hence, the religious aspects of the people was significant in the evolution of kingship or centralised institutions, and the confederal ties between the polities. It is therefore important to show how their religions was part and parcel of their political system. Everybody had his personal god Dobwui/Eshna which was part of household god - Pjwa-Shna or Zakwoi-Kuta (fore-father shrine). The household god was also part of clan-god (Atuko-Tuba). Similarly, Atukotuba was under the village/town cult

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140. ibid.

141. Interviews on various dates: BP & GI/AG/3-1-91.

like Golobe, Bwagyi, Mwamwa and Kudamiyi, while Madawa/Aboli, Zoku, Wasa, Gade-Hango and Ana cult cut across tribes and villages. It was in the same fashion that the administrative structure of the region was organised. Every individual was under the house-head - Piwa-Da, which was under ward-head - Sepada or Zhida. Zhida was also the Onu (chief) whenever his village was the administrative centre with a market (Gniko) and palace (Galuko). Such villages were also called Ezyi or town.[142]

Hence the Gbagyi were interested in the metaphisical use of language which is closely linked with moral values and daily activities at all levels. In other words, Gbagyi body of knowledge, concepts, beliefs and doctrines were expressed in their mythology and in the symbolism of their rituals. This was also an expression of human interaction with nature, and the number of cults was symmetrical with their political organization, division of labour and surplus appropriation.[143] Like among the Gbagyi, the cosmology and mythology of the peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence have been found to be directly related to the flora and fauna in the area. Certain trees and animals, and even streams and rocks, are regarded as abodes of spirits and supernatural beings whose activities have bad or good effects on the society.[144]

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142. DFT & GI/ZG/24-1-92.

143. GI/GAT; GI/YI; GI/Onu ATM; & MMM.

144. Ukwedeh, p.39.

2.12 The Pre-Dynastic External Relations

The most glaring external relations was trade at the regional level. The Bassa and Ebira fishermen to the south of the area under study dominated the trade along the Benue. They penetrated the villages in the northern part of Benue to exchange their goods for local products. The Igala traders (known together with the Ebira as Akpoto in Gbagyiland) also brought some goods into Gbagyiland. These were goods brought from the coast. Similarly, Hausa traders came from Zaria and Katsina area to trade with the Gbagyi. The Gbagyi and Nupe to the west penetrated our region through Kuta and Pei (Garki) to trade. In addition, the Yeskwa, Jaba and Mada traders penetrated the region through Kaninkoro and Kupan Gwari. Through these trading network our region was linked to the West African trading system.[145]

Traditions report on the political ties that existed between the Gbagyi and Hausaland. This ties is related in the legends of origin of the Gbagyi which claim that the rulers of Gbagyi polities came from Hausaland and Borno, and the legend of Girgam/Daura which link Hausa and Gbagyi as originating from common ancestors - Queen Daura and Bayajida.[146]

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145. Interviews with Znignamiwyi and footnote 142; Ohiare, pp.66, 120-121 and 188-190.

146. M.G. Smith, The Affairs of Daura, pp.52-56; cf. Kwanashi (et al), pp.13, 73-74 cf.

It is also reported that there was some political relations between the people of the area under study and the Afo, Agatu and Bassa to the east, Mada and Arago to the north-east and the Yeskwa and Koro/Jaba to the north. The nature of the political ties is not clear in the traditions. It is claimed that the Chiefs sought the protection of their agents/partners in foreign lands and by sending gifts/gaisuwa as a symbol of peace, partnership and alliance. And in the dry seasons, community hunting (Bago) involved the invitation of hunters from foreign lands. Some of the ties, particularly between the Nupe and Gbagyi, Koro, Gade, Ganagana and Bassa, were characterised by religious and totemic ties with festivals arranged by every village or polity and attended by the neighbouring polities and tribes.[147]

2.13 Conclusion

The situation which was the background to the emergence of the kingdoms of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu was the issue of discussion in this chapter. First, we critically examined the traditions of origins of the peoples in this area of study. The discussion gave more weight to the internal evolution of settlements

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147. [illegible] FIK; 61/ 30./30- 12-91.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RISE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

3.1 Introduction

In the preceeding chapter we focused on the pre-dynastic society, economy, political organization and external relations in the region. It was stressed that the internal situation was the dominant force that influenced the various changes that took place. This was also the background to the rise of the kingdoms of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu which is the subject of discussion in this chapter.

3.2 The Rise of the Kingdom of Kurape

To meaningfully discuss the rise of these kingdoms we need to define clearly the terms namely chiefdom and kingdom. We also need to clearly sort out the issue of dating which arise in the use of the tradition.

The term chief was coined by the colonial government to refer to their newly appointed tribal/native heads, councillors or representatives who co-operated with the colonial administration. And Chiefdom refers to the area of jurisdiction of a chief. The process of appointing a chief was not vested on the traditional council of king makers but on the white High Commissioner, Divisional

Officer and Resident. And in most cases it was the Emirs, Kings and Obas whose powers had been drastically reduced that were refered to as chiefs.[1] Hence, the term or concept chief/chiefdom cannot fit in our analysis of the state system of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu which were not answerable to another power.

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1. Afigbo A.D., "The Establishment of Colonial Rule 1900-1918." in Ajayi and Crowther, (eds.) History of West Africa Vol.2, pp.452-456 revealed that Chiefs were often chosen in a haphazard fashion without proper inquirty into indigenous political practice and system of authority. Consequently most Members of the Councils were not even village heads. Their authority derived entirely from the WARRANT or certificate of recognition given to them by the government. Again, even where they were traditionally village heads they were given an artificial position through being made to represent and supervise the affairs of villages and village-groups over which they traditionally had no authority whatsoever. Some kings were from being the sovereign authority in the empires reduced to the status of subordinate local authority of the colonial administration with competence limited only to their cities. Some of their rights like the collection of tributes from their subjects and confirmation of village heads were taken over by the High Commissioner who now dictated policies and suppervised its implimentation. The Native Authorities Proclaimation recognised a hierachy of five grades of chiefs, with different insignia of authority. At the top were the more important Emirs of Sokoto, Gwandu, Kano and Borno, and at the bottom were the district heads of the politically fragmented non-muslim communities. The right to appoint these chiefs was vested ultimately in the high Commissioner, who had to confirm every election and could refuse to accept the election of a candidate he did not approve of even if the candidate should be the most qualified under the traditional rules and succession to political office. In confirming the appointment of any chief the High Commissioner emphasised that the appointee owed his position to the British and would be deposed or disciplined in the eventof incompetence, corruption or disloyalty. Also see M.G. Smith, Government in Zauzau 1800-1950, London, 1970, pp.200-205; I.F. Nicolson, The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960, Oxford, 1969, pp.68-72; and Gunn and Conant, p.99.

Kurape was a Kingdom on the ground that the rulers of Kurapeland (Kurape-kni - the town and its subordinate villages) hail from one family - from the founder of the settlement of Kurape. This kingship institution had its defined dynastic succession policy in which a brother succeeded a brother, or son succeeded his father. The stool rotated between two rulling houses (A-Boknu) in the 18th and 19th centuries.[2] The kingdom of Kurape was sovereign and not answerable to any external power. The rulers of Kurape were mostly priests and were believed to be semi-divine. The kings (Osu) was automatically the chief-priest (Bei) of the state. Apart from the spiritual position which put the Osu above everybody, he was also the head of administration, with both executive and legislative powers. To some extent, one can say that the rulers of Kurape kingdom were despotic, as they did not tolerate democratic practices. For instance, the king appointed village heads and council of elders that were mere rubber stamps. The position of the king and his dominant role was further strengthened by his monopoly of surplus appropriation as well as the fact that he maintained a substantial number of palace attendants who functioned as a means of coersion. Kurape was seen as a city, a court, the dominant administrative and market centre, and as the centre of

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2. GI/Osu ATM; GI/UNK; ACPD; GI/ZT; GI/GAT; GI/AH; GI/PM, & DFT.

culture.[3] Available kinglists could seem to suggest that the Kurape dynasty date back to the early 17th century. This period marked a watershed in the emergence of centralised authority in Kurape. Some of these kinglists contained in oral traditions which are preserved in incantations and recited during cult sacrifices, and now documented are:

Azaki[4] and Anyitomizai's[5] list

1st ruler ... Jezyi (70 years)
2nd ruler ... Kago (40 years) - son
3rd ruler Gyiku Jezyi (32 years) - brother
4th ruler Anyibadai (30 years) - nephew
5th ruler Tutugye (20 years) - son
6th ruler Riku (30 years) - nephew
7th ruler Kurape (32 years)- nephew
8th ruler Mamwawye (2 years) - son
9th ruler Alheri (10 years) - son
10th ruler Samso (40 years) - brother
11th ruler Zagbi (3 years) - brother
12th ruler Gaduma (7 years) - uncle
13th Ruler Anyitomizai (28 years) - 1964-1991, son of the 8th king.

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3. Ibid.

4. Late Azaki Tukura was interviewed three times at Nassarawa. He was about 85 years old. He claimed that his grand-father, his father and Osu Anyitomizai were his informants.

5. Late Nyitomizai Tukura Mamwawye was interviewed four times infront of many people in Kurape (his palace) and in Karu. His list correspond to Azaki's. This list was again verified by Mr. Lazarus Azaki (Accountant UNT Ltd Kaduna) and Honourable Zephania Tukura (heir of Kurape

Daniel Zakwoi Zee's list[6]

Kago	1600 - 1688 (88 years)
Jezyi	1688 - 1720 (32 years)
Riku	1720 - 1790 (70 years)
Gyawyi	1791 - 1810 (19 years)
Kulape	1810 - 1880 (70 years)
Alheri	1881 - 1891 (10 years)
Sameo	1891 - 1951 (60 years)
Zagbi	1951 - 1964 (13 years)
Anyitomizai	1964 - 1991 (27 years)

Dogara Tuta's list[7]

First rulers ... obscure

Osu Layadn

Liseru

Samso

Zagbi

Anyitomizai

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6. Daniel Zakwoi Zee (EO Education Department FCT) wrote a Memorandum to Plateau State Government on 19/11/81 titled "The History of Kurape Chiefdom."

7. Dogara Tututa is about 100 years old. He was born at Zyiipe. His father inherited Amwamwa and Bwagyi cults from his grand-father during which sacrifice were the names of Kurape kings recited. He admitted his inability to recall the names of the earliest rulers.

Kura Talupwui's list[8]

First 3 rulers obscure

4th ruler ... Mwmwwye (3 years)

5th ruler .... Isolu (40 years)

6th ruler ... Samso (20 years)

7th ruler .... Zagbi (13 years)

8th ruler ... Nyitomizai (27 years)

Gaduma Anyidakuzo and Adogo Bezawu's list[9]

First 5 rulers obscure

7th ruler ... Su-Laya-da

8th ruler ... Riku

9th ruler ... Samso

10th ruler .. Zagbi

11th ruler .. Nyitomizai

Padawa Zagbice's list[10]

First 3 rulers obscure

4th ruler .. Tutugye (20 years

5th ruler .. Isolu (40 years)

6th ruler ...Alheri (10 years)

7th ruler .. Samso (20 years)

8th ruler .. Zagbi (13 years)

9th ruler .. Nyitomiza (27 years)

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8. Kura Talupwui is also about 100 years old, and was born in Taknushara. He also admitted his inability to recall the names of the earliest rulers of Kurape since he no longer practice Mwamwa cult.

9. Gaduma Anyidakuzo Topmiwyi is about 90 years old: Adogo Bezawu is about 100 years old. They were interviewed together at Tamah on 30/12/1991. They were consistent in their accounts when I interviewed them again separately. They informed me that the names of the earliest rulers of Kurape could be known in Kurape palace.

When the kinglists are compared one observes some similarit and dissimilarities in the number names of the kings, reign lengths and dating. These dissimilarities constitute a serious problem for the historian. The list by Azaki Tukura and Osu Anyitomizai are longer than the rest and seem more reliable. This is so because Azaki's grand-father and father were from Waru, a subordinate of Kurape, whose duty it was to recite the names of the rulers of Kurape dur ng town sacrifices. Although the reign length of the kings are likely to be inaccurate in places, the relationship between the rulers and successors add some validity to the list. The twelth ruler on the list is said to have been imposed by the colonial government, and some people termed him to be a Regent (not turbaned). Osu Anyitomizai also reported that the names were always recited during Kurape sacrifices and have taken a fixed form.[11]

The list of Daniel Zee Zakwoi has 9 names. The reign length of some of the kings in this list appear to me to be speculative. This is due to the

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10. Late Padawa Nyidagyibanyi was over 100 years old when he was interviewed. He became a Christian in 1890. His uncle by name Znimiajeatna was a Bezye-Yaako (Commander of the Army) of Kurape kingdom who used to recite the names of Kurape kings during Mwaawa and Kudamiyi sacrificies.

11. Interviews with Zephania Tukura. He drew our attention to the fact that there is the tendency of the informants to forget the names of kings that were not popular or did not reign for long.

fact that the Gbagyi were used to installing only the elders and therefore could be doubtful that many of them ruled for up to 70 or 80 years. His analysis apparently suffer from dating problems. This list suggest over-lapping reigns,[12] a practice which was not common among the Gbagyi. In fact, the Gbagyi mourn the death of a king for a year or more, and it is only after that period that a new one is installed. Like in Pegi (Garki), a brother of the deceased king acted as a regent for 7 years before another King was chosen.[13] In Kurape, Gaduma acted as regent before any election.[14] Daniel Z. Zee himself agreed that Kago was not the first settler in Kurape and reported that before Kago arrived with his people in Kurape in 1600 there were already some Gbagyi in Kurape.[15] Again D.Z. Zee was not certain about the reign length of Kago.[16] Thus there must have been some rulers before Kago as in Azaki's list.

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12. D.Z. Zee, loc. cit. , pp.3. There is apparent dating problem in his work. For example, he wrongly dated the coming down of Kurape from the hill and the colonial creation of Karshi District between 1881-1891. On the contrary the colonial records show that this happened between 1913-1920.

13. Gbagyi of Garki Village in Time Perspective, Research and Document Unit Cultural Section FCDA Abuja, May 1989, p.1.

14. Interview with Dogara Tuta.

15. D.Z. Zee, p.1.

16. Ibid, pp.1-3

The other lists do not contain the names of the earlier rulers, and the informants admitted their weaknesses which they attributed to the lack of worship of Mwamwa and Kudamiyi cults when names of the kings were recited.[17] The lists however give some clue on the number of Kurape kings and their reign lengths. This to some extent seems to support the lists by Azaki, Nyitomizai and D.Z. Zee. The lists seem very reliable due to the fact that they were collected outside Kurape.[18] Thus this information from the outside which corroborate the internal source of Azaki, Nyitomizai and D.Z. Zee's lists give credibility to the lists. It should be stressed that to a large extent the lists agree on the names of the rulers and on the succession of the kings. This should be the basis of our rearrangement of the names in order to put our discussion in time perspective. We still await serious archaeological excavation of the old site of Kurape to shed more light on the antiquity of Kurape.

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17. GI/AB/3C/12/91 and GI/GAT/; and with D.T.T.; PNK and KCT on various dates.

18. Azaki Tukura's fore-father was from Waru; Adogo's from Shacipi; Galadima's from Lugbe; Dogara's from Zhiipe; Kura's from Taknushara; all these settlements are now in FCT; and Padawa's from Kurudu and Kurape.

Jezyi	c.1597 - 1667	70 years	
Kago	c.1668 - 1760	32 years	(son of Jezyi)
Gyiku Jezyi	c.1701 - 1749	40 "	(brother of Kago)
Anyibadai	c.1742 - 1772	30 "	(nephew of Gyiku)
Tutugye	c.1773 - 1793	20 "	(son of Anyibadai)
Riku 'Su-layada	c.1794-1824	30 "	(nephew of Tutugye)
Gyawyi	c.1825 - 1844	19 "	(brother of Riku)
Kurape	C.1845 - 1875	30 "	(son of Riku, nephew of Gyawyi)
Isolu	c.1876 - 1906	30 "	(nephew of Kurape)
Mamwawye	c.1907 - 1908	2 "	(son of Isolu)[19]

Based on the king lists, the events attributed to the kings and their reign lengths we can confidently start the analysis of Kurape kingship institution from the 17th century. In other words, our acceptance of this date relates to the traditions which strikingly corroborate this period. It is hard to dismiss the claim in the traditions as the transmitters insist on their historicity.

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19. The relationship between the kings was verified by Zephania Tukura heir to the throne on 16/10/92. He also drew our attention to the fact that some oral traditions mention of certain palace coups and quick successions which details are lost.

Alheri	1909-1919	- 10 years	(son of AKurape, nephew of Mamwawye)
Samso	1920-1941	- 21 years	(son of Alheri)
Gaduma	1942-1949	- 7 years	(uncle of Samso)
Zagbi	1950-1963	-13 years	(son of Alheri)
Nyitomizai	1964-1991	-27 years	(son of Mamwawye, nephew of Zagbi).

The rise of Kurape is said to have started with the coming to power of Jezyi (c1597-1667). He made Kurape popular in the region by building a wall (Galu) round the village as well as established Kurape market day (Togawyi). He is also credited to have started Kaka (spirit of dance) cult which made Kurape culturally superior to its surrounding villages. Zhibaje (town cult festival) is believed to have started during the reign of Jezyi. His reign was a water-shed as he arranged for his son to succeed him, hence Kurape started evolving some form of kingship institution.[20]

Kago succeeded his father and ruled from c.1668-1700. It is claimed that he was the first ruler that attempted to establish external relations with Zaza (Zazzau), Kuchi (Kaduna/Kurmin-Gwari), Nupiko and Koton-Karfi. He is credited to have introduced horses and Hausa or Zaria imports into the area. He is also believed to have successfully warded off Zaria's forays on the region. Other reports claim that he welcome Gbagyi migrants from Zaria area into the area.[21] These traditions seem to corroborate information from Zaria traditions recorded by Mahadi Adamu, that Zazzau's

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20. GI/ATM and with Wnuanyiya Arandc and Kura in 1991.

21. GI/Tr.Rul./12-10-92.

influence had reached the confluence by the 17th century.[22] This influence was apparantly economic and bilateral ties and not political domination as some scholars suggested.[23] It can be argued that the trade and bilateral ties under Kago with the Hausa, Nupe and Ebira cities must have further strengthened the economic and political position of Kurape.

The rise of Kurape as a centralised authority was partly due to its military activities and its conquest of the neighbouring villages. Oral tradition is clear on this. During Gyiku Jezyi's reign (c.1701-1740) the villages to the north as far as Zumwa were conquered, thus expanding the kingdom. His successor, Anyibadai (c.1742-1772) continued the military conquest as well as the consolidation of the conquered villages. He is said to be a very wicked king as he declared capital punishment on minor cases. It is reported that he had a special stone which he used to sharpen his sword every morning to ensure that it was sharp enough for slaughter, which he cherished. To test the sword he often beheaded any slave. He is believed to have set his wife ablaze for dressing half naked.

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22. Mahadi Adamu, "Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in the 18th and 19th Centuries." in Y.B. Usman, (ed.) Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate. ABU 1979, p.91.

23. Mahadi Adamu, "The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th to 19th Centuries." in Y.B. Usman (et al) Facts, Values and Nigerian Historiography... ABU 1983, p.192; H.A.S. Johnson, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, Exf. 1967. p.69; Denham, Oudney and Clapperton, Volume II, p.507.

That he convicted her for opening her private part for witches to see. His subjects, the Waru people, due to his wickedness attempted to assassinate him during his tour to Waru.[24] Osu Anyibadai is credited to have expanded the palace by appointing several officials especially those responsible to collect taxes. He again set up state carravan that engaged in trades with the Ebira, Nupe, Igala and Yoruba who ferried the Benue and Niger rivers, and with the Hausa traders from the north. Osu Anyibadai was the first Sakurapei to compel the Fulani to pay taxes in cattles for grazing in his country, and the butchers to give him the humb of every cattle slaughtered. Like Osu Gyiku, Anyibadai raided weaker villages for slaves. The reigns of Gyiku and Anyibadai saw the introduction of slave labour in the palace and the practice of taking wives from every village.[25]

Tutugye came to power after the assassination of his father. He made an earlier attempt to behead his father by forcing his way into his room through a hole, using a rope to strangle him to death. Tutugye is believed to be a great warrior. He was the Benye-Yaako (Commander of the Army) before he became the Osu (c.1775-1793). Although the tradition did not allow

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24. GI/ATM/25-12-79 and KCTD/12/2/92.

25. Int/TM; KCTD and Lazarus Azaki in 1992.

king to go to battle, Tutugye broke the law. He personally led the army that suppressed Karu and Kurudu uprising. It is also believed that Kurape kingdom was at its peak during the reign of Tutugye.[26]

Oral accounts report that there was palace skirmishes between the princes immediately after the death of Tutugye. Riku 'Su-laya-da (king with amulate) overpowered other rivals and bought off the kin,-mai..s.[27] Riku is more known in the tradition as a great slave raider. He raided even his subjects and sold them to the Hausa, Nupe and Ebira in the confluence.[28] Like Tutugye and Anyibadai, Riku also seized people's properties as well as sold off orphans. He seized wives of his subjects and was said to burry suspected witches and wizards alive. Some convicts were asked to dig their own gravesand were burried alive. Riku also dictated to Hausa and Ebira carravans within his country. He built walls (Galu) by the borders of Kurape country. The traces of these walls are still seen running from Keffi through Saka, Gwagwa and Nahuce passing to the confluence of rivers Wuzye (Majawali) and Uke. He also seized cattles from the Fulani that refused to pay their taxes on time. It is interesting to note that

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26. GI/PNK/14/4/80.

27. Interviews with Zephania Tukura; and with GAT.

28. Interviews on various dates with Pastor Tukura, GAT; and Azaki Tukura.

he was the richest man in the country. He successfully warded off jihadists and Nupe forays.[29]

His successor, Gyawyi (c.1825-1844) was not as powerful, in fact he could not maintain the borders. Significantly too, Karu under the reign of Narai (c.1810-1854), and Kurudu under Kugnazyi (c.1807-1832) succeeded in asserting their independence from the contr of Kurape. Thereafter they developed into centralised kingdoms. It should be noted that Kurudu and Karu had made unsuccessful attempts to be independent during the reign of Osu Tutugye (c.1773-1793). In addition, Waru and its subordinate villages, gained their independence from the control of Kurape.[30] As a result of Gyawyi's weakness some of the princes became annoyed with him. This led to series of coups, and he was subsequently sent on exile to Wuzakpma, about 10 kilometres north of Kurape where he died. Finally, he was burried in Kurape.[31]

Kurape son of Riku became the king of Kurape from c.1845-1875. Osu Kurape faced serious external challenges from Abuja, Keffi, Nassarawa, Igu and Bida. He also had to contend with the attempt by Abuja, Karu and Kurudu to assert their independence. They however

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29. Ibid.

30. Daniel Z. Zee, p.3; and GI/GAT/30/12/91

31. Ibid.

sought confederal tie in order to check the impending Sokoto jihadists.[32]

Isolu became the Osu and he reigned from c.1876-1906. He continued the war with the jihadists and against Karu under Wyekoya (c.1855-1891) and Audu (c.1892-1949). It was during his reign that the Christian missionaries and traders came to the area. He is also remembered for his dislike for Christianity. He was known to have said: Mi ta gyi anyi nu mimiyi n. This meant "I do not live a raw life/world" - implying that he did not like a new 'rough culture'. He imprisoned Christian missionaries for their audacity to challenge their culture which was the basis of his divine rule and authority. He also hated them for asking him to set free his slaves.[33]

Mamwawye declared himself king (1907-1909) immediately after the death of his father. But there was protest among the princes as the Osu was supposed to come from the other ruling house. As a result he was forced to resign. He was however so powerful that he imposed his candidate on the king-makers. He imposed Alheri (1909-1919) in compliance with the cultural practice of rotating the stool between two ruling houses, but the choice of Alheri was intentional, i.e. to

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32. Interviews on various dates with GI/AM; GI/AB & GI/ZT 1993.

33. Interviews : GI/GAT; GI/AT.

eventually oust him. Mamwawye could not realise his ambition because Kurape had to face attacks sponsored by the Europeans from Abuja and Keffi. It was during his regin that the Europeans conquered the area. It was also during his time that Kurape settlement was moved from the hill-top to the plains.[34]

Our discussion above attempted to discuss the role of some personalities in the rise of the kingdom of Kurap . Another factor that was instrumental to the rise of kingship institution of Kurape was culture. This provided the ideology for the devine and sacred qualities that legitimised the rule of the Osu. Oral accounts reveal that Kurape was a religious centre where most Gbagyi cults developed. And as a result of the rulers' involvement in their people's religious beliefs the kingship system was strengthened. Religion played a significant role in the history of the region. Firstly, it served as a unifying force. Secondly, it served as a form of ideology for the regulation of the conduct of the people. For instance, Zhiba, Mwamwa, Golobe, Bwagyi, Kudamiyi, Kaka, Odo and Madawa cults as well as grave worship were used by the royal family to legitimise their power over the people. In the particular case of Kurape, the Kudamiyi and Bwagyi

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34. GI/ZT and KN/16-10-92. Other Osu that ruled during the colonial period were: Samso (1920-1941), Danjuma Galadima/Gaduma (a regent or imposed by the colonial government 1942-1949) and Zagbi (1950-1963).

cults further served as a source of exerting control on the subordinate villages through induced fear that the cults were devine, practiced by Kurape alone, and the names of the kings of Kurape were recited during the sacrifices.[35] Kurape chief-lineage was the chief-priest of the kingdom who initiated other village priests. Hence Kurape exerted political superiority on the others through these cults.[36]

Again, sacrifices were made to the Kudamiyi and Bwagyi cults whenever there was about to be a major war and at a regular interval of seven years. The people made sacrifices to the other cults yearly or any time the king or priests deemed it fit. The various villages and tribes were invited to participate at festivals. It was believed that only the heirs to the throne and Bezye-Yaako (Commander of the army) possessed spiritual powers and magic to perform the spirit dance. The dance involved burning each other with fire, setting fire on roofs, shooting one another, beating and tying one another - all to no effect or harm.' This made subordinate villages to submit to the authority of Kurape. It is interesting to note here that the Kudamiyi and Bwagyi cults were conducted in the night.

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35. Interviews on various dates with Wnuanyiya Danyaya, GI/AM; MMM; and GAT in 1991.

36. Interview: GI/PNK.

Like Amadawa, the Kaka (dance cult) was also believed to have been first initiated in Kurape. Kaka dance was performed in major festivals and ceremonies, and could compete with themselves. They also performed magic. It is claimed that the Kaka dancers of Kurape always worn the dance contests. The superiority/of Kaka dancer of Kurape called Snukuwyi is stressed in a story who could transform into a wasp in order to put on his costumes unnoticed and drop from a roof as if he were from the sky. This story was supposed to prove the superiority of Kurape in terms of social and cultural activities - sport, dance and magic - and to conjure the subordinate villages to submission.

Apart from the cultural superiority there were rules that further strengthened the position of the ruler of Kurape so that he became divine before his subjects. For instance, the king was barred from seeing a corpse outside his house. Kurape kings were not allowed to go hunting, fishing, skinning animal, nor buy thing in the market in person. The enthronment of king was done with a big fanfare and merriment. For instance, the ceremony included the adoning of a lion, tiger and ram which were slaughtered with the sword (Ebe) - the staff of office, and the king was expected to drink the blood, eat the meat and lay on the skins for 14 days. The blood of the animals was mixed and stored in a new calabash, and this was used to cook the king's food.[9]

It was also believed that the Ebe (sword/staff of office) was sacred and thus was preserved in a shrine by a priest - Danyinya in Kurape kingdom, and Tulaci in Karu kingdom.[40] At the enthronment ceremony the sword was given to the king. Thus the enthronment ceremony was called 'Be-Dua - meaning 'putting sword' or 'awarding staff of office'; while the prince was said to have Gyi-Be - meaning won the sword (Gyi = Win). The chief priest said the following prayers at this point:

> Our fore-fathers and kings (names of successive kings).... whose powers embody this Ebe, will guard and guide you.... (name of new king). ...
> We marry you to this Ebe-Yako as our new king who will guard and protect our people from the evil ones, enemies, ... You will keep this Ebe as your power. Like the lion, tiger and bull you have taken ... their spirits, the spirit of our kings are with you ...[41]

Elsewhere among the Gbagyi, the sword was adopted as staff of office, and it was believed to have mythical powers.

The practice of 'hiding' the sword before the enthronment of a new king was carried out, and this seem to have contributed to the cohesion of the kingdom.

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40. Ibid, also see Tanimu Samari Aduda, "The Traditional Concept of God among Gbagyi/Gwari." Diploma Essay, Emmanuel College of Theology and Christian Education, Ibadan, 1982, p.16. This article was given to me by Shehu Adamu, Secretary Scholarship Board, Ministry of Education, Plateau State.

41. Group Interview with GAT/30-12-91.

It is reported that after the death of the king of Kurape Osu Kurape (c.1845-1875) some princes sought the support of a 'foreign' or neutral body to help hide the sword, in order to prevent its monopoly by one house, or prevent the frustration of crowning a king without the sword since a rival party could refuse to give out the sword (in order to frustrate the enthronment of a rival prince). For instance, it is claimed that the chief priest and prince Isolu (c.1876-1906) asked their Gwandara subjects of Karshi to hide the sword until the enthronment of Isolu as king.[42] A variant of this report maintained that the Ebeyaako was broken in a struggle among the princes. And while the other princes and elders sought for the chief black-smith Pyagbe to make one, Isolu sent a powerful delegation to K'eleyi (Karshi) to buy one for him. It cost him a female slave. As a result of this support of Karshi-Gwandara, Isolu sought their views in minor decisions and also established the relationship of marriage.[43] The reign of Isolu (c.1876-1906) marked a turning point in the history of relation between Kurape kingdom and the Gwandara/Gade of Karshi. Suffice it to say that this practice whereby the Gade/Gwandara of Karshi kept the

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42. Meek, p.21 and Temple, p.124; Interview with Padawa.

43. G1/ZT and KN/16-10-92.

staff of office for safe-keeping in period of rivalry among princes has been mis-interpreted by some writers to mean that Karshi enthroned Gbagyi kings of Kurape and Karu.[44] A close study of the relations between the Gbagyi and their neighbours by N.F. Bmyanyiko,[45] Naibi,[46] Adamu Shehu[47] and Cua and Conant[48] has clearly shown that the sword was only kept by the Gwandara or Koro.

Apart from these internal factors that influenced the rise of Kurape kingdom, there were some external factors at play, which should be considered here since they shed light on the external pressure that influenced state formation in this region. For instance, the activities of powerful neighbouring kingdoms of Nupe, Jukun, Igala and Zaria from the 16th century brought in several waves of migrants from Kwararafa, Doma, Igalaland and Hausaland into the confluence area. These migrants later founded the kingdom of Igugbaka in the 17th century, which led to some demographic and socio-political developments in Gbagyiland.[49] For instance, the rise of Igugbaka[50] and Nupe kingdom[51]

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44. See Sule Mohammed, pp.17, 65, 108, and 119; Naibi and Hassan, pp.2-26; Temple, p.121.

45. N.F. Bmyanyiko, "The Gbagyi People of Nigeria: Origins and Political Systems." Paper presented in Yelwa in 1988, p.3.

46. Naibi, p.3.

47. Adamu Shehu, "The Traditional Karu District Headship." A MEMO. 1983, p.3.

48. Gunn and Conant, p.98.

49. Ohiare, pp.152-160 and 200-213.

50. Ibid.

51. Nadel, p.70.

were characterised by the annexation of the acephalous Gbagyi villages that bordered them. Hence the villages around Kurape were encouraged to cluster together under Kurape for security.[51d]

Thus, the factors of security, demographic changes, economic growth and integration were significant in the rise of Kurape as a state. In the case of the factor of defence, there were several factors that gave rise to this. First, the Kurape area was geographically well placed to provide effective defence. Secondly, King Riku 'Su-laya-da (c.1794-1824) built walls on the eastern and northern borders of Kurape through the use of slave and forced labour. With security guaranteed, more immigrants were attracted to Kurape and this in turn boosted the economy. The economic aspect of the kingdom will be highlighted in the following analysis. Further, social cohesion was strengthened especially between the kings and the immigrant groups through intermarriage.

3.3 The Economy of the Kurape Kingdom

In the previous chapters we attempted among other things to show that agriculture was the dominant occupation of the Gbagyi in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. We also argued that the dominant mode of production was communal. The rulers of Kurape encourage agricultural pursuit. They granted titles to out-

The various professions attracted taxes. Community hunting - BAGO/FAZNA/KASO - was also taxed. The leg or neck and skins of special animals were sent to the palace. These taxes were collected by the head of hunters (Nagbei/baushe) and the head of fishermen (Kada). Tusks/ivory and spikes were sent to the palace. This was resold in the inter-regional trade by the state caravan. The trade in animal skin was so lucrative that the kings encouraged hunters to dig wide and deep holes around river banks and foot hills (many of which are still in existence today) to trap large animals. The state controlled the trade in skins because it was desired by the neighbouring polities for making sheilds and leather articles.[53]

Another important sector of the economy was textiles. It is claimed that the dominant centres of cloth knitting and weaving in the region were Kurape, Wushapa and Kuta. Available accounts seem to show that Gbagyi cloth was dominant in the region in the 18th and 19th centuries.[54] There were dealers in textiles, and were taxed. These cloth attracted some taxes especially on the traders, and this was collected in cash or in kind.

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53. Ibid.

54. Interviews with Ladi Tukura, Znignamiwyi, Bowu, Dorothy Akenova and GI, GAT/30-12-91.

It is claimed that the cloth was used as part of the gifts to a girl's parents during engagement and for establishing diplomatic ties - Gnabyi/Gaisuwa.[55] Other complementary articles in the textiles industry were red ochre (Oza) and dye (Osni) which were produced from local plants. Some of these chemicals were exported to Nupeland, Hausaland and to Igu kingdom.[56] The studies of Nadel, Ohiare, Gunn and Conant and that of Sule Mohammed all support this view.[57] The rulers of Kurape greatly encouraged the production of cloth. Some informants claim that the production of cloth by the Gbagyi distinguished them from their neighbouring Koro groups.[58]

Another factor that was significant in the rise of Kurape as a centralised authority was the iron smelting industry. Kurape had its blacksmiths who mined the iron ore at Nike, Kupan-Gwari/Gyinu, Nyigbala, and Mugarawyi. It is stressed in the oral tradition that Kurape rose above its neighbouring villages due to its monopoly over iron mining (Gbakuku/Kukuru/Gbekna).[59]

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55. ibid.

56. Interviews with GAT and with Znignamiwyi.

57. Sule Mohammed, pp.8-9; Ohiare, pp.239-244; Gunn and Conant, pp.91-92; Adamu M., "Economy and Urbanizatio ..." in Y.B. Usman (et al) "Facts, Values ..." pp.59-86; Nadel, p.415.

58. Various interviews with Znignamiwyi, and with Aruwa Maishanu. The Koro groups were naked up to about 1960; the Gbagyi called any group/tribe that was naked as Koro = naked; and the colonialist accepted the name and wrongly assumed that all the groups called Koro had common origin or one tribe, even when their traditions claimed diverse origins.

Kurape blacksmiths (Pyagbei) produced iron implements like knives, hoes, spears, axes, iron traps and horse shoes in particular for local consumption. Much of the implements were sold to the neighbouring communities such as the Ebira, Nupe, Koro, Gade, Afo and Hausa.[59] Iron tools (Snikna[G]), implements and weapons were widely used throughout the kingdom, since every person that farmed had at least a hoe and a cutlass, every female had an axe, and every family had a knife. Like the textile industry, the iron industry generated both local and inter-regional trades.[60]

Copper (Sni-Beyi)[G] was also important in the economy of Kurape. This was because it was used in the manufacture of bells, wears, horse-saddles and so on.[61]

Besides it is clear that the production of iron tools and weapons contributed immensely to the evolution of the state system in Kurape. Osu Gyiku (c.1701-1740) used his monopoly over iron weapons to subdue neighbouring villages, such as villages north of Kurape up to Waru and eastward to Gyinu. Gyiku instructed the blacksmiths specifically to produce iron weapons such as Ataru (wide and smooth spear), Knawyi (arrow), Magna (digging dagger), Beyako (sword),

59. See footnote 57.

60. Interview with KCTD.

61. Ohiare, pp.239-244.

Gasasawa (wide spear), Masai/Masari (axe), Aze (axe), Gbaknu (Thick axe), Apya (small axe, cuttlass), Ada (cuttlass), Mashi (long handle spear), Ebe (knife) and so on. No wonder then that the Gbagyi have a common saying: "Kurape apya nu ba da gamyi," meaning "Kurape axes will speak for me."[62] There was an official who monitored the activities of the blacksmiths in the kingdom. This official known as the Pyagbe also collecte taxes in iron implements for the king. Iron implements and copper were also used as a means of exchange.[63] It is stated in the traditions that Osu Kurape (c.1845-1875) prohibited the sale of iron implements to Nupeland, Igu and Zaria who were regarded as enemy states and whose blacksmiths transformed iron implements into weapons.[64] Although iron slags are still found in the old sites of Kurape, Mugarawyi and Wushapa, the antiquity, quality and quantity are yet to be established by archaeologists. However, from Ohiare's study we can hazard that the iron ore in the region is of high quality.[65]

Pottery was another industry that was significant in the economy of Kurape. Like elsewhere among the Gbagyi, pottery making was solely the work of women.

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62. Various interviews with D.T.T., GI/AB/91 and Bmiyidubegye Papa in 1991.

63. Interview with KCLT.

64. Interview with DTT.

65. Ohiare, pp.44, 95 and 239-240.

The Gbagyi produced various types of pots. These included: Knafi (big size pots for storage purpose), Knafi-Kniagbe (pot for storing beer), Nuwna-Tu-Nyaknu (put for storing water), Shnapa-Nabi (pot for storing food), Shaknu-Dnalo (pot used for conveying water), Nyiknu-Yako (pot used as safe), Nyiknu-Biyi (pot used for serving beer), Nyilu-Shaknu (soup pot), Kpeknu (pot with cover), Shnapa-Zyepo (pot for serving food), Shnapa-Biyi (pot for serving soup), and several pot sizes for drumming. These pots which are of high quality were in great demand in the neighbouring states such as among the Ebira and Gade. Hence Kurape pots were exchanged for dry fish with the Afo, Agatu and Ebira; meat with Koro, Gade and Gwandara; salt with the Awe and milk with the Fulani. It was also an important means of exchange in the whole region since the 17th century. And with the people of Lafia, Kurape pots formed part of the marriage gifts/ property.[66]

Craftmen, artisans, etc were also very important in the economy of the kingdom.[67]

External or Long-Distance-Trade was another important stimulus to the rise of Kurape as a kingdom.

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66. Interviews with Daso Bwagyiya; DTT, AB and BPTC 1-1-92.

67. See pp.76.77 of chapter 2 of this thesis.

It is therefore important to identify the trade routes that linked the kingdom with the regional trade routes. The most important trade routes were: First, the route that run from Zaria through Gadani and Kuta to the north, to Kaninkoro in the northeast of Kurape. It is believed that Kurape goods - cloths and iron implements - were first exported to Zaria during the reign of king Kago (c.1668-1700). And during the reign of king Gyiku (c.1701-1740) slaves were exported to Hausaland. The trade in slaves continued up to the 19th century and it boosted the trade. In exchange, Kurape imported horses and kingly regalia.[68] Second, there was the route from Awe-Doma region through the Madn and Afo area to Kurape. On this trade route Gbagyi pots, dye, crafts, etc were exchanged for salt from Awe. It is claimed that it was only the rich who were able to afford the imported salt, which was more superior to the local one. Third, there was the route that came from Rabah and Bida through Kuta and Pei, through Kurape to Koton-Karfe and Kurudu. Ebira, Bassa and Nupe traders functioned as the middlemen on these routes. Fourth, there was the route that run from Igalaland through Opanda, Loko and Ikereku to Kurape.[69]

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68. GI/ATM/91

69. GI/HS/16-4-89; DDD and with ZT/16-10-92.

Suffice it to say however that it was only the king/ state with an equiped caravan that was able to go to Hausaland (Zari ', Bida and Lokoja.[70]

The commodities that Kurape exported included: calabash, gold (which place of mining is yet to be established), iron implements, indigo, cloths, ivory, crafts, pepper and ginger. The products that came into the kingdom were mainly wears, salt, natron, horses, gods, dry fish, cowries, etc.[71] The volume of trade in the region can be infered from the eye witness accounts of the early 19th century. During the stay of Richard Lander in Kurape (12th - 18th June 1827) which he called Kuttup/Cuttup, and whose people he calle the Bowchee (Gbagyi), he reported:

> Having heard, on my route, so many different reports of Cuttup, its wealth, population, and celebrated market, ... A considerable traffic is carried on here in slaves and bullocks; ... Slaves, as well as bullocks and sheep, are exposed in the market, which is held daily; and also red cloth, gum, salt, goora nuts, trona, beads, tobacco, country cloth, rings, needles, cutlery articles, and honey, rice, milk, . . . People from the most distant parts of the country resort here in vast numbers, to purchase these various articles...
> During my stay in Cuttup ... for the king invariably receives, as a tax from the butchers, the humb of every bullock they slaughtered; and one or two was sent me by his wives each day ... I sent to the market and informed the people I had needles and beeds to sell; on which several buyers came into my hut and purchased freely, giving me fifteen or twenty cowries each for the needles, whilst the Arabs could only get ten at most for their...

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70. Ibid, and with Gaza Zaka

71. Ibid. and Ohiare, pp.239-244.

72. Hugh Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition... Cass, 1966, pp.293-295, op.cit.

And in the mid 19th century Laird noted that the markets by the banks of the Niger were fed with large supplies from the markets in the interior Gbagyi country. He also remarked that the whole population on Niger was of commercial character, men, women and children carrying on trade.[73] The long distance trade was of great significance as it undoubtedly opened Kurape area to other regions. This economic interest must have encouraged Kurape rulers since Gyiku's reign to conquer and incorporate surrounding villages in order to acquire slaves and other commodities for exchange with goods from other areas.

Also the variety of products produced stimulated commerce both local and interregional trade. There was four-days market week (Cnikowyi[G]). The state declared Kurape market day as 'no-go-out-of-town' (Toga-Wyi) for the inhabitants of Kurape.[74] It should also be noted that the four-days-market-week seems to suggest large population and high internal productio as reported by Clapperton. As a result, traders and others were attracted to the market centres such as Pobiyi, Kuradu, Pei, Wushapa, Karu, Gyinu and Pewaako. The king derived substantial revenue in the form of market tolls from these centres. The official who collected the toll was known as the Wuzili. There were

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73. Laird, Vol. I, p.167.

74. GI/ZT and KN; Interviews/DB in 1990-91.

state canoes across river Uke at Uke, Dnako, Tamah and Nike where some state officials collected fees for crossing the rivers with state ferries. It is added that the state officials were very wicked and over-charged passengers, and sometimes unlawfully seized merchandise. Gate tolls (Pito)[G] were also collected at the gates of Wuzyo-Kpma (near Nahuce), Gwagwa, Karu and Peyanko.[75]

From the above discussion, it is clear that by the 18th century Kurape kingdom had fairly developed a diversified, integrated and self-suficient economy.

3.4 The Political Structure of the Kingdom of Kurape

An analysis of the political structure of Kurape kingdom has to start with a consideration of its hierachy of power structure. The offices of state in their hierachical order were: At the top was the Osu/Sakurapei (King of Kurape), followed by the Maadaci (deputy and custodian of the armoury); Then came the Gaduma (supervisor of the village heads), Bezye-Yaako (commander of the armed forces); Padawa (Secretary and treasurer of the palace); Mugazyi (the chief judge and Osu's adviser), Tulaci (chief-priest and orderly), Adogo/Mukama (Deputy-Bezye-yaako,

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75. Ibid.

in charge of discipline, Wuzili (accountant of the palace), Shekaada (messenger); Danyinya (announcer and messenger; the custodian of the staff of office - Ebé); and Bochi-Zaci (palace attendant and king-maker/advicer.)[76]

The administration of the Kurape palace (Galuko) was centred on the Osu/Sukurapei who was regarded as a devine ruler and the supreme head. He presided over the council of elders (Azakoi-Boknu) and the village and ward representative council (Abéda/Atukoda-Boknu). He ensured the general economic, political and spiritual well-being of the state, including issues of security and military. The Osu delegated some of his authority. For instance, he delegated his chief-priest (Bei) to help administer spiritual functions, and the Gaduma or Madaaci or Padawa to head any delebration.[77] The retinue of officials grew gradually over time. At the initial stage of the evolution of the state, the officials were limited to the offices of Gaduma, Wucili (representative of the subordinate villages), Mukama and Bei.[78]

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76. GI/GAT; AB; ATM; KCTD and with AM between 1979-92.

77. Ibid.

78. GI/ATM. Also see A.M. Tukura (oldest son of Sakurape Anyitomizai), Director, Raw Materials Development Council, Plateau State, "Submission of Memorandum on Methods of Selection of Paramount Chiefs, District Heads, Village and Ward-Heads in Karshi District." 29th July, 1990. A MEMO to Plateau State Covernment. p.3.

The most important offices that evolved in the 18th century were those of Bezye-Yaako and the Madaci. The Bezye-Yaako recruited the soldiers and ensured that the conquered villages payed their taxes promptly. He also supervised the state caravans, collected weapons from villages, (those weapons were put under the care of the Madaci). Bezyeyaako again advised the Osu on matters of bilateral ties and the exchange of slaves. He also ensured that the state gates were well guarded for the collection of gate-tolls (Pito). He supervised the building of walls through curvee and slave labour. He was in charge of punishing recalcitrant village-heads and strangers. He was also charged with the sale of slaves to the Hausa, Nupe and Ebira slavers. The Bezyeynako also co-ordinated the Abezye-Biyi (camp commanders of the various villages). To a large extent the survival and position of the state during wars depended on the initiative and ability of the Bezyeynako. It is due to this role of the Bezyeyaako that the office was very popular. It is again stressed in the traditions that the office of the Bezyeynako was not hereditary but confered on the individuals who exhibit extra-ordinary prowess in battles.[79]

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79. Int/BPTG/1-1-92; Ints/DTT.

The other offices were those of Padawa/Sopada, Mugazyi and Tulaci. The Padawa controlled the palace treasury and protocol. He was also the palace secretary. The palace treasury raised revenue from several sources i.e. taxes, war spoils, etc. The office of Padawa was one of the earliest office to develop in the kingdom, but his responsibilities/ importance increased with the expansion of the kingdom, especially from the reign of Tutugye (c.1773-1793). Thus with time, some of the responsibilities of PADAWA were transfered to the Wuzili, Mugazyi, Maadaci and Gaduma, and sometimes overlapped.[80]

The Mugazyi was the chief-judge of the state and the chief advise of the Osu. Some Mugazyi title holders were very powerful that they influenced kingmakers on the appointment of kings and imposed their candidates. Mamwawye was the Mugazyi during the reign of Osu Isolu (c.1876-1906). He successfully imposed himself or declared himself as king after the death of Isolu. He was unpopular as a ruler and his reign lasted for only two years (1807-1908), but he suoceeded in imposing Alheri, his candidate, (1909-1919), as his successor. The Mugazyi however were very popular; they were 'feared' by the youth, for it was believed that their position as the judge and discipline officer made them harsh.[81]

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80. Ints. on various dates with DTT, ZT, BG in 1989 and 1992 and GI/GAT.

81. GI/ATM/1979/1980; GI/GAT/1991.

The office of the Tulaci was similar to that of an ordarly and protocol officer of state. Some of this office-holders were priests who kept or looked after the staff of office. The other offices that emerged with the centralisation of Kurape kingship institution were: Danyinya (the palace announcer, town crier, or messenger of the king, who was also in charge of the palace music); Bochi-Zaci (adviser and king maker) and Asu-Rugu (king's messengers). Those who were confered this title were mostly of slave origin; their role was periodic, i.e. they relinquished the office after the completion of a given assignment. Like the office of Asurugu, the office of Zagyiya (Queen) was important especially during wars. She superivised cooking for soldiers, as well as organised women porters and soldiers (Aknu-Nuwna-Gayi). It is claimed that some of the Zagyiya were so powerful that they became women judges whose decisions were taken seriously.[82]

It is also claimed that some of the title-holders were village or ward-heads who often visit the palace. It is also claimed that Osu Gyiku was responsible for the division of the kingdom into provinces; the NE province, the Northern Province and the Southern Province were headed by Karu, Pei and Kurudu respectively; while the central Province was headed by Kurape.[83]

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82. Ibid.

83. Various Int./ZT; GAT; KCTD and TM

3.5 The External Relations of Kurape Kingdom

External factor was an important factor in the rise of Kurape kingdom. The tradition show that Kurape developed into a kingdom while its neighbouring villages did not. Its political, economic and cultural relations particularly with Kuta. Gadani, Kuchi/Kaduđna, Kanunkoro, Awe, Zaria, Bida, Lokoja and Koton-Karfe contributed to the development. This relation was clearly economic. Kurape was an entrepot in the trade routes which traverse the region. Kurape kings indeed exchanged goods with other kings, and with plans to protect traders. Also, traders and state caravans reported first at the palace before they were allowed to trade umolested in the markets[84] (the market centres and the articles that were traded have been discussed in the section under the economy).

It is claimed that Kago was the first king (c.1668-1700) to establish economic relations with Zaza/Zazzau. Kurape at this early stage exchanged slaves with horses and kingly regalia from Zazzau. In addition Kurape sent some textile and slaves to Zazzau as a token gift in recognition of the appointment of a new king. The new king in turn presented the Kurape king with garments, horses and kanwa (trona), that was in great demand to maintain the cavalry. Again, the two rulers

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84. Ints/AMD.

used to organise separate raids into villages between them.[85] This close relationship between Kurape and Zazzau is reported in Zazzau's traditions which further claim that Zazzau obtained slaves from Gbagyiland.[86] There is also the tradition which is an exaggeration, which claim that the Zazzau extended southwards to the confluence area in the 19th century.[87]

Like with Zazzau, Kurape established ties with Gadani, Kuta, Bida, Raba, Kupa, Koton-karfe, Kaninkoro and Awe. The traditions mentioned specifically that the ties involved exchange of gifts in recognition of each others' sovereignty. The items exchanged include slaves and wears which often found their way into the long-distance-trade. Besides, Nupe, Kuta and Gadani used to request for Kurape archers against Zaria raids, and vice versa.[88]

It can therefore be argued that the nature of the relations established by the communities of the confluen area partly contributed to the survival of the states in the region. It can also be argued that the few migrants from areas recognised as friendly - particularl Zaria and Katsina - were allowed to settle in Kurapeland

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85. Ibid.

86. Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp.348-385.

87. See Adamu M., in Y.B. Usman, (et, al) "Facts, Values..." .1983.

88. GI/ZG; GI/TM; GI/AMD: Int./HS; CI/GAT on various dates.

and became agents of their original homes. We will see how the new comers became instrumental in the major changes that characterised the 19th century.

Thus, far, in our discussion of the factors that led to the evolution of the Kurape kingdom, we have examined the role of personalities, internal developments - particularly the cultural factors, the economic changes and political organization that led to the emergence of kingship institution as well as the external factors and relations. Our discussion, however, has not examined the factors or contradictions that influenced or gave rise to the split of the kingdom and the emergence of Karu and Kurudu, its former provinces, as independent powers. We shall now examine the rise of Karu.

3.6 The Emergence of Karu Kingdom

To meaningfully discuss the rise of Karu kingdom we need to focus on the problem of dating and the issue of the role of personalities. This will be done in the context of the internal and external changes that influenced the evolution of Karu as an independent state from the reign of king Riku of Kurape (c.1794-1824) and particularly the reign of Osu Narai of Karu (c.1810-1854). We have to critically examine some kinglists derived from tertiary and oral sources to ascertain the date for the emergence of Karu kingdom:

Bitrus Narai's list[88]

Karu (a hero, brother of Queen Amina of Zaza, left Zaza in c.1500, found Doto - Karofi/Keffi, ruled his people for 100 years and left to Naraba in Kurape kingdom, 25km east of Kurape) 1500-1600.

Nuboyi ruled them in Naraba hill c.1600 - 1635 (35 years)

Chilnayi ruled them in Naraba hill c.1637 - 1700 (6 5 yers)

1st ruler of Karu settlement, Narai Osu-bwa-gwanyida - 1700 - 1770 (70 years)

2nd ruler of Karu settlement, Kanyiko - 1771-1816 (45 yrs)

3rd ruler of Karu settlement, Wyekoya - 1817-1883 (67 yrs)

4th ruler of Karu settlement, Audu - 1883-1950 (57 yrs)

5th ruler of Karu settlement, Wadiye - 1951-1954 (4 years)

6th ruler of Karu settlement, Baba Jebmi - 1955-1975 (20yrs)

7th ruler of Karu settlement, Ishaku Bulus - 1976 to date.

Benue-Plateau List[89]

First four rulers obscure

5th ruler - Wyekoya (1873 - 1899) 26 years

6th ruler - Audu (1899 - 1950) 65 years

7th ruler - Wadiye (1952 - 1955) 3 years

8th ruler - Baba (1955 - 1975) 20 years

9th ruler - Ishaku (1876 to date).

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88. GI/BN/7-1-92. Bitrus Narai has collected a lot of oral accounts on the kingdom of Karu with the hope of documenting them.

89. Benue-Plateau State Census Report, Historical Committee Report, 1973, p.8.

Karu District Headquarter's List[90]

1st ruler	- Sakaruyi Nuboyi	-	1714 - 1750
2nd ruler	- Kawyinyiko	-	1750 - 1797
3rd ruler	- Chelayi	-	1797 - 1829
4th ruler	- Narai	-	1829 - 1873
5th ruler	- Wyekoya	-	1873 - 1899
6th ruler	- Audu	-	1899 - 1950
7th ruler	- Ibrahim Wadiye	-	1950 - 1955
8th ruler	- Baba Jebi	-	1955 - 1975
+9th ruler	- Ishaku Baba	-	1976 -to date.

Shehu D. Adamu's List[91]

1st Chief	- Nubaye	-	1714 - 1750 (36 years)
2nd Chief	- Kanyiko	-	1750 - 1797 (47 years)
3rd Chief	- Celayi	-	1797 - 1829 (32 years)
4th "	- Narai	-	1829 - 1873 (44 years)
5th "	- Padawa Wyehoya	-	1873 - 1899 (26 years)
6th "	- Audu	-	1899 - 1950 (51 years)
7th "	- Baba Jebi	-	1955 - 1975 (20 years)
8th "	- Ishaku Bulus	-	1975 - to date

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90. A MEMO signed by 12 title-holders and Village Heads in Karu District, "Karu Traditional District Headship." to Plateau State Government, 16/5/1975, p.3. +My inclusion to make the list complete.

91. Shehu D. Adamu is also collecting oral accounts of the history of Gbagyi with a view to documenting them. He gave me his manuscripts and a "A MEMO Submitted by Shehu Danjuma Adamu on Karu Town District Headship to Adogo of Karu." To Commissioner for Local Government Plateau State, 5/10/1985.

Bitrus Narai's list was derived from oral interviews with some elders in Karu, some of whom were title holders. It is also likely that the oral accounts have blended with some migration stories, as a result they might contain exaggerations especially as regards the reign lengths of some of the kings. This is possible since the period of reign of each king was not recorded. In addition, we have to bear in mind Hausa influence which claim that Gbagyi kingdoms were founded by Hausa migrants from Zaria.[92] The issue here is that the traditions merely seek to emphasise the ties between Keffi, Zaria and Karu in the 19th century, when they joined their forces against Abuja.[93] The traditions collected by Bitrus Narai corroborate Smallwood's account that the site of Karu as a settlement has changed a few times.[94] The tradition of Bitrus Narai shed light on the emergence of Karu as a centralised authority; and that when the settlement was still at Maraba, Karu was subordinate to Kurape. On the strength of this kinglist, it can be argued that Karu emerged as a state under king Narai (we shall comment on the period of his reign later). It is also important to note that it is doubtful that a king would have ruled

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92. Kwanashie (et al), A Little New Light... p.73ff; and Johnson, The Fulani Empire Oxford, 1967, p.69.

93. GI/YIK and PNK 1

94. Smallwood, p.3.

for 100 or 70 years, as most of the crowned candidates were old. The list does not give us the blood connection between the kings. The mourning period is also not clear from the list, and those that ruled as regents.

Inspite of these problems which are apparent in Birus Narai's list, it has been quite valuable to our study since it sheds light on the emergence of the kingdom and the reign length of the kings. It could also be used against others to establish a more authentic chronology for the area.

The list provided by the Historical Committee of the Benue Plateau State National Census Office in 1975 does not give the names of the earlier rulers. The list seems to indicate that new kings were installed before the death of the incubent, which was never practiced by the Gbagyi. Also, the list does no indicate the period of mourning, which normally lasted at least a year. Similarly, the dates shown there for the individual reigns was derived by the researchers based on the reign lengths as suggested in the traditions. A synoptic analysis of the lists suggest that they were derived from the same informants. However, the researchers stated clearly their limitation, that their analysis suffer from lack of written records to corroborate or supplement oral tradition. Hence, their dates are subject to error. Shehu Adamu and the Karu District Headquarters lists were both derived from the

same informants. The lists do not give us the blood connection between the successive kings to enable us ascertain the claim that there were two ruling houses, that the grave house of the kings of Karu had two gates which indicate that there were two ruling houses.[95] There is therefore the need for archaeologist to excavate these sites for us to be explicit about this view. Unlike Narai's list, other lists did not demarcate rulers of the present site of Karu from those of the earlier settlements. On the whole the lists seem reliable. This is due to the fact that the informants were mostly from the ruling houses who had a fair knowledge of their kingship institution. The lists also agree on the names of the rulers and their order of succession. And to a high degree, they agree on the period of reign of the kings. This consistency therefore make the lists to be valid and reliable, and then form the basis for the rearrangement:

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95. GI/OSU/IB/24-4-92.

Ibrahim Wadiye - 1950 - 1954 (4 years)
Baba Jebmi - 1955 - 1975 (10 years)
Ishaku Bulus Letubo - 1976 - to date.

Karu (at Doto/Keffi and Maraba) c.1600-1691 (91 years)

Nubeyi (at Maraba) . c.1692 - 1728 (36 years)

Kanyiiko (at Maraba) - c.1729 - 1776 (47 years)

Cilayi (founder of old Karu settlement c.1777-1809 (32 years)

Narai 'Su-bwa-gmanyi-da' - c.1810 - 1854 (44 years)

Wyekoya - c.1855 - 1891 (36 years)

Audu - c.1892 - 1949 (57 years)

Based on the events that the traditions claimed to have happened during the reigns of the various kings which are contemporanous with the external events that have been dated, it can be argued that Karu emerged as a centralised authority in the beginning of the 19th century. For instance, it is claimed in the traditions that Karu became an independent kingdom after been under Kurape for about 100 years. Bitrus Narai's report claims that Karu (the hero of Karu lineage chief) left Doto/Keffi for Maraba then under Kurape; that they stayed for about 100 years before they moved to found Karu settlement.[96] Another oral acccunt which corroborate the Narai's account states that the founder of the Karu settlement was a brother of king Kago, who got his independence during the reign of king Gyawyi (c.1825-1844). It is also claimed

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96. GI/BN; GI/PNY and GI/GAT on various dates.

that Karu was not able to secede until Narai came to power (c.1810-1854). The tradition further states that king Tutugye of Kurape (c.1773-1793) increased taxes on Karu and Waru as a punishment for their attempt to secede. The tax which consisted of a payment of 100 bows and arrows a year was raised to 1,000 bows and arrows and 10 slaves.[97]

Another account which suggests a date of the beginning of the 19th century for the emergence of Karu as a state was given by Dogara Tuta. He claimed that the raids of the kings of Kurape particularly those organised during the reign of king Gyawyi (c.1825-1844) who was weak the Karu people declared their independence. And Karu was able to annex more of the northern part of Kurape kingdom during the reign of king Audu (c.1892-1949) of Karu.[98] It is therefore convenient to start discussing the emergence of the kingdom of Karu as from the beginning of the 19th century, at the time Karu was under the reign of Narai 'Su-bmwa-gmanyida (c.1810-1854). It is therefore meaningful to suggest that the consolidation of Karu's authority dates back to Narai's time. The traditions give him prominence; he is regarded as a great warrior, founder of Karu allies, and one who fought for the independence

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97. Ibid and Int./DTT; GI/AE and AT.

98. Ibid.

of Karu from the control of Kurape.[99] It should be emphasized here that the migration of people from Kurape to Karu, which gave rise to a major demographic changes in the area stimulated the growth of Karu power.[100] In addition the Gwandara and Koro groups were pushed out from the Yeskwa hills by the jihadists, who were based at Jema'a and Zaria, to the north of Karu kingdom. Some Koro and Gbagyi around Lapai and Kuta were also pushed out by the Bida forces and jihadist raids, by the beginning of the 19th century.[101] It is claimed that the refuges moved to Karu for security. Thus, with the large population and support of the new groups, Narai refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Kurape, and refused to pay tax in bows and arrows and slaves to Kurape.[102]

One of the factors that enabled Karu to succeed in warding off Kurape's attacks was the fact that Kurape's economy was seriously weakened as a result of a number of factors. For instance, it lost most of its iron mining villages such as Mugarawyi, Pei/Gerki, Wushapa, Znumwa and the resources that came from them. Karu thus utilised Mugarawyi iron industry to manufacture itsdesired armaments to ward off the attack of its enemies. Karu used this industry to manufacture

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99. Ibid.

100. Ibid and interviews with Iliya Diko, and with KCTD.

101. GI/PNK; Int./KCTD.

102. Ibid. and GI/GAT.

103. Ibid and GI/AT: GI/BN

farming implements for both local use and for trade. It is believed that Karu derived a large income from the sale of iron implements to Hausaland through Birnin Gwari, Kanunkoro, Gadani and Kajuru, in exchange for goods from the north including those that came through the trans-saharan routes.[103]

The trade relations between Karu and the areas mentioned above in particular greatly strengthened Karu's economic and political position. This was due to the fact that the trade opened avenue for Karu to open bilateral ties which enabled her to get horses, to strengthened its cavalry, and some kingly regalia that improved the prestige of the kings. The tradition also emphasise that Karu kings were acquainted to Zaria. They sent a large number of slaves yearly to Zaria in exchange for horses and Hausa manufactures.[104] It is pertinent to point out here that it was this form of inter-state relations that have been mis-interpreted by some writers to mean that Karu was under Zaria, and the saga that the founder of Karu came from Zaria.[105]

The rise of Karu as a kingdom and its centralised authority was accompanied by wars. It is claimed that

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103. Ibid and GI/AT: GI/BT.

104. GI/YI; GI/OSUIB; GI/BN and GI/ZG.

105. See MEMO by Karu District Headquarter 16/5/75, pp.1-2; and Daniel Zee, pp.1-2.

Karu fought some of the surrounding villages like Shekope (west of Karu), Zyigakuchi (about 25 kilometres north of Karu), Pei, Gurku, Kabusa, Kugbaru, Aso and Myanya. That Narai (c.1810-1854) and Wyekoya (c.1855-1891) fought these villages and incorporated them into the kingdom. Some of the villages which included Pei, Waru, Lugbe, Wushapa, Panda and Kagerko resisted Karu but entered into confederal ties, in order to jointly ward off raids from Abuja, Keffi, Bida and Zaria.[106] Cultural affinities including intermarrieges and common markets served as unifying factors. On the other hand, rulers of Karu expropriated surplus from subordinate villages in the form of taxes in cowries and slaves.[107]

Karu entered into bilateral ties with the Yeskwa (Panda) and Koro (Kagerko). They sometimes joined their military forces against the jihadists. Some of the Gwandara that had been pushed away by the jihadists were allowed to settle in villages close to those of the Cbagyi.[108]

Like in Kurape, the evolution of kingship institution in Karu can be attributed to a combination of many factors. Karu kings were believed to be divine. They were not to go to war, nor set their eyes on a

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106. See footnote 103.

107. Ibid.

108. Interviews with David Efuna (Chairman, Karu Local Government Council) and with A.A. Dan Turaki, an Executive Officer, Kaduna State, from Kagerko.

corpse outside their palaces. The Amwamwa was the highest spiritual cult in the land, and had political powers as well. Amwamwa cult had a special priest who advised the Osu on matters relating to festivals and sacrifices. The kings also had their distinct grave house, with two entries/doors. The two gates represented the two ruling houses in the kingdom. The kings' grave (Asu-Vnigo) was crowned with a stone (Vnigo-Tuko) which was covered with a skin of a bull. It is also claimed that the Karu kings were burried with their statutes.[109] Another practice which made the kingship institution of Karu different from the pre-dynastic period was the enthronment of king, which ceremony took seven days.[110]

It should be stressed that Karu became more important than it was with the rise of Keffi and Abuja. This is because traders from Awe area passed through Keffi and Karu to Abuja, Kuta and Bida. This seriously affected the trade that passed through Kurape towards the end of the 19th century.[111] As a result of social, political and economic factor, Karu developed to be an urban centre and was known as Karu-Yaako - meaning Karu city.[112] Pei market competed with Karu during this period. Pei also developed to become an urban centre and was called G'Oluce (Hausa-ized as Garki) - implying a city.[113]

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109. GI/YI; GI/BN.
110. GI/OSUIB.
111. GI/ZG.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid and with Dr. J.A. Shekwo.

The emergence of Karu as a centralised authority was characterised by an hieracy of officials. At the top of the administration was the Sa-Karuyi (king of Karu) who was the paramount ruler and authority of the kingdom.[114] The traditions do not portray the Osu/Sakaruyi as powerful or despotic and divine like Sakurapei (king of Kurape), who had power over life and death. However, the king was the chief-judge in Karu and assisted by the Adogo. Generally, the title-holder of the office of Adogo were potrayed as the most important figure in Karu history. The Adogo controlled about ¾ of the whole territory to the south and east, including villages like Pmadna, Gadna, Mwakmakma and Dagbadna. The other villages under his supervision to the north were Aso, Jewnu, Gurku and Kugbaru. Unlike the case in Kurape where the king was regarded 'as the owner of the land', it was the Adogo that controlled the land. Shehu Adamu reported that the Adogo was highly regarded among Karu people and their neighbours. The title holder thus combined the function of kingmaker, advicer and the deputy to Sakaruyi. In the tradition, the Adogo was praised as "Adogo owner of the land, owner of the king and owner of the town."[115] The office of the Adogo was initiated

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114. Shehu Adamu, "A MEMO..." 1985, p.1.

115. Shehu Adamu, loc.cit., pp.1-2. The roles attributed to the Adogo here seem to usurp the powers of the king and others and hence exaggerated. Shehu Adamu further claimed that the Adogo of Karu is greater than the position of the Galadima, Se-pada, Madaci and any other title holders and village-heads of Karu kingdom, and was theregent. It would seem that Shehu

by Osu Celaayi (c.1777-1809).[116]

The office of Galadima was third in command, and acted in absence of the Osu and Adogo.[117] According to Shehu Adamu, the Se-pada like the Gaduma was the forth in command.[119] It is also claimed that Se-pada was supervisor of the village and ward representative[12] the role the Bezyeyaako played in the kingdom of Kurape. The other office in Karu kingdom were the office of the Madaci - the organiser of community labour[121] (this was the responsibility of the Atuwa in Kurape). The other offices include Zhekaada (palace messenger), Wuzili (assistant messenger), Bezye (military commander), Sarkin-Samari (youth leader), Mainguwa (ward-head), Wucili (representative of a village/ward) and the Tulaci (chief priest who kept the royal knife/staff of office - Ebe).[122]

In addition, the Osu of Karu confered titles without potfolio called Asu-Rugu occassionally. These titles went to people mostly of slave origin who have proved themselves especially in hardwork.[123]

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116. Ibid, p.3. The Adogo that ruled since then were Cewyi (contemporary of Celaayi), Nyinabe, Pmadna Nyinabe, Nyahotaaznim Nyinabe, Dagbedu Nyahotaznim, and Adamu Shehu.

117. Ibid. p.1

118. Tanimu, S. Aduda, loc.cit., p.15.

119. Shehu Adamu, p.1.

120. Aduda, p.15.

121. Ibid.; S. Adamu reported that the office of the Madaci/Madaki was an influence of the Hausa-Fulani, initiated by Osu Audu (c.1892-1949) "after the coming of Hausa-Fulani to Karu," and the post was elevated above that of the Adogo by Osu Jebmi in 1955.

122. Tanimu Aduda, loccit. p.16.

123. Nana, Fyanu Eyanyiko (1988) p.3.

The Osu had large farms worked by slaves (Amwayi/Afenu) and supervised by an official. The surplus realised from the farms were used in maintaining the palace, feed the army during war times and fed people during some community works.[124]

This discussion has shown that the factors of economic viability, demographic changes and the issue of control over land were important in the evolution of the Karu state. We also showed the various offices that developed in the kingdom. These offices contributed to the development of the state.

3.7 The Rise of the Kurudu Kingdom

We will also consider some of the Kurudu king-lists in order to meaningfully reconstruct the early history of the kingdom.

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124. Interviews with: GI/ YI; GI/PNK; & KCTD.

Pastor Tukura Madaki's List[125]

Golom (founder?)

Kugnazyi (son or from Golum)

Lukagyi (nephew of Kugnazyi)

Chaknilo (son of Kugnazyi)

... other kings obscure

Dookwabmya

Buyabuya

Nyazaazyi

Zozyiwo Finakwui's List[126]

..... earliest rulers obscure

Chaknilo ruled for 15 years

Dogogyi nephew of Chaknilo - 10 years

Saadumi, Brother of Dogogyi - 35 years

Dookwabmya brother of Saadumi - 35 years

Buyabuya son of Dookwabmya - 30 years

Nyazaazyi Amadu brother of Buyabuya

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125. Group interviews with Tukura Madaki whose father and grand-father held sensitive posts in the kingdom of Kurudu. Tukura's father, Gbendobo, was the Madaki (deputy Osu/king) during the reign of Dookwabmya (c.1920-1952). Gbendobo was son of Anwuiwyi the Bezye-Yaako (commander of the army) during the reign of Saadumi (c.1884-1919). However, Tukura Madaki is not certain whether Golom was the name of a ruler or the name of a town (said to be around Zaria) or the founder of Kurudu.

126. Zozyiwo is presently the Barde/Atuwa of Dogon-Dutse. His father, Finabui was son to Dogogyi Bolowyi who ruled Kurudu for 10 years before the rise of Nasarawa.

Adogo Bezawy's List[127]

..... earliest rulers obscure
Saadumi ruled for 40 years
Dookwabmya ruled for 30 years
Buyabuya ruled for 25 years
Nyazaazyi

Galadima Anyiduaaguzo's list[128]

..... earliest ruler obscure
Chaknilo
Saadumi
Dookwabmya
Buyabuya
Nyazaazyi

Bmiyidubezye's List[129]

..... earlier rulers obscure
4th ruler - Saadmi
5th ruler - Dookwabmya
6th ruler - Buyabuya son of Dookwabmya
7th ruler - Nyazaazyi brother of Dookwabmya

Wumianyigba Shada's List[130]

Kugnazyi ruled for 25 years
Chaknilo ruled for 14 years
Nyisaadumi ruled for 35 years
Dookwabmya ruled for 33 years
Buyabuya ruled for 25 years
Nyazaazyi ruled for from 1979 to date.

127. Group interview with Adogo Bezawu and Ladi Itoto.
128. GI/GAT/30-12-91.
129. Interview with Papa Bmiyidubegye.
130. This list was collected by Shehu Adamu in 1980 from Wumianyigba Shada the Madaci of Dokokpmo/Kurudu, 100 years old. His grand-father was king Saadumi (c.1883-1918).

The earliest rulers of Kurudu can be found in Tukura Madaki's list. The informants of Tukura held sensitive posts in Kurudu and this enabled them to know about the kings of Kurudu. However, the list is very useful as it can give the relations of the rulers.

Zozyiwo Finabwui's list has been very useful for our analysis on the early history of Kurudu. The informant of Finabwui held a sensitive post in Kurudu kingdom and makes the source in position to know about the rulers in Kurudu. The list provides us with the date of the reigns and the blood relations between the kings. First, it should be pointed out that Dogogyi was mentioned only in this list. The name of Dogogyi is also mentioned in Jezyi Bature's account which claimed that Znubai who succeeded Chaknilo ruled Kurudu for seven years and was succeeded by Dogogyi for ten years. Jezyi Bature also reported that the two kings were unpopular as they were great slavers.[131] Adogo's list and Shadn's list give us the chronology reign lenths and blood relation of some of the kings. He claimed that the founder of Kurudu was from Kumwa near Garki during the reign of Anyibadai of Kurupe.

All the lists agree on the chrological order of the succession of the kings. The episodes attributed to the various kings also corroborate one another. On the basis of these accounts one can rearrange the kinglists of Kurudu as follows:

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131. Interview with Jezyi Bature Kaura Gado Znubai (Osu of Kurudu c.1864-1871) on 26/4/92.

Golom - c.1766 - 1806 (40 years)

Kugnazyi - c.1807 - 1832 (35 years) son of Golom

Lukagyi - c.1833 - 1848 (15 years) nephew of Kugnazyi

Chaknilo - c.1849 - 1863 (14 years) son of Kugnazyi and nephew of Lukagyi

Znubai - c.1864 - 1871 (7 years) Chaknilo's brother

Boloi Dogogyi - c.1872 - 1882 (10 years) Chaknilo'ss son

Saadumi - c.1883 - 1918 (35 years) Saadumi's brother

Dookwabmya c.1919 - 1952 (33 years) Saadumi's brother

Buyabuya - 1953 - 1978 (25 years) Dookwabmya's son

Nyazaazyi - 1979 to date Buyabuya's brother.

Like the rise of the kingdom of Karu, the traditions are consistent and clear that Kurudu emerged as a kingdom during the reign of king Tutugye (c.1773-1793) of Kurape, after Kurape's initial control of the region for centuries.[132] Therefore, available account would seem to suggest that Kurudu emerged in the tail end of the 18th century.

The environmental location of Kurudu was an important factor that contributed to the rise of the kingdom. Kurudu is located at the bank of river Kokona (Gbagana) and at the confluence of rivers Kokona and Uke. As a result it became a major fishing

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132. Most informants were clear about this issue, and used the period as a starting point of the kingship institution of Kurudu.

centre. Most of the important villages were located at the bank of river Kokona. They included Magami, Dodo, Gyagba, Zyibwuigna, Zyignai, Babara, Gbagara, Degede, Durugu, Pangaji and Gora. The position of these settlements at the river bank influenced their occupation and demography. They attracted there the Agatu, Afo, Ebira, Hausa and Bassa fishermen. The Hausa settlements in this area included Zanga (10km SW of Nassarawa) near present Gaude, Gwanja (5km east of Naramara), Durugu, Myaci, Mararaba (between Nassarawa and Udege) and Gyinu. It is claimed that the fishing industry became the largest source of income to the people and the largest source of revenue for the state. The Miruwa collected taxes in kind (fish and crocodiles) and cowries for the state. In addition, the state monopolised the trade in the hides of Hippopptamus and crocodiles. This was due to the fact that these hides were used in the production of shields (Akpata[G]). It is further claimed that large quantity of smoked fish and animals were exported to their northern neighbours.[133]

The fishing industry contributed to the economy of the state, and influenced the growth of some market centres namely Dodo, Gyagba, Magami, Kurudu and Nakunse.

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133. Group interview with the Chiefs in Kurudu Kingdom on 12/10/92 (GI/OSU NAD).

The markets are said to have attracted new-comers such as the Gade, Gwandara and some Gbagyi from around Abuja, and the Ebira and Basa from Opanda and Ikereku, into the area. Some of the new-commers were fishermen and farmers who further boosted the economy of the kingdom.[134] The hills and forests of the state was also a centre of games. This also attracted Gwandara hunters to the area. This created a flourishing trading system in the area, controlled by the Ebira, Hausa and Nupe traders.[135] The people of Kurudu therefore traded with the neighbouring kingdoms. The main trading commodities were: fish and hides and skins that were exported to Kanunkoro, Kurape and Yeskwa area. Shea-butter, calabash, pots and crafts sold to the Ebira, Afo and Agatu. Besides, in Loko, Umaisha and Lokoja markets Kurudu manufactures and shea-butter were exchanged for the European goods brought by the Ebira, Nupe and Igala traders.[136]

The iron and Mining industry also strengthened Kurudu's economy and society. The main mining centres were Rubochi, Cikara, Kurudu, Nyigbala and Nike. Earlier, Kurape had monopolised the mining centres of Gyinu, Nike and Nyigbala.[137] It was the main source

134. In/DDD and BG 31-1-92.

135. Ohiare, pp.576ff, 239-244; and Ara Gwandara Youth Association Ara, "Memorandum on Reviewing the Creation of Ara District..." 28/9/92, p.1.

136. Various interviews with ZBN and GI/HS in 1990 and 91.

137. GI/AB; GI/ITT.

of the military power of the Kurudu state. The blacksmiths were highly respected in the state.[138] It is reported that when Bolowyi was the chief-blacksmith in the state in the last half of the 19th century he ensured that the blacksmiths in the society were not molested by the state-officials. This earned him popularity and he succeeded his uncle as the next king (c.1872-1882). He was succeeded by his sons (Gnuibma and Nana) as the chief-blacksmiths of the state of Kurudu.[139]

As in the case of Kurape and Karu, the Sakuruduyi (king of Kurudu) took wives from subordinate villages. This was another means through which loyalty and unity was sustained from these areas. Taxes in the Kurudu kingdom was based on families rather than on individual adults. Some subordinate villages also sent tributes in slaves.[140]

The totemic ties and cults dominant among the people served as a unifying force in the state. These cults included the Amwamwa, Kudamiyi, Golobe and Kaka. These cults in Kurudu are believed to have been introduced there by Kurape migrants. For instance,

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138. Int./BPTG/1-1-92. It was believed that the blacksmiths were Magicians. Some of them were also copper-smiths and very rich.

139. Int./ZFDK and ITT.

140. GI/TM; GI/ATM.

the Amadawa cult was believed to be introduced into Kurudu area by Shigwayi a woman from Kurape, in the late 18th century. Kutu also introduced the Azya/ dance from Kurape. The power of the king was partly based on the control he exercised over these cults.[141]

It was during the reign of Golom (c.1766-1806) that horses were imported into the kingdom from Zaria. However, he was not credited with any conquest. Kurape under Sakurapei Tutugye (c.1775-1793) made series of attempts to reconquer Kurudu. But under Kugnazyi (c.1807-1832) and Lukagyi (c.1833-1848), Peyaako, Pebiyi (Ala-pisi/Ara), Nyigbala (the iron mining centre) and some Bassa and Gbagyi villages down to Zokutu area were fought and subdued.[142] However, available sources seem to indicate that most villages were brought under Kurudu not by war but through diplomacy and social ties and also to unite to ward off common enemies, like Opanda, Igu, Bida, Kurape and the jihadist bases of Keffi, Nassarawa and also Abuja.[143]

The rise of Igugbaka to the south was another important factor that influenced the emergence of the kingdom of Kurudu. The Igugbaka around the confluence area organised raids into the various Gbagyi and Bassa communities in the area such as Toto. According to Ohiare:

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141. GI/OSU NAD; GI/HS.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid.

> the question of who were raided is clear from the tradition. They were those who had not yet been incorporated into the kingdom [of Igugbaka]. These included very few Ebira and many Bassa and Gbagyi who were still settling in the area and had not yet been able to organise themselves into a political force.[144]

These raids and the attempt of the Ebira kingdoms of Igu and Opanda to annex the Gbagyi and the Bassa, caused series of wars. Ohiare also infered from 19th century European eye-witness accounts that the Bassa and the Ebira were at war for a long time.[145] This crisis situation compelled the villages around the area to look up to Kurudu for its security.[146] As a result, the Bassa, Gbagyi, Gade, Gwandara and Hausa communities in the area united their forces under Kurudu in order to ward-off the threat from the Ebira polities to the south and Nassarawa from the north.[147]

Another major issue in the history of Kurudu was the demographic changes these developments gave rise to. First, the group that became dominant in Kurudu were immigrants from Kurape from the time of Gyiku (c.1701-1740). Some of the migrants fled their initial settlements to escape the raids and attempts to enslave

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144. Ohiare, p.266, op.cit.

145. Ibid.

146. GI/HS.

147. Ibid., and with ZFDK, 28-12-91.

them. Others moved southwards to escape from Kurape repression.[148] Thus, the dominant ruling class according to traditions came from Kurape. This perhaps explains the close economic and cultural ties between Kurape and Kurudu.

Kurudu established economic, cultural and bilateral ties with its neighbouring states. It established trade ties with the Afo, Bassa and Agatu country to the east. Through this the state ensured a peaceful and cordial atmosphere for the Bassa, Afo, Agatu and Gbagyi traders, hunters and fishermen. For instance, the Gbagyi exchanged their pots, iron implements and shea butter for ivory, meat and skins from these areas.[149]

Kurudu also established confederal ties with Gyinu/Kupan Gwari with the objective of ally its forces/archers in order to ward off Nassarawa raids. Marriage ties between Kurudu, Kurape and the Gyinu was often utilised to consolidate the ties. It is interesting to note that there was great cultural affinities between the various communities in this area such as the Gade, the Gwandara and the Gbagyi. For instance, it is said that it was the Gade that introduced culture of secret societies among the Gbagyi. In addition, the groups (Gade, Bassa, Ebira, Gwandara and Gbagyi) do attend each other's festival, economy

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148. GI/TM; GI/AT and Osu ATM

149. Int./GB; Int./ZGB; GI/HS; GI/Osu NAD

and cults. These all contributed to the friendly and free communication between them and their capitals - Ikereku, Opanda and Kurudu.[150] There are also some accounts that claim that Kurudu established trade and political ties with Kano, Zaria and Daura. That Kurudu kings sent iron implements, slaves and cloth to the newly enthroned kings of these Hausa States as a symbol of recognition and their desire to continue bilateral ties. Kurudu on the other hand received horses and slaves in return. This tradition further claim that this tie was cut off in the 1850s due to increased jihadist raids into the region.[151] A variant of this view claims that the trade relation between Zaria and Kurudu reached its peak in the first half of the 19th century when Zaria sought Kurudu's support to crush Opanda.[152]

3.8 The Three Kingdoms in the Late 18th Century

In the above discussion we examined the factors that were fundamental in the rise of the three kingdoms. We showed that Kurape controlled the whole region under study in the 17th and 18th centuries. But by the end of the 18th century, the settlements of Karu

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150. Ints/ZFD; JB; HS; BSP; and Ohiare, p.63.

151. GI/ITT/AD/3-1-91

152. GI/OSU NA.

and Kurudu had started to consolidate their powers and authority as a result of the decline in the economy of Kurape kingdom. We showed the significance of demographic changes and slave trade that developed in weakening the state system in Kurape. This development in turn contributed to the rise of Karu and Kurudu as splinter states. We also discussed the role of external trade in the emergence of these splinter states. We will now recapitulate some of these issues in order to understand why the late 18th century was a watershed in the changes experienced in the region.

It can be argued that the kingdom of Kurape was at its peak by the beginning of the 18th century when it could effectively administer the area. But in the last half of the 18th century, the subject states were groaning under the raids of the kings of Kurape.[153]

Traditions also seem to emphasise on the role of slave trade in the depopulation of the region. The traditions indicate that there was a high demand for slaves from Hausa traders who controlled the trans-sahara trade, and the Nupe and Ebira traders who dominated the trade along the Niger and Benue rivers. The Nupe and Ebira traders exchanged their goods and slaves with the Igala, Igbo and Yoruba slave traders along the Niger and the coast. The kings of Kurape Gyiku (c.1701-1740), Anyibadai (c.1741-1772) and

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153. GI/ATM, Int/KCTD.

Tutugye (c.1773-1793) preoccupied themselves with raiding for slaves to meet the demand of the slave traders from the coast. These raids continued throughout the 19th century.[154]

It is claimed that the kings of Kurape were so powerful that they seized orphans and properties of accused persons and convicts. They enslaved whoever they hated. These repressive tendencies contributed to the abandonment and death of some settlements. Indeed, all those that were sure that cases before the king would not favour them run away even before the verdict was out. It was also due to this oppressive actions of the kings that the settlements of Waru, Karu and Kurudu attempted to secede during the reign of Anybadai and Tutugye. These kings increased the taxes paid by these settlements from five slaves and 100 arrows and bows to ten slaves, 1,000 bows and arrows and ten loads of cowries.[155]

Some accounts also add that the raids into these area led to famine and diseases as agriculture was seriously hampered. As a result the people augmented their food supply with wild fruits and roots in the dry season. It was reported that people dug ant-hills to remove the grains stored by ants. This development also led to the decline in the military strength of the kingdom.[156]

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154. Ibid.
155. GI/AT; GI/GAT; GI/[illegible]K.
156. GI/KM/3-2-89; Int/PNK; Int/HS.

Thus, by the end of the 18th century as people fled from the control of Kurape, Karu grew in population. And about the same time the population of Kurudu also began to expand. The surrounding villages also supported their desire to break away from Kurape. They also utilised their existing trade relations with their immediate neighbours and the iron industry in the kingdoms to mount a struggle against Kurape. King Cilaayi of Karu (c.1777-1809) and king Golom of Kurudu (c.1766-1806) were able to cut off the control of Kurape from their areas. Thus Kurape under the reign of Gyawyi (c.1825-1854) was not able to collect taxes from king Narai (c.1810-1854) of Karu and king Kugnazyi (c.1807-1832) of Kurudu who carved their areas of domain..[157] It is claimed that Kurape could not reconquer them, as it had to contend with attacks from Bida, Abuja and Keffi.[158] This shall be highlighted in the following chapter.

It can be argued that the last decade of the 18th century witnessed a change in the balance of power with the emergence of Karu and Kurudu as equals of Kurape.

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157. Int/KCTD; PNK and GI/GAT.

158. Ibid and GI/HS.

3.9 The Relations with Neighbouring Polities

The changing balance of power in the region discussed above seriously affected the nature of external relations between Kurape on the one hand and the other two states on the other. The traditions seem to indicate that Kurape exported large quantity of its manufactures and slaves through Bida and Igu and to Zaria in the late 18th century. Also, the trade route that came from Kanunkoro through Kurape to Kuta area now passed through Karu instead of Kurape. This seriously affected the volume of trade that passed through Kurape.[159] Similarly, the trade that came from Loko and Lokoja areas now passed through Kurudu.

Karu as a result of this development started to establish trade and political relations with Panda, Kagarko, Kwoi, Kuta and Nupe area,[160] while Kurudu maintained trade with the Afo, Bassa, Agatu and Ebira.[161]

It should also be pointed out here that Igu, Opanda and Nupe kingdoms persistently raided this area of study in the 18th and 19th centuries, but were unable to annex the area of study. And because of the significance of these raids on the area of study,

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159. GI/BN; GI/PNK.

160. Ibid, GI/OSU/B.

161. GI/HS.

especially in the 19th century, we shall discuss this issue in greater detail in the next chapter.

However, some sources seem to suggest that war and slave raids did hamper communication to a great extent, but did not severe completely the economic and cultural ties between them. Social practices such as intermarriages, common market days, totemic ties, cult worship and common festivals continued during peace time.[162] At festivals, songs were sang by Akabulu and Afanya musical groups in which Kurape rulers were mocked and the decline in their power:

Galuko la laka	Palace is gone
Galuko la miya	Palace has fallen
Gye alu lo zyabwui lo	Birds are flown to the bu
Aza la gnamyi	People have migrated
Gye anyada cibwui lo	The owner (rulers) are cr
Galuko la lakala	Palace wake up
Galuko la miya.	Palace has fallen.[163]

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter we focused on the internal and external factors that influenced the emergence of state systems in Kurape in the 17th century, Kurudu in the tail end of the 18th century and Karu in the

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162. Ibid and GI/GAT; ZG; AT.

163. GI/OSU ATM.

beginning of the 19th century. Some of the factors that contributed to the rise of these states that were examined were militarism, enlarged economic activities, elaborate religious ties, numerous festivals and ceremonies, mystification of the position of the king, the creation of staff of office, and the creation of offices that expropriated and appropriated. Thus we argued that the internal socio-political and economic developments/factors were dominant in the region. The external factors merely acted as catalyst to the changes.

Our analysis showed how the socio-political and economic contradictions in the kingdom of Kurape contributed to the emergence of Karu and Kurudu states by the beginning of the 19th century. We also examined the nature of external relations of these individual kingdoms with their neighbouring polities.

One of the most fundamental issue in the changes that took place in this region, therefore, is the question of control over land. Whoever ruled over a vast territory controlled the wealth of the resources of the land and the human resources either as source of labour or military power. For instance, with the loss of Karu and Kurudu, including its iron industry and its fauna and flora, which were part of the internal sources of wealth, Kurape's economy and power virtually collapsed.

It can also be argued that the issue of low population and scattered nature of the settlements which characterise the history of this region today is traceable to the events that took place in this period. We have shown that Kurape rulers were engaged in slave raid : and the trade in slaves.

Based on the available evidence, the evolution of the settlements and polities under study seem to predate 1750, the period held by the colonialists[164] and the post colonial supporters.[165] Again, our finding refute the view held by some scholars that all the Gbagyi settlements were small in sizes, qual, scattered, isolated and independent of each other.[166] Those who held this view furthered that the Gbagyi were under the political influence and control of their neighbours like the Gwnadara, Koro, Fulani, Hausa and even the Kanuri or 'alien' people,[167] since according to them, the Gbagyi had "voluntary acknowledgement" and "willingness"[168] to be subordinates and lack-

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164. O. Temple, p.121, Smallwood, p.1.

165. Sule Mohammed pp.42-46; T. Bingel, chapters two and three.

166. Sule Mohammed, pp.21-22 and 65-66.

167. Ibid. pp.65-66; 72-73; Smallwood, p.2.

168. Ibid, p.119.

of "interest in complex politics before their close association with other groups."[169] This type of assumption is not logical due to the fact that the "Gbagyi were never conquered by any of their neighbours,[170] and due to the fact that in all Gbagyi areas the appointment of chiefs remained entirely Gbagyi affairs.[171] In fact, to assume that the Gbagyi were subordinates of their neighbours is not only "misleading"[172] but purely "exaggerated"[173] and "amplified"[174] no-tion. The Gbagyi rather influenced their neighbours.[175] Our close examination of the polities under study reveal difference in their administrative organisations and functions and their kings were never of equals. In other words, the Gbagyi polities differed in structures and substance, and cannot be said of to be a carbon coppy of any of their neighbours.

The following chapter will examine the changes these kingdoms experienced with the coming in of new groups and the rise of new political centr particularly Keffi, Abuja and Nassarawa, in the 19th century.

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169. Ibid, p.77.
170. Ibid, p.73
171. Ibid, p.79.
172. Gunn and Conant, p.9
173. Sule Mohammed, p.17.
174. Ibid, p.45
175. Gunn and Conant, p.98.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESSURE AND CHALLENGES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three we analysed the evolution of the three kingdoms and the nature of the relationship between them and their neighbours. It was argued that the internal factors were more fundamental in the emergence of the kingdoms.

This chapter will examine the growth of new centres, their external links, and how they challenged the status-quo of the indigenous kingdoms. We will look at how this relates to the loss of territories, population and shift in the political and economic balance of power in the region. The discussion will also examine the major factors that influenced the jihadists' activities in this region, and the factors that enabled the three kingdoms to survive the sieges and remained independent of the Emirates up to the time of colonial conquest.

4.2 The Conditions in the Three Kingdoms in the First Decade of the 19th Century

The first decade of the 19th century ushered in a period of prosperity throughout the three kingdoms. Towards the end of the reign of king Cilaayi (1777-1809), the kingdom of Karu was consolidating, which fully took

off during the reign of Narai (c.1810-1854).[1] Similarly, the kingdom of Kurudu under the reign of king Kugnaŋyi (c.1807-1832)[2] was consolidating to the south. Kurape under Riku (c.1794-1824) was battling to maintain its dissipated economy. It was very clear that it would not be able to recapture Kuru and Kurudu. There was a noticeable reduction of its territory as it could not collect taxes beyond Pugbadna and Uke to the north, and Danyisna to the south.[3] Kurudu was becoming more popular with the support of Southern Gbugyi villages in the Toto area, and incorporated the villages through diplomacy. However, some of the villages pledged their allegiance to Kurudu in protest against the expansion of Igu and Opanda kingdoms.[4] Similarly, Karu was gaining allegiance of most of the villages to Wushapa and Kugbaru in protest against the sporadic raids by Nupe and by a Zuria fugitive who was said to have left the throne in about 1804(?). Karu became known as Karu-Yaako - meaning 'Big Karu' or 'Karu City'.[5]

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1. GI/IB/6/92 and GI/BN/7-1-91.
2. GI/AT/25/12/80; 1/BSP; 2FDK and GI/TM/1-1-91.
3. GI/ATM/25/12/79.
4. See footnote 2.
5. GI/2GC/24/4/92 and GI/BN/2/3/92.

Our informants are emphatic that this was a period of great prosperity in terms of trade with the Hausa to the north, and with Igala, Ebira (who were then known as Akpoto pl.) and the Nupe along rivers Niger and Benue. This was the time Gbagyi manufactures, indigo, iron, cotton, calabash, ivory and slaveswere demanded in high volume. As such, the rise of Karu and Kurudu as independent states is connected with their ability to capture the long-distance-trade routes that passed through their territories which undermined Kurape monopoly.[6]

The beginning of the 19th century witnessed the coming of new groups some of whom foundnew settlements, while others joined the old settlements of the area. This demographic change was one of the most significant factors that influenced the contradictions and changes that took place in the region. It also remained the central theme in the 19th century history of the region. Hence, we shall consider some new settlements; as our next sub-theme.

4.3 The Establishment of Abuja

Abuja settlement was founded in c.1825, and named after its first ruler "Abuja" - meaning Abu the red.[7] The settlement was initially a small camp of Hausa

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6. GI/TM/1-1-92 and 1/ZT/6-10-92.

7. Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria Vol.III, Nassarawa Province, 1920, p.9.

raiders near Znumwa settlement which later gr... prominence.[8]

However, the colonial historiography has tended to assume that there was Abuja Emirate since A.D. 1804.[9] Similarly, the studies of Na'ibi and Hassan have erroneously assumed that there was Abuja emirate before the founding of Abuja settlement.[10] For instance, they claim that the immigrants who founded

> Caci, Zuba, Zuma, Ibo, Kakiyaku, and Wagu were the earliest arrivals at Abuja. When they first entered the emirate, their soothsayer was believed to have told them to go and live near the Zuma rock. They all settled within a mile radius around Zuma. The Chachi lived in the northern Kurmi or Zuma; the Tukura of Zuma lived at the front of Zuma inside the southern Kurmi; the present people of Zuba lived at Shinapa, a plain south-east of Zuma while the present people of Luki, Yeku and Wagu lived at Cauraka hill. The Huntu lived east of Zuma near a hill called matan zuma (meaning wife of Zuma Rock). Thus the area around the rock became the first settlement of the present-day tribe.[11]

This claim does not allow us to know whether these settlements predate Abuja or v ce versa. There is confusion or contradiction o the actual period these settlements were founded. In ore instances they claimed

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8. GI/AB/3-12-91.
9. Gazetteers III (Nass. Prov. pp.8-9; Zaria Prov. p.10); M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau..., pp.74-96.
10. Naibi and Hassan, A Chronicle of Abuja, African University Press, Ltd., Lagos, 1962; Naibi and Hassan, Gwari, Gade and Koro Tribes, Ibadan University Press, 1969, pp.3, 42, 44 and 38.
11. Ibid, p.38, op.cit.

that the settlements were founded before the beginning of the 19th century 'Fulani jihad'. However, they are more emphatic that the 'Fulani wars' scattered them and led to the founding of the settlements.[12] The confusion might have been caused by their uncritical acceptance of the traditions, or their attempt to justify colonial super-imposition of the muslim Koros on the pagans, or both. This is very likely as Naibi and Hassan hold traditional titles in Suleja today.

The establishment of Abuja was connected with the demographic changes, trade relations, influence of Zaria and the activities of the jihadists in Hausaland. Before the founding of Abuja, there were raids on the region by some Zaria fugitives. The date for their arrival is not yet certain among scholars. Some authorities claim it was in 1804,[13] while others placed it in 1805.[14] However it is maintained that the fugitive Mohama Makau (the 55th and last Habe ruler of Zazzau who succeeded M. Isiaku Jatau the 54th Sarki of Zazzau) 1802 - 1804 was later chased away by Fulani jihadists after about 3 years on the throne, before he ran to Zuma area.[15(a)]

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12. Ibid, pp. 2, 5, 39.

13. Naibi and Hassan, p.40, Gazetteers III, 1920, p.8.

14. H.A.S. Johnson, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, Oxford, 1969, p.7.

15. M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau... pp.74ff. Arnett, Gazetteer of Zaria Province, 1920, reported the Zaria Chronicles indicate that Makau was the 60th ruler, 1802-1804.

However, Mohama Makau was accompanied by a large number of followers, their women and slaves. It is claimed that after his arrival at Zuma/Zuba, his former office holders and their families joined him. One of the authorities report that

> after establishing himself firmly at Zubr, Makau gathered round him many more of his former Zaria office-holders and retainers with their households and slaves, and was thus enabled to continue to enforce the annual tribute formerly sent to him at Zaria by the Koro and their Gwari vassals. As he waxed in power he enlarged his sphere of influence and even adventured as far as Lapai (Nupe Province) where he beseiged the Chief of Lapai, Dauda Maza. Makau was killed in battle at the gates of Lapai circa A.D.1825...
>
> On Makau's death his followers retreated from Lapai and were led back to Zuba by his brother Jatau, nicknamed "Abu Ja" (Abu the Red, from his complexion), who then became chief and built the large walled town which became known by the nick-name of its founder, Abuja.[16]

It is not doubtful that some of the former vassals of Makau still paid him 'tributes' after he had been over-throne. However, it is not clear in the tradition which Koro or Gwari were his vassals. The information on his vassals seem exaggerated. This is due to the fact that his aclaimed subjects were said to be raided by him and that he was killed in the process. The studies of Sule Mohammed and Jumai Abubakar found that the Gbagyi of Kuta and its

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16. Gazetteers III, pp.8-9, op.cit.

surrounding settlements, like Zuba who gave him refuge, were later raided by him.[17] For about 20 years, Makau had no permanent base but moved about raiding the Koro and Gbagyi.[8] Traditions collected around Abuja by Naibi and Hassan corroborate this. They reported that Hausa Zagizagi arrived at Zuba when Muhammadu Gbowo was the chief of Zuba, and lodged in the house of 'Jagaba'. Afterwards, they moved to another separate quarters. They lived in Zuba for seven years, seven months and seven days before they left to Izom Gwari across the river Gurara.[19] Na'ibi and Hassan are not certain about the date of arrival of the Zagizagi. They are only certain that they kept on moving about, but clinging to Zuba their age-old ally. The confusion is like this:

> In the year 1804, the Hausa Zagizagi left Zaria and came to Zuba because of their wars with Fulani... They lived in Zuba for 7 years, 7 months and 7 days. Then they moved to Izom... When the Hausa Zagizagi came to Zuba, Muhammadu Gbowo was the chief of the place. They did not actually move into Zuba until 1807, during the reign of Ali Mai-Nasara (who helped them fight the Fulani at the gate of Zuba for one and a half years until the Fulani were driven).[20]

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17. Sule Mohammed, (1991), p.13 and Jumai Abubakar, "The Coming of the Zegizegi and its Effects on the Koro Gwari relations in Abuja in the 19th C." B.A. History, A.B.U. 1976 and W.B. Baikie, Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue in 1854, Cass, 1966, p.375, further reveals that the Zaria fugitive did not go to Zuba immediately, but wandered about for some time. He reported that a man from Zaria informed him in December 1854 that the last Hausa king of Zaria was named Abdokara who fled to Kororofa when he was expelled by the Pulo invasion.

18. Na'ibi and Hassan, pp.40-41.

19. Ibid, p.40

20. Ibid, pp.40-41

However, Abuja settlement came into being after the Zagizagi had wandered in the region for about 20 years. One of the factors that influenced the rise of Abuja was the jihadists' activities in Hausaland, and Abuja area, as the Fulani rulers of Zaria attempted to capture Abuja. Zaria forays influenced Jatau 'Abu Ja' to choose the site 'surrounded by high hills and broken country to screen Abuja from attacks.'[21] Abuja was the first Sarkin Abuja (c.1825-1851) who built large wall round the settlement. He reigned for about 25 years. The second ruler of Abuja was a brother to the late sarki by name Abukwaka ruled for about 26 years (c.1851-1877).[22] It is claimed that Abuja and Abukwaka were sons of Sarkin Zazau Bako Isiaku, the 54th sarkin Zazzau circa A.D. 1798-1801[23] Abukwaka was succeeded by Ibrahim the 7th son of Abuja, and reigned from 1876-1902.[24]

Abuja was seen by the neighbouring polities as a threat, because it raided the surrounding settlements, particularly during the reign of Abuja Jatau (c.1825-1851). Like Makua, Abuja Jatau attempted to conquer

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21. Gazetteers, III; P.9. M.G. Smith, Govt. In Zazzau... PP.67; 10-14; 34-72. 333-343. The Study of Smith Shows that the state of Abuja was more or less a confederation which operated through political allignments with the Gbagyi, Gade and Koro villages, and which officials were mostly slaves by origin; and Abuja State had the character of a segmentary political administrative system.

22. Naibi, P.41.

23. Gazetteers III, P.9.

Kawau, Kuta, Madalla, Waru, Lugbe, Wushapa, Paiko, Kuje, Garki, Aso and the villages to the north of Karu.[25] The foundation for the establishment of Abuja was laid down by Abukwaka.

The actual consolidation of the settlement and establishment of ties with the neighbouring polities were initiated by Abukwaka. He attempted to establish confederal ties with the neighbouring settlements in order to jointly ward-off Zaria and Fulani raids. Abuja was seen as a very strong enemy of the Sokoto Caliphate by the Caliphate rulers, while Abuja saw the Caliphate rulers as usurpers. Hence, Zaria jihadists made fervent attempt to conquer Abuja, but due to the support the neighbouring villages gave it, the jihadists failed in their attempts.[26] In fact, the Koro people in particular, under the headship of Ali-Mainasara of Zuba, helped the Zagizagi fugitives drive away the Fulani jihadists who were pursuing them.[27] This led to offers of titles to the ruling house of Zuba by the rulers at Abuja and the arrangement of dynastic marriages.[28]

Abukwaka is also credited to have established confederal ties with Kuta, Garki, Gwam and Zuba.[29]

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25. GI/ZG/24/4/92.
26. Ibid. & M.G.Smith, Government in Zazzau, p.140.
27. Naibi, p.4.
28. Ibid.
29. GI/ZG/24/4/92.

It is also claimed that Abukwaka once offered the title of Madawaki of Abuja to Bawa chief of Zuba, which he turned down.[30] Those villages that refused to co-operate were raided. Furthermore our sources claim that the raids by Abuja and Abukwaka reached the confluence. That they raided the northern villages of Karu and Kurape kingdoms. This forced the kingdoms to resolve their border clashes in order to confederally safeguard their kingdoms. Hence they sent their archers to Kabusa, Pyakasa, Ketti, Shilaakpa (the impenetrable) and Kpaku to check Abuja raids.[31]

Abuja also faced series of attacks from the bases of Nagwamatse and Keffi.[32] This will be highlighted later. It can be argued that the forays of Zaria on Abuja greatly reduced the initiatives of Abuja to conquer the surroundings and establish a large polity.

Despite the raids on Abuja, Abuja became very popular due to the changes and initiatives of Abukwaka. His physique and popularity earned him praises which were sang thus:

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30. Naibi, p.41.

31. GIS/ZG; GAT; PNK on various dates.

32. Ibid.

Dogo /tall/, the Friend of Mallams and the Friend of travellers, Tall as the Thunder and High Hills and the Forests.[33]

He is reported to have encouraged the Islamic teachings, and banned 'Bori' dance in Abuja - a practice of spirit worship of the Gbagyi and Hausa which cult gained popularity among the neighbouring tribes. He was also said to have re-established friendly and trade relations with Zaria their enemy, and with the neighbouring polities of Nupe, (also an enemy state) and with Karu and Kurape kingdoms. Na'ibi and Shuaibu reported that Abukwaka sent his messenger to Audu, the Amir of Zaria, and to Masaba (Etsu of Nupe) - the Emir of Bidda - inviting them to trade with him. Hence, Abuja grew in terms of trade that foreign creatures and goods like camels, donkeys and ostriches were brought to Abuja. This enabled the Hausa hyena players to freely displayed in Abuja market. Similarly, Nupe weavers came to settle permanently in the town.[34]

While the colonial historiography acknowledges these changes during the reign of Abukwaka, and agrees that "it was during the reign of Abukwaka that intercourse was first allowed between Abuja and other emirates", it was unfair assessment by the colonialists

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33. Hassan and Shuaibu, A Chronicle of Abuja, p.16, op.cit.

34. Ibid, pp.16 and 28.

to assert again that "until about 1870, no 'stranger' had been allowed to enter the country owing allegiance to the ruling house of Abuja."[35] It can be argued that Abuja could not have allowed some strangers to trade freely in Abuja particularly the Fulani and Emirate rulers who were against the establishment of Abuja. Based on the ties with neighbouring polities, this policy of 'closed borders' could not have continued up to as late as 1870 when Abukwaka's reign was about to end.

However, it is recorded that Doctor Beikie and six others from Lokoja were the first Europeans to appear in Abuja, and established trading relations with Abukwaka.[36] Since Abuja is located on the trade routes that came from Keffi to Kuta-Bida area, and from Hausaland to Lokoja, Abuja soon became a prosperous trade centre.[37]

It is important to note that the survival and popularity of Abuja settlement was partly due to the homage the rulers of Abuja paid to the indigenous groups around the Zuba rock. As strangers, they had to propitiate the mythtic rock Znumwa-pe (Zuba rock). Hassan and Shuaibu noted that

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35. Gazetteers III, 1920, p.9, op.cit.

36. Hassan and Naibi, pp.24 and 28

37. GIS/ZO; GI/PNK.

> in former times, just before the beginning of the rains, each year the Emir would send a black ox, a black he-goat and a black dog to the villagers of Chachi (the intermediary who kept others away from the rock and the hidden priests that performed the sacrifices) to be handed over to the guardians of the rock for sacrifice to the fetish.[38]

4.4 The Establishment of Keffi

Unlike the founders of Abuja who were Hausa Zagizagi fugitives and welcomed by the aboriginal Gbagyi and Koro,[39] the founders of Keffi were adventurers and wandering herdsmen who hailed from Katsina, and led by one Zanga. It is claimed that before the establishment of Keffi, Abdu Zanga had been seasonally grazing his cattle down to the "gate of Panda" [sic].[40]

The palace accounts on the establishment of Keffi[41] are silent on the existence of societies that aided the growth of the settlement of Keffi. The picture created in such traditions only show a group

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38. Hassan and Naibi, pp.86-87, op.cit. Also the people in the region believe that the people around the rock were and are the diseased who returned! And that there is a big hole in the rock in which Gbagyi and Koro hid during wars, which disabled the jihadists like Nagwamatse to conquer the region. The rock is believed to be a spirit that warn the surrounding settlements about coming dangers by causing fire on its top, and by groaning like the falling of a big rock from a mounting top or volcanic action!

39. Johnson, p.71.

40. Temple, p.509.

41. Temple, Johnson, (as on fns 37 and 38); Gazetteers III, p.16, and Plateau State of Nigeria, Programme for the Instalation of His Royal Highness, The Emir of Keffi, As First Class Emir in 1981.

of few Fulani who set up Keffi village. Oral traditions collected inside Keffi town mention some indigenous wards or villages that later became absorbed into Keffi town. These villages were Gbagyi settlements. To the east present GRA Keffi was Daduwa settlement, with river Antau as tsakani (boundary or half-way to the southern settlement) to Reno and Gyinu settlements on the eastern foothill of Moloney hill (then called Pe-biyi - meaning small hill). The stream was called Anyinutom (Antau^{H}) meaning there is no justice. The name was refering to the coming of the first Fulanis (before Abdu Zanga episode) with large cattles that destroyed the drinking places and pools by eroding the banks even though the indegenous groups protested.[42] Other informants claim that west of Pe-biyi (Moloney hill) - at the site of the present CRDP to the Shagari Low Cost - was Piyaako (Piyanko^{H}) settlement. There was also Yeskwa settlement in the present day tsohon Kasuwa. While Rini or Reno was another name for Dotoo. They were all called Pe-biyi, and had some forms of relations with Gyinu/Kupan Gwari, Karu, Kurape and Kanunkoro.[43] These settlements allowed Abdu Zanga and his group to settle at the foothill, since they did not constitute a security risk initially.[44] This

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42. Interview with Godiya Adamu Deye on 23/8/90.

43. Interviews with KCTTD and MMMon various dates in 1992.

44. Ibid.

version is corroborated by the traditions collected by Atiku Garba Yahaya, that Abdu Zanga and his roup had wandered from place to place in the region before they finally decide to settle in Keffi. For instance, he reported that they had stayed at Bagaja for about nine years, from where they used to go to Zanga - a settlement 46 kilometres south of Nassarawa - which became the nickname of Abdullahi.[45] It was later that they moved to Piyanko now between Moloney hill and Antau.[46]

It should be noted that the date for the establishment of Keffi is contradictory in the traditions. While the episodes leading to the founding of Keffi is clear, i.e. that it was after Usman Dan Fodio's jihad had started in Hausaland, the date suggested for the establishment of the settlement predates the jihad. For instance, it is a common concensus among scholars that the jihad started in 1804, and reached Zaria later.[47] The jihadists under Musa captured Zaria when the people "were outside the walls for lesser Biram Festival."[48] There was a soldier of fortune in this conquest, by name Imoru

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45. A.G. Yahaya, "Emirate Resistance to the Colonial Conquest of Sokoto Caliphate: The Case of Keffi." Presented at International Conference on Sokoto and the European Conquest 1890-1906: UDUS 11/2/93. pp.1-2, op.cit.

46. Ibid, p.9

47. Mohammed Bello, Infaq al-Maisur (1951) Trans. by Prof. H.C.F. Smith, pp.73-74.

48. Johnson, p.71., Gazetteers, of Nassarawa Province III, p.6.

who later joined Abdullahi Zanga after the conquest of Zaria.[49] It is claimed that Imoru was just 18 years old when he joined Zanga.[50] It was after he had joined Zanga that Keffi was founded.[51] Despite the clear evidence that Keffi was founded after the jihad, scholars anachronistically continue to assume a pre-jihad date for such establishment. Example, A.G. Yahaya, who is not sure of the date, uncritically accepted that

> In the early 1870's some of these cattle Fulani, among whom were Abdullahi (who had been acquainted to the region by his father - Gani), Umaru (also known as Makama Dogo), Hassan Maizabo and Tabo Beti, decided to settle altogether [sic.] in the region. It is said that Abdullahi persuaded the other cattle owning Fulani to settle there altogether. His decision is likely to have been a result of his inability to secure the political leadership of their settlement at 'Yantumaki. They stayed for about nine years at Bagaji from where they used to go to Zanga for their annual grazing - hence Abdullahi nicknamed Abdullahi Zanga or Abdu Zanga. Instead of remaining permanently at Bagaji or to establish a permanent settlement at Zanga, they established themselves in about 1802 A.D.... (at Piyanko). They built a stockaded village [sic] and called it 'Keffi' (a stockade) from which the settlement and later the region [sic.] came to be known.

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49. Ibid, and Johnson, p.185; and Gazetteers, p.16. & M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau, p.141. & History of Nassarawa Emirate, 1992, p.2.

50. Gazetteers III, p.6.

51. Ibid, p.6 and Atiku Garba Yahaya, "Keffi in the 19th Century: A Social and Political History." M.A. History, Dissertation., UDUS. 1990 p.27.

> The establishment of Keffi coincided with the period of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio's jihad. Keffi's move to receive a jihad flag direct from the Shehu at the outbreak of the jihad, was foiled by the Emir of Zaria Musa (1804-1821). ... the sub-Emirate of Keffi and that of Jema'an Dororo came into being in about 1810 A.D. as vassals of Zaria.[502]

From this report, there is no certainty as regards the date for the founding of Keffi. Furthermore, the colonial historiography is very certain that the founding of Keffi was after the jihad had taken off. It is reported that Abdu Zunga and his people came to Keffi area and

> were encouraged to settle by the fact that Fulani rule was rapidly spreading southwards. Fired by ambition, one Abdullahi, better known as Abdu Zanga, a Katsina Fulani, persuaded a number of cattle owning Fulani like himself to band themselves under him, and appointing one Imoru his Makama, he settled down circa A.D. 1802...53

Hence, based on the fact that Keffi was founded after the jihad had taken off, it is unwise to uncritically accept 1790 or 1802 or 1804 as the date for the founding of Keffi. A logical look at the episode that led to the founding of Keffi, therefore, forces one to agree that it was after the jihad had taken off, circa 1810.

However, immediately Zanga got some followers, he started to raid the region. He attacked and destroyed his hosts - Piyanko, Dotoo/Reno and other nearby

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52. Ibid. 53. Gazetteers III (Nass.Prov.) p.6. History of Nassarawa Emirate, 1992, p.2. further reveals that Dogo was sent to the region by the Emir of Zaria in 1807 to go to the south to "spread Islamic faith" when he accidentally met Abdu Zanga and Gunki at Zanga, and advised them to go and "seek for recognition" from Zaria, which they did, and also told the Emir that they would like to be permitted to settle at Piyanku; and the Emir assigned Dogo to "supervise this," and was made the Makama of Keffi third in command after Zanga as first Emir and Gunki as Madaki

settlements. Our source claim that they destroyed the farms and pots of the inhabitants and set their houses ablaze. Some of the inhabitants sought refuge in Cidam Kura, Saka, Rogawa, Bagaji and others. Zanga then built a new stockade which he became its chief. The name of the settlement was derived from the earlier name of the hill - Pebiyi - which he called Kepi or Kapi, now Europeanised as Keffi. During the reign of Zanga, Keffi was battling to survive. It was attacked by Kurape, Kurudu, Abuja and also by Zaria under Mallam Musa who burnt and destroyed its heavy stockade.[54]

Zanga attempted to receive his title and a flag directly from Usman Dan Fodio, the Commander of the faithful. The Emir of Zaria refused Zanga to go to Sokoto on the pretex that the Caliph had already aloted to him the country down to the Benue, Zangd was then forced to be a vassal of Zaria and was to pay tributes in slaves. In addition Keffi held its title directly from Zaria. Before Zanga died in c.1820, the influence of Keffi was felt mostly among the Gwandara and Mada to the East, and Koro, Jaba and Yeskwa people to the north. His forays on the Gbagyi to the west-Kurape and Karu kingdoms were less successful.[55]

Maizabo, brother to Zanga, succeeded him, and reigned c.1821-1835.[56] Some reports claim that after Maizabo's

54. Ints/GD, KCTD; CA and PNK on various dates; and Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.6.

55. Ibid, and interview with Baba Bature.

56. Ibid, and Benue Plateau State... p.5.

reign, the palace of Keffi was faced with internal contradiction fueled by the ambition of Makama Imoru and his Zaria supporters. One of such reports was given by a descendant of Makama Umaru who claimed that:

> In Zaria Umaru Makama Dogo was turbaned as the Emir of Keffi by the Emir of Zaria by name Abdulkarimu. He left for Keffi but on his arrival found the gates of the town shut and heavily guarded. He by-passed it and journeyed to the site he named Nassarawa.[57]

If this report is true, the successor of Maizabo, Jibrilu the second son of Zanga, had every reason to "shut the gates" against their servant, Imaru Makama who had no legitimate claim to the throne. The second report, also given by a descendant of Zanga, Emir Abdullahi (1902-1921) further sheds light on the nature of the contradiction - that Imoru was an ambitious man, while Zaria was envious of the position of Keffi:

> When he /Makama/ appeared at Zaria the king /Musa/... offered him the 'sarauta' of the Igbira or 'Kwotto' kingdom of Kotton Karffi, which he accepted. Makama Dogo then returned to Keffi, but the people of Keffi shut the gates against him and would not grant him admittance. So Makama went with his following to a place called Yankardi... He proceeded to the place ... the name of it was 'Nassarawa'.[58]

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57. Ohiare interviewed the Emir of Nassarawa, Alh. Jibrin Mairiga and his counsellors in August, 1981; Ohiare p.403.

58. Temple, p.505, op.cit.

Zaria prefered Umoru Makama Dogo to become the ruler of Keffi or ruler of Opanda kingdom which had not yet been conquered and which till then had remained immuned and independent, due to the fact that he had proved himself worthy of the appointment to the leadership of the Keffi Army, and had continued to subdue the tribes down to the Benue and had conquered the Afo (Eloi) tribes.[59] Makama Dogo also refered his cases against Jibirilu, Emir of Keffi (c.1856-1859) who was also his son-inlaw, to Zaria.[60] It was earlier noted that he had been a soldier of fortune under Musa Emir of Zaria.[61] It was possible that he offered more booties to Zaria. It was "probable that one who paid the haviest bribe was the winner before the Zaria Court."[62]

Oral reports claim that the failure of Zaria to impose a candidate of its choice as the ruler of Keffi influenced the relationship of raids betwee Keffi and Zaria. It is claimed that Zaria organised series of raids on Keffi, just as it was doing on Abuja.[63] The shaky relationship betwesn Keffi and Zaria also influenced the relationship between the

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59. Gazetteers III, p.6.
60. Ibid.
61. Johnston, p.184.& M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau, p.141.
62. Gazetteer III, p.14. Clapperton and Lander, p.215 stressed that in the whole Caliphate the appointment to vacancy of Emirs as with other appointments were sold to the highest bidders.
63. GAT/30-12-91 and interview with Godiya Daye in 1991.

neighbouring polities of Keffi and Keffi. Keffi quickly established friendly ties with Bagaji (about 15 kilometre NW of Keffi), Kupan Gwari/Gyinu (about 25 kilometres east of Keffi), and with the settlements of Garaku, Gwagwa and Tattara.[64] It is claimed that these centres sometimes aided Keffi militarily in order to withstand Zaria. In one of the battles to ward off Zaria siege at the gate of Keffi, the Magaji of Kanunkoro led the confederal army and incured a heavy defeat on the army of Zaria.[65]

However, Keffi became a popular town in the region because of its location. The trade routes passing through Kanunkoro gradually shifted to Keffi and it became the major trading centre. It's market was filled with goods from the surrounding Gbagyi, Mada, Afo, Gwandara, Yeskwa, Jaba and Gade villages. Its Karefi became the dominant centre of dyeing in the whole region. Keffi came to have a concentration of weavers, dyers, butchers, carvers, guilds of all sorts more than any other town in the area. Most of the Hausa artisans and traders that brought trans-sahara goods were stationed in Keffi.[66]

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64. Interviews with Baba Bature, ZFDK, Mr. Zacharia Dazong (Principal Lecturer SPS Keffi), A.M. and Atiku Garba Yahaya on 12/2/93.

65. Interview with Y.G. Yahaya who is carrying out studies on Keffi.

66. Interviews with KCTD and with Alh. Dogo Abubakar, 1 NADA - in 1992.

Apart from its economic prosperity, Keffi became the most popular centre for Islamic studies, and other near-by villages sent their boys to go to learn under the malamai in Keffi.[67] Other cultural practices that made Keffi popular were Dambe (boxing) and Sharo. During the dry season, the youth in all the villages around Keffi organised Dambe, and made the Emir of Keffi as Chairman who spread his wealth by distributing gifts to the participants of the Dambe and to the musicians. Similarly, Keffi people played the Fulani hosts whenever they came for Sharo.[68] Since the Dambe cut across ethnic barriers it brought the people in the region together. Similarly, Sharo enabled Fulani of all categories to communicate freely, and increased their social psychology.

Our oral source further stressed that Keffi had reknowned hunters that were employed by Lafia and Awe Emirs to help rid them of wild elephants. Also, the malamai of Keffi were believed to give superior charms, and became very popular.[69]

The integration of some of the villages that owed allegiance to Keffi was not only by conquest, but also through economic and cultural ties like trade

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67. Ibid.

68. Interview with Aruwa Maishanu (AM).

69. See footnote 67.

relations and intermarriages. The ruling house intermarried with the indigenous groups. There is close blood relation due to intermarriages between the people of Keffi with Nassarawa, Marmara, Laminga and Keffin-Shanu. This was further reflected in the nature of the Emirate administration and Keffi town whereby the palace officials also comprised of representatives from various wards and tribes, but with special preference for the muslims.[70] This type of cultural and political composition further strengthened the integration of the neighbouring groups.

Another factor that strengthened Keffi was its ties with other Emirates. Our sources reported that Keffi Emirs used to send some yearly gaisuwa to the Caliph and the other emirs of Katsina, Kano and Zaria. The normal items were food-stuffs, slaves and crafts. These Emirates also reciprocated by sending some goods to the Emir of Keffi. Keffi also exchanged gifts with the Emirs of Jama'a, Lafiya, Awe, Nassarawa and Abuja at times of peace.[71] It should be stressed that their relationship were not always cordial. With the increase in European interest in the region, some Emirs became avaracious and were ready to conquer the weaker emirates. For instance, both oral source and colonial records reveal that Zaria in particular raided

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70. KCTD and interview with Inuwa Laminga.

71. Ibid.

the Emirates down to the confluence. In the last three decades of the 19th century, Zaria raided the surburbs of Keffi,[72] Abuja,[73] and Nassarawa.[74] This will be highlighted later. Also, Keffi and Abuja fought each other[75] and as well fell out with the Emir of Jema'ar Darroro over boundary issues.[76] The incessant raids of the region by Zaria made Magajin Keffi to stop Keffi from being turbaned from Zaria.[77] It is further stressed in the traditions that the challenges Keffi faced from Zaria, Abuja and Jema'an Darroro forced it to come to temporary peace with Kanunkoro, Gyinu/Kupan-Gwari, Karu and Nassarawa in order to gain their military support.[78]

However, the emergence of Keffi meant that Kurape lost part of its territory to the east, while the kingdoms of Gwandara to the east, Kanunkoro to the North-East, Afo and Mada were united under Keffi Emirate.[79] While one will agree with Yahaya that by the end of the 19th century the boundary of Keffi Emirate had "reached Tsaun n Kolare to the south-west of Jema'an Dorroro as well as Numama and Ninzam Districts"[80] due to

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72. Interview with A. Yahaya.
73. Gazetteers III, p.9. & M.G.Smith, Govt in Zazzau, pp.3
74. Ibid, p.18 and Temple p.512.
75. GI/ATM/25/12/79.
76. Gazetteers III p.15.
77. A.G. Yahaya (1973) loc.cit. p.3.
78. See footnote 70.
79. See footnote 70 amd 77.
80. Yahaya, (1993) p.3.

the fact that Magaji Dan Yamusa set up his raiding base at Kokona,[81] the boundary of Keffi had not reached Abuja as Yahaya claims. He claims that

> the pre-colonial society of Keffi [sic] is largely represented today [sic] by the Keffi and Karu LGAs all in Plateau State of Nigeria, and also Karshi as well as old Karu all in the Federal Capital Territory, (of Nigeria) Abuja.[82]

Yahaya is confusing the colonial extension of Keffi Emirate with the pre-colonial Keffi Emirate which was restricted from Sabon-Gari 10 kilometres to the west of Keffi, Keffin Shanu 15 kilometres south of Keffi, Anguwan Ayaba to the north and to Kokona to the east. Although Keffi raided the neighbouring Kurape kingdom, it had never incorporated Kurape and Karu areas into the Emirate, until by 1932 when the colonial government subordinated the Karu and Karshi Districts (created in 1915) to Keffi Emirate.[83]

It should however be stressed that in the last decade of the 19th century Keffi was under the influence of a revolutionary prince who seemed to have been more powerful than the Emir, and even attempted to get Keffi independent of Zaria. This prince by name Ibrahim Yamusa popularly known as

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81. Ibid, p.10, and Jidde, p.3.
82. Yahaya, p.10
83. This will be the central theme of chapter five.

Magaji Dan Yamusa, a grandson of Zanga. He was reported to have been a man of valour and bravery and known as "master pillager", and praised as "Guntun baki na Ayango" - meaning the short black husband of Ayango. He raided the regions bordering Keffi, a phenomen which brought him into conflict with the colonial government in 1902.[84] While Sheikh Al-Kasim Suleiman Jidde believes that the slave raids and pillaging of Keffi environment was a "lucrative"[85] affair, it can be argued that Magajin Keffi's pillagings for the "lucrative slave trade" destroyed the region and was the major cause of depopulation of the region, and explain why the other ethnic groups looked at the Fulani and Hausa as raiders (Ajei G).[86]

It should be mentioned that the rise of Keffi saw the coming of new groups, particularly the Fulani and Hausa. Some reports claim that before the rise of Keffi the number of Fulani in the region were insignificant. But Keffi people encouraged the coming of Fulani who had large cattles. The large cattles had ecological repercusion, and intergroup relations in the region. However, some indigenous farmers asked some Fulani to settle on their farms for animal manure.

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84. The works of Jidde, Yahaya, Gazetteers III, pp.7 and 19.

85. Jidde, pp.1 and 2.

86. GI/KCTD and GI/GAT.

This led to the introduction of strange thorn weeds which grew in the animal dungs. Also, it is claimed that the cows brought guinea-worm (Kurkunu) which was not known in the region before. Most of the drinking pools and streams dried out because the large herds eroded the banks. It is claimed that streams like Wuzhye/Majawal, Antau, Dag-badna and many pools which never dried out completely during dry season now started to be seasonal. This caused some conflicts between the farmers and the Fulani. Despite these new experiences, the economic relationship between the Fulani and indigenous groups increased. Gbagyi in particular gave some cattles to the Fulani for grazing, after which the Fulani were paid. Also, only the Fulani remained as the sole supplier of beef and milk which augmented the dietary intake of the whole region.[87]

However, Keffi has had about 14 Emirs since its establishment.[88]

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87. Ibid.

88. Plateau State National Census Office Historical Committee Report, 1973, pp.5-6, and Plateau State of Nigeria, Programme for the Instalation of His Royal Highness, the Emir of Keffi, 1981.

1. Abdullahi Zanga c.1802-1820
2. Maizabo (c.1820-1835)
3. Jibrin Bawa (c.1835-1859)
4. Muhammadu (c.1850-1862)
5. Ahmadu (c.1862-1877)
6. Sidi Umaru (1877-1894) crowened in Zaria after succession dispute.
7. Ibrahim Barde (1894-1902)
10. Abdullahi Maigari (1921-1923)
11. Muhammadu Mai-yaki (1928-1933)
12. Abubakar Dan Ahmadu (1933-1949)
13. Ahmadu Maikwato (1949-1979)
14. Chindo Da Yamusa II (1979 to date)

whom Magajin Keffi ensured his being turbaned by the Shurah (king makers) of Keffi than going to Zaria. Shurah of Keffi consisted of the chief Iman, Waziri, Jarmai, Sarkin Fada, Turaki, Marafa and Majidadi (see Yahaya, p.10). Hence Magaji dictated to the Emir. He was the last Emir before the British. He was deposed by the British after the death of Moloney.

4.5 The Emergence of Nassarawa

In the course of our discussion, it was clear that the founders of Nassarawa had common origin with the founders of Keffi, and that Nassarawa was a splinter Emirate. It was discussed at length that some of the factors that influenced the split of Nassarawa from Keffi were conflicts in the palace, the ambition of Umaru Makama, Zaria's preference for Umaru Makama to become the Emir of Keffi, and the Zaria envy of Keffi's prosperity which it wanted to check by encouraging the split of Nassarawa.[89] The role of Zaria in this affair can be clearly expressed in this quotation:

> Abdul Karim, of Zaria, jealous of the growing power of Keffi, determined to detach Makama Dogo's party from the Keffi chiefdom, and offered Imoru Makama Dogo the Igbira kingdom of Panda, then at the height of its power and still unconquered. This crafty move of Abdul Karim was a double one; If Makama Dogo could subdue the Igbira, a large slice of country would thus be added to the Zaria Emirate. If the Igbira proved too strong for Makama Dogo the latter's party would be much weakened but still detached from the Keffi Emirate.[90]

There seem to be no exaggeration on the fact that Zaria supported Makama Dogo due to the fact that Makama Dogo had been a mercenary of Emir Musa who captured

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89. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province), pp.6-7 and 16-17; M.G. Smith, pp.140-141.

90. Ibid, p.17, op.cit.; History of Nassarawa Emirate, p.2 claim that Makama Dogo was a migrant from Runa near Katsina, first attached himself to Usman Dan Fodio during the jihad, became a mercenary and helped in the conquest of Zazzau in 1804 where he stayed for 2 years and later moved southwards to spread Islam when he accidentally met Abdu Zanga and Gunki at Zanga, and with the approval of Zaria later founded Keffi settlement.

Zaria in 1804 (?).[91] And the Caliphate was attempting to capture the confluence area in order to have direct supply of European fire-arms through the Niger trade.[92] It is reported that Sultan Bello unsuccessfully laid siege of Opanda in 1824, through which port he would have received European goods.[93] It should be noted that the European activities by the confluence encouraged the jihadist activities in the region.

However, when Umaru Makama Dogo failed to enter Keffi after he had been crowned as the ruler of the region, he took refuge in Yarkade[94] about 10 kilometres south of Keffi. Yarkade was a Hausa settlement which predate the rise of Keffi.[95] From there he continued to raid the Afo Agatu and Bassa country to the east.[96] He won victories that influenced him to name his new settlement Nassarawa - meaning 'the victorious'.[97]

The victories of Makama Dogo is attributed to the number of mercenaries he had. It is reported that Nagwamatse served with him as a mercenary captain,

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91. Johnston, p.184, and Adeleye, Power... p.30. M.G. Smith, p.141; History of Nassarawa Emirate, p.2.

92. Denham, Clapperton, Narrative of Travels... pp.304-331; Ohiare, pp.370ff: Lander, Records ... p.389; and Ohiare, p.360; Clapperton and Lander, pp.xiii-xiv.

93. Ohiare, p.389.

94. Temple, pp.502-512; M.G. Smith P.141.

95. GI/AM/1992 and KCTD.

96. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.17.

97. Ibid. & History of Nassarawa Emirate, Garkida Press, Abuja, 1992, p.3.

and helped him take the important town of Toto.[98] Other mercenaries whom Dogo gave titles in order to help him acheive his schemed ambition were Umaru Manashi from Katsina as Galadima, Jatau Azaga from Bida as Wambai, Audu Bayarabe a Nupe from Ilorin as a platoon commander, Kwatari from Katsina, Musa from Katsina, Mazawaje Mohammed from Ringin in Kano, Isa Gado from Kusede in Katsina, Makaita from Kaita, and Maitsirewa from Hadeija.[99] There were also some Gade, Gbagyi and Bassa mercenaries that helped the settlers of Nassarawa in raiding the Afo, Agatu, Ekpe, Doma and Igbira people to the east.[100]

Nassarawa people unsuccessfully made a headway west of Nassarawa - Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms. It is claimed that before Makama Dogo paid attention to the conquest of Afo, Agatu and Bassaa land, he had first attempted Gbagyiland, and failed to conquer any Gbagyi area. In some of the battles that discouraged Nassarawa from Gbagyiland was when Kurudu and Kurape kingdoms killed about ¾ of Nassarawa forces including Dandowayo and Mazawoje.[101] Oral tradition collected

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98. Johnston, p.185.

99. Adamu, The Hausa Factors... p.103

100. GI/AM/92; Ohiare, pp.417ff.

101. I/DTT/1991.

in Kurudu claims that the battle was fought in the 1850s.[102] This will be highlighted in the discussion on the response of Kurudu and Murape.

The growth and popularity of Nassarawa was first and foremost due to its successful conquest of the Afo, Agatu, Bassa and Ebiraland. It is claimed that Umaru Makama Dogo had been very popular even before the establishment of Nassarawa. He helped Musa to capture Zaria,[103] he helped Abdu Zanga to conquer the Nunkoro chiefdom[104] and the Afo to the east.[105] This bravery earned him the title of Makaman Keffi (meaning the conqueror of Keffi) and the leader of Keffi army.[106] It was when he had captured Opanda, in the 1854 invasion[107] that Makama Dogo was turbaned by Zaria as Sarkin Kwotto - meaning the ruler of the territories formerly ruled by the Ohimege of Opanda.[108] It should be noted that Nassarawa was not as successful as it potrayed in the recorded traditions. Although he was declared Sarkin Kwotto, Dogo could not effect this by raiding and harassing the neighbouring areas in

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102. GI/ITT and ADA/3-1-92, GI/TM/1-1-92 and I/OSU NAD.

103. Johnston, p.7; M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau, p.141; Mallam Abdullahi Umar,(Chairman of the Documentation). History of Nassarawa Emirate. Garkida Press Abuja, 1992,pp.2-3

104. Adamu, Hausa Factor in West African History, p.103.

105. Gazetteers III, p.6 (Nassarawa Prov.).

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid,

108. Ohiare, p.416.

became a big market centre - normally attended on Fridays. Again, the position of Nassarawa on the bank of river Kokona influenced its profession and population. Many Nassarawa people are gardenners, fishermen, hunters and farmers.[113] But it had less number of artisans than Keffi, Keffi town was larger, with more number of blacksmiths and more integrated into the indigenous society than Nassarawa. This integration is measured in terms of free association, mixed settlements intermingled, cultural relation and the spread of Keffi people among the villages.[114]

It should be stressed that Nassarawa sprang so quickly due to the great support she got from Zaria - which wanted Makama Dogo to check the popularity of Keffi, and to extend Zaria's control to the kingdoms in the confluence.[115] The initial success of Nassarawa was influenced by the contradictions in the region. The Ebira kingdom of Igu and Opanda were struggling over territory and economic dominance in the Benue with the Bassa based at Ikereku. Bassa people thus invited the Nassarawa people against the Ebira and led to the conquest of Opanda the capital of Opanda kingdom in 1854. It is stressed in the documented tradition that some Bassa soldiers were war commanders

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113. Ibid. Also, see Kirk-Green, "Expansion on the Benue, 1830-1900: A Review of the River Benue with special Reference to the Administration of the RNC." JHSN I: 3 1958, and MacDonald, "Exploration of the Benue." p.512.

114. GI/AM/14/9/92.

115. Adamu, The Hausa Factor..., p.103 and Gazetteers

in the army of Makama Dogo. Unfortunately for the Bassa, Makama's imperial ambition did not spare them, whose settlements were equally destroyed later.[116] Similarly, the Gade and Gbagyi people of Ara that aided Nassarawa later suffered raids by Makama Dogo.[117]

It is important to note that Nassarawa people married mostly the Gbagyi, Ebira, Afo and Gwandara-Gade women, while, like most of the muslim communities, they refused to give their daughters in turn to these communities whom they look-down upon as 'pagans'.[118] Similarly, Nassarawa people married their daughters to their kins at Marmara, Laminga and Keffi, so much so that the lineage chiefs of these settlements now claim the same ancestry.[119]

From our sources, it appears that Zaria's support for Nassarawa depended on the personality of the reigning ruler of Nassarawa. It is claimed that Zaria raided Nassarawa immediately after the death of Makama Dogo.[120] Similarly, Keffi did not seem to have supported Nassarawa until when Dogo was old, who requested Keffi to help him raid Jankwoi of Doma kingdom. After this, the successors of Dogo

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116. Ohiare, pp.440-443, 502-504;

117. Ibid, and footnote 12 .

118. Ibid.

119. Interviews with Alh. Walid Jibrin, the Dangi and Chiroman Fulani of Nassarawa (now Sarkin Fulani).

120. Temple, p.512, and Gazetteers III, p.18.

refused to co-operate with Keffi. While the recorded tradition potray the Jankwoi, Agaza and Udeni area been conquered by Makama before he died,[121] however, our sources argued that Makama Dogo failed to establish permanent administration over them, and that in the raid that led to the death of Makama Dogo, Afo sought the support of Arago who are claimed to have taught and given the Afo a mythical spear pegged on a mythical gammo (ringed straw) with which they stroke and killed Dogo. In addition Dogo is said to be burried there under a pile of stones, and the tail of his horse is still used as the Fan of the king of Angewa.[122] However, another source claims that Makama Dogo died of old age (72) in c.1858.[123]

Ahmadu who was titled 'Madakin Kwotto' succeeded Dogo and reigned between c1858-1878. It is claimed that he was enslaved by the Emir of Zaria in c.1879, but bought back his freedom.[124] Like his father, he was credited to have conquered some small villages.[125] Loko town is reported to be founded by some Ebira in 1874 during his reign.[126]

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121. Ibid.

122. Interviews with Tukura Azaki on 5/1%93.

123. See footnote 120.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

Mamman Sani succeeded, and reigned for a year (c.1878).[127] His name is missing in the kinglist found in the colonial records.[128] It is further reported that during his reign the Bassa and Apawa people rose against Nassarawa rule over them.[129]

He was succeeded by Muhammadu Danwaji who reigned between 1878-1923. This was the Emir that sold to the RNC the strip of land covering the banks of river Benue. He admitted this transaction during one of the inquiries, but disputed the extent of land the company claimed.[130] Muhammadu Danwaji also requested for fire-arms in order to conquer the neighbouring tribes, or at least raid them.[131] With the fire arm, he raided the confluence area, driving "the Bassa across the Benue and even followed and raided nearly as far as Ida."[132] In an exaggerated account, it is reported that he conquered "the whole country from a point nearly opposite Abinsi to the corner formed by the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, and northwards to within a few miles of Keffi was conquered... westwards to the confines of Abuja he also subdued."[133]

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127. Benue Plateau... p.7, lo.cit. fn. 139. Ibid.
128. See Gazeetter III, 1919 (Nassarawa Province)
129. Ibid.
130. Flint, p.139, and Ohiare, p.494-499.
131. See footnote 120.
132. Gazetteers p.18
133. Ibid.

This report was an axaggeration due to the fact that the country that was west of Nassarawa to Abuja was the three kingdoms under study. He could not capture Kurudu just 30 kilometres away from Nassarawa, talkless of the whole region down to the confluence. This type of missinformation might have been created by Sarkin Nassarawa himself, and partly due to the interest the Europeans had on the Emir. This is likely due to the circumstances that informed the relationship between the Europeans and the Emir. For instance, the Emir sold out the region he could not conquer to the RNC,[134] he again requested the RNC to give him arms and army to conquer the Gbagyi and Ebira kingdoms that constituted trade barriers ;[135] and he was one of the first Emirs who "made formal submission" to Lord Lugard in 1900.[136] Hence the Europeans wanted to use his town as their base for the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate. To justify this, they assumed that the vast region to the confluence had been under him, a pre-requisite for favouring him in the colonial administration.[137] The contradiction the Europeans

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134. See footnote 131. The 19th century political map of the Zaria plains to the confluence area by M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau-Map B: The Distribution of fiefs and vassal-states of Fulani Zazzau, reveals that the Gbagyi-country under study was independent of the Emirates, Abuja and Ebira states up to the colonial conquest.

135. See fn. 126.

136. Gazetteers III Nassarawa Prov.,pp. 18 & 19.

137. ibid.

faced in administraring the region up to 1932 dismiss the claim that the region had been under him.[138] Other colonial reports as regard the principal kingdoms in the region also dismiss the claim.[139]

The establishment of Nassarawa had many socio-political and economic significance which will be highlighted in the conclusion of this chapter.

4.6 The Founding of Laminga

The Chief-lineage of Laminga are settled Fulani (Gwe-bei^{G}), while the majority of the people are of mixed race - Gbagyi, Mada, Afo, Bassa and Gwandara.[140] The first settlers of Laminga came from Zakun-Bello hill which was a refuge in the jihad days. This report adds that the kings of Kurape - Riku 'Su-laya-da (c.1794-1824). Gyawyi (c.1825-1844) and Isu Kurape (1845-1875) settled some run away fugitives there. That the hill became known as Zaku because the first group that arrived from Hausaland was led by a well

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138. Ohiare, p.529.

139. Ohiare, pp.496-498 and Benu-Plateau... 1973, pp.7-8. Other Emirs that ruled after Muhammadu Danwayi were Ahmadu Ahoda (1923-1924), Mohammadu Ashaha (1923-1926), Usman (1926-1942), Umaru (1942-1960), Jibrin Wairiga (1960-1991) and Alhaji Ibrahim Ramalan Abubakar (1991 to date).

140. I/AM/14/4/92.

built man, Zaku meaning well built man in Gbagyi. It is further claimed that while the people of Zaku helped Kurape to ward off the forays from Zaria, Keffi and Abuja, they also paid their taxes in grains and cattles to the kings of Kurape.[141]

However, traditions collected from the chief-lineage of Laminga report that their fore-fathers were driven from Daura in the early 19th century by the jihadists.[142] This tradition seem to gain support from the studies of M.G. Smith, who found that the jihadists forced the last Sarki of Daura by name Sarkin Gwari Abdu and his followers to leave Daura in 1805.[143] Laminga people might be among these people. The tradition claims that the founders of Laminga were three children of Sango by name Nahuce, Ahmadu-Kuna and Bececе. Sango died shortly after their arrival at Zaku hill, then in the land of Kurape. This was the time when Zaria was 'turbanning' or 'giving flag' to whoever wished to declare jihad or bring the area under Zaria. Nahuce ran to Zaria to 'receive the flag'. But the people of Zaku did not like him as they prefered Amadu-Kuna who was more elderly and gentle.

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141. GI/AM/3/1/93 and GI/OSUATM/25-12-79. Baba Kaka 80 years old, the mother of present Chief of Laminga claimed that her husband was Agwai while she was Gwandara whose parents lived at Zaku. This report seem to corroborate the view that Zaku was a refuge centre for peoples of diverse origins.

142. Interviews with Mohammed Hamzat Abubakar (Maishanu) (I/MHA/4/4/92) and Group interview with the Chief of Laminga, Alhaji Jibrin Adamu (GI/Chief JA) on 4/4/92.

143. M.C. Smith, The Affairs of Daura, p.59. This tradition seems to give a more acceptable date for such arrival when compared with the kinglist of Laminga. One of our informants claimed that Laminga settlement

Hence the people of Zaku closed the gates of Zaku against Nahuce when he returned from Zaria. When Nahuce realised that he could not enter Zaku, he went to camp at a place about 5 kilometres east of Zaku (2 kilometres west of present day Nahuce village).[144]

Later, Ahmadu-Kuna and Bacece decided to leave Zaku hill because the hill had become weak for cultivation and grazing. They passed Nahuce and went to settle at Laminga between Nassarawa and Keffi in about 1847.[145]

This tradition does not provide the name of the king or Emir of Zaria who crowned Nahuce, or the contemporary rulers of Kurape, Keffi and or Nassarawa, so that we can discuss the emergence of Laminga in time perspective, and cross check the dates in the tradition. Another source claimed that Laminga was founded by Makama Dogo when he was thrown out of Keffi. He built a booth there before he proceeded to build another one at Nassarawa a year later. After some years, Zaku people and others came to settle there,

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has had about 3 chiefs, Bacece who started to reign from c.1847 and died shortly afterwards, and Adamu who reigned up to 1964. If this list is correct, it is very doubtful that Adamu the second chief could have reigned for over 100 years. It is more convincing that Laminga was founded about 1876 when Sakurapei Isolu (1876-1906) was on the throne. This draws our attention to the fact that our inferences are tentative untill a more reliable date is established.

144. See footnote 142.

145. Ibid.

and named it Laminga (when Makama Dogo had long left the place).[146] This tradition might be seeking to stress the economic, cultural and political relationship between the places, without historical accuracy.[147]

Our source stress that SaKurapei Isolu (c.18?6-1906) used Zaku hill as a refuge to inform him about any invasion from Keffi or Nassarawa, and to serve as a buffer zone. King Kurape (c.1845-1875) had earlier settled the Gwandara migrants from Garaku area at Gwagwa to serve as buffer village between Kurape kingdom and Keffi. More Gwandara were brought to Zaku.[148] Baba Kaka the wife to chief Adamu claimed that her parents were Gwandara who had great relations with the people of Kurape.[149] These traditions give the name of the king of Kurape - Sakurapei Isolu when the Daura migrants arrived.

However, at their arrival at Laminga, Amadu-Kuna and Bececo built separate houses. Kuna's house is the present palace while Bececo's is the Madaki house. It is claimed that although Amadu-Kuna was the eldest, he decided to crown his younger brother Bececo as the

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146. GI/AM/14-4-92.
147. KCTD/12-2-92 and GVAM/4-4-92.
148. Ibid.
149. GI/Chief JA/4-4-92.

chief. The two houses (Zaure) rotated the title of the chief. The settlement grew in size that there are now three houses (Zaure) rotating the sarauta (kingship). These are the houses of Sarki (chief), Madaki (deputy) and Iya.[150]

Laminga became well organised through the administrative machinary with the offices of Sarki, Madaki, Waziri, Shamaki, Magaji, Makama, Sarkin Yaki, Sarkin Pada, Turaki, Sarkin Kasuwa, Sarkin Pawa and Sarkin Dawa.

One of the factors that contributed to the growth of Laminga was immigration of new groups. Traditions collected in Laminga claim that Gbagyi were the first group to join the founders of Laminga immediately Amadu Kuna settled. This group is completely Hausanized now. Some rich members of Laminga further enlargened the town by purchasing Afo, Agatu and Mada slaves in particular.[151]

Another factor that contributed to the growth of Laminga was the role of artisans. Laminga blacksmith are said to be the most famous in the Niger-Benue Confluence, whose implements are of the best quality and demanded by all groups in the region.[152] Laminga had substantial number of Hausa butchers, Berbers,

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150. MHA/4-4-92.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid, and OI/BZZ/1/2/93

dyers, leather-workers, calabash designers, builders, hunters, and most importantly the brokers - 'yan-koli and 'yan kasuwa. It is claimed that Laminga brokers used to trade in all the markets down to the confluence, to Jabaland and to Awe. They carried to the regional markets some Laminga manufactures, hides and skins, calabash, iron implements, shea-butter, milk-butter and textiles. They in turn bought foreign goods like trans-sahara goods, red oil, fish, salt, natron, wears and so on. They made Laminga market very popular. In addition, the number of villages surrounding Laminga contributed in great measure in the growth and popularity of the town. This was in terms of flooding Laminga market with their food items, birds and animals. They also gave their daughters in marriage to the people of Laminga. These apart, the villages organised Dambe (boxing), Gaiya (community labour) and Farauta (hunting) with Laminga.[153]

It should be mentioned that Laminga black-smiths joined the mining of iron ore at Nike (about 10 kilometrs north-east of Laminga). Also, some Laminga fishermen were found along rivers Komona and Uke. It is stressed that all the professionals and artisans were taxed. Market tolls were also collected, and all went to the palace.[154]

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153. GI/Chief JA/4-4-92.

154. Ibid, and GI/TM and I/KCTD.

The external relation of Laminga was mostly with Keffi, Saka, Marmara and Nassarawa. The ruling houses of these places are close relatives now because of intermarriages.[155] It is claimed that the Emir of Nassarawa by name Mohammadu (c.1878-1923) used to hire some Laminga mercenaries to carry out some raids, but never sponsored a war of its own.[156]

Mention must be made of the fact that Laminga was instrumental in the spread of Islam among the Afo and Gwandara that joined them, as well as among the Gbagyi group. The malam of Laminga were popular because they were also traditional medicine men, and were believed to have the power to communicate with spirits that bring good luck.[157]

Although Laminga's relations with the neighbouring Gbagyi remained cordial, it became an ally of Keffi and Nassarawa. Hence, Kurape lost that boundary to Nassarawa and Keffi.[158]

4.7 The Coming of Marmara

The chief lineage of Marmara are the descendants of a Fulaniman called Jabbo (Yusufu Bojabbo). He led a group of Fulani from the Borno area through Hadeija to Kano area in

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155. I/MHA/4/4/94.
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid and footnote 154.

the last half of the 18th century. They settled at Babeji, then to Bagwai and later Shanono. They entered the territory of Katsina where they founded Kafin-Shanu settlement. Jabbo left his brother there and proceeded to establish 'Yan-Tumaki settlement in about 1787. Some of this people went to be students of Usman Dan Fodio, while others proceeded to Ilorin, Bidda, Zaria, Agae, Lapai, Keffi and Nassarawa.[159] These lineage has maintained the Sarkin Fulani Dangi clan of 'Yan-Tumaki.[160]

This tradition seems to emphasise the role of the Fulani of the Dangi clan in the creation of Sokoto Caliphate. If this tradition is something to go by, it can be emphasised that Dangi clan was very instrumental in the spread of jihad to the western part of the Caliphate - northern Yoruba, Kabba, Nupeland, Gbagyiland, Jema'a-Lafia area and to Ebiraland. Apart from their role at bringing about the integration of the region, this clan played an important role in maintaining pastoral and nomadic life which has remained the only source of beef and milk in northern Nigeria.

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159. Alhaji Dr. Walid Jibrin, the Dangi of Nassarawa, the Ciroman Fulani, (now Sarkin Fulani) AGM UNTL Kaduna. "Tarihin Dangawa Daga 'Yan-Tumaki". Paper presented at Nassarawa in 1992 when W. Jibrin was titled 'Dangin Nassarawa'.

160. W. Jibrin, "Tarihin Sarautar Dangawa a 'Yan-Tumaki; Sunan Sarauta Sarkin Fulani Dangi". They sent Ja'e to go and sleep there at night to assess the possibility of human habitation, that is to make sure it was free from spirits - Aljanu and dangerous animals. Nothing happened to him. He declared the place good, hence they established their settlement there and named it marmara after the type of the rock (granite).

Dangi clan also helped to integrate the economy of the region whereby the nomads settled in the fallows of farmers for animal manure (takin shanu), contracted the keeping of some farmers' cattle, grew garden crops and bought arables of farmers, sometimes in exchange for milk. All the markets in the region under study were flooded with Fulani women and men to sell their animals, birds, ropes, straw-woven-hats and milk. Culturally, too, the Fulani maintain their Sharo (game of whipping among the youth) which has a festival attended by all the ethnic groups as guests. It is claimed that Fulani introduced some secret societies closely linked to slavery into the region.[161]

It is very clear in the traditions relating to the coming of Marmara that demographic changes caused by the jihad and other economic interest were very influential. It is claimed that the leaders that established Maramara were Jibrin 'the warrior' and his brother Abubakar Maisaje, (sons of Macido, son of Dampami the first Emir of Lapai, son of Yusuf Bojabbo the first Dangi of YanTum left their father at 'Yan-Tumaki in search of suitable grazing area. In such wandering, they reached Lapai where they stayed for a short time. They left until they arrived at Keffi where they met their brothers who left 'Yan-Tumaki earlier They stayed at Keffi for a short while, and moved to Gunki-Tsoho near Nike. Gunki Tsoho is claimed to have been founded by one Gunki the first Madaki of Keffi. Mallam Gunki gave his daughter Aishatu in marriage to Jibrin I through whom he got 9 boys.[162]

However, it was unfortunate that at Gunki all their cattle perished from an epidemic. They then took to farming.[16] It should be noted that the tradition was silent on the dates of their migrations.

It is claimed that Jibrin had nine boys namely Abdullahi Maigari, Amadu Ja'e, Yamusa, Dangaladima Musa, Saluhu, Maigamo, Husaini, Kwasau and Maishanu (the youngest) when at Gunki. It was from there they left for Laminga where they established a ward which was at the site of the present-day GSS Laminga. Although they made many friends at Laminga, there were some quarrels that made them leave for Shamage.[164] Another information that corroborates this view claims that one of the causes of the quarrels was the sturboness of Laminga boys who stired quarrels. When they were playing in river Antau, one Laminga boy hit Dangaladima with a stick and broke his head. The elder brother of Dangaladima wanted to revenge with the believe that the wounding was intentionally done. This led to ethnic clash in the river Antau, which sparked off ward quarrels beyond the control of the chief of Laminga (Adamu). As such the chief complained to the Emir of Nassarawa to intercede, where upon, the Emir

163. ibid. also see

Walid Jibrin, "Tarihin Marmara", or "History of Marmara." Paper presented at the installation of Walid Jibrin as the Dangi of Nassarawa in 1992.

164. Interviews with Ahmed Dangaladima Pate ADP/6/5/92.

advised Jibrin to move away from Laminga. They then moved to Shamage (some of whose people claim to have migrated from Sokoto area in flight against the jihadists).[165] They were seen by Shamage people as trouble makers. Jibrin complained to the Emir of Nassarawa Sarki Ahmadu (the second Emir of Nassarawa). The Emir showed them the present site of Marmara -- a kilometre away from Shemage. It is further claimed that the Emir "must have realised that Jibrin was his kinsman from Katsina" which was why he had special interest in helping Jibrin to resolve the quarrels with Laminga and Shamage.

Significantly, Marmara seemed to have been the first and most important Fulani settlement in the region down to the confluence, and "Jibrin I immediately assumed the first Sarkin Fulani of the whole Nassarawa Emirate".[166]

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165. Interview with Ciroma Muhammadu Shamage in 1991.

166. See fns. 159, 160, 162 & 163. They provided the following kinglist of Marmara:

Sarkin Fulani Jibrin (the founder)		1861-1886	- 25yrs
"	" Abdullahi Mairiga (Audu)	1886-1902	- 16yrs
"	" Husaini	1902-1918	- 16yrs
"	" Ahmadu Ja'e	1918-1958	- 40yrs
"	" Jibrin II	1953-1976	- 18yrs
"	Marmara Abdullahi Jibrin	1976 to date.	

It is again important to note that the presence of the Fulani in the Nassarawa Emirate remained small until the reign of Sarkin Fulanin Kasar Nassarawa (and the Sarkin Marmara) Ahmadu Ja'e (c.1918-1958) when more Fulanis began to settle in Nassarawa Emirate. He is reported to have been "powerful and courageous" who"could not compromise" with the then colonial District Officer - most probably [167] J.C.Sciortino Esq.,[168] and was stripped off of the title of the Sarkin Fulani of Nassarawa while he remained as the Sarkin Marmara. The D.O. instead appointed one Fulani by name Abokin Mallam as Sarkin Fulani, and was later succeeded by his son Shuri. (Shuri was removed by by Emir Jibrin (1960-1992) and replaced by Mallam Alu Dan Sa'i as the Sarkin Fulanin Nassarawa. He was also removed by Emir Ibranim Ramalan Bala(1993 to date) and replaced with Walid Jibrin who is seen as the right/legal successor of his grandfather Ahmadu Jae as the Sarkin Fulanin Kasar Nassarawa.[169]) The rulers of Marmara had remained as mere Sarkin Marmara since Ahmadu Ja'e, and with Sarakunan Fulanin Kasar Nassarawa on the other hand since Sarkin Fulani Abokin Mallam.[170]

However, Marmara soon grew very influential in the region because of its economic importance and relations with the Fulani of Nassarawa and Keffi Emirates and beyond.[171]

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167. Walid Jibrin, "Background of the Sarkin Fulani Institution in Nassarawa Local Government." *a paper presented during* the installation of Walid Jibrin as the Sarkin Fulanin Kasar Nassarawa in 1993.

168. See Appendix 2 - page 395 of this thesis.

169. See fn.167,p.?.

170. Walid Jibrin, "Assalin Sarautar Sarkin Fulanin Kasar Nassarawa." 1993; and History of Nassarawa Emirate,p.8.

171. Interviews with Alhaji Walid Jibrin in 1993.

The Emir of Nassarawa occassionally employed some mercenaries from Marmara for his forays down to the confluence.[172] The people of Marmara practiced farming, fishing and hunting and were well known in the Emirate. They intermarried with Nassarawa, Keffi, Laminga, Shamage, Gunki and other settlements. Other ethnic groups that identified themselves with the settlement were Afo, Gbagyi, Hausa and others.[173] Gwanja settlement (6 kilometres east of Marmara) left to join Marmara.[174]

The coming of Marmara was significant to the historical development of the whole region. It increased the population of the region, and later served as a centre for cultural integration as they intermarried with the indigenous tribes, became more or less Hausanized and took to farming alongside animal husbandry.

4.8 The Role of Zaria and Jama'an Dorroro

In our discussion above, we argued that the centres emerged as a result of the inter-play of both the

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172. Interview with Gwamna Awaje Marmara in 1991.

173. Interview with Walid Jibrin in 1991.

174. Interviews with Nupuyi Tukura and Ahmed Dangaladima. It is claimed that the Gwanja settlement was a trading post and the termini of Long Distance Trade routes coming from Kurupo to the west, Magumi to the south, Gyinu and Afoland to the north. Many traders from Hausaland, Ebiraland, Awe and Doma area, Gbagyi and Nupeland patronised Gwanja market in the 18th and 19th centuries.

internal and external factors. It was emphasised that the external inputs particularly the political tension in Hausaland (the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate) and demographic changes were most significant in bringing about the new settlements. There is need to clearly examine the role of Zaria and Jema'a Emirates in increasing the contradictions in the region and their specific interests.

The role of Zaria can be seen in its unsuccessful attempt to conquer the region down to the confluence by sponsoring wars of conquest, organising sporadic raids of the region, instigating political crises or palace coups and by mobilising the bordering Emirates to wage wars on the autochthonous kingdoms of Karu, Kurape, Karu and Kurudu, Igu and Opanda and also Abuja. Our sources are emphatic that Zaria made several raids on the kingdoms of Karu, Kurudu and Kurape. It is claimed that Zaria sponsored series of wars and raids down to the confluence as from the reigns of SaKurapei Gyawyi (c.1825-1844), SaKarui Narai (c.1810-1854) and SaKurudui Kugnazyi (c.1807-1832).[175] This oral information corroborate the European eye witness accounts that Zaria and its allies laid siege of the

175. GI/GAT/29/12/91; I/AM 16/4/91; GI/OSU ATM/25/12/78.

kingdoms down to the confluence since 1820s throughout the 19th century.[176] Sultan Bello made an unsuccessful siege of Opanda in 1824 and had encouraged Zaria and Nassarawa emirates to finish the task until Opanda kingdom was sacked in the 1850s.[177] Informants from Keffi also assert that Zaria attempted to destroy Keffi during the reign of Jibrilu (c.1835-1859) because Zaria was jealous of the prosperity of Keffi, and probably due to the fact that Keffi had refused the imposition of Makama Dogo as the third Emir of Keffi who was a mercenary and loyal ally of Zaria.[179] It is similarly claimed that Zaria raided and enslaved the successor of Makama Dogo by name Ahmadu (c.1858-1878 It also made series of forays on Abuja the escaped Sarkin Zazzau.[181] Furthermore Zaria is said to have instigated and helped or used Keffi, Nassarawa and other Hausa settlements in the Niger-Benue Confluence to raid the whole region.[182] Based on this information the tempo of the socio-political contradiction were mostly propelled by Zaria.

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176. Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, pp.304-331; Lander, Records of Clapperton, pp.47-55; Lander and Lander, Journal of an Exp., II; Laird and Oldfield, Narrative of an Exped. vol.I; Allen and Thompson, A Narrative... vol.II; Crowther, Journal...1854. chp.2.

177. Ohiare, pp.355-389.

178. Interviews with Atiku Yahaya in 1993.

179. Ohiare p.403; M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau, p.141,170-171;

180. O. Temple, p.512 and Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.18.

181. Naibi and Hassan, Gwari, Koro and Gade Tribes. p.18.

182. Ohiare, p.419; Samuel Crowther, Journal of an expedition (2nded) Cass, 1970. Chp.2;

Again, the activities of the jihadists in the neighbouring Emirates like Kontagora, Jema'an Dororo, Bida and other Hausa Emirates had direct impacts in our region of study. For instance, most Gade groups in Karu and Kurape kingdoms claim to have been pushed to the kingdoms by the jihadists around Nupeland and Kontagora. Similarly, the Koro and Gwandara in the kingdom of Karu were pushed down by the jihadists in Jema'an Dororo. The Gade in the kingdom of Kurudu were similarly pushed to the area by the raids of the Emirs of Lafia, Awe and Keffi.[183] Some Hausa and Fulani settlements in the Niger Benue confluence rushed into the region during the jihadist activities, and further increased the tide of the movement.[184] Some Gbagyi settlements around Koton Karfe, like some Bassa settlements too, claim to have fled from the raids in Nupeland.[185]

It is important to note that the establishment of Jema'an Dororo too, like that of Abuja, influenced Keffi to enter into ties with the 'pagan' kingdom of Karu, Kurape and Gyinu. It is claimed that one Mallam Usman who had been a notable Islamic scholar among the

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183. I/BSP/29/12/92 and GI/GA/3-1-92.
184. GI/GAT and GI/AM/16/4/92.
185. Interview with Rev. Ch'dawa Nyayisa.

Fulani in the area around Kajuru, Kachichire, Jema'a and Kagoro, went to Emir Musa of Zaria to "obtain a flag" around 1810. He told Emir Musa that he was the head of a party of a gathering - Jama'a of Fulani - who had settled close to the mountain of Dororo. Emir Musa then named the place "Jama'an Darroro" meaning "the gathering or party of Darroro".[186] During the reign of Usman (c.1810-1833) there were series of clashes with the aboriginal inhabitants which led to their migration into Kurape, Karu, Kurudu and Opanda area. Most of the Gwandara in Keffi and Kurape kingdom were the backwash of the tumoils in Jema'an Dorroro emirate.[187] Immediately after the death of Usman, Zaria interfered too much with the succession that there were palace coups and deportations, and "the one who paid the heaviest bribe was the winner before the Zaria court." However, during the reign of Emir Adamu (c.1850-1869) the fourth Emir, and during the reign of Emir Jibrilu of Keffi (c.1835-1859) Jema'a and Keffi Emirates fought a series of wars. It is claimed that the Sultan of Sokoto had to intercede. Also in the 1890s, the Magaji of Keffi raided the districts of Jema'a, and

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186. Gazetteers III. pp.13-14

187. CI/AC/3-1-91 and I/B.SP 3-1-91.

succeeded in claiming Numan and Ninzam[188] with his base at Kokona.[189] It is claimed that Keffi knew that its relationship with the neighbouring Emirates was not always cordial, which made it to seek the support of Kupan Gwari, Kurape and Karu from time to time.[190]

Our discussion cannot be complete without examining the motives of the jihadists as this will help us understand the most influential factors in the contradictions and changes in the kingdoms understudy.

The reason advanced by the founding fathers of the Emirates clearly has both religious and political undertones. They claimed that their raids and wars of conquests were attempts at creating an ideal Islamic society guided by the Sharia. That was the idea behind their going to 'obtain a flag' from Zaria,[191] which was the permission to wage the jihad - holy war - against polytheist muslim communities and pagan communities that refused to be under the contro. of pious muslims. To 'receive the flag' from either

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188. Gazetteers III, pp.14-15

189. Yahaya (1993) p.19, and Jidde, p.3.

190. Interview with Kura, Baba Bature and Yahaya.

191. Keffi, Nassarawa, Awe, Lafia and Jema'an Durroro are reported to have received their flags from Zaria, and became sub-Emirates of Zaria.

Sokoto was a pledge to abide by the manifesto of the jihad provided by Usman Dan Fodio,[192] and as an acceptance of Sokoto overlordship. This involved the belief that only muslims should expropriate and appropriate the surplus value of the communities in which they lived, and to force any recalcitrant 'pagan' community.[193] This informed the religious and ethnic nature of the movement, since the muslim communities comprised of purely Hausa and Fulani in our region.[194] Although some new perspectives of the contradictions and transformation of this region attempt to dismiss the religious and ethnic nature of the jihad,[195] the assertions of the protagonists of the jihad reduce the contradiction to ethnic and religious nature. For instance, Sultan Bello threatened the ruler of Oranda in 1824 with this letter:

> Ruler of Fundah! deliver up your country, your riches, your people and your slaves to the beloved of God [muslim], Mohammed Bello, king of all the muslimans, withought reluctance on your part; for if you do not... he will shed your blood, and the blood of your children, and the blood of your household; not one shall be left alive...[196]

192. See Wathiqat ahl al-Sudan wa man sha Allah min al-ikhwan ('Dispatch to the folk of the Sudan and to whomso Allah wills among the brethren.') by Usman Dan Fodio. Translated by Bivar, 1961, pp.235-243.

193. Ibid and Hodgkin, loc.cit. pp.247-247.

194. GI/AM/16/4/92; I/DFT; I/KCTD.

195. Y.B. Usman, (ed) Studies in Sokoto Caliphate ABU Press 1988.

196. Lander, Records of Clapperton, pp.47-55

Apart from this assertion, the alliance system in the last half of the 19th century was religious to a greater extent. This influenced the Europeans that were in the region in the period to conclude that "the raids on neighbouring pagans were considered /by the muslim/ a pleasant and profitable way of spending the dry season."[197] A recent study in the history of Keffi support the ethnic and religious aspect or perspective of the contradiction. The establishment of Keffi is seen by A.Y. Yahaya as a centre for disemination of Islam.[198]

Despite this belief which informed the religious nature of the contradiction, it remained a mere facade to justify their raid of the pagan communities, since the Emirate founders and their successors did not bother to establish any Islamic state. J.A. Ohiare's study which discovered that the Emirate rulers in our area of study did not create any Islamic state nor bothered themselves to convert even the conquered people supports this view. Conversely, they even looted muslim communities like Koton Karfe.[199] We have shown in our discussion how the Emirates were busy looting one another, and sometimes allying with the pagan kingdoms against their rival muslim Emirates.

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197. Meek, pp.257-8, 287-293.

198. A.Y. Yahaya (1993) p.3.

199. Ohiare, pp.378-381.

However, Islam influenced the contradiction, as it was the legal basis for their actions, the uniting force, the only intellectual forum which universality exposed the jihadists to the outside world, gave the perspective of their line of action and external support. That may be the reason why some scholars infered that Islam provided the intelligentsia that became most instrumental when the socio-political and economic contradiction in the whole biladina al Sudaniyya in the 19th century became sharper than ever.[200]

This view helps us to examine other factors that influenced the contradictions in our area of study. One of such factors was the age-old demographic changes that contributed to the founding of new centres discussed above, the spread of Hausa- language, Islam and the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group that became instrumental in the contradictions now called the jihad. The role of the Hausa groups or communities in the Niger-Benue area has been extensively discussed by M. Adamu.[201] Another factor was political transformation of Hausaland and the introduction of slave mode of production. It is argued by Enoch Oyedele that the

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200. Y.B. Usman, (ed) Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate. A.B.U. 1979. pp.3 -59.

201. M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor..., and his "Seminar Papers Vol.I".

urbanization of the Hausa cities was partly characterised by dialectical relationship whereby the suburbs and non-Hausa groups south of the Hausaland were raided,[202] This view is corroborated by some traditions in Hausaland which claim that most of their slave estates (Rinji, Rumada, Gandu and Murgu) in the 19th century were full of *non-muslim* Gwari.[203] Oral reports collected around Keffi, Abuja and Nassarawa also corroborate this view, and report that apart from domestic use of the slaves acquired from the surrounding, most of them were sold off to Hausa slavers and jihadists.[204] It is reported that "Nagwamatse the Destroyer, the raider, the conqueror of the fierce Gwari Tribes on the East [sic]" was asked by the rulers of Sokoto in the 1850s to send them slaves and booties, whicy made him to continually raid the region down to the confluence.[205] Similarly, the Emir of Zaria imported Eunuchs from Opanda and Abaji, while Sokoto imported slaves that were professionals in the field of weaving, dyeing, pottery, and warriors. All the Emirates used slaves as porters

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202. Enoch Oyedele, "Slavery and Urbanization in the Central Sudan up to 1900 A.D." in Sunday New Nigeria April 1990, 27th, pp.8-9.

203. Hodgkin, loc.cit., p. 86ff.

204. Interviews with Kura, Kabu and Godiya.

205. Gazetteers III, Kontagora Province p.3.

and were the general means of exchange for fire-arms between them and the Europeans.[206]

Linked to the internal economic situation which the jihadists wanted to boost by the use of slave labour, the contradictions were accelerated by European activities along the coast and the rivers Benue and Niger and the increased globalization of the economy of the Niger-Benue Confluence area. Both written and oral reports attest to this fact. The kings of Kurudu, Kurape and Karu, like other neighbouring kings and Emirs, were busy organising slave raids on their weaker neighbours in order to sell them at the European posts on the banks of the Niger and Benue.[207] Oldfield reported that the jihadists

> travel very quickly, taking the unsuspected inhabitants by surprise. They seldom fail in capturing hundreds of prisoners as well as cattle, horse, ... The slaves are disposed of to the Arabs: some are sold at towns on the banks of the Niger, and eventually reach the sea side...[208]

In fact, slaves were the major articles with which European arms were exchanged.[209] Furthermore, it is stressed in some accounts that succession disputes in the palaces, and the jihadists' attempt to conquer

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206. Ibid. p.389.

207. GI/ASU HS/16/4/89 and I/KCTD.

208. Laird and Oldfield, p.90 op.cit.

209. Ohiaro, p.359.

the Niger-Benue Confluence area, were directly related to the attempt to corner the European trade for their monopoly. The increasing economic importance, commercial links and political relations between the Caliphate to the north and Europeans along the Benue and Niger was most influencing factor in the contradictions. For instance, the interview of Clapperton with Sultan Bello in 1823 reveals that Bello was highly interested in having direct access to the European goods particularly English guns, ammunition and rockets. He then assured Clapperton that he would make secure the ports of Idah and Opanda for safe delivery. Bello immediately asked Zaria rulers to wage wars on the autochthonous kingdoms to the confluence that put stiff barriers to trade. Zaria started the wars in 1824.[210] Like Sultan Bello, the Emir of Nassarawa, Muhammadu (1878-1923) requested the RNC to give him arms and rifles to subjugate the 'pagan' kingdoms that put stiff trade barriers.[211] The Europeans gave the jihadists in particular the fire-arms, which made the Foreign Secretary Lord Russel to ironically comment that he was "against the 50 muskets [sold to the jihadists by the confluence]

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210. Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, pp.304-331, and Ohiare, pp.37Off; Clapperton and Lander, pp.xi-xiii.

211. Ohiare, pp.474-481 and p.559.

they encourage babarians to kill one another."[212] The British encouraged Masaba in particular to conquer the whole confluence area and establish African Empire which would assist development of British commerce.[213] The resultant effect of this development was the encouragement of ethnic exclusiveness and chaotic political atmosphere which characterised the rest of the 19th century.[214] The Europeans exploited the contradiction by playing one ethnic group against another until the Europeans emerged as the conqueror. This will be the focus of chapter five. It should therefore be stressed that the enthusiasm of the polities of the Niger-Benue Confluence area towards connering the European trade influenced the tide of the contradictions. Other studies in the history of the Niger and Benue rivers reveal that they were the major artery of European trades in the 19th century. In addition the military and political superiority of the polities in the central Sudan became connected with that trade. Whoever was in control of the trade became rich and powerful and raided the weak and poor states.[215]

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212. Quoted in Manson, "Nupe Kingdom in the 19th century: A Political History." Ph.D. Thesis, Birmingham, 1970, p.157, FO 97/435 Minute by Russel in Wilkinson and Son to Wide, "1st July, 1865.

213. Chiare, pp.474-476.

214. Ibid, pp.476-481.

215. Ibid, p.360

The most glaring impacts of the role of the jihadists were the disruption of the kingdoms of Karu, Kurudu and Kurape. This was through the destruction and raiding of their subordinate settlements, which led to the disruption of their political organizations, and the termination of bilateral and trade relations with Hausaland. This is not to say that everything was destroyed, or that they erased every thing. There is therefore the need to draw our attention to the fact that there is much exaggeration of the impacts of the jihad on these kingdoms in the colonial historiography. For instance, the colonialists misunderstood the attempt by the jihadists to create large polities with extensive trade links in which the British commerce prospered. Undermining the contribution of the jihadist activities to the prosperity of British commerce, G.K. Meek claimed that:

> the methods adopted for this end (replenishment of their dissipated economy) were the wholesale plunder of the populace. Slaves were the general currency, and under the extensive system of slavery there was an absence of social cohesion, the mass of the subject pagan peoples being reduced to a state of complete economic and moral paralysis.[216]

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216. Meek, loc.cit, p.257; op.cit.

And with specific reference to our area of study, the colonialists further claimed that:

> In the Nassarawa country, a once fertile and populous Province, one can now only view the remains and ruins of large and totally deserted towns, bearing witness to the desolation wrought by 100 years of internecine strife and slave-raiding by the Fulani.[217]

This type of exaggerated reports merely served as an excuse for the colonial conquest of the Nigerian area. Oral reports collected around Nassarawa and Abuja testify to the fact that not only the Fulanis were the raiders. The indegenous polities like Kurape, Igu, Opanda, Karu and others, were raiders of their weaker neighbours, and slave labour was instrumental in augmenting the wealth of the palaces of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu.[218] Again, some rival princes and indegenous polities were ready to team up with a third force to oust the other not caring whether such a third force favoured the corporate existence of the state.[219]

Despite the high political and social tension, commerce was not completely ruined. It is reported that although the kingdoms of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu

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217. Gazetteers III, p.5, opcit.

218. GI/HS 16/4/89; I/KCTD/12/2/92.

219. Ibid, and Ohiare, p.382.

were sometimes at war with the neighbouring Emirates, this did not stop the regional markets. This was due to the fact that total war broke only after some warning or sending of an ultimatum. Also, there was a law that market places should not be attacked on market days.[220] The European eye witness account testify to this law of not attacking markets on market days. Allen and Thompson visited Opanda and Kotton Karfe that border the kingdoms under study in 1841, and noted with surprise that

> the strongest characteristic of the inhabitants of Africa is the love of traffic, it is indeed the ruling passion... Every town has a market, generally once in four days; but the principal feature is in the large fairs held at different points on the river, about once a fortnight, for what may be called their foreign trade, or intercourse with neighbouring nations. They are professedly held sacred, whatever wars may be in the land; and cheering, indeed, to humanity would it be - in this hot-bed of violence and rapine, where everyman's hand is raised against his fellow, and where everyone tries to enslave his neighbour - to know the existence of such a trave-dieu, devorted to the exercise of peaceful commercial intercourse.[221]

At the supposed time of tumoils, the Niger-Benue Confluence area supplied most of what the British

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220. I/KCTD and I/AM/14/4/92.

221. Allen and Thompson, A Narrative of an Expedition... p.3 op.cit.

needed for sustaining its economic and technological growth. The report of Baikie attest to the trade enthusiasm and the benefits of Britain.[222]

This draws our attention to some positive impacts of the jihadist activities in the region. One of such impacts was the increase in the volume of trade. More number of Hausa carravans and traders patronised markets in the kingdoms. They settled in the market centres, and their wards became accommodation areas for Hausa brokers. Some travelling Islamic scholars settled in these wards. M. Adamu noted that Islam became the blue-print for the formation of moral community of Hausa businessmen.[223] He argued that the brain behind the effective establishment of the Emirates were the traders, who remained the touch-bearers of the jihad.[224] These traders made possible the quick spread of Hausa language, which became the Lingua-Franca.

The establishment of Keffi, Nassarawa and Abuja emirates which became linked to the powerful Caliphate meant a change in the balance of power in the region.

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222. Howard C. & Plumb J.H., West African Explorers, Oxford 1951, p.529, op.cit.

223. Adamu, M. "Seminar Paper Vol. I." A.B.U. 1981.

224. Adamu, M. in Y.B. Usman, Studies in Sokoto Caliphate... pp.98ff.

The Emirates became dominant vis-a-vis the indigenous kingdoms because of the military support they sometimes received from the neighbouring Emirates - Zaria, Awe and Lafia in particular.[225] This was also linked with the role of Hausa traders who hastened the urbanization of the Emirates and forcibly took over the long-distance trades coming from the north.[226] This caused changes in the nature of inter-group relations whereby preference was given to muslim converts who allowed their daughters to marry the jihadists. It was the social philosophy of the muslims that they should not be governed by 'pagans'. Hence the muslim communities in the kingdoms ignored the authorities of the pagan kings even when they knew that they were subjects of the kingdoms. And the Emirate rulers prefered to intermarry with the Gwandara, Ebira, Fulani, Koro and Gade muslim converts.[227]

It can therefore be argued that the jihadists' attempt to capture the three kingdoms led to the disruption of the calm socio-political atmosphere in these kingdoms, and that the jihadists gained from the crises. While new settlements, grew, the indigenous societies conversely lost large percentage of their population.

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225. Gazetteers III, p.12

226. GI/HS/16/4/89; GI/PNK; GI/YI/5/4/80

227. GI/ITT/23/12/91; GI/HS - 16/4/89 I/BG/2/3/93; GI/N.D/1/1/92.

4.9 The Significance of Igu and Opanda

The rise of Igugbaka kingdom, which later splitted into Igu and Opanda kingdoms in the 19th century were directly influential to the changes in the kingdom of Kurudu in particular. This was due to the fact that they controlled the trade in the confluence, had strong ties with the kingdom of the Igala to the south and had acquired European weapons with which they expanded their territories.[228]

The studies of Ohiare reveal that the rise of Igu and Opanda kingdoms involved the raid of Bassa and Gbagyi villages around the confluence area.[229] It is claimed that the influence of Opanda had reached Shemage about 10 kilometres north of Nassarawa.[230] Oral traditions collected around Shemagi and Nassarawa deny any Ebira political control up to Shamage. They claim that Ebira traders had established a trading post there for collecting Gbagyi and Bassa manufactures in exchange for European goods in the first half of the 19th century, but did not have any political control of the settlement.[231] The findings of Ohiare also support this view, and claims that Ebira dominated the trade to the confluence and were

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228. Ohiare, Chapter three.

229. Ibid. pp.226.

230. See the map of the Kingdoms of Igu and Opanda in the 19th century provided by Ohiare.

231. See foonote 28.

view seem to be an expression of their dissatisfaction with Ebira rule when they were forced under them during the colonial period.[239] This was partly influenced by retention of allegiance to their old centres of administration irrespective of the territory they lived. Ohiare noted that this was possible since, "in those precolonial days separation by distance and territorial boudary did not matter in discharging their obligations to their clan heads."[240]

However, one of the significance of the rise of Igu and Opanda was the spread of Ebira into Kurudu kingdom in order to buy Gbagyi manufactures to be relayed into the long-distance trade along the Benue and Niger. In doing so, Igu and Opanda made sure only Ebira tribe monopolised the trade which was the basis of their strength. This however rather increased hostility between Ebira and Bassa people.[241]

Another significance was that the powerful Ebira kingdoms gave respite to the Gbagyi migrants who fled from the jihadist forays around Kontagora and Abuja.[242] A variant of this view claims that the

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239. Ibid, pp.576, 587-604 and 618.

240. Ibid, p.576

241. Ibid, pp.188, 482-487.

242. Ibid., pp.213ff.

rise of Opanda and Igu pushed some Gbagyi into Kurudu area and beyond.[243] Reports collected in Kurudu also corroborate this, and claim that Igu and Opanda raided many Gbagyi settlements, and pushed some of them into Kurudu and Kurape kingdoms, and forced some low-land settlements to change sites to hill settlements. It is also claimed that theyretaliated their defeat by the jihadists on the Gbagyi and Bassa settlements, with the belief that Gbagyi and Bassa invited the jihadists against them.[244] Reports collected by Ohiare corroborate this view.[245]

However, the rise of Igu and Opanda reduced the territories of the kingdom of Kurudu to the south, and also had great impact in the intergroup relations in the region. This will be highlighted later.

4.10 The Response of Kurape

Traditions exist on the response of Kurape to the establishment of Abuja, Keffi and Nassarawa. Kurape engaged in wars to survive as a kingdom. This involved the acceptance of new groups, and the entrenchment of slave labour in the palace.

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243. Sule Mohammed, pp.30-39;

244. GI/HS/18/4/84 and I/BG/2/3/93.

245. Ohiare, p.419 and 416.

jihadists against Kurape. Kurape and Kurudu concluded their alliance and put joint effort to ward off Nassarawa and Keffi attacks. This version adds that the king of Kurape welcomed the Gade and Gwandara migrants from Yeskwa, Kontagora and Jema'a areas in order to use them as forces against the jihadists. And that the Gade of Uke, Karshi and others joined Kurape against the jihadists.

Again that in one of the battles, Nassarawa foray was repulsed with heavy defeat. The battle took place near Wuzyegnu 10 kilometres north of Nassarawa. Dandoway and Mazawoje, the captains of Nassarawa and Keffi forces were killed by the captains of Kurape, Gagara Dada and Babaye. It is further claimed that the king of Gyinu by name Cakni who was also the commander of his archers helped Kurudu and Kurape in the wars.[247]

However, it was during the reign of SaKurapei Kurape (c.1845-187) hat some settlements like Laminga, Ara, Shamage, nd other Hausa and Gwandara settlements sprang, some o hich took side with the jihadists against Kurape.[248]

Oral tradition claims that the period that followed, during the reign of SaKurapei Isolu (c.1876-1906) were

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247. GI/TI/12/10/92.

248. KCDT. When Keffi failed to capture Kurape, they quickly resolved their differences in order to jointly face Abuja. And Keffi employed Gemayako the Gadama of Kurape as his mercenary against its enemies - Zaria and Abuja in particular.

more challenging, and faced series of attacks from Karu and the jihadists. Sakaruyi Wyekoya (c.1855-1891) and Sakaruyi Audu (c.1892-1949) are reported to have sided with Keffi under Emir Ahmadu (c.1862-1877), Sidi Imoru (c.1877-1894) and Ibrahim (c.1894-1902) to attack Kurape and Abuja.[249] Some of these attacks on Kurape are claimed to have been instigated by Zaria.[250] The studies of Ohiare corroborate this view.[251]

Another significant response of Kurape was its admission of Gade and Gwandara representatives in the palace. As neutral groups to the succession, they were entrusted with the safe keeping of some regalia and staff of office (Ebe^{C} - sword) until when a favourable candidate for enthronment was got.[252] Apart from the evolution of new settlements, it should be mentioned that many settlements changed from lowland dwelling to hill dwelling which were inaccessible to the jihadists.[253]

Other responses of Kurape to the jihadists was the increased use of slave labour in the palace and on the king's farm. It should be noted that slave labour in

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249. GI/YI/25-12-70.

250. 1/KCT/D and GI/AM/4/9/92

251. Ohiare, p.419.

252. Smallwood, p.2; Byanyiko (1979) p.2, Byanyiko (1987) p.2, interviews with Nyitomizai.

253. GI/PAK in 1980; Ohiare p.246 and Gazetteers III, p.5

the palace was not a new thing, but the kings of Kurape needed more labour on the farms from which soldiers were fed. This influenced them to declare most war captives as slaves some of whom were reduced to Eunuchs.[254]

Another response was the recruitment of women into the army. The women squards - Aknu-Nuwna-Gayi (meaning war cooks and carriers) were headed by Magazya or Zagyiya (queen). They cocked and transported food to the battle fields. The Aknu-nuwna-gayi were also given some paramilitary training and medicine believed to protect them from enemies' shots.[255] At times of peace, Kurape imported more horses and swords from Hausaland in order to strengthen its army.[256]

4.11 The Response of Karu

Like Kurape, Karu received waves of Gwandara and Gade groups who were accepted by king Narai (1810-1854), Wyekoya (1855-1891) and Audu (c.1892-1949). They were allowed to settle in Gbagyi villages particularly Aso, Gurku, Kabusu, Nyanya, Jawnu, Gagerko, and others.

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254. GI/GAT; GI/AB; DTT.

255. Ibid.

256. Ibid and Gunn p.98

Up to 1949, SaKaruyi Audu installed the Gwandara chiefs. This influenced some forms of inter-group relations whereby the Gwandara were absorbed into Gbagyi culture.[257] Oral tradition is emphatic that the jihadist activities influenced the consolidation of the kingdom of Karu. Since the beginning of the 19th century, Karu constantly received military support from the new groups of Gwandara and Gade, Yeskwa and Koro who fled from Yeskwa district and from Kwerko Keffi sometimes aided Karu in order to win the support of Karu against Abuja (which Zaria was trying to crush by using Keffi and Kontagora).[258] Karu also sought the support of Keffi in order to fail the attempt of Kurape under Isolu (c.1876-1906) to recapture Karu. However, Abuja promised independence to some of the northern villages like Nyanya, Kurudu, Aso and Pei formerly under Karu and thus took side with Abuja. Karu ceded some southern villages to Keffi in order to appease Keffi which recognised the independence of Karu. Kurape under Isolu did not like Karu's role in the affairs, seeing that both Abuja and Keffi were invaders. Kurape did not bother to differentiate between the Fulani jihadists based at Keffi and the Habe raiders of Abuja since they were both imperialists. Hence Kurape and its Gade

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257. Osu Audu warned the Gwandara to eschew the tradition of killing their chiefs after few years' reign. See MEMO, Karu District Headquarter 1975, p.2.

258. CI/Y1/16-4-89; CI/PNK/6-1-80 and I/KOTD.

and Gwandara allies attacked Karu severally in the last half of the 19th century.[259]

This report draws our attention to the fact that the jihadists' activities and the responses of the indigenous kingdoms were primarily linked to the question of land control. The larger the territory the more the economic opportunities and the larger the population. While Kurape unsuccessfully attempted to reconquer its territory, Karu and Kurudu succeeded in becoming independent and even annexed more lands. Similarly, the jihadist basis of Keffi and Nassarawa, as well as Igu, Opanda and Abuja, were struggling to annex more territories to consolidate their economic and political superiority.

Another issue is acculturation or intergroup relations that was a direct impact of the contradictions. In order for Gbagyi to win the support of their guests - the Gwandara and Gade, they were integreted into some cultural practices, while their cults were also consulted.[260] This type of integration has been misinterpreted to mean Gbagyi guests were Gbagyi hosts, or that they installed Gbagyi chiefs.[261] This type of

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259. GI/ATM; DTT and MA on various days

260. GI/Osu NLM/4-5-89, Shehu Adamu's interview with Yepwui and Adamu Adogo at Karu in 13/12/1975; and fn 253.

261. Gunn, p.98, Sule Mohammed pp.73, 77 and 119.

misinformation is the colonial and neo-colonial political gim-crack in the attempt by Gwandara, Gade and Fulani to win favour.[262] This will be the central theme of the last section of the following chapter. However, traditions collected around Karu report of Gbagyi kings turbanning some Gwandara chiefs. For instance, Sakaruyi Audu (c.1892-1949) installed Gwandara chiefs, and the Gwandara and Gade paid some taxes to the kings of Kurape and Karu in order for these kings to allow them farm Gbagyi-land unmolested.[263] Therefore, the view that the Koro, Gade and Gwandara, and even the Fulani-Hausa, predated Gbagyi in this region, and their settlements portrayed as centralised authorities before the 20th century is full of confusion and anachronistic.[264] When this view is examined against the background of the leadership role Gbagyi kingdoms played, it becomes very clear that Gwandara or Koro or Fulani people are credited with developments they never achieved.

4.12 The Response of Kurudu

Kurudu attempted to ward off attacks from Nassarawa until when Kurudu settlement was destroyed during the

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262. MEMO by Karu District Headquarter, 1975; MEMO by Tukura A.M. on Kurape District Paramount Chief, 29/7/1990; and MEMO by Kurudu Chieftaincy 1992.

263. See fns. 261 and Smallwood pp.1-2; Gazetteers, III p.4.

264. This view was portrayed in Smallwood p.2. See fn. 262 and Isichei, Elithabeth, (3d), Studies in the History of Plateau State Nigeria. Mac. 1982 p.130.

reign of Saadumi (c.1883-1918). It is claimed that Nassarawa initially established some ties with the kings of Kurudu so that it may be allowed to trade, fish, hunt, graze and farm some lands of Kurape without molestation. Nassarawa was at that time busy raiding the Bassa, Agatu, Afo and Ebira people to the east. Our sources stressed that Nassarawa's attention was more on the main market centres along the Benue river.[265]

Thus the relationship between Kurudu and Nassarawa was at stake during the reign of Saadumi (c.1883-1918) and Emir Mohammadu (c.1878-1923). Sakuruduyi Nyazaazyi Alkali alias Amadu Dookwabuya reported that the war which broke between Nassarawa and Kurudu was caused by Nassarawa raid of its subjects, particularly the Gade subjects. He claimed that Kurudu could ward off the forays of Umaru Makama Dogo and his successor Amadu (1858-1878) due to the fact that Kurudu had long-acquired horses since the reign of Kugnazyi (c.1807-1832), which strengthened their cavalry. Also, the jihadists' cavalry were not used to the flora and topography of the area. Most of the settlements of the kingdom were by the banks of river Kokona and its tributaries which were inaccessible to horses, while some settlements were on hills. Kurudu also produced its armaments from its local iron ore that whenever the jihadists had blocked the trade routes to foreign markets, it managed with local weapons. But during the reign

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265. GI/OSU NAD/1-1-92, I/B.D/2-3-93.

like sleeping sickness, small pox, cerebro-spinal menengitis, jaundise and yellow fever. It is emphasised that the war caused famine due to the fact that the wars did not allow secured economic activities particularly farming and trade. This made people to migrate to Kwapa, Kotton Kerfi and Karu area for safety.[270]

Although Nassarawa could not defeat Kurudu settlement, the suburbs of Kurudu suffered from its raids. Ara declared its support for Nassarawa, and Kurudu lost its northern subordinate villages to Nassarawa.[271] Despite these loses, the Gade, Gwandara and Ebira in the kingdom became more intimate and united in their bid to ward off the attacks from Nassarawa.[272] This type of confederal and consortium ties among the ethnic groups in the Niger Benue Confluence against the muslim or jihadists was stressed in the studies of Ohiare. By the end of the 19th century, the Gbagyi, Ebira, Basaa, Gade and Afo "engaged in a struggle against the jihadists, based in Kelfi and Nassarawa, who made their area slave raiding ground".[273] This joint effort checked

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270. I/ZFDK/1-1-92 and GI/HS/1-1-92

271. I/BPTG 1-1-92

272. I/ZFDK; GI/OSU NAD.

273. Ohiare, p.559 op.cit.

the jihadist forays that the Emir of Nassarawa, Muhammadu Maje Lokoja (c.1878-1925) confessed that he "had difficulty in getting them", and requested for the help of the RNC.[274]

Another response of the people of Kurudu kingdom was that some Gwandara and Gade settlements started to embrace Islam, and got their daughters married to the Nassarawa people.[275] Also, the jihad days witnessed great demand for the manufactures of the kingdom more than ever before. Despite the political tension, Hausa traders flooded the markets, and their fishermen and hunters roamed along the streams and forests at times of peace more than ever before.[276]

4.13 The Nature and Pattern of Inter-Gbagyi Relations in the Area in the Late 19th Century

Despite the high political changes and pressure in the region, the kingdoms of Kurudu, Kurape and Karu did not severe their relations. Rather, the challenges coming from all directions (as the kingdoms were surrounded by the Emirates which made fervent attempts to annex them) forced the kingdoms in the last half of the 19th century to make joint military

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274. Ibid.

275. I/ITT; I/WS/2-1-92

276. Ibid.

effort to survive the Emirates. Apart from this military relations, economic and cultural ties continued unabated. Our source stress that whenever the raids along the long-distance trade routes influenced the kings of these kingdoms to set up state carravans that were heavily guarded to the markets along the river Benue and to Hausa and Lafiya markets. There were times that only the state carravans attended Abuja, Keffi, Kanunkoro, Awe, Lafia, Loko, Umaisha, Koton-Karfe, Raba, Bida, Kuta, Jere and Gadani regional markets.[277]

The major internal economic linkages and relations were labour contract and exchange - Gaiya, whereby nearby villages attended each other's farms across the borders. There was also Kaso or Bago (community hunting) which went beyond borders, and hunters hunted beyond their kingdoms peacefully or unmolested as long as they gave part of their hunts to owner of the land. However hunting across the borders, or fishing (AZU-FI-AGA) in the streams not in one's country, were sources of communal clashes. The internecine wars and imperial tendencies of the kingdoms were closely linked to the issue of land which was the source of the fauna, clay, iron-ore and fruits.[27

277. I/BPT6/1/1/92; GI/ABZ/30-12-91 and GI/CAT/29-12-91.

278. I/AM/4/92; I/ZFDK/29-12-91.

Culturally, too, there were great linkages between the kingdoms. They attended one another's festivals and feasts like Zhibaje (cleansing cult festival), Kabwa-Nya-je (harvest festival), Kaka-je (dancing cult festival), Madawa-je (spirit cult festival), and so on. And there was the visit of the graves of ancestors irrespective of the kingdom. Linked to this was the religions and totemic ties. This made the role of priests in the integration of Gbagyi country very significant. It is interesting to note that Gbagyi interpreted the jihadist forays on their land as a chastisement from their ancestors that were displeased with the attitudes of some members of the society. Hence, during the wars, sacrifices were offered to graves and gods, in the belief that the spirits would be appeased.[279]

Another relation between the kingdoms that gave them a confederal character was the military ties. It is emphasised that with the rise of the Emirates that surrounded them, it became clear to the kings and their palace attendants that the major task before them was the safeguard of their sovereignty. It was known to them that it was quite impossible for any one kingdom to survive the jihadists, and thus influenced the three kingdoms to quickly resolve boundary dispute between them. It is stressed that

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279. I/ZFDK; HS; GZC/24/4/92.

the external challenges forced Kurape kingdom to recognise the independence of the splinter states of Karu and Kurudu so that they might not invite the jihadists against it.[280]

The fear of the jihadists' activities came from stories about their activities in Nupeland and in Hausaland. The Zagezage rulers who fled and founded Abuja was a typical impact of the jihadists' incursion, which they tried to prevent in their land. Gbagyi have a believe that "knawyi bi ho gu nu kwa wu ho" - meaning the arrow that kills you is from your archery, and "a gyi zyi nu zyidai nu' - meaning you conquer a town with the help of the town's man. These proverbs are believed to have been strong words of advice that warned against mischief in the kingdoms. It was known that the selfishness of the princes of Nupeland enabled the jihadists to conquered them, as well as the Bassa who invited the jihadists against the Ebira, but later got conquered by them.[281]

Hence, whenever a village was under attack, the king of the territory quickly requested the others for urgent help, who quickly rallied round to check the agression.[282] This military relations influenced other matters, like joint discussion on return and

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280. Ibid.

281. I/DTT; KCTD; GI/ENK; I/YI; Crowther, Journal... pp. 152-154.

282. Various interviews on various dates HS; ZMDK; BPTG, AM; ATM; AT and KCTD.

exchange of war captives and run-away slaves, joint policy of refusing to sell iron implements to 'strangers' and the protection and close watch over the blacksmiths, and joint decision or judgement on murders. The relations included the consultation of each other on matters like enthronment of new king and other important administrative posts, and joint states' carravans. Despite these relations, each kingdom maintained its autonomy. This type of relation must have influenced their bilateral ties with the neighbouring kingdoms and Emirates. For instance, Sakuruduyi Bolowyi (c.1872-1882) is reported to have asked Sakurapei Isolu (c.1876-1906) and Sakaruyi Wyekoya (c.1855-1891) to cut off any relation with Abuja and Nassarawa who were raiding them, but to ally with the Gade and Ebira instead.[283] This tradition seem to gain support from the nature of alliances in the region. The studies of Ohiare testify to this type of alliance against Nassarawa and Keffi,[284] and against Abuja[285] which enabled them survive. Similarly, Sule Mohammed stressed that "most of the Gbagyi settlements in the Keffi and Nassarawa areas (like in Lapai and Zaria areas) also enjoyed high degree

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283. Ibid.

284. Ohiare, p.559.

285. Johnson, p.71.

of independence" up to the period of European conquest, as the Emirates could not conquer them.[286]

It can be argued, therefore, that the internal cohesion and the joint military resistance of the three kingdoms were some of the major factors that influenced their survival of the jihadists' sieges. These kingdoms were economically poorer than Nupeland, Ebiraland and Hausaland. They were also less populated. Yet, they did not fall into the hands of the surrounding Emirates. The factors of defensible hill settlements, thick vegetation cover, clashes among the jihadist bases, available iron ore, etc / acted at the vantage of the three kingdoms and crippled the jihadists, Abuja, Opanda and Igu in annexing the three kingdoms, the confederal relation of the kingdoms were the major factors that ensured their survival.

4.14 Conclusion

The emergence of new polities that were linked to the Caliphate posed strong challenges to the three kingdoms. This related to the issues of land and territory, economic and political status, external aggression, demographic changes and their consequences.

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286. Sule Mohammed, "Some Notes on the Influence of Ecology on Gbagyi Settlements in the 19th and 20th centuries." Paper presented at the University of Maiduguri on 22nd - 28th September, 1991. pp.12-14. The political map of the Zaria plains to the confluence area provided by M.G.Smith, Govt. in Zazzau between pp.84 & 85 further butress the fact that the Gbagyi country remained independent of the Emirates up till the colonial conquest.

The discussion on the emergence of Abuja, Keffi, Nassarawa, Laminga and Marmara critically examined the traditions relating to the datesof their establishment. The internal and external inputs that were most influential in the establishment of the settlements were discussed at length. There was an examination of the role each settlement played in changing the political structure particularly the issues of boundary and inter-group relations in the region. It was clearly demonstrated that the emergence of the new states meant loss of territories and its effect on the economy of the kingdoms. This was more glaring with regards to land because the control of large territory meant economic and political superiority derived from the large population, markets, taxes, minerals and fauna.

Although the emergence of the new states hightened ethnic conflicts and slave raids, it was argued that the relationship between them and the aboriginal kingdoms was not always violent as exaggerated in the colonial historiography. Rather, there was increase in trade relations and cultural ties. Only that this meant a change in the balance of economic power in favour of the new centres. This was possible through the alliance of the new politics with the Sokoto Caliphate and the Europeans (RNC) which encouraged the Emirates to fight and break

the trade barriers put by the autochthonous kingdoms. The Europeans gained most in the contradictions as this meant boom in the sale of British fire-arms and manufactures. Hence, the jihadists activities became directly linked to the global capitalist economy.

It was stressed that the challenges influenced the confederal character of the kingdoms, and enabled them to survive the attacks from the surrounding emirates, Bida, Jeman Dorroro and Zaria. The survival of the three kingdoms from the conquest of the Emirates has contemporary significance. Unlike the Caliphate that could not put collective resistance to the British conquest, the internal cohesion and joint military resistance of the three kingdoms prevented the jihadists' conquest of the kingdoms.

Our analysis emphasised that the massive depopulation of this region was in the 19th century.[287] The evidence at our disposal suggest that the jihadist activities in our area of study were not for any true Islamic purpose, nor to really incorporate the region into the Caliphate. They were more interested in raiding the region. Both the European eye-witness

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287. Baba Thomas Bingel, "Historical Demography of the Nigerian Middle Belt A.D. 1400-1900: An Explanation of the Role of Historical and Environmental Factors in Shaping the Population of Niger Province." Ph.D. Thesis, ABU, 1991, reveals that our region was adequately populated like its neighbouring area up to 19th century when slave raids dislocated the population. pp.24-67; Ohiare, pp.365-366, 391-399 and 438-439; Gazetteers III, p.5.

accounts and oral traditions emphasise the jihadists' raids of this region which had traumatic consequence on the population. This evidence dismisses the arguement that deny the role the jihadists played in the depopulation of the region. One of such arguement assumed that

> there is no indication, in any of the sources available to us, that Zaria, either before or after the establishment of the emirate system carried out slave raids against the Gbagyi which considerably affected their sett ement pattern.[288]

However, the contemporary significance of the depopulation of the region was the creation of a potential base for the Federal Capital Territory. This is true due to the fact that it was the sparce and scattered population of the region that, among other conditions, favoured the siting of the FCT in the area. The 1971 debate over the location stressed that the area

> is a Gwari country - an area of low and declining population. 44 rural settlements of about 7,000 people presently occupy the area ...[289]

Again, our analysis infered from the evide ce at our disposal that the three kingdoms had never fallen to Keffi as some scholars claimed,[290] nor

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288. Sule Mohammed (1991), p.11 op.cit, Sule Mohammed (M.A. Thesis), pp.17-18, 21, 104-117.

289. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Rtd Dr.) Dialogue on a New Capital for Nigeria: A Political Analysis. A.B.U. Press 1974.

290. A.D. Yahaya (1993) p.10; Gazetters III, pp.18 and 19.

to Nassarawa as the colonialists claimed. The erranous view that the kingdoms had fallen to the Emirates before the colonial conquest has been challenged by many memorandums to the government of Plateau State.[291]

It is however important to note that the jihadist activities hastened the integration of the people in the region and the integration of its economy into the world capitalist system. Furthermore, it can be argued that the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups in the F.C.T. today is traceable to the 19th century.

We have mentioned that some of the contradictions and changes were responses to European activities and the impact of the global economy. However, we did not comprehensively focus on their role. As such the following chapter shall examine the role of the Europeans in the development of the period i.e. 19th century and its impact. The British, like the jihadists were not new to the region in question by the end of the 19th century. On the eve of the colonial conquest, they had been active participants in the contradictions leading to the conquest of Nigerian area.

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291. Some of the most important MEMOs are those of Tukura Anyitomizhi Manasseh, "Submission of Memorandum on Methods of Selection of Paramount Chiefs, District Heads, Village and Ward Heads in Karshi" 29/7/1990 which sites about 10 of such Memos and responses; Adamu Sheha (et al), "Karu Traditional Headsh ." 16/5/1975; and Mallam Amadu Chief of Kurudu (et al), "A Memorandn: The Need for Kurudu District."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EUROPEAN PENETRATION AND CONQUEST

5.1 Introduction

Before now we have been discussing the political and economic developments in the three kingdoms in the 19th century. The dominant theme was the role of the jihadists in the economic and political evolution in the region, and the response of the kingdoms. The activities of the jihadists were so significant as it led to the emergence of a new balance of power that challenged the statusquo of the kingdoms.

In the discussion, it was mentioned that the contradictions in the region in the 19th century were greatly influenced by the European activities. A sharp focus on the role of the Europeans in shaping the history of the region needs a specific chapter. We will now closely examine the European trade relations and alliances leading to the conquest and the subsequent resistance of the Gbagyi. The significance of the British activities, the conquest and subjugation will be highlighted at length.

5.2 The Commercial Networks in the 19th Century

A discussion of the commerce of the area is important since it was the moving spirit in the contradictions and changes noted in chapter four, and the European conquest.

The kingdoms under study were integrated to the regional trades which linked them to the Long-Distance-Trade-Routes coming from all directions. Before the major trade routes are identified, it is logical to start with the major local economic activities which made the region important in the long-distance-trade. This region is noted for its substantial production of goods and raw materials. For instance, it was noted that before the conquest, in addition to farming which was the dominant activity, there was weaving and dyeing of native cloth, tailoring, preparation and dyeing of hides and skins. Iron work was also prevalent. There was canoe-making and large fishing industry. At Keana, there was salt mining which work was monopolised by the Arago of Keana, and was widely distributed and exported. Bee-keeping and waxing of the honey was seen in the trading posts. There was also the collection and preparation of rubber by the Hausa.[1]

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1. Gazetteers III, pp.23-24.

Other local manufactures in this region have been noted in chapter three. Organization and articles of local trades and professionals with specific emphasis on the Gbagyi in the area of study have been given by Gunn and Conant. They also mentioned the presence of Hausa and Nupe in Gbagyi local markets that purchased the local manufactures and resold them into the Long-Distance-Trade. They noted that "the Gbagyi are widely known as keen traders" who competed with their Hausa counterparts.[2] Similarly, Sule Mohammed stressed that Gbagyi in this region produced numerous manufactures and crafts which entered the inter-regional and Long Distance trade, and so seen in the "distant markets in the northern and southern parts of the Nigerian area."[3] In fact, by the beginning of the 19th century, Europeans and Arabs were seen in some markets in the kingdoms, exchanging their goods with local manufactures.[4]

The new settlements mentioned above had become incorporated into the market system by the end of the 19th century, and some of the most important

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2. Gunn and Conant, pp.89-93.

3. Sule Mohammed (M.A. Thesis), pp.8-9

4. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into Africa, Cass, 1966, pp293-295.

ones were Abuja, Garki, Wushapa, Kugbaru, Karu, Uke, Rafin Kwara, Kurape, Karshi, Takalafiya, Dansa, Ara, Nassarawa, Laminga, Keffi, Panda, Tatara, Gitata, Garaku, Onda, Mararaba, Azyaga, Kurudu, Naknuse, Gudun-Karya, Gadabuke, Toto, and Rubochi.[5]

The mediums of exchange in the local markets were cowries, sompa, iron bars and implements (pataka), raw gold, natron, salt, peper, copper, tobacco, milk, indigo, dried meat and fish, shea-butter, ochre, honey, pieces of cloths, cotton, and so on. Barter reigned in the regional markets too. It should be noted that the value and standard of goods and moneys were measured in sizes, roles and measures, but varying from one society to another.[6]

The long-distance trade brought in articles of greater value to the local markets, some of which were the terminals of the trade. There was a complex relationship between the local trade and the long distance trade, and influenced each other directly. There were more number of foreign traders in the big markets than were in the local markets.[7]

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5. Various interview KCTD 12-2-92; GI/HS16/4/89; Danladi Azyaga (L.A) and DDJ in 1991.

6. Sule Mohammed (M.A. Thesis) p.9; and Hopkins, pp.67-69.

7. GI/HS/16-4-89.

The trade routes that came from river Benue through the ports of Umaisha and Loko reached the kingdom of Kurudu through Loto, Gadabuke, Naknuse, Kurudu and Nassarawa. Another southern route started from Koton Karfe and Gerenyi and ran through Abaji, Zokutu and Rubochi.[8] The eastern routes came from Awe, Doma and Lafia, and passed through Kokona, Kanunkoro, Gyinu, Keffi, Uke to Abuja, Kuta and Nupeland. The northern route came from Hausaland through Gadani, Jere, Abuja, Karu and terminated at Kurape. The northern route was subdivided, some of which passed through Jabaland to Jema'an Dororo, and then to Lafia and Garaku. The trade routes interlaced so much in our region, bringing varieties of goods and peoples from different regions together.[9]

It is stressed by Ohiare that the routes that ran from the ports of Umaisha and Loko on the Benue, and from Lokoja and Koton Karfe on the Niger were the most important routes into the interior of Nigerian area. They were the central routes in Nigerian area through which the RNC traded with the Hausa States.[10] It has been shown how the

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8. Ibid, and fn. 4

9. Interviews with AM; GI/HS and GI/ZGC/24-4-92.

10. Ohiare, pp.244-250.

interest of jihadists in Nagyiland was connected to their interest in trade with the RNC at the confluence. It will be highlighted how the European conquest, too, was principally connected with the trade.

Mention must be made of the fact that the dominant traders along the routes to the confluence were the Ebira, to the south-west were the Nupe, and to the north were the Hausa, through whom the people in our region of study disposed of their manufactures and raw materials.[11] The foreign goods that came to the kingdoms through the southern routes were European wears and jewelries, Ebira textiles and red-oil, canoes, fish and ivory.[12] The goods that came from the Hausa states were natron, salt, albaru (gun powder), textiles and medicines. There were also cowries, uda-goats, donkeys, horses, dogs, turkey, war-weapons and types of North African wears and decorants.[13] Kola-nuts and ivory, as well as professional slaves in weaving from Yoruba-land through Nupe.[14]

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11. Ibid. and GI/OSU HS/1989; KCTD and ZG.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid and Adamu, M. "Economy and Urbanization: Distribution of Trade Centres in the Central Sudan in the 18th and 19th Centuries." in Y.B. Usman (ed) 1980, pp.59-86.

14. Laird and Oldfield, p.89.

The long-distance-trade was organised in a complex net-work of security and investment. Very few traders participated in this expensive and risky business. Sometimes they needed state security or state carravans. Hence, there were identifiable types of guild systems: There were individual target marketeers who were occassional and seasonal traders who used their own capital; group of regular traders who had complex net-work of agents; the highly specialised and professional traders who employed slave labour and kinsmen; and the state-officials who controlled trade and participated in the import and export of security and highly priced goods.[15]

Based on this type of trade net-works, it is true to argue that trade was one of the most important types of relationship among the societies in Nigerian area.[16] This type of trade relations dismiss some assumptions which undermine the economy of the region, and reduce the region to subsistence level, like the speculation that "trades are (were) practically non-existent" up to 1932 among the Gbagyi of Karu and Kurape![17]

The significance of this type of trade networks was the increased diplomatic, cultural and political ties, demographic changes, growth of market centres

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15. Hopkins, pp.58-63.

16. Thomas Hodgkin, loc. cit. p.2.

17. Smallwood, lo.cit. p.6.

and local manufactures which the jihadists wanted to capture, and which the British wanted to colonise. Trade relations fostered and integrated people and good atmosphere upon which one colonial Nigeria was built.

5.3 The Slave Trade and its Significance

The issme of slave trade is relevant to our stmdies as it significantly influenced the tempo of historical developments in our area particularly in the 19th century.

It was mentioned several times in chapter four that slave raids and slave trade was one of the principal occupation of the jihadists in our area of study. It was also mentioned that the kings of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu engaged in slave trade. It was stressed that the economy of Keffi, Abuja, Nassarawa and their allies were dependent on slave raids in the region as a response to the European and Arabian demand for the slave on one part, and the growing need of slave labour in the urban centres of Hausaland and the state farms of the Caliphate.

There is a general concensus among scholars that the tempo of slave raids in the interior of Africa corresponded to the high demand for slaves by the Europeans.[18]

The demand for slaves by the Europeans directly encouraged contradictions in the whole Sudan. Powerful kingdoms raided weaker polities which were harried.[19] In order to raise more slaves, some kingdoms, particularly Bida[20] and the Caliphate[21] demanded taxes in slaves. Slaves were the major carriers in the regional and long distance trade of Hausaland and the confluence down to the coast.[22] And large number of the armies of the kingdoms and the Caliphate were composed of liberated slaves. Most title holders and messengers in the Caliphate and Abuja staff were ex-slav rulers granted slaves liberty on consideration of their taking arms.[23] Up to 1890s, the Caliphate and the kingdoms around the confluence were still exporting thousands of slaves to the coast in exchange for European arms, and "the acquisition of guns meant more slave catching in the surrounding areas of the Niger-Benue Confluence."[24] Nassarawa

18. Inikori, J.E. (ed), Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies. London, 1982; Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa; and many other works.

19. Ohiare, p.360.

20. Ibid, p.438

21. Gazetteers III, p.19.

22. Ohiare, p.389.

23. Laird and Old Field ..89; M.G.Smith, pp.34,124 & 343.

24. Ohiare, pp.368-377.

similarly produced its firearms by exchange of slaves with Delta slavers at the bank of the Niger.[25] The ruler of Nassarawa requested for firearms from the RNC in the last decade of the 19th century to raid and make slaves of the neighbouring Gbagyi, Gade, Ebira and others.[26] Slave raiding by Nassarawa and Keffi was going on up till the colonial conquest in 1902.[27]

One of the immediate impacts of the slave trade was the depopulation of our kingdoms under study,[28] which contemporary significance was the creation of a less populated zone for the FCT - Abuja.[29] Another significance was the hightening of political tension that brought about integration of some parts of this region into the Caliphate and breaking the trade barriers put by the smaller states. This meant enlarged area for economic activities. Slave trade brought about increased contact of African people, exchange of ideas, borrowing of techniques and cultural integration. For instance, not all

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25. Ibid. p.376
26. Ibid, p.559
27. Gazetteers II pp.5, 18 and 19.
28. Ibid.
29. Nnamdi Azikiwe, loc.cit.

slaves were disposed of, some of them were retained in the palaces. The kings of Kurape imported slaves of special professions like blacksmithing, cattle rearing and horse keeping. These categories of slaves are claimed to have been liberated shortly afterwards.[30]

Similarly, the economy of the Caliphate was dependent on slavery and slave trade to a great extent.[31] Keffi, Nassarawa and Abuja Emirates, too, depended on slave labour and slave trade.[32] The military strength of the jihadists was dependent on the slaves. Makama Dogo was a run-away slave, and liberated later, and became one of the best mercenary of Emir Musa who captured Zazzau in 1808, and was the mercenary behind the success in the establishment of Keffi and Nassarawa.[33] The bulk of the army of the king of Rabbah was constituted of liberated slaves. The role of slave trade and slavery in the establishment of the Caliphate can be appreciated due to the fact that they were the mainstay of the state farms of the Caliphate and as well specialised in

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30. Interviews with GI/ATM; KCTD; and DTT on various dates.

31. Ohiare, pp.367-368.

32. Gazetteers III, pp.17-19.

33. Ibid. & M.G.Smith, Government in Zazzau, p.141; M.Last, "A Solution to the Problems of Dynastic Chronology in the 19th Century Zaria and Kano," in JHSN iii:3 1966, placed the kicking out of Makau from Zazzau throne in December 1808.

non-productive sectors like civil service and the army. Some of them were employed as palace officials, smelters and smithers. Some of them were sent out as tributes to Sokoto and Gwandu.[35] The Caliphate used the slaves as a means to purchase fire-arms from the coast and from Massaba.[36]

This draws our attention to the fact that slave trade was significant to the European commerce who gained most in the trade. The trade meant a boom in the sale of European fire-arms.[37] The Europeans prefered to ally with Masaba and the jihadists in the sale of the fire-arms vis-a-vis the autoch-thonous 'pagan' polities which put stiff trade barriers.[38] In fact, to some extent the British directly instigated lawlessness in the region, and later seized upon the situation as an excuse to capture the Caliphate.[39(a)] This will be highlighted later. It can therefore be argued that slave trade was one of the factors that created background for the conquest of Nigerian area. This was through weakening some polities, increased strifes and disharmony among polities, and the subsequent weak resistance to the conquest.

35. Ohiare, p.368;
36. Ibid, pp.368-369
37. Ibid, pp.369, 373 and 376; Manson, p.282.
38. Various interviews with HS and KCTD; Ohiare, pp.426-481; and Public Record Office, London (FO) 97/335,436 Consular, Lokoja, 1861-1866; FO/84/155, Slave Trade, 1846-1896.
39. Ibid.; Hutchinson, T. . Narrative of the Niger, Tshadda and Benue Exploitation, London, 1960, pp.245-; Vandeleour, S. Campaign on the Upper Nile and Niger, 1898, London, p.xiii.

5.4 The Impacts and Significance of British Activities from Lokoja on the Three Kingdoms

By the mid of the 19th century, the Europeans along the Niger and Benue knew little about the whole Niger Benue Confluence (NBC) from eye-witness accounts and from information got from Africans. The British in particular had sent a number of voyages in attempt to establish trade relations with the African chiefs on behalf of the British companies and government. Their reports reveal the various economic activities, articles of trades, markets, culture of the peoples, rulers, types of houses and dresses, the commonest foods, the dominant tribes nature of the polities, wars, bilateral ties among the kingdoms, physical features, demographic changes and the response of the rulers to the white strangers, most of which they jotted down in their diaries.[40]

The British agents like Macgregor Laird, Richard Lander and many others, started to establish trading activities along the NBC.[41] From their accounts, their trading activities were disturbed and delayed by the jihadists' activities in the region. For instance, the Emir of Zaria sent some force to warn

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40. See the works of Hugh Clapperton; Cook, A.N.; Denham, Clapperton and Oudney; Temple; Meek and Gazetteers of the Northern Province (4 vols.).

41. Howard, J.J. Pedraza, Borrioboola-Cha: The Story of Lokoja.

Lander in 1827 not to visit Opanda an 'enemy' of Zaria, of which the Emir had laid siege.[42] Lander went back to the coast through the capitals of the three kingdoms and Koton Karfe unhappy.[43]

While Lander was at Koton Karfe, he saw European goods been exchanged with local manufactures which came from the three kingdoms and beyond, and Koton Karfe as the termini of trade routes from the interior.[44]

One of the immediate impacts of the European activities from Okoja was increased demand for local manufactures, and the increased circulation of European goods with the Europeans now appearing in the local markets. For instance, when Baikie reached Abuja in about 1860, he established trade relations with Emir Abu Kwaka (c.1851-1877) who allowed the indigenous people to sell their goods directly to the whites.[45] Baikie commented that the local manufactures, were very good. What is also very significant is the fact that the supposed 'primitive' 'pagans' were now directly linked to the global economy necessary for the supply of most of what the

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42. Lander and Lander, The First British Settlement in Nigeria. London 1960. pp.107, 120 and 142.

43. Ohiare, p.464; Clapperton, pp.292-301.

44. Lander and Lander, p.43 (vol.3).

45. Thomas Hodgkin, pp.334.

British needed for maintaining its economic and technological growth. Baillie himself revealed the potentials of the region and the benefits of Britain in the letter he wrote to the foreign office, he stated that:

> we have met on friendly terms with numerous tribes, all endowed by nature with what I may term the commercial faculty, ready and anxious to trade with us and to supply us from their inexhaustible stores, with immense quantities of highly prized articles. We can also indicate a most important outlet for home manufactures as the unclad millions of Central Africa must absorb thousands of cargoes of soft goods, eagerly batterin, their raw cotton, their vegetable oils and their ivory for our calicoes and cloths.[46]

It should be noted that only the chiefs and kings could permit one to have direct access to the European goods, and made sure that some items which made them superior to the commoners were monopolised by them. Also, only the kings monopolised the purchase of guns, to ensure that it did not get to the hands of those whom they suspected might use the guns against them. The kings also promised to protect the Europeans, and helped them with both animal and human carriers - most of whom were slaves. The readiness of Ibagyi chiefs, like any other, was influenced by their desire to have European support whenever there was a war, to have European goods which made them

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46. Howard, C. and Plumb, J.H., West African Explorers Oxford, 1951, p.529. op.cit.

prestigious, and to have the guns for extending their influence on their weaker neighbours and for head-hunting.[47]

Another significance of the trade with the Europeans was the changing balance of power at the advantage of Bida, the Emirates and Igu and Opanda.[48] The trade with the RNC did not favour the three kingdoms. This was due to the fact that the Europeans prefered the Emirate rulers who were trying to subjugate the three kingdoms, and that of Igu and Opanda, in attempt to establish wide trade net-works.[49] The RNC sold fire-arms to the Emirate rulers to accomplish the task,[50] and encouraged Masaba in particular to conquer and establish African Empire which would assist development of British commerce.[51] In order to achieve this goal, the British sent Mr. Williams Simpson in 1871 to negotiate for the British monopoly of the trade on the Niger vis-a-vis the French and the Germans, and to arrange for the protection of British agents. Massaba ensured that

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47. Various interviews with HS; NAD; and GI/NTM; Adeleye, pp.11-f.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ohiare, pp.426-76.

51. Ibid, pp.475-6.

only his agents became the middlemen thereby undermining our kingdoms and others, and was to be the only supplier of British goods to the rest of the Caliphate.[52] Masaba immediately sent to the Caliphate inviting traders to Bida and promised them protection while he remained as the sole supplier of British goods.[53] The British, Bida and Caliphate allies began to make their plan materialise. This made Simpson to comment on the mode of such operation and reported that Bida was autocratic and "based on slavery and supported by terorism and sword." This made the Foreign Secretary Lord Russel to ironically comment that he was "against the 50 muskets (sold to Nupe since) they encourage babarians to kill one another."[54] The resultant effect of the European preference for the Emirate rulers vis a vis the 'pagan' kingdoms was the encouragement of ethnic exclusiveness and chaotic political atmosphere which characterised the rest of the 19th century.

Once more, the significance of the British, Emirate and Ebira alliance was enriching and strengthening the Emirates and the gradual shift

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52. Ibid, pp.426-481.

53. Ibid, pp.475-6.

54. FO 97/435; F097/436; F084/135. Also Crowther, Journal...1854, reveals that the Europeans were warned and advised by the muslim escorts not to have any much contact with the "Kafiri" throughout their expedition. See Crowther, pp.92, 119ff.

of economic and political power and importance to their centres and the subsequent decline of these kingdoms of study. The implication of this system of alliance was that it significantly influenced the British colonial policy of administration after the conquest. For instance, Baikie advised the British agents to

> if obliged always give preference to a Mohammedan as a worshipper of God to an idolater; Never pay any respect to heathen chiefs or kings below the confluence... With the kings of Nupe and Hausa, again be more particular... their superior intelligence, civilization, position and influence entitled them to a much larger respect and difference.[55]

Therefore, the alliance of the British, Caliphate and Nupe, and the pre-conceived notion must have influenced the British to undermine the existence of 'pagan' kingdoms which markets were comparatively smaller and had put tough trade barriers; and might have influenced them to assume that the whole NBC had been under the control of Masaba or the Caliphate.[56] Hence, the racist and religious provisor given by Baikie above was merely indicating the ambition of the British to have an extensive area for trade particularly with the imperial Emirate rulers and

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55. Quoted in Ohiare, pp.473ff.

56. Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, pp.303-331 and 450; Manson, p.276.

Nupe with whom they had established trade relations. Again this alliance must have informed the European bias, built on ignorance, that the pagan communities were still at subsistence level while only the muslim communities were artisans and traders! This nortion that the 'pagans' were still at subsistence level of production was very well expressed in the colonial historiography.[57]

Another significance of the European activities from Lokoja was the introduction of Christianity. Trade and Christianity went hand in hand, and sometimes the touch-bearer of trade. While the RNC was busy with its economic and political affairs in the region, Christian missionaries mainly the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) were hovering Gbagyi settlements in attempt to introduce christianity. Our sources claim that the first Europeans to have contact with the Gbagyi of this region were the christian missionaries.[58] It should be borne in mind that the Gbagyi could not differentiate at the beginning the various European groups: whether it was a christianizing group or traders or scholars. They saw all of them as whites who combined sale of medicine and goods with preaching. The Gbagyi welcomed the whites

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57. The works of C.K. Meek, O. Temple, Smallwood and Gazetteers III, p.17.

58. Various interviews GI/II/ and GI/PNK; (GI/YI/5/4/80); GI/GAT and GI/TM.

because their drugs for fever, cholera, small-pox, chicken pox and leprosy were very efficatious much more than the traditional medicine.[59] The SIM records and oral tradition claim that the SIM missionaries first settled in Karu, in 1890s then at Kuta, Dushepe, Oda, Ozya and later to other places after 1900.[60]++

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59. Interview with KGTD; GI/SG/I994.

60. Footnote 58 and interviews with Rev. Chidawa Nyayisa; Rev. Joel Dohoda , Karu; Sunday Gimba and Mrs Sawenyinya Bowo; Banyigyi Zniajekpi Pyakasa and Zaka Gaza Pyakasa. Also see the SIM Record (Church Records) Information, ECWA DCC and Headquarters Jos and Karu; and Rev. Joel Dohodai "Tarihin ECWA Church I 3 Tamah Nassarawa L.C.C. (Nass. DCC)", 1992. The earliest missionaries among Gbagyi since the 1890s were Mr and Mrs Oliver who was followed by Mr. Gideon (named in Gbagyi Zawozyiyi - indigene), then Mr. Wolfe (Maihunci), then Mr. Olson (Nyayisa - our time). He built Karu church in 1904, and later built a school there in 1911. Many other missionaries followed, like Mr. Mailafiya (Canadian); Maryamu (Canadian); Mr. Lr wi (English, named Awyetu - Hope and his wife - Yeyeyi , he went to Tawari in 1930; Maijinya who introduced clinics; Mr. A.G. Goertz (a Canadian, named Maihanci); Maxwell - who introduced Reuben Bible School Karu; Mr. S.P. Goertz - a Canadian named Atnadu (Patient); Mr. Keneth; Mr. Johnson (N. Island) who went to Sardauna among the Bassa; Miss Jacobson named Maimolo (guitarist) went to Arn; Makama; Gimba; Kopa; Yinusa Wushishi; all were white men mostly from America. The following came as from 1940: Maihankali; Anyidaka; Oko, Neh; Prefer; Danson; Mr & Mrs Albarkada; and Miss Alherida.

The earliest Gbagyi converts were Yepwui Idako (who died in 1989 at the age of 130) in Karu; Iyadugwe; Anyitomizai (Osu of Kurape who died at the age of 120 in 1990); Iyakwali; Bulus; Kusa; Fnidakulu; Baba; Bozniwna; Babanyalo - all in Karu and Kurape kingdoms; In Kurudu kingdom were Padawa (who died at Karu in 1989 at the age of 120); Shekwonai; Mannza; Ku > Adogo; Dalo; Ishaku - all in Tamah; and others followed suit.

The method of introducing christianity among Gbagyi started with the sale of European drugs for small-pox, chicken-pox; measles; cholera and leprosy. They were asked series of questions about their shrines - which

(see next page for continuation)

It should be stressed that the SIM missionaries restricted themselves among the Gbagyi only, who were the only ethnic group that embraced christianity. In fact, the Niger-Benue Confluence area was designated as Benue-Gwari District Church Council. The significant aspect of their activities was the introduction of new culture which challenged the traditional religion. This was due to the fact that the converts were asked to abandon what the missionaries termed heathen, including divorcing later wives but to live with the first one only. They reduced Gbagyi language into writing, introduced schools and clinics. They also encouraged Gbagyi settlements to farm the desired crops by the RNC - cotton, groundnuts, ginger, pepper, beni-seed and to collect shea-nuts. Gbagyi were asked to buy European goods and medicine. The SIM introduced European drugs, wears, confectionaries and building materials. Gbagyi converts were later used as interpreters among other ethnic groups in Kaduna area. Furthermore, Gbagyi settlements were asked to stop internecine

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were condemned. Then they tried to persuade one that Christianity was a living religion leading to salvation. Also, converts became interpreters, singing the Sacred Songs and Solos in Gbagyi, reducing Psalms and New Testament into Gbagyi (the whole Bible was finally translated into Gbagyi in 1940), the use of Gramophones. This was the machine that attracted Gbagyi as they were surprised to hear a machine sing and talk in Gbagyi. There was the use of Biblical Pictorials and allegories of suffering sinners and salvaged converts, use of tracks and gifts. The new converts were always visited by the missionaries. Some of them travelled far to attend churches in the villages. All new converts surrendered their shrines and amulets which were publicly burnt. However, new converts were hated by Chief priests and chiefs who envied the

wars and slavery. Free labour was first introduced by them, and slave converts became automatically freed.[61] Summarily, the Mission influenced Gbagyi and oriented them into western culture in various ways: Firstl it influenced them religiously, secondly, it made them consumer oriented and thirdly, educational All these were to orient Gbagyi into the new culture the RNC was introducing.

Considering the role the mission played in Karu, Kurudu and Kurape kingdoms before 1960, it was highly misleading for Smallwood to write in as late as 1932 that "the Sudan Interior Mission have a station at Karu but they do not obtain many Gwari converts to Christianity."[62++]

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among the Gbagyi and southern Zaria ethnic groups. Nyitomizai Tukura introduced christianity among the Afu

61. See fns. 58 and 60 and interviews with Kure Adoge Tamahin 1991. Our informants are emphatic that many Gbagyi accepted christianity because it is cheaper than idolating. The traditional priests were highly exploitative, while the consultation of cults, forefather festivals, totemic shrines and so on, were costly and unending. Many Gbagyi therefore prefered the 'Free Christianity!' Also, christianity cast away the fear of the un-none, suspicion of witches and wizards, encouraged dressing and freedom of women association as all people were equal in the church. In fact, the early converts felt they were free from the yoke of their rulers and priests, and elated above the heathens.

62. Smallwood, p.5. op.cit. Muslim communities refused to embrace christianity. The Fulani, Hausa, Ebira, Gade, Bassa, Koro and Yeskwa refused to embrace christianity due to the fact that the first two were mostly muslims who condemned christianity as unislamic, while the last tribes were deep animists. It was also due to the fact that the SIM refused to settle among them. ++Gunn and Conant (p.109) reveals that the Christian Missions have long had contact with Gbagyi throughout their widespread territory, but the effect of this - presumably varied - have never been described in any detail. (My emphasis)

One of the most significant impacts of the activities of the RNC relate to the issue of sovereignty of the kingdoms. 1884-1897 marked a new phase of European activities around the confluence areas. Instead of the RNC to remain as a mere ally of the Emirate rulers, the RNC started to assume sovereign right and marginalised all the allies in the scheme of things. This was when George Taubman Goldie started to lure and force chiefs and kings to sign treaties with the RNC. These treaties were ambiguous and expedient. Again, he bought the competing European companies so that Britain remained the sole monopolist through their chartered United African Company (UAC) in 1879.[63] Goldie was to accomplish the hope of the British government which was not to delay to take possession by force before some rival nation would over take them.[64]

It is interesting to note that the British was going to shift its emphasis on alliance with the dominant Emirates and Nupe kings to the smaller kingdoms of the 'pagans' who wanted the British 'protection' against the Emirs and Nupe princes that were raiding the NBC area,[65] and as well fuel

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64. Adeleye, pp.119-9; Flint, pp.26-33.

65. Grumont, S. The Strong Brown God, The Story of the Niger. London, 1975, p.81.

65. Flint, Chapters 5 and 6, Adeleye, pp.119ff; Flint, p.139; Hanson, pp.302-3; I. S. Jimoda, "The Establishment of Patigi Emirates: The Historical Background C.1810-1898," M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. 1992, p.276;

rivalries among the African rulers.[66] For instance, about 50 treaties were signed with some villages which claimed to be independent of the Emirates.[67] The Nupe and Ebira kings are reported to have signed the treaties with the hope of deriving military security from the British.[68] In this case, Opanda, Mozun and Umaisha signed a treaty in 1884 which ceded their territories to the British in order to derive protection against the Bassa, Nassarawa and Bida raids in particular.[69] Flint revealed that after they had signed the treaties, "the company refused to protect them," i.e. the non-muslim communities.[70] But the British helped the Ebiras against the Bassa and the Nupe.[71] And the British made the compromising kings of the Ebira as "trading agents of the company",[72] while the opposing kings particularly the Gbagyi were not recognised as trading agents.[73]

The treaties that are relevant to our discussion were the treaties signed between the Emirs of Nassarawa and Keffi, and with the king of Opanda.[74] The comments

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66. Nadel, p.113; Manson, pp.285-300; Ohiare, pp.482-487: 421 and 384.
67. See fn. 65.
68. Ibid.
69. Ohiare, ppl 493-434 and 499: F084/2109/2897.
70. Flint, p.139.
71. Ohiare, pp.512-517.
72. Ibid.
73. C1/HS/16/4/89
74. F084/209/2199/Flint. pp.138-139.

of Flint on these treaties are ambiguous and confusing. His comments seem to suggest that only the 'pagan' communities signed treaties that ceded their kingdoms to the UAC and not the Emirs. For instance, he said Macdonald, Goldie and Lugard consulted and concluded as many as 50 treaties with the heads of independent tribes,[75] while an Emir

> would not ascent to easily be persuaded to cede his territory to a group of contemptible infidel traders.
> In fact none did. Only the non-muslims peoples keeping a precarious footing on the Benue against the Fulani hosts, had genuinely accepted the company' treaties, and these now complained that the company refused to protect them... The Emir of Nassarawa had merely sold to the company a strip of land covering the banks of the river throughout this country; he admitted the transaction, but disputed the amount of land which the company claimed. Treaties had also been signed with the Emirs of Muri and Keffi, but these gave no political rights to the company...[76]

Flint creates the impression that the whole NBC area was ruled by Fulani who refused to sign treaties with the UAC. However, he contradicts himself by reporting that they did not only sign treaties but also sold some portion to the UAC. This problem might have arose from the later information Flint got from the Emirs or his preconceived notion about the politics in the NBC, or both. This is true because the Emirs

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75. Flint, p.138.

76. Ibid. p.139 op.cit.

attempted to deny their underlings with the officials of the UAC in order to exonerate themselves. This is true because, when Macdonald wanted to verify these treaties, the Emir of Nassarawa (Muhammadu Maje Lokoja c.1878-1923) denied ever selling to the company the land for 10 miles on the either side of the Benue, but that the company should have less than 4 miles.[77] He again denied having a treaty with the company's agents at all, much less having ceded the land to them.[78] It can be argued that either the Emir was trying to exonerate himself, or the treaties were forged, or both. Where the treaties were genuinely signed, the African chiefs were not aware of the political implications of the treaties. For instance, the African interpreters of most of these treaties sworn an affidavits before Macdonald attesting to the fact that the local rulers did not understand that they were giving up their countries to the company when they signed the treaties.[79]

However, it is clear that some chiefs were ready to sign the treaties with the company in order to secure the company's protection, Igu and Opanda did sign in order to be protected against the jihadists,[80] and against their rival Bassa.[81] Hence, Macdonald made it clear that the rulers who supposedly signed the treat

77. FO 84/2109/2199.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ohiare, pp.499-500.
81. Ibid, pp.499 and 502-504.

> had not sold their country to the company, neither had they given the land, but they quite understood that they were under the company, and the company would, and in some cases had protected them against the attacks of their enemies.[82]

The method adopted by the company in the treaty making involved the assumption that the 'pagan' or small polities like those of the Bassa and Gbagyi - Ikereku, Tawari, Kurudu, Kurape Karu and Kuta - were suojects of the Emirates of Nassarawa, Keffi, Abuja and Bidda, and of Igu and Opanda. Thus, during the signing of the treaties the leaders of the 'pagan' polities were not consulted. The treaties signed by the Emirs were assumed to cover the smaller polities, and the company made the various capitals of the Emirates, Igu and Opanda as trading posts through which orders were carried to Gbagyi areas. The Emirs and rulers of Igu and Opanda were made trading agents and the only middle men.[83] This report has been corroborated by the findings of Ohiare.[84] Ohiare noted that apart from the preferential policy which denied the Bassa and Gbagyi equal opportunity in the trade with the company vis a vis the Ebira, their sovereignty was undermined. This was done by empowering

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82. Ibid. p.517, op.cit.

83. GI/HS and GI/NAD in 1-1-92.

84. Ibid, pp.497-504.

the trading posts to collect taxes, recruit forced labour, recruit the WAFF and to cheaply collect export crops from the Gbagyi and Bassa.[85] Another implication of this preference vis a vis the Gbagyi, Bassa and Ganagana was the forcing of these people to trade their rubber, shea-butter, gum arabic, and others to the company in the Ebira markets. These people also had to pay tolls and other market levies to the Ebira apart from selling their goods through Ebira agents.[86] The resultant effect of this was ethnic conflicts, particularly between the Bassa and Ebira as Bassa challenged the British-Ebira alliance.[87]

When one looks at the alliance system whereby the UAC favoured the Nupe, Ebira and Hausa-Fulani rulers over other ethnic groups, it is not convincing to agree with Ohiare that the presence of the company enabled the Gbagyi and the Bassa to "become virtually independent of Igu and Opanda."[88] Since the company prefered and empowered the Ebira over the Gbagyi and Bassa,[89] they could not have got Bassa and Gbagyi independent of the Ebira at the same time. The Gbagyi and Bassa were politically independent of the control of the Ebira prior to the establishment of the RNC,

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85. Ohiare, p.514.
86. Ibid, p.502
87. Ibid, pp.582-4
88. Ibid, pp.517-8
89. Ibid, pp.597-8

and were administered independently by the company when the Bassa and Gbagyi in our kingdoms refus - to acknowledge the super-imposition on them the Emirs and Ebira chiefs.[90] There were instances that the British sent heavy punitive measures on the resisting Bassa and Gbagyi settlements.

However, it should be stressed that the treaty making was the formal beginning of the British conquest of the region. Although some of the treaties were not signed by the Gbagyi chiefs, the ones signed by the Emirs were claimed to have ceded the whole NBC area to the UAC.[91] It should also be noted that the vigour of the company in signing treaties with the African chiefs was fuelled by the age-old rivalry in Europe among the giant industrialists notably Britain, France and Germany. This was influenced by their intensive struggle to achieve supremacy of commercial links with the Central Sudan. This was part of the fulfilment of the regulations laid down by the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference - the issue of 'effective occupation.'[92]

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90. CI/HS and CI/NAD.

91. FO 84/2109, List of Documents give samples of the "FCRM 4" on which the Emirate rulers, kings and chiefs ceded to the company their heirs and territories and sovereignty and assigns forever in return for protection from attacks of any neighbouring agressive tribes.

92. Flint, chapters five and six, and Adeleye, pp.119ff.

In the bid for this fulfimment, there were some 'commercial wars' fought on the Niger and Benue Rivers between 1878-1888. Britain had to use the company to win the support of African rulers to drive away the French and the Germans.[93] We can therefore understand why Britain hastely enticed the African rulers to sign treaties without fully explaining the intent of the British to them, and the treaties to serve as a pre-requisite for British monopoly of the NBC area and the Caliphate thereby excluding the French and the Germans. In such hasty affairs, some treaties might have been forged.

It was in this bid to keep off the Germans and the French in the NBC and the Caliphate that the conquest of the region was hastely done. This would be the central issue of the following section.

5.5 Patterns of Diplomacy and Warfare in the Late 19th Century

In the course of our discussion it was stressed that the jihadist activities in the region and the British activities from Lokoja led to series of alliances and counter alliances for survival and the monopoly of the trade with the Europeans. The NBC area was at a revolutionary situation characterised by political and economic crises which greatly influenced the

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93. Ibid.

alliance system, and which external forces exploited. This situation can best be expressed in the words of Ohiare, who noted that the late 19th century NBC area

> was characterised by political instability, social unrest, tenous relationship between the groups and classes, and economic dissatisfaction. This state of affairs manifested itself in various ways such as succession disputes which factionalised the society into antagonistic groups each of which was ever ready to team up with a third force to oust the other not caring whether such a third force favoured the corporate existence of the state.[94]

Oral reports claim that there was the alliance of the Emirate rulers versus the 'pagan' kingdoms of Kurape, Kurudu and Karu. In some case, the muslim communities within the 'pagan' kingdoms invited, or were instigated by the neighbouring Emirs of Keffi, Nassarawa and Zaria in particular to lay siege of 'pagan settlements. The 'pagan' settlement were normally taken by surprise. Sometimes the muslim armies succeeded in rounding up a settlement and cutting it off its food and water supplies until they surrendered or came out for combat.[95] This alliance system and strategem was also reported by a European eye-witness account. Oldfield reported that the jihadists

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94. Ohiare, p.382, op.cit.

95. Interviews with BPTDG/1/1/92; DTT and G/IT.

> travel very quickly, taking the unsuspecting inhabitants by surprise. They seldom fail in capturing hundreds of prisoners as well as cattle, horses... The slaves are disposed of to the Arabs; some are sold at towns on the banks of the Niger, and eventually reach the seaside...[96]

They also torture the captives in order to force them reveal their riches. The jihadists also "set fire to almost every city, town or villages which they visit in their predatory excursions."[97]

This European account is no exaggeration since other reports claimed that the jihadists sometimes captured only children and youths, but killed all the old people in any settlement they succeeded in capturing.[98] Although the Emirs and their soldier carried out independent raids, most of their successful raids and sieges were in alliance with mercenaries from other Emirates.[99]

Another identifiable pattern and diplomacy of warfare was the invitation of the third force against the rival prince or neighbouring kingdom. This type of alliance had a wider impact as the rivalry and struggles spilled over leading to insecurity and conflicts. For instance, such struggles in Nupeland spread into these

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96. Laird and Oldfield, p.90 (vol.II) op.cit.

97. Ibid, pp.280-81; also Crowther, PP. 38, 40, 47, 48 & 128.

98. Interviews with KCTD and PNK.

99. Like the rise of Koffi and Nassarawa.

kingdoms down to Igu. Etsu Masaba (c.859-1873) and Etsu Abubakar (c.1895-1897) were reported to have invited some Ulama and mercenaries from Sokoto in order to curtail the parties of pro-Teode Yissazhi under the leadership of Gana (c.1883-1895) who had also sought the support of Kyada that dominated the Niger.[100] Oral sources corroborate this crisis situation in Nupeland, and claim that the existence of numerous parties caused succession disputes, invitation of third force, exile of princes and alliance with the Gbagyi polities of Kuta and Kurape, and with Koton Karfe, and caused chaotic political atmosphere that characterised Nupeland and the confluence area up till the European conquest.[101]

Similarly, the jihadists' invasion and sack of Opanda is reported to have been on the behest of the Bassa. It is claimed that the king of Bassa called Adama who was based at Ikere'a, invited the jihadists of Nassarawa to help him punish his subject Afo who had refused to pay their normal taxes, and to help him attack the Ebira who were his rivals. The jihadists quickly honoured the invitation since the jihadists envied the position Opanda occupied on the confluence area. This led to the demise of Opanda in 1854. It is added that despite the fact that the Bassa militarily supported the jihadists against Opanda, the jihadists did not spare the Bassa but also took opportunity to conquer

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100. Crowther, Journal of an Expedition..., p.32 Jimada, pp.220-247 and 276; Manson, p.282.

101. Interviews with GAT, GI/ZGC/24/4/92 and GI/PNK.

them.[102] Similarly, the Hausa traders at Toto allied with Abuja forces to attack the Ebira in Toto,[103] and the Hausa traders in Abaji sought the support of the Sokoto and Zaria forces against the Ebira.[104] Ara Gwandara people are reported to have invited Nassarawa forces against Kurudu.[105]

As these contralictions were going on, the British were careful in sellecting side with which to ally. Immediately the British negotiated alliance with Bida for monopoly of trade on the Niger vis a vis the French and the Germans,[106] this made Opanda and Igu,[107] as well as the party of the Kyuda, Batati, Kupa, Ebangi and the Yissazyi (the oloyal pro-Tsoede) under Etsu Gana II (c1882-1892) to put a strong resistance as a response to British preference for Bida.[108] The Europeans used their sophisticated gun-boats to supress the opponents with heavy punitive measures.[109] Kasaba then helped the British forces to dislodge and bombarded Ebira and Bassa villages and forces they described as 'pirates!'[110] The role of the Europeans led to quick

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102. Ohiare, p.386.

103. Ibid, pp.423-5

104. Ibid, p.412

105. GI/Tr. rulers/12/10/92.

106. Ohiare, pp.426-481.

107. Ibid, pp.482-4

108. Ibid, and Manson, pp.295-300.

109. Ibid.

110. Ohiare, p.482.487.

change of side and complex alliance system and diplomacy.

In order for the British to effectively exploit the contradictions, the British first of all supported the 'giants' against the weaker polities. For instance, in the 1890, the British supported the Ebira against the Bassa who suffered heavy punitive measures.[111] The British helped the Igala against other tribes who also suffered punitive expeditions.[112] Similarly, the British helped the Emir of Nassarawa to crush other tribes that had put tough confederal resistance.[113] It was like the support the company gave Masaba against his rival Kyada and North Eastern Yoruba groups.[114]

The UAC had used the 'giants' - the Emirs and kings of Nupe and Ebira - to break the stiff trade barriers put by the smaller kingdoms of Gbagyi, and had allied with the giants in order to win their favour and security vis a vis the German and French rivals. The UAC expediently paved the path to the conquest. The company now changed its diplomacy and alliance system from supporting the strong against the weak to taking side with the weak in order to crush the strong and emerge as the only power.

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111. Ibid, pp.502-504 and 513-517

112. Ibid, p.504

113. Ibid, p.555

114. Nadel, p.113 and Manson, pp.300.

As from 1890 UAC began to assume sovereign rigl . on the weaker polities and declared them as under its protection which was legalised by signing treaties with the rulers of the smaller polities. The company also began to instigate the smaller polities to rebel and protest against the Emirs of Bida. For instance, when the company began to openly exercise sovereign rights on the Niger, the Emir of Bida immediately called the attention of the officials of the UAC and warned them to be paying him his dues else he would kick them out of the Niger.[115] The company ignored the warning and rather tried to show strength. On one hand the company allied with North Eastern Yoruba and encouraged them to rebel against what they tagged as "Bida missrule," and to forward their complaints to the British through the Resident Capt. Bower at Ibadan. Bida made unsuccessful attempt to stop their rebellion with a detarchment under the command of Makum Muhammadu.[116] On the other hand, the company prevented Bida from trad'ng in Bajiba, Leaba and Jeba posts where Bida had helped the company drive away the French in 1895. This led to the 1897 war at Lokoja in which Bida was defeated.[117] In this war, the party of the Yissazhi helped the company in crushing Bida, and the company

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115. Manson, pp.302-3.

116. Ibid, pp.364-366.

117. Ibid, pp.302-3

rewarded them by creating Patigi Emirate in 1898.[118++]

The imperial tendency of the British now became apparent. Hutchinson had implored the British to come and take control of Bida since

> if the government do not step in to put an end to the lawlessness of the Filattahs, all ideas of a successful trade with the Niger, Tshadda and Benue countries may be given up. There can be no neutrality on the subject.[119]

The British was more particular with Bida as the means of acquiring resources of the Caliphate. This intention was made clear by Goldie - the most moving factor in the conquest of the Caliphate - who emphatically remarked that "Nupe had always and rightly been looked upon as by far the most powerful state of the Sokoto empire, and the fall of Bida would strike terror far and wide."[120] Still, the British tried to justify the destruction of Bida with sadistic statements like this:

++ 118. Jimada, p.276. It is claimed that the Kyada and Yissazhi parties physically supported the British to crush Bida in order to bring Bida's domination to an end. Ebira of Koton Karfe, too,supported the British against Bida in order to be free of Bida raids. The Ebira also led the British army against the Bassa of Tawari. See Ohiare, pp.512-7.

119. Hutchinston, loc.cit, pp.245-252. Manson, p.358. op.cit.

120. Manson, p.358. op.cit.

> The death of each Fulani killed in Bida secured the lives and liberty of scores of peaceful and defenceless natives ... /who were treated/ as cattles to be raided. If Europe had no material interest to protect and develop in Africa, it would still have same right, the same duty to expirate slave raiding.[121]

Only the British would agree that the European merciless killing of African rulers and the subsequent colonization was 'liberty' to the Africans.

5.vi The Invasion, the Resistance and the Conquest

The conquest of Bida was a premonition to all polities in the NBC area and the Caliphate. But the British were tactful in the conquest. It started to attack the bigger polities one by one before it set on the resisting smaller kingdoms. The British did not start to attack the whole Nigerian area at once, but one kingdom after another, and sometimes on ethnic basis. It has been argued by Ohiare that part of the failure of the Caliphate to resist the conquest was the peace-meal conquest system whereby the British took one Emirate after another, while the Caliphate could not put a joint resistance because of confederal

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121. Vandeleour, S. Campaign on the Upper Nile and Niger. London, 1898, p.xiii.

arrangement and lack of cohesion or unity in the Caliphate.[122] It has also been argued that due to the intensive contradictions among the kingdoms and Emirates whereby some kindoms and Emirs invited the Europeans against their rivals, there was no collective resistance, and Nigerian area fell an easy prey to the predator British.[123]

However, a direct conquest of Gbagyi groups started when Lugard attempted to establish the capital of the Northern Protectorate between 1900-1911. After Lugard declared the Caliphate as the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria in January 1900 with Lokoja as the capital, he later moved the capital to Jebba, then to Wushishi and later to Zungeru.[124] Wushishi and Zungeru were Gbagyi towns which put stiff resistance. The shift of capital was possible through the use of superior weapons on the "hostile and unsubjugated" Gbagyi. They built a military post at Wushishi which they used to subjugate all the Gbagyi settlements around Zungeru.[125]

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122. J.A. Ohiare, "The Fall of Sokoto Caliphate to the British in 1903: A Conferal System Fall-Out." Paper presented at Sokoto on 11-14/2/93.

123. M.A. Filaba, "Internal Contradictions Around the NBC that Facilitated European Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate." A Paper presented at Sokoto in 1993.

124. ASCOM file No.cc/24, "Historical Notes on the Tribes of the Northern Province."

125. NAK Minprof., File No.115/1910. "Recorganization of Kuta Division, Niger Province."

In 1901 most of the villages around Kuta put a confederal resistance under the leadership of the king of Kuta until the king (Dagunu Dada) was exiled to Lokoja.[126] Paiko, too, which gave respite to the king of Agae in 1898 when Agae was attacked by the UAC, gave a tough confrontation and burnt the British settlement at Shapa that had been captured. Paiko was later subdued and burnt down, and its inhabitants were later mobilised to rebuild it.[127]

These experiences with the Gbagyi of Kuta, Kontagora, Paiko and Wushishi area made the British to develop a serious notion about the Gbagyi which influenced the nature of conquest of the Gbagyi communities elsewhere. Hence, there were violent punitive measures on Gbagyi villages that refused to comply with British occupation.[128]

The British assumed that the kingdom of Kurudu was under Nassarawa Emirate, and so covered by the treaty signed by the Emir Muhammadu. The Emir earlier could no longer make any headway and therefore invited the British. In order to bring the Gbagyi under the European protection, he requested the company to send him rifles and soldiers to accomplish the task.[129] He did not put

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126. Nuhu Galadima, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." Kuta Students Association Convention 10/9/82; NAK Minprof. 115/119; NAK 371/1909 "Gusoro Rising, Ring Leaders Trial of."

127. Ibid.

128. NAK 694p/1913 "Nassarawa Province Assessment on." 351/1914.

129. Flint, p.139; Kirk-Green, "xpansion on the Benue.." JHSN 1:3 1958. p.512.

any resistance but gave the British a blank cheque as he was supported by them to fight the Gbagyi and Ebira kingdoms. The British reported that:

> slave raiding [by Muhammadu Emir of Nassarawa] was still going on, up to 1902, until the Emir of Nassarawa made formal submission to the government, which stopped his ... career... (See Appendix 2).[130]

Immediately he sumbited to the British, he led the British forces to capture the resisting Gbagyi settlements down to Lokoja.[131] This made the British to immediately transfer the Headquarter of Lower-Benue Province from Akwanaja to Nassarawa town, and the name of the Province also changed to Nassarawa Province. The headquarter was later transfered to Keffi in July 1902 in order to deal with the resisting Keffi and Abuja.[132]

Unlike Nassarawa, the kingdoms of Kurudu, Kurape, Karu, and the Emirates of Keffi and Abuja put stiff resistance. The British forces led expeditions on some major Gbagyi and Gade settlements that put stiff resistance, and burnt them down as a deterent to others. Still, Gbagyi settlements refused to be administered through Nassarawa, Keffi, Abuja, Igu and Opanda up to 1930. The District Heads imposed on them could not effect

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130. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.19 op.cit.

131. Interviews with GAT GI/OSU NAD; and HS.

132. NAK.281/1930/5 "Annual Report and Returns - Benue Province, 1930." p.19.

any British rule on them.[133] Colonial annual reports corroborate this claim, and reveal that the British could not effectively rule the Gbagyi in Nassarawa Province up to 1931.[134]

Apart from punitive expeditions on the Gbagyi settlements, attempts to get Gbagyi to submit also involved table conferences. This was done by assembling Gbagyi chiefs and kings, and begging them to co-operate as it would benefit them. They were asked to surrender their sheilds, arrows and bows, and any weapons they owned. Some of the armaments were seized and given to the police and WAFF stationed at Keffi and Nassarawa, while others were burnt infront of the chiefs and kings.[135] Those villages that refused to surrender their armaments were cruelly burnt down. For instance, Abugi-Zakara village was burnt down so that other villages would fear and submit.[136]

While the British was conquering one kingdom after another, they (British) employed local inhabitants, particularly the forces from Nassarawa, who knew Gbagyi war tactics, to inform the British-led forces about potential areas from where Gbagyi might ambush them.[137]

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133. footnote 131.

134. NAK.281/1930/5 "Annual Report and Returns - Benue Province, 1930." p.19.

135. Interviews with CAT, KCTD, BPTG and AM on various days.

136. NAK, Minprof., No.4437.

137. Interviews with ZFDK, BITG and GAT on various days.

This oral testimony is supported by the findings of some scholars, who noted that

> the most striking aspects of the conquest of Africa was the ease with which it was carried out. Frequently African armies of 20,000 were defeated by European led armies of 2,000 or less. Few Europeans were involved, often no more than 100, occassionally a dozen or so. Africa was conquered by Africans trained and officered by Europeans and fighting with European arms. The normal pattern was that a European-led army of African soldiers administered a crushing defeat following which African resistance collapsed. [my emphasis][138]

Unlike the Emir of Nassarawa, the Emir of Keffi and his Magaji refused to allow the British to interfere with their raiding activities. The British then removed Emir Ibrahim and replaced him with Abdullahi. The Magajin Keffi by name Ibrahim Magaji Dan Yamusa (whom the British wrongly thought was representing the Emir of Zaria)[139++] killed Resident Capt. Moloney in October 1902.[140] Webster, the assistant of Moloney, brought the WAFF and subdued Keffi.[141] Yamusa then fled to Kano where he was

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138. Webster, Beahen and Idowu, The Revolutionary Years West Africa since

139. Gazetteers III, p.19. The Magajin Keffi could not have been an agent of Zaria because he got Keffi independent of Zaria. See Yahaya (1993). This type of notion was the Britishswho refused to acknowledge the independence of Keffi which put stiff resistance. They developed similar notion for Gbagyi. But Nassarawa which gave them free entry were assumed to be independent of Zaria, to justify the cutting off the region from Zaria Emirate and the creation of Nassarawa Province. See Gazetteers III p.15.

140. Abubakar Mari, Zuwan Turawa a Nigeria. Ta Arewa. NNPC, 1966, p.125; Jidda; NAK 188p/1918.

141. Adeleye, p.226.

'received with honour'. The British pursued him there and planned to attack the rulers of Kano, Sokoto and Katsina who were believed to have admired Dan Yamusa's action.[142]

Abuja, too, put a stiff resistance. Moloney had got himself wounded on the leg in his attempt to capture Abuja before the Keffi incident. In 1902, Colonel Beddoes laid siege of Abuja and as well attacked Abuja forces at Tawari. The British justified their action by accusing the rulers of Abuja of organising armed robbery on the high-ways to Lokoja, Bauchi and Zaria. Carnegie who was the Resident at Ilorin died in the war with Abuja. Other challenges of Gbagyi villages around Abuja resulted in the loss of many of the British messengers and christian converts.[143] By 1904 the settlements of Tawari, Kutada, Jere, Pai, Waku, Bwari, Jamjalla and Izom were forcibly occupied and administered.

In 1909, Gusoro people deposed their king for not organising stiff resistance. When the British attempted to restore the deposed king by force, Mr. Verennen and an escort of a dozen police were ambushed and killed. The British were unable to subdue the powerful Gusoro until they invited Galadiman Kogo, Kuta and Gusoro into

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142. Jidde.

143. Maibi, A Christian... pp.24-26.

144. NAK, 577/1912.

the expedition to Gusoro.[145] Similarly, Gwam was burnt down by the British forces under Abadie for putting stiff resistance.[146] Many Gadani people were imprisoned for putting stiff resistance.[147]

It is reported that the unconquered Gbagyi villages put confederal resistance until they were over-powered. The subjects initially rejected the rulers that were submisive to the British.[148] Like in the case of Gusoro, those charged with "treason" admitted:

> It is true that we met and decided on war and that the men went out and fought the whiteman.[149]

And the Dallatu of Gusoro who had accepted colonial responsibilities while the king was in exile was accused by one of his subjects on trial:

> You [Dallatu] have become a slave [to the whiteman] and must be treated as a slave.[150]

Another accused made an ambiguous statement which revenls that the subjects hated colonial rule and their agents as follows:

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145. Gazetteers III (Kuta Division) p.53.

146. Paul Thatcher, West African History, Longman 1974, p.54.

147. Interview with Ibrahim Umar Gadani in 1992.

148. Interview with Yura.

149. NAK 3771/1909 "Gusoro Rising..."

150. Ibid,

> We have no quarrel with the whitemen, but we will not have the Sariki back again, our arrow will not know the difference between the Sarki and the whitemen7:[151]

Hence the experience the British had in their attempt to conquer the Gbagyi was quite different from that with the Caliphate. This was due to some reasons, among which were: First, the jihadists themselves did not put stiff resistance, although did not like the presence of the whites, and in some cases invited the British forces as the Emirs of Nassarawa, Lafia, Awe, Jema'an Dororo and Zaria did.[152] Secondly, the Europeans misconceived that the Gbagyi were acephalous whose conquest might be easy, and their kingdoms and confederal ties thus undermined. Gbagyi put joint resistance, avoided face-to-face battles and adopted guerilla warfare and surprise attacks. Hence it took Europeans over ten years to bring the various Gbagyi groups under their total control.

However, the British succeeded due to its use of superior armaments and professional soldiers.[153] Another factor that favoured the conquest was the use of African

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151. Ibid.

152. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.19. The British records built the impression that the Emirs invited them for protection, while the correspondences between them and the whites clearly reveal that they told off the British. The British also claimed that the Hausa subjects in the cities did not feel that the conquest of their Emirs was something that immediately affected them, Like in Kano, the British forces were not challenged by the subjects when the palace was been destroyed. Also see& cf. H.F. Backwell (ed) The Occupation of Hausaland 1900-1904. Cass, 1969, pp.66-79; M.M.Tukur, Ph.D. Thesis.

153. Paul Thatcher, p.54.

soldiers who knew Gbagyi settlements and war strategies who helped the British.[154]

To facilitate the conquest of the Gbagyi the British developed administrative centres in near-by non-Gbagyi settlements like Nassarawa, Keffi, Abuja, Koton-Karfe and Umaisha which they linked with roads for fast mobilization of the army and the police. They linked the administrative centres with rail-roads for fast mobilization of recruited or forced labour. By 1911, many Gbagyi villages and towns had been linked with the rail-lines and roads. The roads were built through forced labour recruited from every village. Each village and ward were expected to send some number of people to the colonial labour - DUGA[G]. Failure to send required number, or abdication, was met with heavy punishment. People were recruited from the three kingdoms to go and work in the Jos mines, and on the rail-roads from Kaduna, Mina, Lafia, etc, without salaries or medical care. In addition, the labour officials were preferably the Hausa some of who were very wicked.[155] See Appendix 2 - Roads.

Another aspect of the British occupation of Gbagyiland was resettlement. Although Kurudu had come to the plains

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154. Interview with Dogara and Bmiyidubegye.

155. Interviews with Yepwui, Padawa, Tukura, Bmiyidubagye, Daso, Aruwa, Nyitomizai and Pasto Tukura: Sule Mohammed, pp.101-2; Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) pp.28-29.

before the British conquest, most of its subordinate villages were still in the forests and on the hills. They were all ordered to come down to the plains. Similarly, Kurape was on a hill-top, while Karu was in the forest. They were forced to the plains in 1920. Other Gbagyi settlements like Birnin-Gwari and its subordinate villages were forced to the plains. Paida (Mina) was moved to the plains in 1908. In 1912, Kilankwa of Pai (Garki) was destroyed by the British for refusing to come down to the plains. The colonialis insisted on the plain settlements in order to force Gbagyi to cultivate the desired cotton, Ginger, pepper, beni-seed and food crops, and to get recruits to the police and WAFF, forced-labour and for easy tax assessment. In fact the resettlement of Gbagyi on the plains meant easy colonial administration, as such the villages that remained obstinate were destroyed by the WAFF.[156]

5.7 Significance of the British Conquest of the Region

The contact of the kingdoms with Europeans by the tail end of the 19th century was a watershed leading to the conquest in the first decade of the 20th century.

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156. Sule Mohammed pp.165-8, 226; NAK 351 p/1914 "Nassarawa Province..." by Norgan.; NAK 69p/1913 "Nassarawa Province, Abuja Division..." by Norgan. Also various interviews with GI/KM/3-2-89; GI/TM/1-1-92; DTT and GI/AB/30-12-92.

This marked a change in the history of the Nigerian area, and was the end of the sovereignty of Kurudu, Kurape and Karu. Gbagyiland has a strategic position in Northern Nigeria, and hence became an area of great concern to the British. The British found it necessary to concentrate its occupation of Gbagyiland in order to establish the base for effective occupation of the rest of Northern Nigerian area and to secure its potentials. The demise of the kingdoms saw the evolution of new economic and political order in which the indigenes were marginalised. The invasion and conquest of the kingdoms was therefore the forcible removal of the barriers of the kingdoms and merging them to the Emirates in order to create a wide region for the free circulation of British goods.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the direction of contradictions leading to the loss of sovereignty of the kingdoms of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu. The beginning of our discussion identified the economic relations and the long distance trade routes which attracted the Europeans. It was argued that although the European interest in the region was primarily economic, they interfered with the political issues in order to effectively participate in the trade and to monopolise the trade routes. The long distance trade in particular integrated the peoples and the polities in the NBC and beyond upon which colonial Nigeria emerged.

There was a short examination of the role of slavery and slave trade as they relatedto the contradictions and relationship with the Europeans. Similarly, an extensive examination of the impacts and significance of European activities from Lokoja was done. The prese nce or activities of the Europeans influenced the growth of economic activities but without a corresponding growth in the political sphere. Rather, there were increased tensions, decline in population, changes in diplomacy and alliances in order to monopoline the trade with the British. The British aided with the more powerful polities that were trying to annex the smaller polities in order to create elaborate and wide trade network with the Caliphate on the one hand and to win the favour of the powerful kings vis a vis the German and French competitors on the other. After achieving this, Britain crushed the allies and assumed sovereign rights. During the invasion and conquest, Forum, Kurupe, Karo, Koffi and Abuja attempted to put a stiff resistance, while Nassarawa, Awe, Lafia and Jama'a Dorroro simply submitted without putting any resistance, and the soldiers of latter were used to subjugate the resiting communities.

Britain organised the invasion and conquest o' this region along ethnic lines, and one polity after . other i.e. peace-meal. The stiff resistance of the Gbagyi partly influenced British decision over the colonial ideology of "Pagan Native Administration" and the marginalization of the Gbagyi in the colonial rule.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

This study is an attempt to examine the nature of the polities of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu and their external relations in order to have clear picture of inter-ethnic and political relations, contradictions and direction of changes in the region.

Based on the available evidence it was infered that the environmental opportunities and other internal inputs were instrumental in influencing human adaptations in the region since the 17th century. By the beginning of the 17th century, Kurape was emerging as a centralised state with wide range of connections at regional level. It was argued that with increased external influences, particularly demographic changes and trade relations, there was hightened internal contradictions leading to the administrative split and subsequent emergence of Karu and Kurudu as independent kingdoms. A close examination of the formal (arrangement and interrelations of the political and administrative structures) and substantive (governmental activities) aspects of each kingdom was done, and also noted the changes which each experienced. We therefore dismissed the notion that the

Gbagyi people were monolithic, static, acephalous with each village independent of each other.

The analysis emphasised the role of external inputs in the challenges and changes which occured in the 19th century. The study essentially examined the impacts and significance of the jihadists' activities in the NBC area. It was stressed that the jihadists' activities greatly affected the population of the region and as well led to the emergence of new settlements and administrative centres which had the support of the Caliphate. The resultant effect of this was the redrawing of the political map of the region and hightened political tention and contradictions. The impacts of the rise of Igu and Opanda on Kurudu kingdom was also examined. Infering from the direction of changes, it was argued that the emergence of new administrative centres of Abuja, Keffi and Nassarawa which surrounded the three kingdoms challgenged the statusquo of the kingdoms and the subsequent tilt in the balance of power in favour of the Emirates.

Chapter five examined specifically the British interest in the NBC area leading to the conquest. In the bid to monopolise the wealth of the region, Britain played one kingdom against another, but in support of the bigger powers that were attempting to break the

trade barriers put by the smaller kingdoms, signed Treaties - some of which contents and implications were not fully explained to the Africans - in order to kick out the French and the German competitors, and later used force to dictate to the allies and assuming sovereign right over the NBC area by the end of the 19th century.

The trade alliance system with the British companies at Lokoja seem to suggest that the ease with which Britain conquered Nigeria was partly influenced by the interest the Emirs had in the trade with Britain and ambivalently submitted to the Conquest without putting a stiff resistance. This disabled collective resistance to the invasion and subjugation of the region. Another explanation for the quick conquest of Nigeria by Britain was its method of attacking the region along ethnic lines one after another, and one polity after another. The objective of the British was to create a wide colony for free circulation of British manufactured and for cheap supply of raw materials needed by British industries.

In the bid to achieve this, the British purposely undermined the three great kingdoms under study and merged them to the Emirates of Keffi, Abuja and Nassarawa. This was influenced by the fact that the Gbagyi were difficult to conquer hence Britain could not make any of the Gbagyi settlements an administrative centre,

but prefered the Emirate rulers through whom the Gbagyi were subdued. It was also influenced by the fact that there were no enough British personnel to administer the large Nigerian area. Hence they merged kingdoms and Emirates into Provinces for cheap and easy administration with the use of few British Residents and District Officers [1] We shall closely show how the response of Gbagyi was to the British invasion and conquest, as well as the intent of the British, informed the British occupation and rule of the Gbagyi kingdoms.

The British subjugation and occupation of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu kingdom was concluded by undermining their sovereignty, creation of new large administrative units which incorporated them into, or put them under the rule of newly created District Heads. And the British legalised such action with claims that the Gbagyi were uncivilized and therefore had to be ruled by civilized Emirs, or that the pagan communities could not raise sufficient taxes, to run their administration, or that they were not co-operating.

For instance, Cameron (Sir Macdonald Cameron the Governor General of Nigeria 1931-35) made it clear that

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1. Nicolson, I.F. The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960: Men, Method and Myths. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, pp.20-32.

up to 1932 Gbagyi people were not co-operating and there had not been any effective colonial control over the Gbagyi and would therefore subordinate all Gbagyi kingdoms to Muslim Emirates which could exert colonial control.[2] This colonial intent was reported by Gunn and Conant:

> Elsewhere at the present time, only the Gbari of Kuta district, Keffi Emirate, Nassarawa Division, Benue Province, have a hereditary headman of putative Gbari descent or affiliation, in any grouping larger than the village, even in the ancient Gbari foundation of Chukum District, Zaria Emirate, in Abuja, Agie, Bida, Koton-Karfe, Lapai and Nassarawa Emirates, and in Karshi, Keffi and Yoskwa Districts of Keffi, Gbari are administered according to the conventional pattern, under alien District Heads either appointed or hereditary and confirmed by Muslim Emirs; similarly, in Wushishi Independent District of Kontagora Division, Niger Province, where, however, Gbari may well have nominally greater autonomy than in the Emirate.[3] (my emphasis)

With specific example, the villages that were under Karu to the north, and Kuta kingdom, were divided into districts and administered by District Heads from Abuja.[4] Sooner or later, the Gbagyi refused to recognise them, and they were unable to make the Gbagyi to obey them.

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2. Sule Mohammed, pp.133ff.
3. Gunn and Conant, p.99, op.cit.
4. NAK SPN No.694p/1919 "Nassarawa Province, Abuja Division, Ma'aji District Assessment Report on." By Morgan.

The Resident therefore dismissed them including the Emir, and described them as 'unimportant... corrupt and incapable" Fulani chiefs.[5] Even the Emir of Abuja Moma Gani was then seen as "incapable", and was deposed. Musa Angulu was installed to succeed him in 1918.[6]

Similarly, in 1902 when the Emir of Nassarawa Muhamman Waje (1878-1923) 'handed over' his sovereignty to the British, he was upgraded as a Second Class Emir, and had the kingdoms of Kurudu, Opanda and others down to the confluence added to his domain.[7] Similarly, they deposed the Emir of Keffi (Ibrahim Barde c.1)4-1902 who opposed them, and installed Abdullahi Angulu (1902-1921) as Second Class Emir,[8] and added to his domain the kingdoms of Kurape and Karu. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that it was the British that helped the Emir of Nassarawa to subjugate Kurudu kingdom in 1902[9] they still maintained the mis-information that the kingdoms down to the confluence were under him, and thus made the region his Emirate.[10]

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5. NAK, 138p/10/1918.

6. NAK, 2545/1917 "Amalgamation of certain Units with Emirates."

7. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province), p.19.

8. Ibid

9. Ibid and GI/Osu NAD/1-1-92.

10. NAK, SPN 10; 255/1913 "Nassarawa Provincial Annual Report for 1913" by Major Larrymore; 10:571p/1913; 10:38902 - 1914, by Cullen A.D.

When the Divisional Officer discovered that he was mis-informed and Muhammadu was not regarded by those he claimed had been under him, nor could he in 1910 effect the arrest of some 'wanted' people in his declared Emirate, he was described "as cunning as a fox, a consumate liar grasping, avaracious with all the faults of a black man."[11] When the British created Districts in 1913 and imposed on other groups the members of the ruling house of Nassarawa as District Heads, they could not enforce their rule on others. As such they were criticised of being incompetent. Furthermore they could not speak the language of the local people and were absentee rulers hence the subjects rejected them. The colonial government therefore refered to Nassarawa ruling class as "communities of well known theives who wanted very large centres like Umaisha."[12]

Up till 1930, the "co-operation between villages and District Heads was still far from satisfactory", and "their subsequent performances had been disappointing." The colonial ANNUAL REPORT of 1930 reveal a total inability of the Emir and District Heads to rule the

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11. Tukur M.M. "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897-1914: Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources." (2 vols.) Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria 1979, p.256-op.cit.

12. NAK, SPN 10: 571p/1913, pp.8-9.

13. Morgan, "Annual Report and Returns - Benue Province, 1930." NAK No.281/1930/5, p.18.

region they claimed to be under them. Morgan the Resident noted that the Emir of Nassarawa and his advisory council lamentably failed to control those brought under them.[14] That might be why Sule Mohammed found that all the Gbagyi villages had separate collector of tribute assigned to it by Zaria and, the tributes collected was paid not to the rulers of Keffi and Nassarawa,[15] up to 1932.[16]

The resultant effect of undermining Gbagyi in the scheme of things led to a series of Gbagyi revolts.[17] Gbagyi refused to co-operate with the 'paramount chiefs' brought "from outside Gbagyi areas", "alien to the area"[18] from Keffi, Karshi and Nassarawa.[19] As such they revolted against the preference given to the muslim communities of Gwandara of Karahi and Ara. The Gbagyi refused to co-operate with their Gbagyi rulers who unleashed colonial repression on them. Like the people of Kabusu and Aso, they refused to take orders from the chief of Karu whom they looked at as a colonial agent.[20]

The Gbagyi resistance to the colonial subjugation, and the colonial marginalization of Gbagyi in the

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14. Ibid, p.19
15. Sule Mohammed, p.119.
16. Various interviews with AB and GI/PNK/1980 and Kure.
17. Sule Mohammed, pp.170-173.
18. Ibid, p.175.
19. Interviews with Mamman Tukura, Zephania Tukura, and GI/OSu 18/24/92.
20. Ibid and NAK AP/ASP/N/II Karu Dist. Keff Division

administration was justified with series of Memoranda, and exonerated with the myth of Gbagyi been achephalous, primitive and procrastinating vis-a-vis the 'superior and intelligent' Fulani-Hausa muslim Emirs whose rule, when extended on Gbagyi would 'civilize' them. With particular reference to Karu and Kurape, like elsewhere, it was not only speculated that Gbagyi have always been ruled by Koros,[21] Morgan further assumed that

> Karu had no connection at all with the other bigger villages. Each of these formed, with its subvillages, a separate and independent group. These villages are Aso Gwari which has 15 villages. Gurku Gwari which has 7 villages.[22]

This report disregarded the control of Karu over them. However, other sources reveal that other villages refused to co-operate with the colonial government[23] which saw him as an "active, intelligent and capable " king.[24] A more fallacious report was given by Smallwood who assumed that:

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21. See Chapter 2:ii of this Thesis for the numerous references.

22. See foonote 175b.

23. See footnote 19

24. See footnote 20.

> there is no evidence to show that the tribe as a whole ever had any [sic] central organization. It is split up into innumerable clans occupying a very large area and speaking different dialects... Before the British occupation all Gwari villages were independent of each other...[25]

These assertions have influenced oral tradition of the people in the region that even the Gwandara 'guests' are now claiming to have once ruled Gbagyi under Karshi'[26] which Sule Mohammed accepts even when the data at his disposal, which he extensively used,[27] are at variance with his conclusion.[28]

Furthermore the annoyance of the British over Gbagyi resistance was not hidden. They made sadistic comments on Gbagyi resistance. For instance, Capt. T.W.P. Dyer made a sataristic assertion that

> the Gbagyi, apparently, lacks all the essential qualities for a progressive race. He is indifferent to discipline both for himself and others, lacking in enthusiasm, indolent and procrasticating... and can watch unmoved his gradual social extinction without making the slightest effort to counteract it. The Gwari mind shows no capacity for rulling...[29]

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25. Smallwood, p.2 op.cit.
26. Sule Mohammed, pp.73-73, and p.234.
27. Ibid, pp.4-5, 65-70, 79, 81, 84, 80, 86 and 93.
28. Ibid, pp.65-66, 73, 77, 78, 86, 89 and 119
29. NAK 115/1910 "Reorganization of Kuta Division.."

This type of impression was nothing more than expression of anger against the resisting Gbagyi. This is true, and the findings of Ohiare supports my view, and reports that the resisting Gbagyi and Bassa "were often described as lawless savages who were not amenable to modern civilization which the British were trying to introduce."[30]

Another explanation for marginalising Gbagyi in the colonial paraphernalia which further buttress this arguement was the pre-conceived notion that the designated pagan areas "lacked political, religious and ethnic unit." This notion was influenced by the fact that the pagan communities were subdued with much difficulties and could not be ruled through the Native Authorities (N.A.).[31] Therefore, between 1900-1915, the British was determined to create "paramount chiefs" and Districts and District Heads to rhyme with the policy of Indirect Rule (R),[32] under the supervision of European officials,[33] and imposing on them the 'alien' Fulani or Hausa whom they believed to be the "capable,"

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30. Ibid.

31. Ohiare, pp.528-529 and Colonial Report, Annual, Northern Nigeria, 1900-1915, p.27.

32. Ibid, pp.60ff

33. Lugard, The Dual Mandate. ., p.200; Temple, Native Races and their Rulers: Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria,

"superior and in'elligent" 'born rulers' as 'paramount chiefs' of the Gbagyi.[34] What is interesting is the fact that these Emirate rulers were condemned during this period. They had been severally accused of been "corrupt, oppressive and grossly insufficient" rulers who had "lost their rule,"[35] and convicted of theft and lies,[36] injustices, bribery and embezzlement,[37] some of whom were removed.[38] It was these type of people that were 'exported' to go and 'civilise' Gbagyi in the colonial rule However, they failed to impose colonial control on the Gbagyi.[39]

The accusation of the Emirate rulers among Gbagyi was not an exaggeration. For instance, Gbagyi and Bassa had to bribe the tax collectors and assessors, and those who failed to bribe them "had to bear the brute of double taxation," while the Hausa and Fulani tax assessors were biased in favour of their people. Most of Gbagyi and Bassa 'min-rs' -

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34. Colonial Report, Annual, Northern Nigeria 1900-1915, pp.26 and 27.

35. Ibid.

36. Tukur, M.M., Ph.D. Thesis, p.256.

37. NAK, SPN 17 23357 Vol.I.

38. The District Head of Umaisha was removed in 1917 accused of embezzlement (NAK, AR/SS/N/18 Umaisha District, Reassessment Report); Emir Brahim of Keffi was removed (Mani, loc. cit. p.176); Emir Aminu of Kano was removed in 1903 (Afigbo, Ajayi and Crowther HWA, p.457); many rulers and District Heads were charged of embezzlement or other offences, and removed.

39. Annual Report, Northern Nigeria, p.19; Kirk-Green (ed) The Principle of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected Documents 1900-1947, Oxford, 1965, p.195.

the unmarried - paid taxes, while the Fulani-Hausa and Ebira's did not.[40] Also, the muslim women in Nassarawa province were exempted from paying taxes while the pagan women were not.[41] The only way the District Heads made the tax collection effective was by violence. This principle of violence was made clear and supported by the government. Flora Shaw, Lugard's wife revealed that

> it was evident that, if the policy of ruling through the Fulani was to be maintained, the first duty of the British administration was to provide for the peaceable collection of the taxes; and it was ... necessary that the British force be even applied in case of need to compel payment. (my emphasis)[42]

The colonial courts - the Native Courts - which were normally situated in the non-pagan settlements and headed by muslims were accused by both the government and the peasants of been highly oppressive. They undermined the pagan principles of law, refused the representation of pagans and took heavy bribes.[43]

Since colonial domination was violent, there was the need to have people of vidence to unleash the repression. That is why despite the fact that

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40. Ohiare, p.576 and Interview with Aruwa M.
41. Ibid, p.576.
42. Shaw, Flora L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency: An Outline of the Western Sudan with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Northern Nigeria London, 1905, p.467; and Ohiare, p.572.
43. Ohiare, p.567, NAK SNP 17 23357 Vol.I pp.17-18;

the Emirs were known to be highly corrupt and brutal, and who anihilated the pagans before the conquest,[44] were the people with the desired qualities for unleashing colonial repression on the pagans, particularly the resisting Gbagyi. Moreso that the Caliphate rulers like the Emir of Nassarawa[45] and Muhammad Al-Bukhari the Waziri of Sokoto had made their intention to co-operate with the British,[46] they were most qualified for the rule. Sule Mohammed also noted that one of the foremost moves of the British whenever they wanted to establish their administration in the area, was to look for a person who would easily obey their orders and carry them out.[47] Oral tradition testifies that the District Heads in Keffi and Nassarawa, particularly the Madaki, were very brutal during forced labour, and spoke harshly to the peasants, fond of asking the pagans for 'gaisuwa' - gifts(?) any timet they deemed it fit, and were seen as the real oppressors and not the colonialists.[48]

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44. Gazetteers III p.5. (Nassarawa Province).
45. Ibid, p.19
46. Thomas Hodgkin, pp.392-394.
47. Sule Mohammed, p.191.
48. Interviews on various dates: Kure Adogo in Fagi, AB/31-12-91; KCTD; and with A.M.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the use of the Emirs in the rule of pagans was for cheap exploitation of the Emirate system to address the issue of lack of administrators for 'direct rule' and lack of finance. MacCalum, one of the planners of British rule in Nigeria, made this clear, and explained that it was "a matter of policy" to involve Africans in the administration in order to collect taxes to sustain the administration, and from which African rulers would benefit and be happy.[49] It was this issue that led to the subordination of Pagan Native Authorities since Gbagyi in particular refused to co-operate and unleash the taxes on its subjects, and they "could not sustain themselves financially."[50] Although the excuse for subordinating all the Pagan Native Authorities to the Emirates was claimed to be their inability to sustain themselves, it should be noted that this was the time (1932) when the largest recruitment of forced labour came from the pagan NAS, while the whole taxes were used in paying

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49. Nicolson, pp.31-32 and 37; and Lugard, p.60.

50. NAK SPN No.90p/1921 "Nassarawa Province - Keffi Emirate... Reassessment on". by M.A.W. Hook; Lokprof No.785 "Subordinate Native Authorities for Pagan Communities in Muslim Areas." and Sule Mohammed, pp.133ff.

the 'alien' District Heads in PNAs and in building roads, offices and other infrastructures in the muslim towns and markets where European goods were spread, and swelled the Native Treasuries vis a vis PNAs. See the Appendix 2.

Therefore, the denial of Gbagyi a place in the colonial administration had nothing to do with 'intelligence' or 'civilization' but the question of who can best unleash the repression on the subjects. It was not surprising when T.W.P. Dyer said:

> I have changed my view on the question of Gwariland for the Gwari's[51]

- from independent NAs to subordinate NAs. Hence, throughout the colonial rule, "there was nothing like giving Gbagyi any choice in the appointment of Paramount Chiefs or District Heads."[52]

Since the colonial government was bent to create any system that would fully incorporate the Gbagyi into the administrative structure, they decided another avenue for cheap exploitation of the Gbagyi,[53]

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51. NAK 115/1910.

52. Sule Mohammed, p.173.

53. Ibid.

the government decided "to undertake a more direct responsibility."[54] It was then very clear that Indirect Rule had failed on Gbagyi communities, like on other pagan groups,and could not rule them through the NAs and Native Courts.[55] This draws our attention to the issue of the colonial ambivalence and changing strategies and policies of administration in order to achieve their goal - the maximum exploitation with minimum effort. To identify these changing strategies and policies is significant to our understanding of the nature of colonial rule and the extent to which the subjugation of Gbagyi influenced colonial ideology in Nigeria.

For instance, right from the period of conquest, it was clear to Lugard that it would be impossible to rule the Gbagyi and other formerly independent pagan communities under the Emirate system. He then warned the Residents not to include under the Fulani Jurisdiction any "unconquered or revolted pagan tribes.. without the sanction of the High Commissioner in writing" even though they "supported" the Fulani government and courts.[56] Unfortunately, some colonial administrators were mis-informed that the whole

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54. Northern Nigerian Annual Report, p.27.

55. Ohiare, pp.527-529.

56. Ibid.

Northern Nigeria had been conquered by the jihadists, and that the Gbagyi were acephalous and docile who would easily and cheaply be ruled through the Emirs. Thus, the order of Lugard was contravened, and the Emirate rulers were imposed on the Gbagyi or had the powers of nearby Emirates extended on the neighbouring Gbagyi kingdoms.[57] O. Temple was the first to argue against imposing alien peoples as District Heads over the Gbagyi. When Clifford succeeded Lugard, he understood the contradictions and difficulties of ruling the Gbagyi through the Emirate pattern, and thus proposed to "abandone once and for all the expectation of ever-converting ... primitive tribal system into any sort of semblance to the NAs of Muhammedan Emirates..."[58] In 1919, Clifford and O. Temple argued that the imposition of aliens on Gbagyi to rule in the Emirate pattern would destroy the Gbagyi system of government, and would contradict the principle of Indirect Rule and NA which aimed at

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57. NAK 2545/1917 "Amalgamation of Certain Units with Emirates." Sepecial Memorandum, No.25, Fulani Rule and Pagan Tribes." 1902 No.1-42; Gunn and Conant, p.99; Smallwood; & O. Temple.

58. NAK 4046 Vol.I "Minutes." 1/6/1920.

allowing natives to rule themselves
office vehemently opposed the ideas of Te
Clifford and seriously warned Clifford not t
the Lugardian system in Nigeria. This confusion
in the NAs systems led to the reshufflements whereby
Palmer (Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria)
abolished the Munshi, Muri and Nassarawa Provinces,
and established Adamawa, Benue and Kabba instead,
and administered by the dominant Emirs and Kings in
the way that fitted them.[60]

This contradiction in the colonial administration challenged the peace, unity and integration of the Northern Protectorate. It was then believed that Cameron who had been Governor General in Kenya where he impressed the British Government with his policy of reforms in Kenyan 'Pagan Administration', and with his additional experience as Chief Secretary to Lugard and Clifford, was the most suitable person

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59. Perham, Lugard, the Year of Administration... pp.447-8.

60. Isaac N. Okonjo, The British Administration in Nigeria.... 1900-1950: A Nigerian View. NOK, Publishers, New York, 1974, pp.82-104; CO 583/80/214, Minutes, 29/5/1920.

to challenge the situation, and made to succeed Clifford.[61]** Unlike the other proponents of Indirect Rule, Cameron did not undermine the political sovereignty of the pagans irrespective of the sizes of their polities. He therefore proposed to study the political structure of the peoples in order to adequately place authorities where they belong.[62] Cameron found that allegiance of a people to a tribal head "freely given and without external cause (was) the essence of true Indirect administration." He therefore wished to remove the pagans in the north from the Emirs' control, since the pagans had not made the 'advance' the southern pagans had. He argued that the northern pagans could not make the advance because they had not been 'developed' in accordance with their own tribal institutions under the direct British guide. It was his opinion that the pagans in Northern Nigeria

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*61. The Governor Generals of Nigeria were Sir Freiderich Lugard (1914-1919); Sir Hugh Clifford (1920-1930); Sir Macdonalt Cameron (1931-1935); Sir Bernad Bourdillion (1936-1942); Sir Aurthur Richard (1943-1947); Sir John Macpherson (1948-1955); and Sir James Robertson (1953-1963).

62. Sule Mohammed, p.175 and Cameron, "The Principles of Native Administration and their Application." in Kir-Green, p.195.

might have progressed were they "interposed between themselves and the British Officer, in the style of their own tribal institutions however primitive."[63]

Although the desire for reviewing the pagan administration led to some boundary adjustments in some pagan communities in Zaria Emirate,[64] Niger Province,[65] Igu and Opanda[66] which gave some Gbagyi and Bassa some autonomy, Cameron's reforms and policies were caught up in the web of colonial problems and therefore could not be fully implemented. There were many forces against Cameron's policies. For instance, the pro-Lugardian administrators refuse to implement Cameron's policies. The Residents of Zaria and Nassarawa refused to co-operate with Cameron.[67] They argued that the emirs who gained mostly from the extention of their power on the formerly independent Gbagyi and Bassa would not agree to cause any change in the Lugardian arrangements. The Resident of Zaria complained that the Emir of Zaria "would not agree to a more radical re-arrengements than those already achieved."[68] Mr. Cullen, the District Officer

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63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. NAKZA Prof 637 "Birnin-Gwari District, Proposed Transfer to Niger Province."

66. NAK SPN 17/23357 Vol.1.

67. Ballard, T.A. "Pagan Administration and the Political Development in Northern Nigeria." in SAVANNA Vol.I:I June 1972.

68. Ibid. p.11

of Nassarawa, too, argued that the reorganization of Cameron was only "theoritically correct" but "not needed." Cullen's reason was that people like the Bassa did not want a separate central government of their own, as they were contended to remain as they were and were well represented in the NA.[69] Cullen further contended that the Bassa respected the Ebira and Fulani District Heads, and therefore to separate the Bassa would disrupt the Nassarawa Emirate. And that "the Emir of Nassarawa would resent losing the control of the Bassa who were his subjects by conquest."[70]

However, it was very clear to the colonialists that such excuses were intended to cover the numerous riots the Bassa and Gbagyi staged against their been merged to the Emirates and the rulers of Igu and Opanda.[71] Smallwood also who was against the independent administration of the Gbagyi in Keffi Emirate wrote a Memorandum which lied that Gbagyi did not revolt but were "peace-loving and docile" under the muslim Gwandara and Fulani, and as well falsified their history by claiming that Gbagyi had been under them in order to

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69. Macprof, AR/INT/MISC/I.

70. Ibid.

71. Ohiare, Chapter six.

justify Gbagyi subordination to the Emirates.[72] The reasons given by the Residents of Zaria, Keffi and Nassarawa for refusing to comply with the Cameron's policy were weak excuses. This is true because the power to reorganise the colony was not vested on the Emirs, neither were their consultations sought for. The probable reason for their refusal to create more Districts was lack of funds, and the pro-Lugardian system did not want multiferous districts that would cause expenses. That might be why Cameron

> warned his Lieutanants not to make for Gbagyi a crown or king at the top and then try to find something underneath on which the crown or king might be placed.[73]

Equally probable was the fact that the creation of many Districts would weaken the superior position of the Residents. This is true, because Cameron had taken the steps to reduce the powers of the Lieutenant Governors to the status of High Commissioners answerable to him and appointed by him without consulting the King of Britain.[74]

The polarization of colonial administration and infrastructural development in favour of the muslim groups in this area of study was in line with the nature

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72. Smallwood, loc.cit.

73. Cameron, p.10, op.cit.

74. Okonjo, p.234.

75. Turaki, "The Institutionalization of the Inferior Status and Socio-political Role of the Non-Muslim Groups in the Colonial Hierachical Structure of Northern Nigeria." pp.285-286; Sule Mohammed, pp.248-249, 351-373.

of alliance during the conquest and subjugation. In this case, it was the Emir of Nassarawa that invited the colonialists to come and conquer the region, and was so prefered vis-a-vis the pagan kings who remained uncompromising and resisting.[76] And the uncompromising attitude of Gbagyi was metted with violence, and forced the British to be changing its policies as regard NAs in order to achieve maximum exploitation with minimum effort. This involved the refusal to create administrative centres among Gbagyi dominant areas, but rather extended the powers of the nearby Emirs on them. This ambivalence and inconsistencies in the colonial ideology and rule were justified with memorandums which traced the history of Gbagyi as been subordinates, acephalous, and so on, while the history of the collaborating emirs were exaggerated and forcibly included the independent kingdoms under their domains.

The contemporary significance is that Gbagyi rulers were neglected in the scheme of things, and their settlements became marginalised in infrastructural development.[77] The resultant effect of the disarticulated colonial economy, violent administration and ethnic preference was communal clashes, chieftaincy disputes, religious skirmishes, ethnic exclusiveness

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76. Gazetteers III (Nassarawa Province) p.19 and interviews.

77. See footnote 231.

and suspicion, some of which still manifest today and are challenging the unity, cohesion and general development of the Nassarawa, Keffi, Toto and Karu local governments of Plateau State.[78]

The direction of contradictions and changes in the region seem to suggest that there was a noticeable growth in the economy and increased globalization of the economy upon which Britain built Nigeria. Also, there is the question of who gained most in the contradictions and changes which followed. However, since some of the contradictions had not resolved themselves, some of which were intensified when the British invaded and subjugated the area under study, they still surface in the form of inter-ethnic conflicts and religious conflicts. Hence, it can be argued that the inter-ethnic conflicts and political dissatisfaction in our region are more or less a result of economic inequalities and ethnic exclusiveness in the colonial and neocolonial political structures See Appendix 3.

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78. Adamu Shehu (et.al), "Karu Traditional/Headship" A Memo, 16/5/1975; Daniel Zakwoi Zee, "The History of Kurape Chiefdom." A Memo, 19/11/1981; Kurudu Chieftaincy, "A Petition on the Flight of the Gbagyi People in Nassarawa Local Government Area." 9/10/1985; Tukura Anyitomizai Manasseh, "Submission of Memorandum on Methods of Selection of Paramount Chiefs, Village Heads and Ward Heads in Karshi District." 29/7/1990; Mallam Amadu Chief of Kurudu (et al), "A Memoranda: The Need for Kurudu District." 26/3/92.

In the course of this discussion, attempt was made to critique certain assumptions which are in conflict with the available evidence. And the discussion did not pretend to have answered all the historical questions. However, it is an attempt at least to fill in the gap in the historical knowledge of this very little area obscure in the colonial historiography, and have raised issues that attract further research.

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APPENDIX I

LINGUISTIC AFFINITY BETWEEN THE GBAGYI AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

NGLISH	IGALA [1]	BASSANKOMO [2]	GADE [3]	EBIRANYA [4]	NUPE [5]	BASSANGE [6]
1	Inye	Hni	Nde	Onyi	Nini	Nini
2	Eji	Yeebi	Vuva	Eba	Guba	Guba
3	Eta	Taato	Tuta	Eta	Guta	Guba
4	Elo	Neeshi	Nunuwo	Enna	Gunyi	Gunyi
5	Elu	Tana/Tanu	Tutta	Eni	Gutsu	Gutsu
6	Efa	Chihni	Tsai	Hinoyi	Gutsnai	Gutsuanyi
7	Ebie	Cheenje	Tavan	Hemba	Gutnaba	Gutova
8	Ejo	Tnato	Tokah	Hinta	Gututa	Gutota
9	Ela	Chinchishi	Tono	Hinna	Gutuani	Gutonu
10	Egwa	Npwa	Utov'o	Ewa	Guwo	Goo
11	Egwaka	Atakaicheihin	Bononue	Ewuronya	Guwobeni	Gobeguba
12	Egweji	Pwanuve-Yebi	Bonevah	Ewureba	Guwobegube	Gobeguba
13	Egweta	Kwanubatato	Boneta	Ewureta	Guwobegute	Gobeguta
14	Egwele	Kwunubuneshi	Bonenoh	Ewureha	Guwobeguni	Gobeguni
15	Egwelu	Kwanubwata	Bonotoh	Ewurehi	Guwobegut-shi	Gobegutsu
20	Ogwu	Wooshi	Kena/Azava	Ohhu	Eshi	Eshi
21	Ogwunyokaka	Woshinub'ok'o	Azavanodeno	Ohuronya	Eshibeni	Eshibeni
22	Ogwunyokemeji	Woshinubaiebi	Kenonevane	Ohureba	Eshibegube	Eshibegubahe
23	Nyokemeta	Woshinubataato	Kenonetahe	Ohureta	Eshibeguta	Gabegutain
30	Ogwegwa	Talace	Ketsai/Totsai	Ikehinoyi	Gmawo	Agabo
40	Ogbomeji	B'hande	Azavenevavu	Ohueba	Shiba	Eshiba

GBAGYI[7]	YESKWA[8]	JABA[9]	KORO[10]	KAJE[11]	KANURI[12]	GWANDARA[13]
Nnu/Gmai	Enyi	Inni	Nyi/Nying/Yen	Eyerum	Fal	Da
Mba/Gnuaba	Enna	Fari	Kwai/Tore/Fei	Owha	Indi	Bi
Nta/Gnuata	Ntat	Tar	Ta/Tar/Tutato	Otat	Yasku	Ugu/Uku
Nnyi/Gnuanyi	Ncha	Nan	Tunasin/Nam	Enai	Diyau	Furu/Huru/Pur
Ntnu/Gnuatnu	Ntiyo	Tuo	Tutan/Toh/Torih	Oftun	Uwu	Biyari
Tnai	Nchi	Tuani	Tashihni/Tonyin	Oktat	Arasku	Shida
Tnaba	Tova	Farto	Kafanaa/Tofen	Etiyirim	Toltur	Bego/Boko Bakwai
Nyimwanyimwa	Todat	Nara	Kuroroh/Torok	Eninai	Wusku	Tage/Takusi
Cewoagmanyi	Tyora	Bwankop	Kutashe/Monkop	Eknverun	Lu'ar	Tnoron/Tara
Nwo/Gnuawo	Okop	Kop	Okokpa/Kop/Kok	Soak	Maiwu	Gom
Wonnu/Awoce-igmai	Ovwei/Kopn-ceinyi	Bwansuoksok	Nuyen/Ronsok	Soakbeirum	Chilon/Tilon	Shada
Wommba	Osok/Kopnuva	Shawacnoriari	Okukpanatore	Soakgowha	Indin	Shabi
Wonta	Kohentat	Shawacotat	Okukpanokutanto	Soakgwatat	Yashkin	Shaugu/Shauku
Wonnyi	Kopnenna	Shawatichenan	Okukpananasin	Soakgwanai	Diyerin	Shaburu
Wontnu	Kopnetiya	Shawacetuwo	Okukpanatan	Soakgafwan	Wuri	Shabiyari
Shiba	Kopnenchi	Shuafari	Anabwaere/Shokifa	Soakfwa	Findi	Ishirin
Shibaceigmai	Kopnotonva	Shawacefi	Shotifeninyeanyi	Sokfwabeirum	Finditilan	Ishirinda
Shibaceiaba	Kopnotondat	Shawafariche-fiari	Anabwaereakpando	Sokfwnanafna	Findi-indin	Ishirinbi
Shibaceinta	Kopnotyora	Shawafarichetat	Anabwaerenokupa-witaato	Sokfwnabotat	Findinyaskun	Ishirinuku

ENGLISH	IGALA	BASSANKOMO	GADE	EBIRANYA	NUPE	BASSANGI
50	Oje	Dupu	Nuvoneh	Ihueberewu	Arata	Eshita
60	Ogbometa	Dupuneshempu	Ketsaiyeva	Ihueta	Shita	Eshini
70	Etagwa	Dupunuweshi	Tanunene	Ihuetarewu	Shini	Eshitova
80	Egbomela	Dupuntalatin		Ihuena	Eshini	Eshitoto
90	Egbomeleny-omegwa	Dupunubahanda	-	Ihuenarewu	Eshita	Eshitoni
100	Ogbomelu	Darike/Dupuyevyi		Igwoki	Shituu	Eshini
1000	Ogwokoka	Nkpakwoata		Okpaku		Esnibeni
come	Ewa/Liya	Zya	Be	Byee	Be	Be
Talk	-	Dumwa	-	Karei	Gnagna	-
Go	Elo/Nalo	Zyaga	Age	Naa	Lo	Tuwo
Sit	Egwane	G'ogha	Dende	Hatu	Fedu	Fedu
Stand	Edago	Shikona	Genge	Dine	Nakni	Gini
Run	Ule	Gozyigo	Tsak	Deki	Bici	Bici
Take	Ugba	Ma shapo	Su	Do	La	La
Give	Edu	Mna	Geji	Ndo	La	Ngo
Eat	Njenwu	Ya	Ribe	Ri	Enya/ Gyewunchi	Gyi
Drink	Emo	Swa	Wu	Wnu	Fin	Fi
Hold	Egwonyu	Ima	Vo	Za	Snugwa	Labago

	GBAGYI	YESKWA	JABA	KORO	KAJE	KANURI	GWANDARA
30	Shiita	Koetat	Shuatat	Anakovitaato	Ninantat	Fiyaku	Talatin
40	Shiinyi	Koenna	Shuanan	Anakoenasni	Suanai	Fidiyu'u	Arbain
50	Shitnu	Koetiyo	Shuatuu	Anakoaten	Nsuwam/Wam	Fi'u	Hamisin
60	Shitnai	Koochi	Shuatuani	Anakochshini	Suaktat	Firasku	Sittin
70	Shitnaba	Kootonva	Shuatuarfo	Anakokotarana	Suatierun	Fitilur	Sabain
80	Shinyimwanyimwa	Kotondet	Shuanaran	Kuikuroroh	Suanenai	Fisku	Tamanin
90	Shicewoagmai	Kotyora	Shuagonkop	Knikotoshe	Suakunveirun	Filar	Chasain
100	Tagyi	Kookopi	Darwuzyini	Kwiopopa	Chi	Miya	Dari
1000	Tagyiawo/Dubu	-	Dubuwazyini	Anaku	Dubuyirun	D'u	Dubu
come	Be	Oba	Bam	Uba/Wana	Ba	Are	Jo/Zo
talk	Dabo/B'oda	Shon/Ve	-	-	Riyat	Mana	Pere/Beta/Pa
go	Lo	je	Jun	Duaramajia	Nat	Lene	Te
sit	Sase/Fedu	fer	Shishet	Age/Aje	Suran	Namne	Wankaza/Za/Ziza
stand	Agni/Dakagni	Zeh	Shuaundein/ Didi	-	Teza	Cine	Shie
run	Bwuisi	Ta	Shinapun/Tikat		Tyong	Kashe	Gudu
take	La/Goi	Nyai/Yen	Has	Soka/Uwai/Ahi	Nya	Gone	Ra
give	Ga	Ninai	Muo/Mani	Uja/Husua	Nan	Ye	Ba
eat	Gyi	Ga	Hyi	Ule/Rya	Ya	Buyi	Shi
drink	Sni	Fa	Fhya	Sowo/Fa	Sua	Yei	Sh'a/Sa

ENGLISH	IGALA	BASSANKOMO	GADE	EBIRANYA	NUPE	BASSANGE
See	Eli	Kuba	Pa	Rhe	Leye	Sile
Touch	Edowocha	Tumog'oho	Da	Kani	Egwata	Agwato
Head	Oji	Ihyuhyu	Retu	Iresu	Eti	Tukwo
Eye	Eju	Eshe	Yapu	Eyi	Eye	Aye
Ear	Eti	Achere	Gutakpo	Itokpa	Tukpa	Tukpa
Mouth	Aliu	Onu	Ganu	Irenu	Emi	An
Nose	Imo	Yaano	Arofe	Ahe	Egye	Iyo
Neck	Ofa	Ilu	Uto/Oto	Ogbe	Koro	Kpatsu
Body	Ola	Twava	Ewo/Ewu	Ewun	Nakua	Noko
Hand	Owo	Yala/Eala	Ratu/Guboh	Ubo	Egwa	Agbo
Leg	Ereh	Avona/Bune	Gma/Gene	Ahu	Bichi	Bichi
Sleep	Olu	Malabo	Zabara	Sara	Lele	Lile
Die	Eku	Ukwo	Tsi	Khusu	Chu	Wnatsu
Human	Onneh	Botna/Boto	One	Izorihi	Tawangi	Eza
Man	Onekele	Botuvonyi	Roromi	Onoro	Bagip	Bage
Woman	Onobule	Biyiko	Nyeneni	Oniye	Nzagi	Nzage
Boy	Okolobia	Yawebutuvonyi	Bikirora	Uzonoru	Egi	Bagi
Girl	Igbele	Yaviyiko	Royineni	Ozoniye	Enyeintsugi	Nzagi
Wife	Oya	Biyiko	Onyino	Osi	Myimi	Nyeme
Husband	Oko	Bolo	Obene	Obi	Eba	Eba

ENGLISH	IGALA	BASSANKOMO	GADE	EBIRANYA	NUPE	BASSANGE
Spirit	Ibegu/Afun	Pyalatijila	-	Igugu	Jɔnu	Ruhu
God	Ojo	Agwatana	Sugaba/Ova	Ineegɒa	Soko	Soko
Witch	Ochu	Bihya/Kupei	Otse	Okoki	Gaci	Iga
Soul	Imi	Rai	Rai	Ayi	Izye	Nimyegbo
Animal	Ela	Sonda	Futaiko	-	Ynaknugi	Nyokpogi
Goat	Ewo	Biyoyo	Ibu	Ebu	Nagi	Andi
Horse	Anyaela	Daikwe	Ovaka	Abata	Doko	Doko
Dog	Abia/Ebya	Waewye	Gabiki	Abiya	Eshigi	Ishi
Cow	Okonu	B'onaa	Fune	Uuno	Nanko	Noko
Hen	Ajuwe	Aluma	Gotane	Ucne	Bishe	Pise
Ground	Anne/Ane	Kinge/Chenje	Tuze/Tezab	Ete	Kni	Kim
Grass	Egbe	Ande/Bezeh	Abe/Aveh	Inomi	Ego	Ego
Tree	Uli	Owuwa/Whewhe	Ewo	Oki	Cigma	Cigbo
Stone	Okuta/Afwa	Tai/Tae	Oku	Irena	Takun	Takun
River	Aji/Lile	Refu	Uzoh	Iresu	Edu	Edu

GBAGYI	YESKWA	JABA	KORO	KAJE	KANURI	GWANDARA	ENGLISH
Oba	Obemab	Hauk	Otaffari	Ontiok	Kwa	Miji	husband
Zafnu	Anderigunjeisi	Hynon	Kesoshiya	Kwat	Karwa	Ruhu	spirit
Shekwo	Afang/Unu	Nom	K'siro	Kadza	Allah	Ubagiji	God
Guzyenyi	Ojim	Riet/Riar	Boka	Nkut	Karama	Dobo	witch
Wyewyeyi	Imu	Hyon	Kasoshiya	Riya	Ro	Rai	soul
Nyafanya	Igbelum	Nyam	Kadabba	Daba	Dabba	Dabba	animal
Enah	Ibo	Zo/thoa	Viyen	Van/Kaza	Kayin	Wuto/Wuta	goat
Doko	Inya	Renas	Verma	Tsaap	Fur	Di/Digi	horse
Omwui	Mambo	Wogyo	Muasin	Kapvu	Kari	Kere	dog
Nako	Nak	Nyak	Linica	Nyak	Fei	Arandong	cow
Pisah	Inu	Nyen/Yuak	Kotokoko	Nyon	Kayin	Ka/Kaha	hen
Okni	Abe	Libi	Obei/Uri/Obmeh	Kabzen	Sidi	Kisi	ground
Gbegbe	Obe	Chep	Tugo/Ubene	Gbebsi	Kajim	Chanwa	grass
Shniwna	Nga	Ki	Vishi	Kaken	Kaska	Itachi	tree
Kuta	Eta	Tar	Kata/Oteise	Kpan	Kau	Dunchi	stone
Ela	Oje	Zok	Kaboo/Udu	Neen	Kumadu'u	Miya	river

BASIS FOR THIS LINGUISTIC MAPPING

Linguistic studies is one of the scientific ways of infering historical knowledge and ascertaining the antiquity of languages, their relations, language map (glottochoronology), and for crosschecking oral and written traditions relating to origins, cultural affinities, extent of the influence of one culture on the others, extend or degree of closeness and divergence of dialects or language groups, etc. Almost all the primary materials - the travellers' accounts - used in this study have linguistic comparism. Also see Ade Obayemi. "The Yoruba and Edo Speaking Peoples and their neighbours before 1600 A.D." in Ajayi and Crowther, HWA Vol.I. PP.201 ff: Keir Hansford, John Bendor Samuel and Ronald Stanford, "A Provisional Language Map of Nigeria." In SAVANNA 5:2, 1976, pp.115-125; J.A. Ballard, "Historical Inferences from the Linguistic Geography of Nigerian Middle Belt." In AFRICA XLI:4 1971. J. Greengerg. A New Invitation to Linguistics. Ancho Books 1977: K. Williamson, "Indigenous Languages of the Niger-Benue Confluence Region: Their Classification and its implication for pre-history." Presented at the conference on CONFLUENCE NIGERIANS 27/9/1977 at Lokoja; R.G. Armstrong, in Biobaku, 1973. Also see Ukwede's Ph.D. Thesis.

One of the popular ways to infere language relations is by counting the words. Stanford (et.al) stressed that it is possible to measure accurately by taking lists of words (particularly nouns, - names of astral bodies, phisical features, creatures and human body, which names are assumed to remain constant for centuries, from different languages and dialects and measure them; judge what percentage of the words are the same and whether the words related, coming from the original words that was used in the parent language; calculate the degree of difference between the words. It is advised that one should consider only the related ...

and not identical vocabulary, (Greenberg). Regular sound correspondences can demonstrate relationship even when the two words are for frok identical, eg. son and ju. Similarly, Armstrong remarked that human speech organ is constantly adjusting itself to simpler ways of pronoucing words, and that any dialect form that exhibits moreecumbersome forms of pronounciation than its neighbours might have greater antiquity; eg. people find it easier to say wu than kwu, b than gb, etc. And that the language still with many strong consonants like the pre-to-Yoruba version might have a claim to greater antiquity. It is claimed that the languages around the confluence are related to Yoruba which proto-language was spoken in the region since many millennium ago, and their seperations as distinct languages varied between 5,500 to 6,000 years ago.

FOOTNOTES

1. IGALA; Interviews with Thomas Ojeh; about 50 years old, a cartographer with Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. A.A. Ochale, an undergraduate student of History. A.B.U. Zaria All in 1991. They drew my attention to the fact that Igala Language varies from locality to another.

2. BASSAKOKO; interviews with Barayi Wakili, about 35 years old, a farmer; and Miuaki Bagaru, about 30 years old, undergraduate History Student, A.B.U. ZARIA all in 1991.

3. GADE; Interviews with Rhoda Goje, 33 years old, a teacher; Tani Goje, 45 years. A teacher, and Lami Akawu, 40 years, a teacher, all in 1991. The Gade Language has also a slight variation from one locality to another.

4. BINICANYAA; Interviews with Mohammed Liman, 45 years old, a civil servant with A.B.U. Zaria and Alhaji Inua Mohammed, about 40 years old, civil servant from with A.B.U. Zaria. They are from Umaisha.

5. NUPE; Interviews with Jimada Shata Idris, 40 years old, a Lecturer with History Department. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; and Ezra Tsuzoh, 47 years old, a security officer with Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. J.S. Jimada is from Patigi.

6. BASANGE; Interview with Ezrah Tsuzoh; from Basange L.G.C. Kwara State. He claimed that the Basange and the Gbagyi have common origin.

7. GBAGYI; This is my mother tongue.

8. YEKKUA; Interviews with David Afuwa (Chairman Karu LGC, 1991-93). Joseph Makwa, 40 years old, a teacher, and with Aparahe Sarki, 35 years old a lecturer with S.P.C. Keffi.

9. JARA; Interviews with Monicah Bako, 35 years old: Zacharia Kwan Dazong. 50 years old, a linguist, he gave me as a great help in this mapping, he is a principal lecturer C.P.E. Kafanchan.

10. KORO; Interview with Aparahe Sarki, James N. Dangari, 40 years old, a teacher and with Isa Auta, 55 years old, a farmer from Saminaka. They all claim that there more than ten types of Koro tribes, and distinct.

11. KAJE; Interviews with Kuman P. Garba, 50 years old, a linguist and civil servant with A.B.U. Iliya Katuka, 50 years also a linguist; Yakubu Gambo and Sheyin Nchok, both about 45 years old working in KIL, A.B.U.

12. KUTURMI; Interviews with Saidu Mohammed, a Lecturer with S.P.C. Keffi; John Idoko, 45 years old, working with the Secretariat Gwandara Language also, worker from Local Government.

13. KANURI; Interviews with Lawan Ahmadu; 45 years old and Alh. I. M. Bashir, 35 years old. They are undergraduate students,

HISTORY OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The earlier history of Nassarawa Province is lost in obscurity, and can only be conjectured very vaguely from references in legends and folklore. As far as can be ascertained the earliest traceable indigenous tribe is the Koro—if any tribe can be called indigenous in a country where successive waves of immigrants which absorbed their forerunners and eliminated all traces of former inhabitants were so frequent. The earliest traceable immigration is that of the Gwari from the East and the Gwandara from the North. In various parts of the Province, however, stone implements can still be found, indicating the prior presence of more primitive peoples.

The Gwari, who are said to have been a subject race in Bornu, settled in the North-West parts of the Province, and came under the domination of the Koro. The Gwandara appear to have spread over the parts of the Province best stocked with game, and scattered from the North-Western foothills of the Bauchi Plateau, then inhabited by the Nimbia, Southward and Westward, till they came in contact with the Koro and the Gwari. The Gwandara claim to have been a race of hunters originating in the country North-East of Kano, and to have followed game-tracks South to Nimbia. The Koro are now a decadent tribe, and appear to be dying out, whereas the Gwari are increasing steadily. Other immigrants are the Kagoro inhabiting the plateau of the North-East corner of the Province, and their neighbours the Moroa. From the South, a section of the Jukuns who had migrated down the Benue, and settled in the interior of the Idah Kingdom, broke away from Idoma, and immigrated across the Benue, and split into two rival sections, now known as the Doma and the Arago, both included in the Lafia Emirate.

(*Etym.* Doma = Andoma, a leading Jukun, who settled in the interior of Idah. Arago = Aragogo, rogues or rebels who broke away from Doma.)

The original Jukuns, who came down the Benue, formed part of the once powerful kingdom of Kororofa. (Muri Province.)

The Niger districts contributed their quota of immigrants in the shape of the Igbira, who settled in the South-Western corner of the Province (*circa* A.D. 1750), set up a powerful organization and founded the Kingdom of Panda. (First mentioned by McGregor Laird, who was imprisoned there on his trip up the Benue.) The Igbira are to this day looked on as especially skilled in magic, and have powerful "jujus" in their possession. They are expert poisoners, and hold the secret of many potent poisons.

Other numerous tribes, such as the Mada and kindred tribes inhabiting the Eastern fringes of the Province, the Bassa scattered along the Benue and the South-West portion of the Province, the Afao spreading from the Benue to the Central Districts of the Province, the Onkwoi, the Mama and Axu, etc., were probably originally immigrants from the South-East. Most of these tribes are originally immigrants from the South-East. Most of these tribes are distinctly of Jukun origin. Such tribes as the Yeskwa, Numana, [illegible] Kenikkwom, Ayu, Alago and others, may have originally immigrated, or may be the descendants of tribes indigenous to these parts. The various movements of these tribes cannot be traced with any certainty, and the prevalent languages are a great stumbling block, but it is noteworthy that most of the present inhabitants of the North-Eastern corner of the Province, and spreading to near the confines of the N.W. Koro, have a common prefix (or commencement of name) of "Ka," viz., Kagoro, Kaje, Katab, Kagoma, Kaninkwom, etc. "Nimbia" seems to be applied to a people who were found here on the arrival of immigrants, and are therefore looked on as indigenous. Some tribes call the country bordering the Western scarp of the Plateau (i.e., the North-East portion of Nassarawa) "Nimbia." "Numana" may be a corruption of this name.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Fulani invasion commenced in earnest. Though Nomad Fulani herdsmen had visited the Province annually during the dry season in previous times, it was not till about the end of the eighteenth century that the more Northern districts of Nassarawa Province began to suffer from slave-raiders, and that parties of Fulani and Habe commenced to settle in them. The first ten years of the nineteenth century saw certain Fulani and Habe firmly established in fortified strongholds from whence they raided the surrounding country, and sent northwards long caravans of slaves. They penetrated southwards and even crossed the Benue and raided in the Idah Kingdom. The end of the nineteenth century saw the complete ruin and depopulation of the Province. Sir Frederick Lugard reporting in 1902, incorporates the following remarks of Sir W. Wallace:—

"In the Nassarawa country, a once fertile and populous Province, one can now only view the remains and ruins of large and totally deserted towns, bearing witness to the desolation wrought by 100 years of internecine strife and slave-raiding by the Fulani."

The remaining inhabitants of such towns fled to the hills in all directions; those who approached the Eastern and North-Eastern confines of the Province, until they learned how to defend themselves, were further raided by the Headhunting tribes who inhabit these hilly localities. Others intermarried with Headhunting tribes and themselves adopted their customs. Such was the state of the Province when the arrival of Sir Frederick Lugard put a stop to slave-raiding, and evolved law and order out of chaos and ruin. The introduction of his masterly policy is bearing fruit to-day, in the rapid recovery of the population of the Province (1) by the cessation of all slave-raiding, (2) by the scattering of people, formerly boxed up in defensive towns and on inaccessible hill-tops, back to their lands and farms, (3) by the filtering back of slaves from places as far removed as Sokoto and Kano, and (4) by the almost universal security of life and property and the resultant increase in birthrate, trade and universal prosperity.

Five Modern Kingdoms or Emirates were founded early in the nineteenth century:—

Keffi circa A.D. 1802 (Originally Katsina Fulani).
Akwanga A.D. 1804 (Originally Habe, Kingdom of Zozo).
Lafia Berberi *circa* A.D. 1804 (Originally Bornuese).
Jemaan Barroro circa A.D. 1810 (Originally Cattle Fulani from Kajuri).
[illegible] A.D. 1820 (Originally of the Kano Fulani).

ARRIVAL OF BRITISH. PROTECTORATE ESTABLISHED.

As has been recorded, five Moslem Units were set up in the nineteenth century: one Habe (Abuja), which preserved its independence of Zaria Fulani; three Fulani (Keffi, Jemaa, Nassarawa), which held their titles from Zaria, and one Bornuese, which voluntarily placed itself under the protection of the Bauchi Emirate from which it was detached in 1902. These Sub-Emirates may be considered as having originally been advanced bases for purposes of slave-raiding. With the rapid depopulation of the country, feeble attempts were made to administer it, and each Emirate was parcelled out in lots which were "given" to the various office-holders, who in turn "divided" the various villages among their retainers, who became "Jekadu" or tax collectors. All lived at the respective capitals. A rough method of tax collection was the demanding of about one-tenth of crops, live stock, and even of children of the pagans. Frequent pretexts were invented to enable the Emirs to attack the less tractable villages and to carry away the young and the able-bodied into slavery, mostly to be sent northwards as the Annual Tribute became due (to Zaria, etc.), and by the end of the nineteenth century the depopulation was so complete that the retainers of the Fulani had been constrained to turn their attention to farming the depopulated areas round the larger towns themselves. Slave-raiding was still going on up to 1902, until the Emir of Nassarawa made formal submission to the Government, which stopped his victorious career that would almost certainly have ended in his subduing all other units and in asserting his independence of Zaria and transferring his allegiance direct to the Over-lord of Sokoto, without any intermediaries.

Early in 1900 the first Resident (Major A. Burdon, and later, Dr. Cargill) commenced the exploration of the Province. Headquarters were first established at Akwanaja (in the south-east corner of the Province), and an attempt was made to pacify the Munshi. Headquarters were later transferred to Nassarawa Town after the formal submission of Sarkin Kwotto), and the name of the Province was changed from "Lower Benue Province" to Nassarawa Province. In July, 1902, the Headquarters of the Province were transferred to Keffi, and Abuja was subdued by an expedition under Colonel Beddoes.

In October, 1902, the Resident (Captain Moloney) was murdered at Keffi by the Magajin Keffi, the agent of the Emir of Zaria and, as a result, the Province of Nassarawa was removed from the suzerainty of Zaria.

In March, 1903, the Emirs of Lafia and Jemaa made formal submission. In April, 1904, the administration of Abuja Division was commenced, and an Assistant Resident was posted there with a Company of the W.A.F.F. to protect him.

In October, 1904, an Assistant Resident was posted to Jemaa with a detachment of 25 R. & F. under a Subaltern.

In January, 1905, an Assistant Resident was posted to Lafia [illegible]

In April, 1906, His Excellency the High Commissioner, Sir F. D. Lugard, visited the Province, confirmed the appointment of the five Emirs and presented Staves of Office. He selected the site for the new Provincial Headquarters at Keffi and gave orders for the building of the permanent quarters there. These were commenced the same year and completed in 1906.

In March, 1907, the route from Loko to the Tin Field in Bauchi was finally opened through Jemaa and Kibbo.

In 1907 and 1908 a series of patrols subdued and opened up various pagan hill districts, such as Kagoro, the Lafia Mada, etc. In 1909 the Lugard Memorial Home for Freed Slaves was transferred from Zungeru to Umaisha and placed under the charge of the Sudan United Mission.

In January, 1910, the Koton Karifi Division was transferred from Kaduna to Nassarawa. This district was handed over to the Nupe Province in 1914.

In February, 1912, the W.A.F.F. Company which had been transferred from Abuja to Keffi in previous years, was transferred from Keffi to Wamba, and the Headquarters of the Lafia Division were transferred to Wamba, while the unsettled districts round Wamba were thrown open to prospectors from 1st March, 1st April and 1st May, to three different classes of applicants, some of whom had entered the closed districts in 1911 and had been ejected.

In March, 1912, the discovery of an alleged valuable lode of tin, by the Anglo-Continental Company, resulted in the transfer of Provincial Headquarters from Keffi to Jemaa, and in the same month the Acting Governor (Mr. H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G.) arrived at Loko, and visited Lafia, Wamba, Ninkada and Jemaa and proceeded to Bukuru and Naraguta.

In April, 1912, the Province, which had up to this date consisted of six Divisions (Keffi, Nassarawa, Jemaa, Abuja, Lafia, Koton Karifi), was re-divided into four administrative Divisions by the directions of the Acting Governor; these are retained to this day and are as follows:—Keffi, Abuja, Lafia and Jemaa.

In May, 1913, Mr. Campbell, a prospector, was murdered by Mada pagans near Awe'eo. Punitive patrols recovered his belongings and remains. Mada District and all that part of Mama and Nungu lying outside a 10 mile radius of Wamba Government Station were closed again.

Early in 1913, a telegraph line from Keffi to Jemaa was completed and a permanent brick Residency and Post Office were built. During 1913, District Heads were established in all Districts; up to this date they had resided in the respective capitals. In September, 1913, the Tin Fields Survey was commenced in Jemaa under Captain Lumsden, R.A.

In November, 1913, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. C. L. Temple, C.M.G.) paid a visit of inspection to the Province, arriving at Jemaa (*via* Naraguta Kwoll and Kagoro) on 24th November, 1913, and proceeding thence to Wamba, Lafia, Keffi and Abuja; thence on to

Minna Jan 1920.

POPULATION STATISTICS.

About forty different tribes are represented, speaking different languages or dialects. These are as follows :—

Tribe.	Population.		
	Males.	Females.	Children.
Fulani	5,864	6,387	3,705
Hausa	5,304	5,163	2,682
Langu	364	309	245
Jaba	3,189	2,815	2,547
Moroa	1,950	1,750	1,609
Kagoro	2,478	2,650	2,131
Kaninkwonu	563	560	314
Gwandara	3,040	2,576	2,267
Kibbo	490	385	270
Numana	1,118	1,041	261
Ayu	1,252	1,403	285
Kagoma	1,897	1,394	1,204
Kaje	2,597	2,139	1,771
Ninzam	2,000	1,699	1,491
Yeskwa	10,608	11,094	5,797
Bassa	15,520	16,103	12,310
Gwari Gengen	4,950	5,241	4,402
,, Yemma	65	56	52
,, Gabbas	1,675	1,692	1,060
Afao	1,623	1,430	977
Igbira	1,514	1,667	1,213
Gade	479	567	324
Agatu	468	503	282
Kinkera	278	284	202
Nupe	2,692	2,788	2,028
Koro	310	161	146
,, Funtu	342	301	152
Gana-Gana	96	109	104
Toni	67	66	29
Kamberi	2,806	2,966	3,274
Arago	1,136	1,001	1,194
Beriberi	7	10	8
Yoruba	109	143	98
Rubawa	47	59	17
Luchi	15	27	21
Kadara	140	128	126
Onkwoi	129	116	156
Aike	13,238	10,554	13,513
Mada	2,883	2,695	2,533
Mama	2,580	1,812	2,339
Nungu	18	17	14
Total	98,014	94,096	75,030

Guinea-fowl and Partridges are plentiful, and in the North-East corner the lesser Bustard is fairly common.

Birds and Butterflies exist in wonderful variety.

PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Province is divided as follows :—Four Administrative Divisions composed of five Moslem Emirates and six Pagan Units. This is more clearly shown in tabular form as follows :—

Division.	Units composing Division.	Number of Districts in each Unit.	Number of Villages in each Unit.	Total Population of each Unit.
Keffi	Keffi Emirate, 2nd Class ...	8	216	20,849
	Nassarawa Emirate, 2nd Class	6	248	47,386
Abuja	Abuja Emirate, 2nd Class ...	...	591 (divided into 72 village areas)	68,046
*Lafia	Lafia Emirate, 2nd Class ...	4	124	17,104
	3 Independent Units* ...	5	164	34,113
†Jemaa	Jemaa Emirate, 2nd Class ...	6	158	27,874
	3 Independent Units† ...	3	60	22,771
	11 Units.	41 Districts.	1,561 Villages.	267,140 M.F.C.

* Lafia.—Three Independent Units: Mama, Nungu and Mada. Mada is divided into three units (North, Central, and South).

† Jemaa.—Three Independent Units: Koro, Moroa, Jaba (Kwoi).

The five Emirates are independent, and each is administered by Second Class Emir. Three (Keffi, Nassarawa and Jemaa) were up to 92, tributary to Zaria, but in that year they were removed from the ceminty of the Emir of Zaria and rendered independent. The six all independent or semi-independent units are administered by more less hereditary chiefs, except the districts of Mada and Mama, which ar- inhabited by primitive pagans not yet emerged from the family clan stage and in which there is direct administration pending or organization into the tribal stage. (*Vide* "History of Native Administration.")

(6) KEFFI TO LAFIA.

Keffi	to	Kokona	19 Miles.
Kokona	„	Amba	17 „
Amba	„	Bassa Zerengi	15 „
Bassa Zerengi	„	Doma...	17 „
Doma	„	Lafia	13 „
Total			72 Miles.

(7) KEFFI TO AKWANGA.

Keffi	to	Ungwan Maisauri	5 Miles.
Ungwan Maisauri	„	Gerku	12 „
Gerku	„	Kurmin Shinkafa	9 „
Kurmin Shinkafa	„	Akwanga	17 „
Total			43 Miles.

(8) AKWANGA TO JEMAA.

Akwanga	to	Nunku	20 Miles.
Nunku	„	Sanga	16 „
Sanga	„	Jemaa	14 „
Total			50 Miles.

RESIDENTS IN CHARGE OF NASSARAWA PROVINCE, 1900-1919.

Name.	Rank.	From.	To.
Major A. Burdon ...	Resident	1900	March, 1901.
Dr. J. Cargill	„	1900	March, 1901.
Capt. F. N. Ruxton ...	Asst. Resident ...	March, 1901 ...	13-10-1901.
H. S. Goldsmith, Esq. ...	„ „ ...	14-10-1901 ...	February, 1902
Capt. G. W. Moloney ...	Resident	February, 1902	2-10-1902.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	Asst. Resident ...	3-10-1902 ...	23-11-1902.
Dr. J. Cargill	Resident	24-11-1902 ...	13-2-1903.
Capt. H. D. Larymore ...	„ 2nd ...	14-2-1903 ...	4-3-1903.
R. K. Granville, Esq. ...	„ „ ...	5-3-1903 ...	3-10-1903.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	„ 3rd ...	4-10-1903 ...	30-1-1905.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney	„ 2nd ...	31-1-1905 ...	25-12-1905.
K. V. Elphinstone, Esq.	„ 3rd ...	26-12-1905 ...	13-3-1906.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	„ „ ...	14-3-1906 ...	7-8-1906.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney	„ 2nd ...	8-8-1906 ...	15-11-1907.
J. Ley-Greaves, Esq. ...	„ „ ...	16-11-1907 ...	30-6-1908.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney	„ „ ...	1-7-1908 ...	1-7-1909.
D. Cator, Esq.	„ 3rd (ag.) ...	2-7-1909 ...	20-10-1909.
C. O. Migeod, Esq. ...	„ „ „ ...	21-10-1909 ...	31-10-1909.
Capt. W. Hamilton-Browne, D.S.O.	„ 2nd ...	1-11-1909 ...	24-1-1910.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney	„ „ ...	25-1-1910 ...	22-1-1911.
D. Cator, Esq.	„ 3rd (ag.) ...	23-1-1911 ...	13-5-1911.
Major H. D. Larymore	„ 2nd ...	14-5-1911 ...	27-1-1913.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	„ „ ...	28-1-1913 ...	20-10-1913.
Major H. D. Larymore	„ „ ...	21-10-1913 ...	20-11-1914.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq ...	„ „ ...	21-11-1914 ...	27-2-1916.
Com. B. E. M. Waters...	D.O., 2nd (ag.) ...	28-2-1916 ...	6-3-1916.
Capt. H. L. Norton Traill	D.O., 1st (ag.) ...	7-3-1916 ...	5-11-1916.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	Resident, 2nd ...	6-11-1916 ...	18-5-1918.
Capt. H. L. Norton Traill	D.O., 1st (ag.) ...	19-5-1918 ...	31-12-1918.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	Resident, 2nd ...	1-1-1919 ...	31-12-1919.

STAFF, NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

KEFFI EMIRATE ...	Emir	Annual Salary	£480
	Waziri	„ „	96
	Emir's Scribe	„ „	24
	Emir's Messenger	„ „	12
	District Heads	„ „	392
	District Scribes	„ „	75
	Alkalai	„ „	90
	Dogarai	„ „	285
NASSARAWA EMIRATE ...	Emir	„ „	480
	Emir's Scribe	„ „	36
	Emir's Messenger	„ „	12
	District Heads	„ „	548
	District Scribes	„ „	96
	Court Scribes	„ „	108
	Dogarai	„ „	282
ABUJA EMIRATE ...	Emir	„ „	400
	Waziri	„ „	144
	Emir's Scribe	„ „	12
	Emir's Messenger	„ „	24
	District Heads	„ „	660
	District Scribes	„ „	108
	Alkali	„ „	48
	Court Messengers	„ „	54
	Dogarai	„ „	351
JEMAA EMIRATE ...	Emir	„ „	400
	Emir's Messenger	„ „	18
	District Heads	„ „	564
	District Scribes	„ „	84
	Court Messengers	„ „	36
	Dogarai	„ „	372
LAFIA EMIRATE ...	Emir	„ „	300
	Emir's Adviser	„ „	24
	Emir's Scribe	„ „	12
	District Heads	„ „	312
	District Scribes	„ „	24
	Alkalai	„ „	54
	Dogarai	„ „	159
LAFIA INDEPENDENT ...	District Heads	„ „	300
	District Scribes	„ „	120
	Alkali	„ „	36
	Court Messenger	„ „	6
	Dogarai	„ „	159

J. C. SCIORTINO,
Resident, Nassarawa,
31*st December*, 1919.

A P P E N D I X 3

c/o Chief of Lokogoma,
Nasarawa Local Govt. Area
Lokogoma.

9th October, 1985.

The Governor of Plateau State,
Lt. Col. Mohammed Chris Alli,
Government House,
Jos.

A PETITION ON THE PLIGHT OF THE BGAGYI PEOPLE IN NASARAWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

On behalf of the entire Gbagyi Community of Nasaraw Local Government Area, we heartily welcome you to power as the Governor of Plateau State. We are impressed by your desire to run a purposeful and open-door policy in which genuine and constructive criticism and suggestion is tolerated. Moreso, on your call to traditional rulers, farmers, members of business community civil servants, the press and indeed the opinion leaders of the various communities to wake up to the challenge of our time and to give unqualified support to the new Administration with indubitable steadfastness, and to continue to initiate self-help projects, which will go a long way in supplementing government effort and to ensure the progress of the State. We therefore pledge our unflinching support to the present Military Administration.

OUR PLIGHT

The Gbagyi tribe which forms one of the major tribes in Nasarawa Local Government Area, has for long been completely left out of the scheme of affairs of the Local Administration in the Area. We are very much baffled as many people have, that up to now the Gbagyis in the area are not represented on the Emirate Council. Furthermore, the entire Gbagyi tribe throughout the length and breadth of Nasarawa Local Government Area cannot boast of a single Government recognised village and district head despite the fact that we are not strangers in the area and, infact, are the majority in not less than two districts in the Area. Gadabuke and Nasarawa districts are a clear case.

The population of major tribes in Nasarawa Local Government in 1975/76 as projected from the 1963 census is as below:

TRIBES DISTRICTS

	Nasarawa	Udege	Loko	Gadabuke	Toto	Umaisna	Total
Bassa	9,754	4,906	1721	1156	33,681	20,952	75,37
Gbagyi	28,402	630	10	26863	11,818	2,334	70,05
Afo	2,008	50,895	9554	67	--	--	62,52
Hausa	27,748	3,240	10592	1805	1,519	2,233	47,1
Gade	9,694	--	--	12375	278	--	22,3
Igbira	426	27	400	761	9,816	8,608	20,0
TOTALS	78,032	59,698	22277	46227	57,112	34,127	297,4

From the table above, the Gbagyis form 23.6% of the population in Nasarawa Local Government Area, second to the Bassas who form 25.3%. The Gbagyis also form 58.1% and 36.4% in Gadabuke and Nasarawa districts respectively being the most populated tribe in the two districts.

It is therefore baffling to note that despite our large population in the two districts, the present administrative set up does not cater for the interest of the Gbagyis. Imagine that the Gbagyis have no single Government recognised village head in any of these districts, talk less of a district head! This type of injustice is highly unacceptable to any group of people and the Gbagyis are no exception. We therefore, call on the authority concerned to make an immediate intervention to facilitate achievement of Government objectives in the area.

GBAGYI TERMINOLOGY

The Gbagyi language uses prefix a to denote plural, and can sometimes suppliment a vowel that is the beginning of a word. Example, Gbagyi (singular) and AGbagyi (plural); Oza (sng.) and Aza (pl.). Similarly, Sa is the prefix to denote king/head. Example, SaKurapei = king of Kurape. Also, fa can serve as prefix or adverb. For instance, fa-pa = co-orperative labour/invitation; Nyikologba-fa = courtship labour. Again, da is an adverb denoting owner, eg., Piwa = house and Piwada = land-lord; adver i also denotes practitioner, like Nagbe = hunting and Nagbei = hunter; adverb pe denoted mountain. Eg., Kurape = Kurape hill/mountain. Ashna = shrines or cults. The major Ashna in these kingdoms were:

Boli/Bori - see Madawa.

Bwagyi: powerful city cult found mostly in the capitals. This cult showed the divine superiority of the kings. The cult was most powerful in the town, meant for disciplining rude people and witches and wizards, and for protecting the town. It was like god of wealth sacrificed only when there was plentiful harvest, i.e. in December - month of harvest (Bwagyi-pya). The sacrifice of this cult was performed at night in the forest where its attendants - mostly the elders and outstanding youths - had to undress. It was sacrificed with rams and chikens. It was believed that the spirit of Abwagyi were un-appeaseable and yearly sacrificed.

Dobwui (pl. Adobwui); personal shrine, normally a sacred stone, sacrificed anytime the owner deemed it fit, particularly when something was wrong.

Golobe: a powerful town-cult sacrificed with a ram and chickens at night. It legitimised the power of kings and village heads. It made frightful noises in order to scare 'evil doors' and to prove the superiority of men over women. This cult was like god of sowing and hence sacrificed during sowing period/season; Agolobe = good-sowing time.

Madawa: had similar purpose with Aboli and Agbakaci - spirit of dance and success cults. They were also believed to enrich their followers, guard against evilspirits and bring good luck. Hence they were the largest religions

or had the largest followership cutting accross tribal, clan and village bounds. They were the most confederal or universal religons in the region and mostly celebrated during the harvest seasons. Hence, their priests/priestesses were the richest class in the region.

Mwamwa: town cult, for cleansing the town and disciplining children. It also gave legitimate rights to the village head. It was sacrificed with a hea-goat, dog and red beer (Znana) in the morning anytime the chief-priest deemed it fit.

Ana: trial by ordeal cult. It took many forms, and tried mainly theft cases, suspected witches and wizardry. The cult sometimes assisted the court.

Apolo: Town sanctuary, situated by the entry of a town or village. Some of the costumes of the 'forefather-incarnate spirits - Dawyiya - were kept there. It was also the place for initiating the youths/boys - 'za-ya nu adawyiya'.

Bago: also known as Allah-bungo, Adafa, Kuchishna or Salaka. was a hunting cult and festival purported to bring big catch.

Eka: also known as Kalukpe was children spirit of dance in December.

Eshe: women's shrine, symbolised with a humb of mud on the wall or entry of her room, believed to bring good luck.

Gbunu: youth initiation and dance cult, like Kalukpe.

Odo: clan cult, mainly for the lineage of priests in the kingdom of Kurape. It was the most superior clan cult with power to bless children, chase away ghosts (Nyasnubwni), check hunger and bad harvest. It was also a dancing cult.

Ogo /Ago: guarding shrine against thefts.

Kaka: cult and spirit of dance and magic.

Kudamiyi: The most powerful cult, like the Bwagyi, found only in a kingship institution. It was also a magical cult which attendants displayed their magical know-how, play with fire, beat one another - all to no harm. The sacrice took place at night in the forest and attended by elders, village-heads and priests. The Kudamiyi cult dancers were normally the princes, war-lords and priests. Dogs, rams and chickens were used for its sacrifice. It was an organ for controlling subordinate villages, sacrificed once every seven years and when there was about to be a war. They also disciplined suspected witches and widzards.

Zakoi kuta: family or house shrine symbolised with a sacred stone inherited from fore-fathers. It was believed to give protection to the house-hold against 'evils', and was a symbol of family unity, continuity and clan allegiance.

Yabwa: women shrine, like Eshe.

Zyiba: town shrine symbolised with the biggest tree tree in the village, and believed to be sacred, with the power to protect the settlement from endemic and witches and wizards. It had a big festival - Zhibaje, second to Kabwanyaje, and celebrated before sowing commensed.

Zokwu: Foretelling shrine.

Aser: General sacrifice/consultation of all the cults in the village purported to bring immediate result - like rain-making, healing and killing the unknown 'evil person'.

Gmawna: Rain-making and rain-stopping shrine/cult.

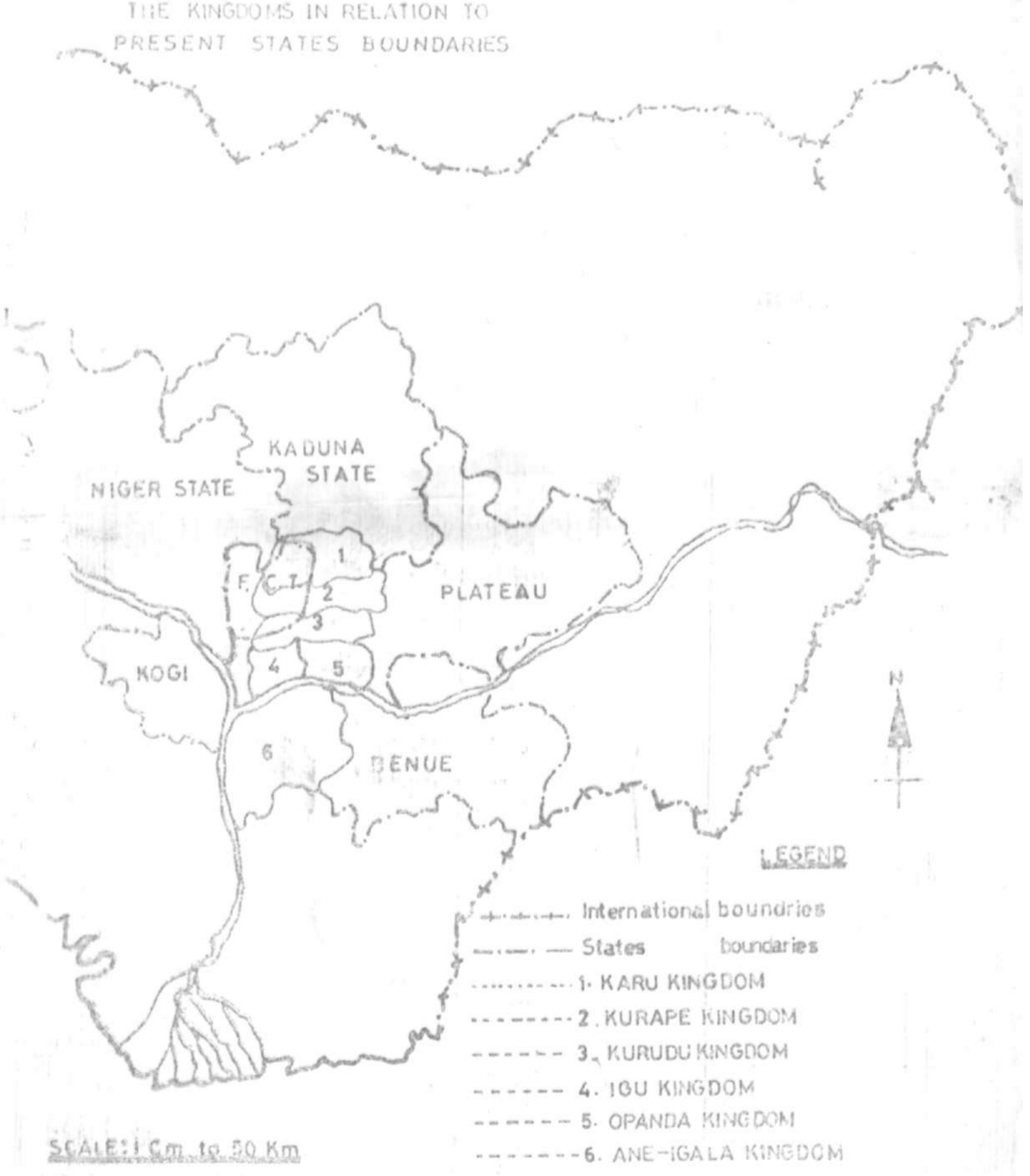
Wasa: snake-bite medicine cult.

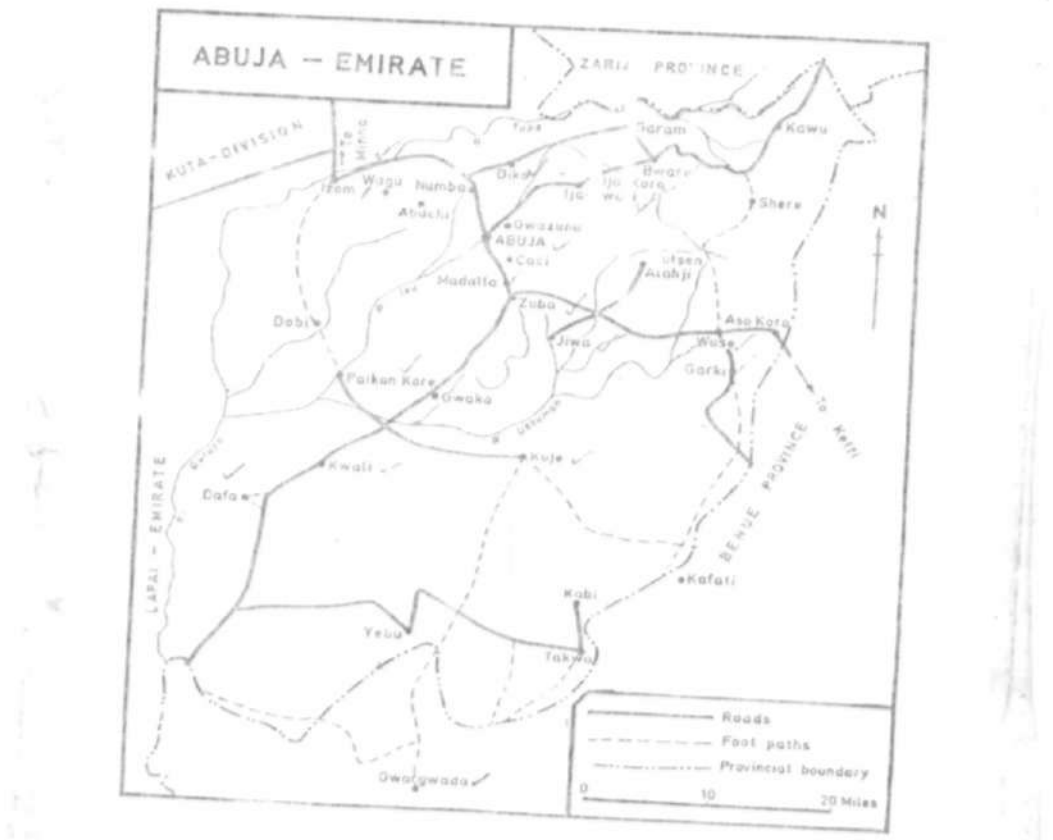
Opwo: shrine and cult that cause the death of an enemy.

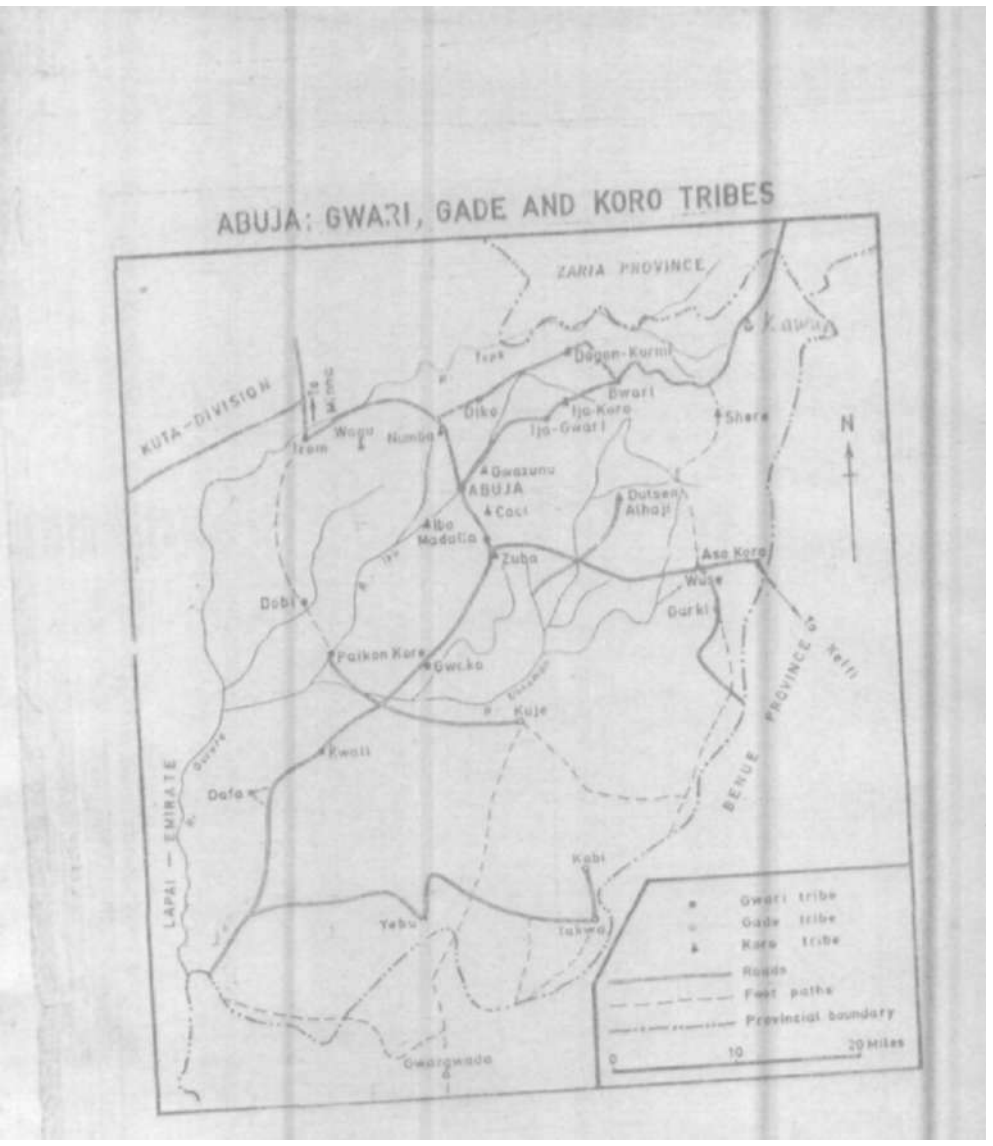
wnalo: witchcraft involving slave trade, secret society.

[illegible]i (pl. Aguzyenyi): witchcraft.

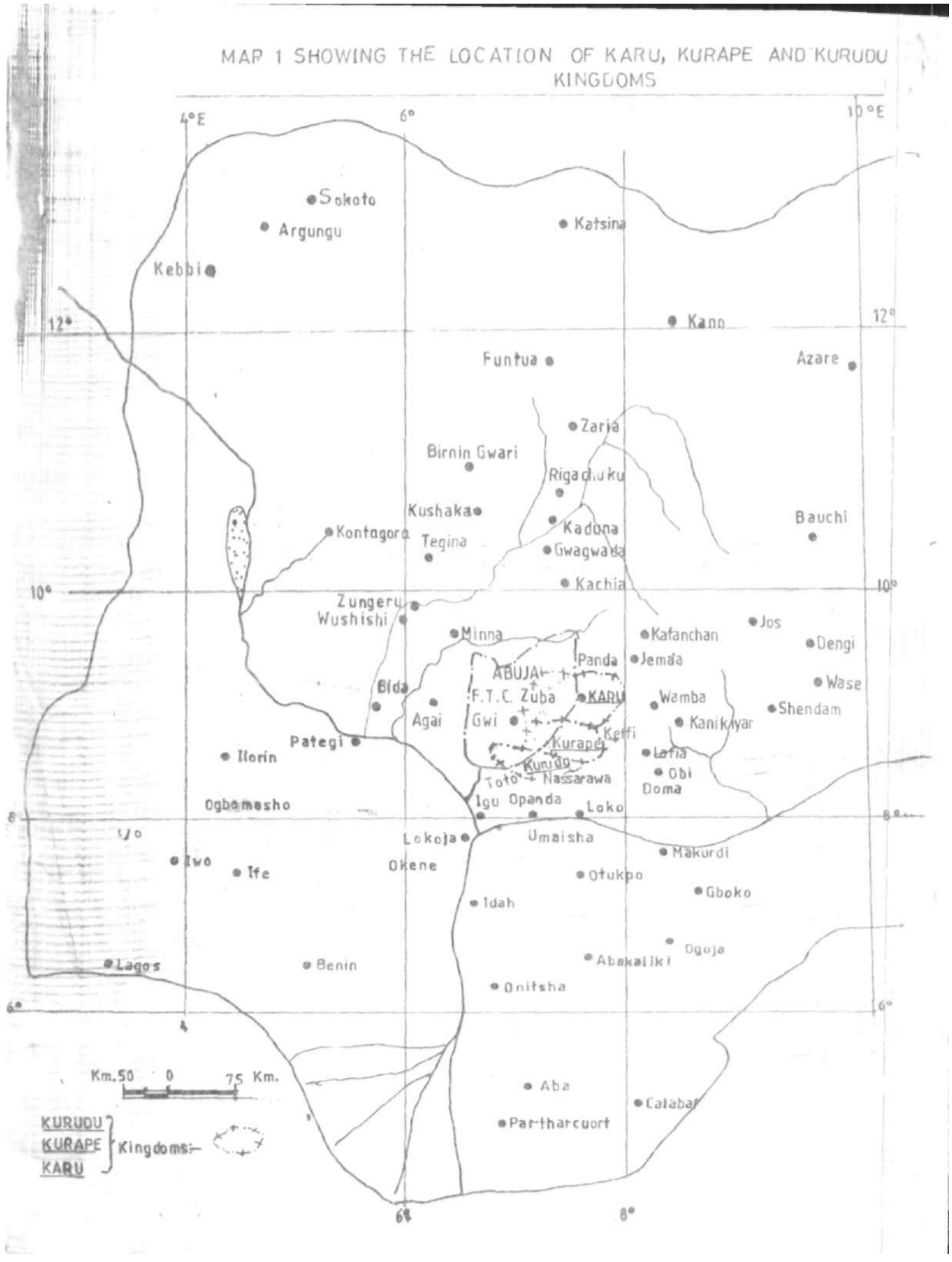
THE KINGDOMS IN RELATION TO
PRESENT STATES BOUNDARIES



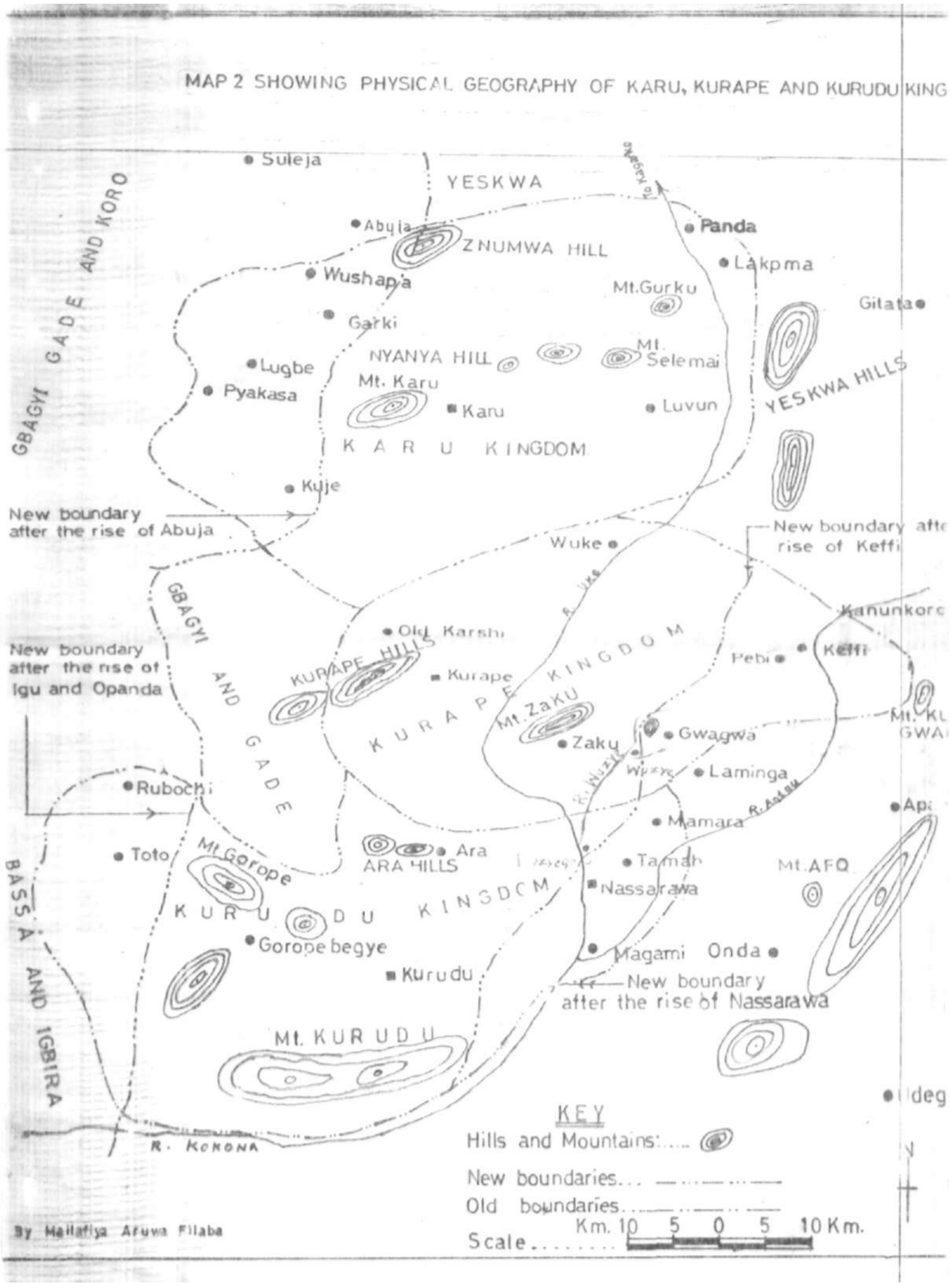

ABUJA — EMIRATE
ZARIA PROVINCE
KUTA — DIVISION
LAPAI — EMIRATE
BENUE PROVINCE
Roads
Foot paths
Provincial boundary
0
10
20 Miles
N
ABUJA
Kawu
Shere
Zuba
Jiwa
Kuje
Kwali
Dafo
Kabi
Kafati
Yesu
Owerewoda


ABUJA: GWARI, GADE AND KORO TRIBES
ZARIA PROVINCE
KUTA — DIVISION
LAPAI — EMIRATE
BENUE PROVINCE to Keffi
N
Dagon-Kurmi
Dwari
Ija-Kuru
Ija-Gwari
Shere
Oke
Nuku
Gwazunu
ABUJA
Coci
Ibo Madalla
Zuba
Dutsen Alhaji
Asa Koro
Wuse
Durki
Dobi
Paikon Kore
Gwako
Kuje
Kwali
Dafa
Kabi
Yebu
Gwargwada
Gwari tribe
Gade tribe
Koro tribe
Roads
Foot paths
Provincial boundary
0
10
20 Miles

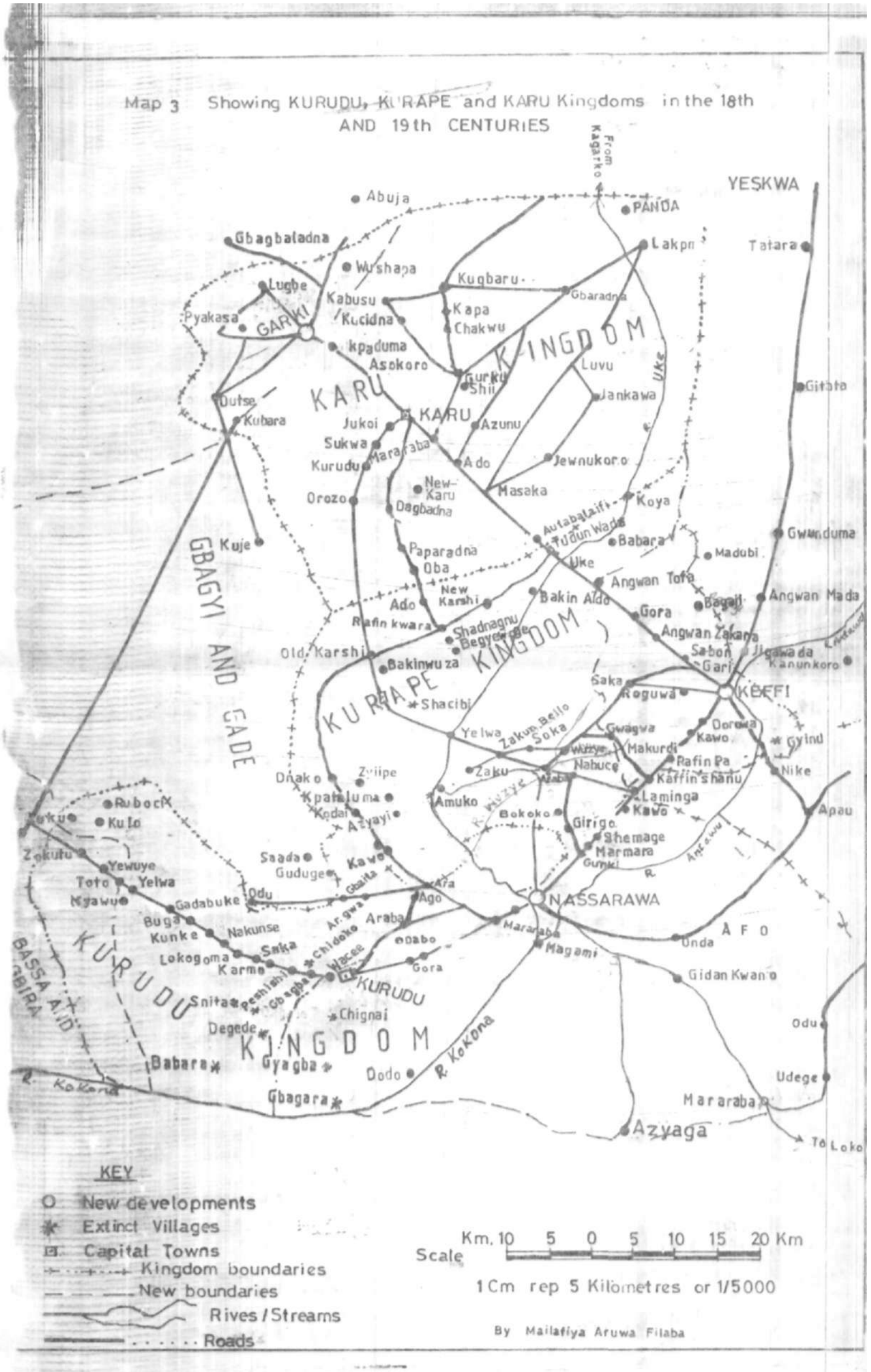
MAP 1 SHOWING THE LOCATION OF KARU, KURAPE AND KURUDU KINGDOMS



MAP 2 SHOWING PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KARU, KURAPE AND KURUDU KING



Map 3 Showing KURUDU, KURAPE and KARU Kingdoms in the 18th AND 19th CENTURIES



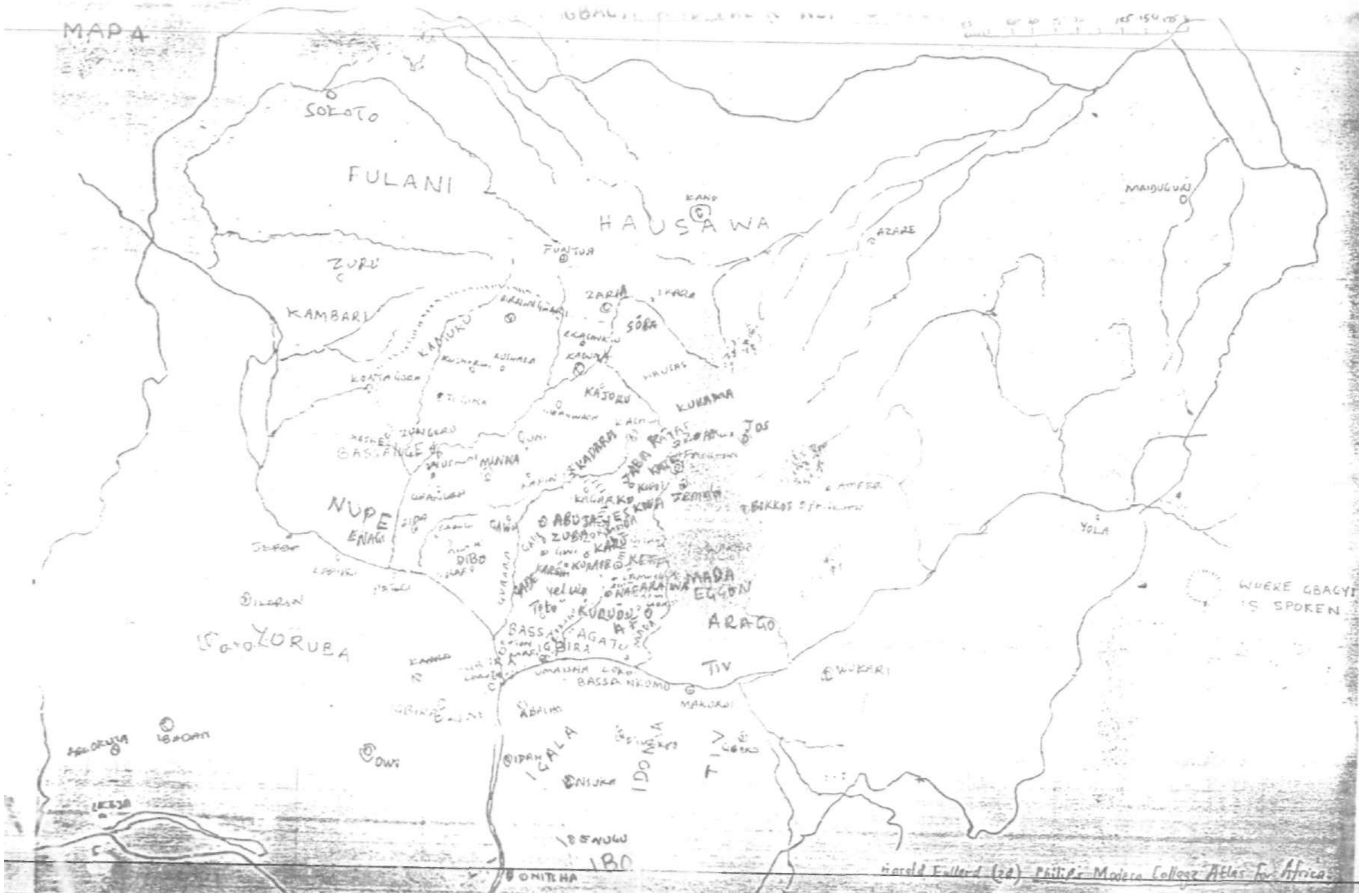
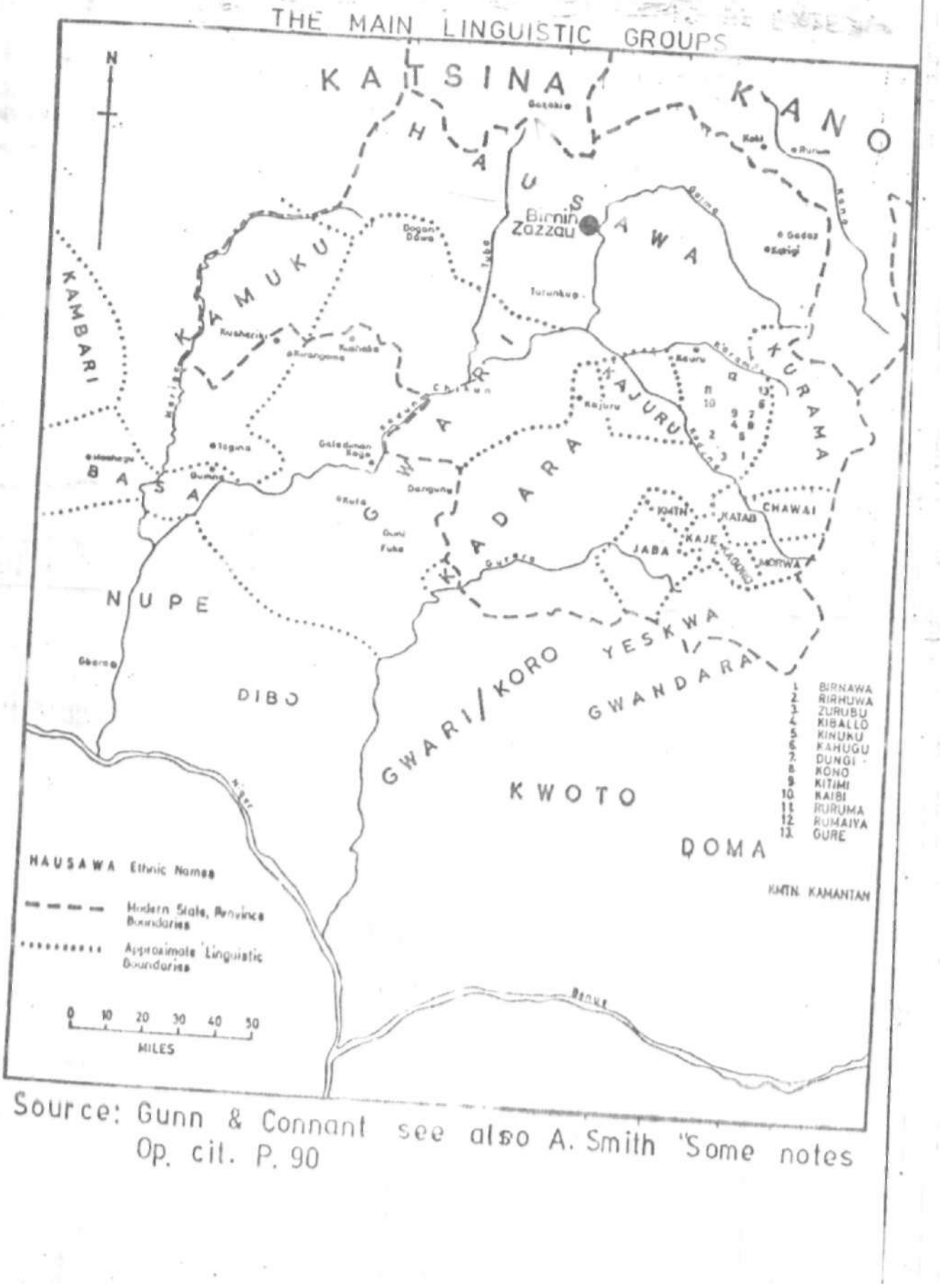

MAPA
SOKOTO
FULANI
HAUSAWA
KANO
FUNTUA
AZARE
MAIDUGURI
ZURU
KAMBARI
ZARIA
KAMUKU
SORA
KAJURU
KURAMA
JOS
BASSA NGE
NUPE
ENAGI
MUNNA
KADARA
KAGARKO
KWA
JEMMA
ABUJA
ZUBA
KARU
KORO
DIBO
GWARI
ILORIN
YORUBA
MADA
EGGON
ARAGO
YOLA
WHERE GBAGYI IS SPOKEN
BASSA
AGATU
BIRA
KURUDU
TIV
BASSA NKOMO
MAKURDI
WUKARI
ABAJI
IDAH
IGALA
IDOMA
TIV
OTURKPO
OWO
IBADAN
ABEOKUTA
LAGOS
ENUGU
IBO
ONITSHA
Harold Fullard (ed) Philips Modern College Atlas for Africa

FIG. 5



Source: Gunn & Connant see also A. Smith "Some notes Op. cit. P. 90