HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN JEMA'A DIVISION, ZARIA PROVINCE 1910-1960

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,

FACULTY OF ARTS,

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA, NIGERIA

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,

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MARCH, 2021

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is a product of my own research effort and it has never been presented for any scholarly endeavor elsewhere. Therefore, all sources of information quoted are duly acknowledged in footnotes and provided in the bibliography.

…….. ……

(Signature) Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled, **History of Western Education in Jema'a Division, Zaria Province 1910-1960** by **SHEHU KAZZAH** meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts (MA) History of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is first and foremost dedicated to God Almighty the giver of life, knowledge and wisdom, to my wife Mrs Peace Zidyep Levi, my parents Mrs Talatu Shehu Yabaya and Mrs Kandyi Shehu Yabaya and my siblings especially Sabo, Danjuma, John, Jimmy and Suchet for their prayers and encouragement, to my Friends especially Samuel Sankey, Benjamin Ayuba, Nehemiah Achi and Solome Emmanuel for the accommodation in Kaduna and Zaria and all other supports especially whenever I am on a transit to Zaria, lastly, to the entire family of Yabaya for their continuous care and tireless support.

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Finally, my sincere appreciation goes to my informants who despite their busy schedules provided me with the necessary information needed. Without all these people, this thesis would not have seen the light of the day. I however, bear the responsibility of all the mistakes and shortcomings in this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U……Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

A.D.O……Assistant District Officer

A. D……..…….After Death

C.R.I…….……Classes For Religious Instruction

E.T.S…….……...Elementary Training School

JOSPROF……..……..Jos Province

L.G.A…….……..Local Government Area

M.A…….....Master of Arts

MAKPROF……..……Makurdi Province

N.A……..…Native Authority

N.A.K……..……National Archives Kaduna

NASPROF…….….Nassarawa Province

N.W.T.W……Northwest Trade Wind

Ph.D……Doctor of Philosophy

R.C.M…….....……..Roman Catholic Mission

S.I.M.……..…Sudan Interior Mission

S.U.M.……..…Sudan United Mission

S.W.T.W……Southwest Trade Wind

T.M.……..……..Tropical Maritime

U.D.T……....Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory

U.N.A.…….United African Church

W.A.F.F……...West African Frontier Force

ZARPROF…….……..Zaria Province

GLOSSARY

The following alphabetical letters: B, F and H, represent the words Bajju, Fulani and Hausa. They are employed in this thesis to connote the words of their English meanings.

Ardo (F)……..…..Clan Head

Garuruwa (H)…….Towns

Kaka (B)……Monkey

Kauyuka (H)…….....Villages

Kufai (H)……..Abandoned area

Kura (H)……...Hyena

Makaranta Allo (H)……..Tablet School

Makaranta Ilmi (H)…….Higher Islamic School

Masu Unguwoyi (H)……Village Heads

Rafi (H)…….....River

Rakumin Daji (H)……...Giraffe

Unguwoyi (H)…….Hamlet

Wakilai (H)……..….District Heads

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ABSTRACTS

The history of Western-oriented cum education in Nigeria was intimately bound up with the history of Western education in Europe during and after the dark ages. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the old literary and rhetorical education of the Roman era was almost completely destroyed because it was considered pagan in spirit. The Church was therefore not at all enthusiastic to revive it; and became indifferent to education for some time. Soon, however, the Church saw that it could not do its own work effectively unless its adherents were able to read and write. In no time at all it realized the advantage of an education that was tailored to its need. As a system of education that originated from Western Europe and penetrated to the other parts of the world after Industrial Revolution that introduced a civilization of science and technology. Its main approach was the modernization of social life through science and technological advancement. Western Education therefore has been administered by various authorities in the Nigerian area, voluntary agencies or missions, colonial 'government' through inspectorates and departments, and later by Federal, State and Local Government. This research has been able to bring to the open; firstly, that the introduction of this system of education to Jema'a Division was initially not to inculcate on the people the knowledge of science and technology in its real sense but as a machinery for evangelization as well as colonial domination of the area; secondly, Its introduction subsequently helped in shaping the thoughts and behavior of the people politically, economically, religiously and socially. This research we must note takes a critical analysis of the introduction and development of this western-type education in Jema'a Division and the Impact it has created in the reordering socio-political and economic set-up of the area.

CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Long before the Europeans arrival, Education has been part of the communities of the Nigerian area, the children were taught about their culture, social activities, survival skills and work. Most of the education processes were impacted into the children informally.[1] This informal education also known as Indigenous Education was centered on training of boys and girls to become useful to themselves and their communities. The boys were trained mainly by their Fathers, while the girls were trained by their mothers.[2]

Our focus on this research is on the introduction and development of Western Education in Jema'a Division. This type of education involved the training of people (mostly children) of the European style or type of education (culture and tradition) using the English language as the medium of communication. It involved the acculturation of the colonies on the tradition of western ways of thinking and approach to life. We will pay more attention to missionary activities especially in the establishment of people (mostly children) to this system of education and the response of the indigenes during and after the introduction, establishment and development of western schools. We will also look at the factor (s) that assisted in the development of Western Education and the impact it created to the people of Jema'a Division.

[1] Blizlondon-blogspot.com/brief history of education in Nigeria, 12-08-2014
[2] A.B. Fafunwa. *History of Education in Nigeria*, George Allen and Unwin ltd, London, 1974

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The introduction of Western Education in our area of study in the 20th century has been most marked by the confrontation of the already existing forms of education (Indigenous and Islamic educational systems) with a foreign European system of education; the confrontation resulted to the imposition of certain foreign cultural values on the people of Jema'a Division and Nigeria at large. Therefore there was the refusal by larger part of the communities to accept and enroll their children into the new form of education, even the few that accepted did not enroll all their children, mostly male children were enrolled than female. We should note that there is no any serious research of whatever kind that discusses western education, its introduction, growth and development, people's response toward it and the impact it has created on the people and the Division as a whole.

The concern of this research therefore, is to document the Changing attitude of the people toward Missionary activities and Western Education (i.e., from fighting to accepting it). Contrary to the cold response it received at the period of its introduction at around 1910 in the area and unmindful of its effects as stated above on the imposition of certain foreign cultural values on the people of Jema'a division, Western Education suddenly became widely accepted within a short period of time that both male and female children were enrolled and it also became the basis for status attachment for in the Division.

In view of this, the research critically outlined and documented the processes for the introduction and the development of Western Education, laying much emphasis on the factors that contributed to the sudden positive response it received, in terms of acceptance and enrollment.

***1**.3 Scope of the study*

The study looks at History of Western Education in Jema'a Division, Zaria Province during the period 1910-1960. The choice of 1910 as the starting point of our study is due to the fact that it was the year that marked the arrival of the first Christian Mission in Jema'a Division and Southern Zaria (southern Kaduna) at large. Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) was the first to arrive in 1910, the first station was opened at Kwoi in 1910 by Rev. F.E Hein, the second was in Kurmin Musa in about 1921 by Rev. T. Allen and the third station was Kagoro by Rev. T. Archibald. Kwoi and Kurmin Musa were both in Jaba District. The terminal date 1960 represents the date Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) a major actor of the Christian Missions handed over to indigenous mission body known as ECWA. It also marked the beginning for the rapid expansion of western education and the rise of educational and political consciousness in the area.

1.4 Justification for the Study

Though there are literatures and thesis of different kinds on western/colonial education in Zaria Province, e.g., Women and Colonial Education in Zaria City, by Gidado. B Hauwa Colonial Education and Employment Opportunities by Kyam-Jim Laraba and many others, but not without some gaps especially on the Changing approach to it. Certainly there is no any work that comprehensively discusses Western Education in Jema'a Division on the basis of its subsequent rejection, the recent acceptance and the importance it acquires. This research therefore is set to bridge some of the gaps, not only by coming up with a mere document on western education in Jema'a Division, but by comprehensively analyzing why it was introduced, why it was initially rejected and subsequently accepted , its impact on the area, as well as reconstructing other un-researched areas which will be of benefit.

Many people in our area of study regarded western education a bad thing, contrarily to their believed on the effect of western education to their cultural values; however, little did they know that "education" has something to do with the transmission of knowledge and understanding. Indeed they associated it with books and theories and the 'white' man's culture, and this is why they were against it, for they think of it either as useless or as corrupting, by its nature and outlook, it contrasted their value system. Of course, that contributed to the kind of response western education received at the onset. They brought up their own children, in traditional skills.

The study therefore, is set to bring to the light the history of the processes and the development of missionary activieties and western education and the level of its acceptance in Jema'a Division up to 1960s. It has also examined the impact of the missionaries' activities on education on the in Jema'a Division.

It is therefore very important to record and keep record of the historical process for the development of Jema'a Division, under the colonial rule. This will help in preserving the historical heritage of the people as was observed by Fage that:

> *It is our duty to proceed from what is near to what is distant, from what is known to that which is less known, to gather the tradition from those who have reported them as much as possible and to leave the rest as it is, in order to make our work help anyone who seeks truth and loves wisdom*.[3]

Thus, it is justified to historical research on the significance of this area before all the information available will be taken by time and activities of men.

[3] J.D. Fage, *Africa Discovers Her Past*, oxford university press 1970 p 88

1.5 Significance of the Study

The introduction of western type education in Southern Zaria, like in other places was accompanied with several responses, at this point; the study will be particularly concerned with the idea of unveiling the unique nature of the people's responses from the area.

This study therefore is very significant as it examined, explained and documented the reasons for the refusal and reluctance by the people of Jema'a Division to enroll their children and the sudden and massive response it received from the people within a short period of time. It has also documented the various efforts by the colonial authority to overcome the challenges by the indigenous population. Alongside, this study hasl also documented the entire process with a view to establishing how western educational project succeeded and produced not only the Schools and its administration, but also a class of indigenous elites. This study we must note will help to create a better understanding of the general picture on the process of educational development in Jema'a Division as well as a clearer understanding of the history of learning in Jema'a, including the huge disparity in the quest for western or colonial education between male and female. It will also add to the existing literatures on Western Education in Jema'a.

1.6 Objective of the Study

To bring to bear the History of Missionary/western education in Jema'a Division, the research outlined other forms of education in the area prior to the advent of the missionaries. The extent to which, the introduction of their form of education has existed with the already existing forms of education in the area. The research also outlined how western education influenced the traditions, customs, and religious activities of the area, how it has unleashed changes that have impacted on the political relevance of the indigenous system of administration.

The research also brought to the surface the form of response demonstrated by the people of Jema'a towards the introduction of western type of education in the area, providing explanation of some possible factors, which either worked for or against the establishment of the colonial education in Jema'a.

The study further examined the extent graduates of western schools were able to fit into the rest of the professional groups in the area, which before the introduction of western type of education were complementing each other. This study would equally enable us to place in its right perspective, what became of the product of the western schools, popularly referred to as Western Educated Elites.

The research is a comprehensive document that will shape people's understanding of western, missionary, colonial and all other forms of education different to our indigenous form of education.

1.7 Methodology

The research gave an analytical approach towards understanding the issues involved. As such, this involved the use of various sources namely; Oral sources and written records found in libraries (both private and public) including archival materials. It was very critical of all the sources used and are used to compliment and supplement each other.

Primary Sources

These consists of both oral information and written materials in the form of manuscripts, accounts of early travelers, missionaries, colonial records, and government papers in libraries, archives and works of scholars found in both public and private libraries. Among the libraries to be consulted are Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS LIBRARY ABU), Kashimu

Ibrahim Library ABU Zaria, Faculty of Education Library ABU Zaria, Arewa House Library Kaduna, National Archive Kaduna, and other public and private libraries.

Oral interviews will be carried out in both English and Hausa and would cut across different groups of individuals. This will include individuals, groups of people who witnessed, participated or heard information about some events that took place during the period of study. The respondents (informants) will be thoroughly selected, cutting across age, gender, occupations, status and classes. In this respect, necessary caution would be employed in scrutinizing all information gathered. The veracity of these oral traditions could safely be established through necessary checks and balances in order to do away with possible distortions. As regards to traditional forms of education, interviews would be conducted with various groups of professionals such as farmers, blacksmiths, hunters, fishers and other handcrafts men in Jema'a.

Secondary Sources

These consist of materials obtained from published and unpublished works. They include thesis and dissertations, journals, magazines and newspapers which would be critically examined and analyzed from a proper historical perspective. These materials could be found both in public and private libraries as well as through the internet. In all cases a critical and an in-depth assessment of these sources remain necessary for a proper understanding of how the operation of the various forms of education impacted on the people of Jema'a

It is worthy to stress that, not only the secondary sources but all other sources would equally undergo rigorous interrogation and validation to ascertain their authenticity.

1.8 Review of the Existing Literature

For reconstructing history, primary and secondary sources are broadly considered the most informative and serve as necessary tools. One of the ways the historian can effectively manage his sources is through interrogation, corroboration, examination and assessment of the different sources, primary sources are information considered as a direct experience of events which a person has witnessed or was part of. They could be in written or oral form. Secondary sources on the other hand, are mostly derived from information deduced from primary sources, and they mostly appeared in written form. This category of sources is very important as it makes use of different information sourced from more than one primary source. However, the limitations of these sources are many as there is every tendency for the interpretation or writer to be subjective. In our literature review, we intend to focus on both specific and general literature that relate to our topic under study. Consequently, in our reconstruction work, inferences would be deduced from these literatures of general nature relevant to the study. Therefore, our literature review would include works relating to our topic both specific and general within the scope of study.

Unpublished Works

The unpublished works include thesis and dissertations, workshops and seminar papers that are not published into books or journals as well as manuscripts found in both private and public libraries.

To begin with, the reassessment work on British education policy in Northern Nigeria by Tibendirana, P.K, 'British Educational Policy in Northern Nigeria, 1906-1928: a reassessment'[4] was indeed more than just a simple general literature on the topic under discussion. Though Tibendirana's work did not go beyond discussing the attempt by the British in its formulation of

[4] P.K Tibendirana, 'British Educational Policy in Northern Nigeria, 1906-1928: a reassessment'

education policy in Northern Nigeria, its in-depth analysis, supported with the British experience in other colonies such as India and Egypt, brought into open reasons surrounding the colonial establishment's delay in the North. The colonial establishment felt the native tradition regarding education should be respected. Hence, the work succeeded in departing from the position that believes little interference with the method or means of introduction of western education in the North which consequently remained the reason always advanced for the sluggish pattern or style associated with western type of education in the North, which to say the least is not tenable. The position adapted was simply to perpetuate its domination in order to achieve its colonial goal in the area.

Furthermore, the work equally provided an explanation or the missing link to why the British administrators in most of their colonies, especially after the Indian revolt of 1857 opted to provide 'limited' western education as against 'unlimited' forms of education as practiced at home.[5] Indeed the experience of the colonialists in India and Egypt in the mid-19th century and early 20th century respectively was shocking to many of the colonial administrators. This led to the delay in formulating an educational policy in Northern Nigeria as contended by Tibendirana, was all but an attempt to avoid possible political danger. Consequently, it was perhaps this fear by the British that explains why up to 1908 Northern Nigeria remained the only British territory in Africa that had no standing or working policy on education.[6]

Therefore, regardless of the difference in scope, and the objective of the research on Jema'a, the work of Tibendirana remains valuable. This is not unrelated with the view portrayed in the work,

[5] *ibid*
[6] *ibid*

which was indeed true to the British position pertaining western education for almost all her colonies around the globe.

"colonial/Neo-Colonial Education and the Underdevelopment in Nigeria" an inaugural lecture by Mahdi A.[7] He critically assessed the western type of education and its effects in under developing the Nigerian area. However, little or no attention in form of retrospective study was paid to the types or forms of education that existed in what later came to be referred to as Nigeria.

The work graphically illustrated how colonial education was adopted as one of the instruments employed in incorporating the whole area into the global economic system. In fact, as posited by Mahdi, the use of Western type of education under the colonial policy was perhaps more effective than using a military option in conquering territories. This is because mental conquest of the people's mind remained permanent. [8] The colonialists' conscious or deliberate effort in elevating English language and the subsequent subordination of the indigenous languages has in no small measure succeeded in achieving control of the 'mental' universe of the colonized people.[9]

This paper by Mahdi has successfully brought out some of the inadequacies of the western type of education under colonialism which were centrally associated with its curriculum where the policy of the 3Rs dominated the early period.[10]

[7] A.Mahdi "Colonial/Neo-colonial Education and the underdevelopment in Nigeria" ABU, Inaugural Lectures, Series No, 1 1996/97
[8] *ibid*
[9] *ibid*
[10] *ibid*

Therefore despite differences in scope and objectives to our study, the inaugural lecture by Mahdi is quite valuable and handy to this work. However, as regards to the lack of brief reflection in form of a retrospective view on types of education that existed before the introduction of colonial education, our study on Jema'a will fill the gap.

Relevant to this research also is the M.A Thesis by Hauwa Gidado Bello 'Women and Colonial Education in Zaria City' 1902-1960.[11] The thesis is about women and colonial education in Northern Nigeria especially in Zaria city, she discusses the colonial conquest of the region and the introduction of colonial education into Zaria city which she says was primarily to serve the interest of the British by producing clerks and secretaries that would fuel proper execution of colonial interest and government. Regardless of difference in scope, and coupled with the fact that her work is specifically on Zaria city, Hauwa's work, especially the second chapter remains an important reference material for this research.

In her second chapter, she discusses the indigenous forms of education and the Islamic form of education as well as the place of women in these forms of education. These forms of education provided the ideals on which society is based upon and these guides the societies' aims and values. Before the introduction of western education to Nigeria, the Muslim community had its own system of Islamic education that began at an early age of about five of a child and continued for a certain long period of time. This therefore, would help our analysis of Islamic education in Jema'a division.

[11] H.G. Bello. Women and Colonial Education in Zaria City, 1902-1960, M.A Thesis A.B.U, Zaria. 2012

The PhD Thesis by Tukur M.M. titled 'Imposition of British Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and neighboring areas', [12] vividly discusses the imposition of the colonial rule over the whole area later referred to as the Northern Nigeria and the changes inflicted on the socio-economic lives of the area. In this work, Tukur was able to bring onto the surface the various measures employed by the colonialists in incorporating the whole Northern Nigeria into the world's global economy. However, in the case of our study, which is not only restricted to a division but most importantly, a micro-study, that intends to focus only on the educational sector for the period of study. Thus, the concern was how colonial education was used as a tool by the colonialist to achieve their objective. Despite the fact that the scope of our research varies with that of Tukur, the latter provided an excellent insight in the general understanding of how various measures were employed by the colonialists as instruments to achieve their aim of complete domination and subsequent incorporation of Northern Nigeria into the world capitalist system.

The PhD Thesis of Ogunsola A.F.[13] is a study that focused on the steady growth of western type of education in Northern Nigeria under the colonial dispensation. The research was on the impacts of the various ordinances on education during the colonial period. In the course of his discussion, Ogunsola did not only limit his study of the impacts to these ordinances, but he went on to portrait to examine their impacts as they affected the Southern provinces as well. The work by Ogunsola is indeed one of the general literatures that with its difference in scope and micro-study nature not withstanding remains relevant and valuable to our study on Jema'a. though the work is only limited to impacts of the ordinances on education enacted for the North, though our

[12] M.M Tukur,"The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto, Borno and neighboring states: 1897-1914, A Reinterpretation of Colonial Source", PhD Thesis, ABU Zaria 1979.
[13] Ogunsola F.A. "An Historical Study of the Impact of Colonial Ordinances on Education in Northern Nigeria, 1916-1966, PhD Thesis, Ohio University, 1970.

study is dealing with only Jema'a, it goes beyond the study of ordinances on education of the colonial period, but discusses the history of colonial education as a whole.

Shehu Kazzah's B.A Project 'The Political Impact of Western Education in Zango Kataf Local Government Area, 1900-2000.'[14] Is among the few references, which are of relevance to this research especially in providing a retrospective knowledge on the kind of confrontation that emanated as a result of the introduction of western type of education with the already existing form of education, the confrontation resulted to the imposition of certain foreign cultural values on the people of Zango Kataf and Nigeria at large. Furthermore, the work stressed how the imposition of colonial education in the Local Government Area and Nigeria at large unleashed changes that impacted immensely on the political and social relevance of the emirate system. However, one effect of British colonial policy as stressed by Shehu was the destabilization of the existing political order. The work by Shehu is only limited to the political impacts of western education, but this research goes beyond that, it discusses the whole history of colonial education in Jema'a Division.

Published Works

These include books, journals, and magazines both primary and secondary which are relevant to the study that are published and found in libraries and on the internet.

"the Tailed Head Hunter's of Nigeria", a book written by A.J.N Tremearne, published by Seesly Service Company, London in 1912. The book contains the description of the economy and social life of the people of Jema'a Emirate. It also relates how the Jihad in Jema'a Emirate took place. It clearly shows the behavior of most of the ethnic groups in Jema'a. He equally explained how

[14] S. Kazzah, " The Political Impact of Western Education in Zango Kataf Local Government, 1900-2000,B.A Project, Kaduna State university, 2010.

the people of Sanga, Ayu, Ninzam strongly supported Mallam Usman Kabin Yabo (1800-1833) in his effort to resist the excess of Sarkin Kajuru, Haruna. One of the weaknesses of the literature is that it relates that mallam Usman Kabin Yabo received a flag of authority directly from Emir of Zaria, Musa, instead of Sheikh Usman bin Fadio.[15]

Another literature that would contribute significantly in this study is the book written by Yusuf Turaki, "The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria; A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria.[16] Firstly, the author was able to describe the relationship between the Emirate and the other ethnic groups such as Kogoro, Kagoma etc. the book is important where the author further explain how the Emirate System of administration was imposed on the other ethnic groups who were seen as inferior. According to him, Jema'a Emirate became a base where other ethnic groups where conquered by the colonialist. He equally showed how punitive patrol and tax assessment were used as an instrument of occupation.

Secondly, the author further described the general educational policies of the colonial administration, he briefly outlined the development of colonial education in Southern Zaria, where he stressed that classes for religious instruction (CRI) started around mission stations and out-stations, and the emphasis of education at that time was on religious instruction, reading, and writing. Therefore, despite differences in scope and objectives to our study, the book by Turaki is quite valuable to our research. However, as regards to the insufficient explanation on the introduction and development of colonial education, our study on Jema'a will fill in the gap.

[15] A.J.N, Tremearne *The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria*, Seesly Service Company, London in 1912.
[16] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*, Challenge Press, Jos, 1970

Ibrahim James' work on the Studies in the History, Politics and Culture of the Southern Kaduna People is also significant to the study especially in the aspect of the origin of the people where he maintains that the people belonged to Niger Congo group of Languages who migrated and settled in their present place. He gave reasons for their migration which he pointed out that in the case of other ethnic groups, they migrated because of defense, fertile land for farming while for the Fulani, was because of fertile land for their herds.[17] The book also explains their pre-colonial relationship and the establishment of the Emirate. The weakness of the book is that the author concentrated on the History and culture of the Major ethnic groups neglecting the Minor tribes which might result to their history going to extinction.

The history of education by Fafunwa A.B. was one of the early general references that elaborately discussed educational system in the Nigerian area.[18] The chronological order employed in analyzing various forms of educational system known to the people before the introduction of western type of education has a profound effect on the topic under discussion. This is not unconnected with his worldwide view which enables him to conceive the term education from its comprehensive and African perspective which stood to be empirical and practical. This made the work quite outstanding and valuable to all African researcher in the field of education generally. Consequently, Fafunwa conceived that education should be regarded as a means to an end and not an end in itself.[19]

In his analysis of traditional form of education, he demonstrated the vital role of history in understanding the process of how youngsters were trained by the older generation so as to

[17] I. James, *Studies in History, Politics and Culture of the Southern Kaduna People's Group*
[18] A.B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, George Allen and Unwin ltd, London, 1974

[19] *ibid*

succeed in various professions within the society and possibly to improve upon the former's ingenuity. Thus, from the African perspective, Fafunwa stressed that the indigenous ways of training and impacting various techniques, values and norms to the younger generations provided the society with the necessary skills and experience in the various professional fields.[20]

Regardless of difference in scope, and coupled with the fact that his work was general, Fafunwa's work remains an important reference material for a research on the history of education in Nigeria. Therefore, this research would fill in the gap or provide the missing link as regards to the existing forms of education before the introduction of western type of education in the area of study.

The underdevelopment theory as advanced by Rodney in one of his outstanding works, 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa' goes beyond the scope of this study but the work is of theoretical significance to it. The main argument in his works especially in the above referred book, captures the type of relationship that developed between Europe and the third world since the 15th century when uneven form of exchange began in human and natural resources in the colonies up to the neo-colonial period (i.e. today).[21]

However, as broad and in-depth as it is, the literature still remains important and quite useful to a study such as the one under focus. The work indeed remains a basic tool not only in developing a critical mind in assessing the type of relationship that exists between the developed and the developing nations of the world but also brings out some missing links on how and why societies of the Third World were derailed and got retarded as a result of the uneven type of relationship

[20] *ibid*
[21] R. *Walter. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Panaf Publishing, Abuja, 2009

that existed between them and Europe over a long period. In the light of the above, the introduction and application of the colonial educational policy in Jema'a Division constituted one of the instrument employed by Britain in order to achieve its objectives, which subsequently underdeveloped the area commonly as witnessed by colonized nations of the world. Consequently, retardation of the socio-economic activities of these areas using the educational sector remained the by-product or part of the under development process, which has continued up to date.

Important to our study is the work of S.O Osoba and A.Fajana; Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century.[22] The main focus of the work was on the introduction of western education in Nigeria in the 1890s, with the enduring incursions into the territories bordering the Atlantic Ocean in the south by the European missions. After every successful incursion and the establishment of a new post by the missions, it was a strategy that one of the facilities it endeavored to provide was a school, and when they realize that task of converting the 'unyielding' adult 'pagans' to Christianity would be a herculean one, tended to turn their attention to children whom they hoped to 'catch' through the school. [23]

They also stressed how the introduction and development of western type literary education became one of the major aspects of the changing relationship between England and the Nigerian people during the 19th century. They also contended that this foreign variety of education has co-existed ever since with different forms of indigenous education, but progressively gained importance during the 20th century.[24]

[22] Osoba and Fajana, Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century, Longman Group, 1970
[23] *ibid*
[24] *ibid*

Though the work did not give a detailed historical development of colonial education in Nigeria, perhaps, because of difference in scope, but it is indeed valuable to this study in bringing forth the changes that came about as a result of the confrontation and interaction between the two sets of cultural influences- the foreign and indigenous- competing for the minds of Nigerians during the period of our study.

Sule Mohammed's work on "Education and Nation Building; some Reflections on Curriculum Development in Nigeria"[25] is also a valuable literature to our study despite the difference in scope and objectives, the literature focused on the development of curriculum as the instrument used for the achievement of the objectives of education. Sule Mohammed in his work did not only restrict himself to only the western type education whose development's he discussed in three phases (Christian Missionary Education, Colonial Government Education and the Nationalist Education) but went as far as discussing the curriculum of Indigenous Education in pre-colonial Nigeria which was centered on training of boys and girls to become useful to themselves and their communities. He further stressed how boys were trained mainly by their fathers while girls were trained by their mothers and the training was done in the occupations or activities which the parents engaged in.[26]

"A Short History of Education in Nigeria", A.S. Thakur and A.N. Ezenne, is indeed very important and also related to our study, contained in this book is a brief introduction of traditional or indigenous education to show that there did not exist an educational vacuum in

[25] S. Mohammed, Education and Nation Building some Reflections on Curriculum Development in Nigeria, Olayemi A. e'tal (eds) *Nigeria at 50: The Challenges of Nation Building*. A publication of the Historical Society of Nigeria, ABU Press, Zaria, 2012

[26] *ibid*

Nigeria; traditional and Islamic education had been satisfying the needs of the people even before the introduction and development of western education.[27]

Furthermore, this book briefly discussed and also provided a chronological survey of colonial educational development, the establishment and the administration of higher education, technical and vocational education, adult education and special education.

In discussing traditional education as a form of education that existed before the introduction of western type education, the writers of this book stressed how traditional education prepares the individual physically, morally, intellectually, socially, and vocationally so as to make the individual good enough to shoulder the responsibilities of life. The child is free to move about his environment. When he grows up, there are opportunities for him to do boxing, wrestling, drumming and dancing. He climbs trees, fetches water, hews firewood, carries load, rears cattle, work on the fields and takes cattle for grazing etc.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

As a set of ideas that provides a systematic explanation of a phenomena or process,[28] and in order to achieve an explicit understanding of how things function, theories are always employed as tools to analyze activities that happen around us. Therefore for this research to be meaningful and scientific there is a need to adopt a theoretical framework for a systematic analysis. In this respect and for the purpose of this study, we highlighted a number of these theories which are useful to our research.

One of the theories is the Modernization Theory. This categorizes societies into two main groups. According to the school of thought, the two groups are: the traditional and modern

[27] A.S. Thakur and A.N. Ezenne, *A Short History of Education in Nigeria,* De Ayo Publications, Ibadan, 1980.
[28] O.P. Ganda, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan, New Delhi, India, 2003.

societies. The traditional represent backwardness, which characterizes most societies of the developing world while the modern societies refer to industrialized societies. This concept was indeed popular with colonialist, as they employed it to justify their imperial subjugation of territories around the globe.[29] And in respect to the introduction of colonial education, the colonialist always viewed it as a civilizing mission for the colonized people.

Furthermore, and as regards to our topic, we employed the Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory (UDT) more than any other theory. This is not unconnected with its capacity in providing us with lucid explanation concerning issues that may arise in the course of our research work. Dependency theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries.[30]

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straight forward: poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries that then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "value added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.[31]

[29] L.F.Lugard, *Dual Mandate in Tropical* Africa, *London*, 1923
[30] V. Ferroro, Mount Holyoke College South Hadley, M.A, July, 1996
[31] *Ibid*

At this point, dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries. However, Marxists theorist viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalist exploitation. There are still points of serious disagreement among the various strains of dependency theorists and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency. Dependency can be defined as historical condition which shape a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics: a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which their own is subjected.[32]

As stated above, Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory is employed because of its strength in dissecting socio-economic issues and empirical nature in getting to the roots of how colonialism and its operation as experienced by Jema'a Division within the scope of our study, as well

1.10 Conclusion

In the pre-colonial era, the area under focus had peculiar system of education which was indigenous, the indigenous system of education emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, spiritual and moral values, children in this system of education learned by doing, because of its informal structure. However, with the British conquest and subsequent introduction of colonial/western education as one of the measures used to ensure their domination, the indigenous form of education was blocked and not allowed to grow. Therefore western education as one of the measure that ensured the domineering position enjoyed by the British Colonialist

[32] T. Dos Santos, "*The Structure of Dependence*" in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges (ed), *Reading in U.S Imperialism*, Boston: porter sergeant, 1971, p 226

enable her to dictate and control the affairs of the area and Nigeria at large even after the so-called ‘political independence’ of 1960 under the new form of domination referred to as neo-colonialism.

CHAPTER TWO

LAND AND PEOPE OF JEMA'A DIVISION

***2.1**-Introduction:*

Our discussion on the history of Western Education in Jema'a will not be complete without recognizing the important influence that geography has played in shaping the fortune of the people. As in many other places and communities all over the country, geography has affected the course of the Jema'a Division right from the onset. The land and its physical features, vegetation cover and climate are of paramount significance to the historical geography as well as human development, in terms of the socio-political and economic activities of the people and the area under study. In an article "the geographical factors in the history of modern Nigeria" Reuben K Udo, made the following statement emphasizing the significance of geography in any historical reconstruction.

…….Gentlemen, give me the map of a country, it configuration, its waters, the winds and all its physical geography; give me the natural production, its flora, its zoology and I pledge myself to tell you a priori, what the man of this country will be, and what part he will play in history, not by accident but of necessity, not at one epoch but all epochs".[33]

In this chapter, we shall also concern ourselves with environmental features and the culture of the people of Jema'a. For a thorough study of the history of the people, we must look at the political, cultural and socio-economic development in the area, i.e. the society and the people in general. According to E.H. Carr "society and the individual are inseparable, they are necessary and complementary to each other, not opposite.[34]

[33] See Critique on Nigerian History, Unpublished Draft Chapters of "Groundwork of Nigerian History" by Professor Abdullahi Smith and others, Kaduna, 1972, p.2
[34] E.H.Carr, *what is history*, penguin books, England, 1961, p.25

Although environment plays a significant role in human and historical geography of all societies, man also by his nature is an active part of nature and not a helpless creature of his environment. This is because the whole idea of history places man at the centre. Therefore man explores, develops and transforms nature in accordance with his political structures, technical possibilities and economic interest.[35] According to E.H.Carr,"no man is an island, entire of himself; in Donnes famous words; 'every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."[36] As a matter of fact, without a geographical basis, the people, the makers of history, seem to be walking on air. The soil, too, must not be looked upon only as the scene of action. Its influence appears in a hundred ways, such as food, climate etc.[37] by implication, this therefore means that there is a close link between society and environment as coins are in a box, but as "plant" is in the sunlight and soil.

Therefore it should be noted that the relationship between man and his environment is very close, the environment plays a significant role in the construction and reconstruction of human history, man also makes the best use of the environment for his own benefit ranging from food production, shelter and all sorts of human development both physical and mental. Natural conditions like rainfall, weather, climate, hills and mountains etc. determine the progress or otherwise of every society or nation, the farming, trading and industrial skills like pottery, knitting, black smiting of the people of Jema'a area were an outcome of the relationship between man and his physical environment.

[35] S.diarra, Historical Geography ; Physical Aspects; General History of Africa, vol 1, Methodology and African pre-history, 1981,p.316
[36] A.G. Hopkins, *An 2Economic History of West Africa*, Longman, England, 1973, p.11
[37] A Marwick, *The Nature of History*, Macmillan Press ltd, London, 1970, p.107

***2.2 L**ocation of Jema'a Division*

Jema'a emirate which was predominantly Hausa and Fulani community was the most stronghold for the establishment of what later became known as Jema'a Division. Prior the incursion and the extension of colonial influence to the area later known as Jema'a division, there was already in existence a well-organized political structure of the Jema'a emirate with a number of communities under its sovereignty. The colonialist consolidated this same structure in exerting and controlling the area. The emirate therefore is located between Latitude 9 7'N, and Longitude 8 2' E and 8 6'E. It occupies approximately 3,072 square miles.[38] It is bounded to the north and west by Zaria emirate and to the south and east by Nasarawa emirate and the Kogoro heights. It had as at 1960 a population estimate of 33,246.[39] . Danroro was the first capital of Jema'a emirate, established in 1810, but relocated to Jema'an Sarari (Madakiya) in 1926, and then Kafanchan, in 1933. These relocations were basically in search of convenient and a more habitable environment with all the needed resources for more agricultural activities as well as a better location for trading activities. Some of the early community of people within and outside the town of Jema'a Emirate included Kagoma, Yeskwa, Ayu, and Ninzam. Thus the Emirate was located in the midst of the various communities of people. These include the Fantswan, Kaje, Kagoma, Numana and Kaningkon[40]. According to Bendor Samuel, the area falls within the Niger - Congo family group of Languages.[41]

[38] C.L Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Niger*, Frank Cass, London, 1965
[39] *Ibid*
[40] S. Bala, The Land and People of Jema'a Emirate, *Lapai* Journal, p61
[41] J.B, Samuel, The Niger- Congo Languages: A classification and description of Africa largest language Family, *New York*, U S A 1970, P 1

The political division (Jema'a Division) was made up of three chiefdoms; Jaba, Kagoro and Moro'a, and the entire Jema'a Emirate Comprising Ayu, Kagoma, Yeskwa,[42] Ninzam Districts and Kaje (Bajju) of Madakiya (as discussed above).

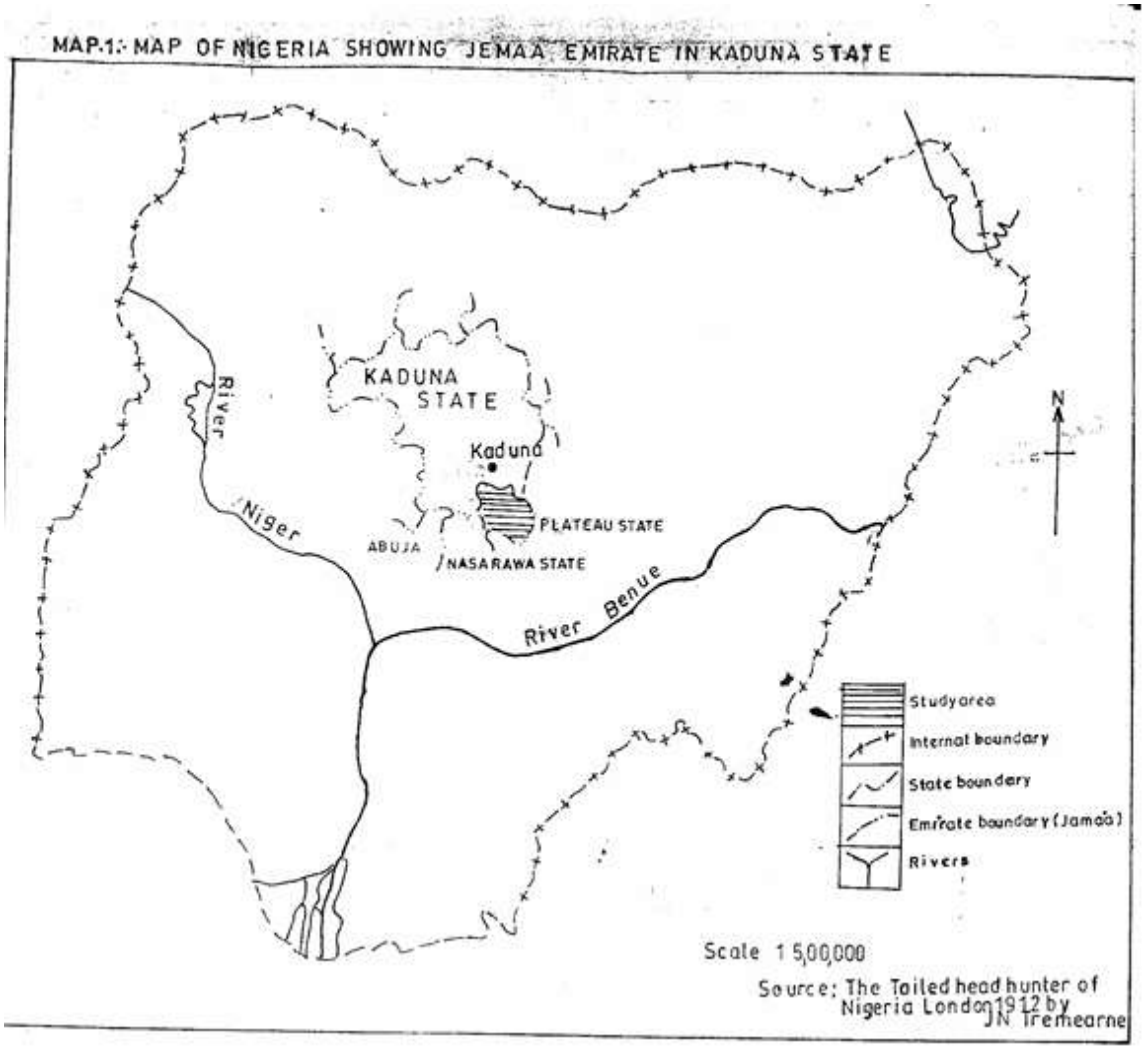
The emirate was composed of many towns and villages with several hamlets. The highest political authority in the capital was the Emir of Jema'a. He was followed in order of precedence by the District heads, Village heads and finally Ward heads or *Masu Unguwanni*. The district heads were referred to as *Wakilai* in Jema'a. Each *Wakili* was answerable to the emir. The emir was responsible for their appointment and deposition. On the other hand, the emirs of Jema'a were selected by the king makers in Jema'a, but the turbaning of the emir was done by the emir of Zazzau in Zaria until the 1840s when Jema'a assumed full independence and started to turban its emirs in Jema'a.[43]

The British therefore imposed direct rule over the chiefdoms, while Fulani rule was imposed upon these areas within and under the influence of the Jema'a Emirate. There was also a provincial re-organization that transferred Jema'a Division from Zaria province to Nassarawa province as a punishment to Zaria Province for the assassination of captain Maloney in 1902. Furthermore, in 1926, Jema'a Division was also transferred to the newly constituted Plateau Province carved out from Bauchi Province.[44]

In 1934, the Kaje (Bajju) of Jema'a, Kagoro, Moro'a and Jaba chiefdoms (independent district) were transferred from Plateau to Zaria Province.[45] Therefore, the administrative and political re-organization of the Jema'a Division was mainly for the convenience of the political officers and

[42] NAK: Nassarawa Province Annual Reports, Kagoma District 1914
[43] *Ibid*
[44] Gazatteers vol 4, pp.15
[45] NAK: ZARPROF, Au 412 264 Zaria-Plateau: Proposal for Tribal Adjustment , 1944

Fulani rulers as well as for the smooth and easy domination and administration by the "colonial government".



2.3 *Brief History of Jema'a Emirate*

The Emirate of Jema'a was established in the early 19th century under the leadership of mallam Usman Kebbin Yabo. One of the former titles of the Emir of Jema'a used to be Sarkin Kajuru Fellatehu. This derives from the marriage pact that ended the feud between Jema'a and Kajuru.

A little over a century ago a Mallam of Kebbi, called Usman obtained leave to spread Islam among the Fulani herdsmen who had settled east of Zaria, mostly on the Kachechere plateau of the Kajuru. Mallam Usman became their religious instructor as well as secular adviser and appears to have formed them into a clan and ruled them jointly with their eldest member. The Kajuru, anxious about their fate and mindful of Usman's baleful prophecy, decided to eliminate any immediate danger by massacring Usman and his followers. [46]

However, attempt by the Kajuru to wipe out the Fulani herdsmen and appropriate all their cattle and slaves was revealed by Indema. With this the Fulani got up at night for safety and eventually settled at the spurs of Daroro hills. There they met some non-Muslim group who they drove and settled at the spurs of Daroro hills and this non-Muslim group retired and built the village of Nindem. Around 1810 AD the Fulani herdsman delegated Mallam Usman as their spokesman to Sheik Usman Danfodio in Sokoto to forward their demand of recognition and this brought the origin of the name Jema'a (meaning group of people with common interest or goal).

Some of the ethnic groups within and outside the walled town of Jema'a Emirate include Kagoma /Yeskwa, Ayu, Ninzam Numana, Fantswam, Kaningkon. Thus the Emirate was created in the midst of the various ethnic groups. These ethnic groups belong to the Niger Congo group of languages.

Therefore, with the establishment of the Emirate in 1810, series of wars were fought between the Emirate and the non-Muslim groups. For example, during the reign of Usman 1810-1833 Ayu, the Gwandara, the Moro'a and the Bajju tribe were subdued. But the Kagoro were not completely subdued during the reign of Usman, Abdullahi Usman 1833-1837 retaliated and

[46] M.K Kirk Greene Gazzetters of the Northern Province of Nigeria vol. III, The Central Kingdom Kontagora, Niger, Ilorin Frank
Cass London 1972 p12

captured several outlying villages of the Kagoro, which remained in a state of vassalage to Jema'a. [47]

With this clashes, the non-Muslim groups were conquered and attempts were made by Jema'a Emirate to incorporated them into the Emirate administration but was resisted until their conquest by the British, that they were incorporated for administrative conveniences as was rightly observed by Simon Yohanna that;

> *Following the establishment of the Emirate attempt were made to incorporate the 'pagan tribes' either peacefully or otherwise*.[48]

It should however be noted that the relationship between the Emirate and the non-Muslim Groups, were marked by occasional hostilities, but were never those of subjugation. This is borne out by Ames, C.G description of the subjugation of the non-Muslim Groups in Jema'a Emirate;

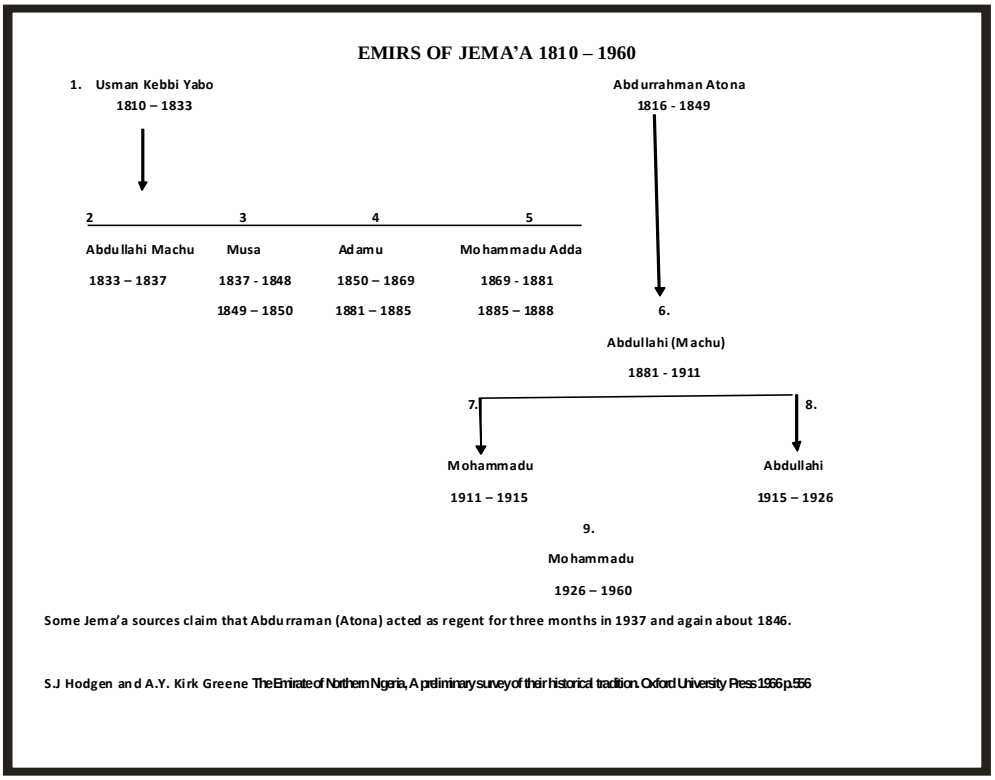
> *That it appears the Emir's hold over tribe was very weak and that subjugation was nothing more than periodic slave raid or the acceptance of tribes to buy off threatened raids. No attempt was made to administer the tribe*.[49]

It must be pointed out that in March 1900 the British reached Jema'a Emirate and in 1903 the Emirate was conquered and occupied. In 1904 an administrative officer was posted with a detachment of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F) to Jema'a. In 1926 the headquarters of Jema'a Emirate was removed from its original place, Jema'a Darroro, to a new place called Jema'a Sarari (Madakiya) and later Kafanchan in 1933 which is the present headquarters of Jema'a Emirate.

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[47] *Ibid*
[48] S.. Yohanna; Southern Zaria in Historical perspectives…. p 30
[49] I. James, Studies in the History, Politics and Cultures of Southern Kaduna Peoples Group… 1997, P.200

The Emirate has produced eleven Emirs from the clan of Mallam Usman Kebbin Yabo and the present Emir ALhaji Mohammadu Isa Mohammadu (II) is the eleventh of them. Attach is the genealogical chart of Jema'a Emirate since 1810 - 1960.



2.4- The land

The area that later became known as Jema'a Division lies on a broad low – lying topography, with gently rolling plains on either side. It is flanked by two streams. To the North Western side of the Emirate, a few kilometers before *Madakiya is River Matsirga* popularly referred to as River Wonderful by the inhabitants, because it has for a long period of time claimed the lives of so many people including colonial officials who went there for road and bridge constructions and the mysterious way the water flows into the river because the water comes from the plain land without the source of it been seen.

The plains in Jema'a Darroro were drained by the Rafin Matsirga and Rafin Sarki and few other networks of streams that are found in the Emirate. These rivers and the streams are tributaries of river Kaduna.[50] They provide adequate and excellent drainage to the Jema'a plains and the major marsh land found around these watercourses, which also formed the basis of the large scale of irrigation farming as a major occupation of the people of the area in the dry season.[51]

2.5-The Climate:

The climate of Jama'an Danroro has played a significant role in the historical development of settlements within the emirate. The location of the emirate almost at the centre of the country makes it possible for it to be far removed from direct influence of the sea and at the same time it was not directly influenced by the harsh semi-desert climatic conditions of the northern most fringes of the country. Monthly temperature average ranges between 20 C and 30 C. The climate of the area, according to geographical survey is directly under the influence of the two dominant air masses, namely: The Tropical Maritime (MT) or Southwest Trade Wind (SWTW) which blows across the Atlantic Ocean and the tropical continental or Northwest Trade Wind (NWTW) which blows across Sahara desert.[52] By the characteristics of these air masses, each of them exerts its own influence on the climate of the area. The first air mass, which blows across the Atlantic Ocean, is moist and cool, while the second air mass is very dry.[53] The southwest trade

[50] Interview with Luka Babuga, 82,Farmer, Madakiya, 12TH Febuary, 2016

[51] A. A. Jatau, The History of the people of Jema'a Emirate being a paper presented at a symposium organized by the library board of Kaduna state Kafanchan branch at teachers college Kafanchan on July 1988 p13

[52] K.M. Buchanan, and J.C. Pugh J.C, Land and People in Nigeria: *The Human Geography of Nigeria and its Environmental Background,* Hodder and Stoughton, London 1955, p 38-39

[53] I*bid*

wind for instance brings rainfall to the communities, while the north east trade wind exerts its desiccating effect and hence the cold hamattan or Duwwok during the dry season.[54]

2.6-The Vegetation

The vegetation of Jama'a emirate in the early period and even up to the British conquest of the area was influenced by climatic factors, soil, as well as the relationship between man and the environment. The area received higher amount of rainfall of about 55-65 inches when compared with some areas to the north like Kano and Soba districts, which had 34 and 43 inches respectively.[55] The area has in the 1940s been brought under cultivation due to rapid increase in the population of the area. For example rice was introduced as another cash crop in 1941 as a means of economic development of the area.[56] This district falls into the vegetation zone described by Buchanan and Pugh as the Southern guinea savannah ecological zoon.[57] This zone forms the transitional zone between the forest and the savannah belts. It consists of broad-leaved savannah woodlands.[58]

Jema'a Emirate is found within the Guinea Savannah vegetation belt of Nigeria. The vegetation comprises mainly of the spilly, stubborn tall grasses with big trees. The grasses could grow to over 3.60mm tall. The grasses and trees are of economic importance during both the wet and the dry season. The cool, dry climate, topography and soil types have influenced the vegetation of

[54] *Ibid*
[55] A.Adamu, "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria; C, 1902-1945: A case study of Soba District, unpublished M.A. thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1992.p 5-9
[56] S. Bala, The Land and People of Jema'a Emirate, Lapai Journal, p61
[57] *Op.cit*.
[58] *Ibid*

the area. The natural vegetation has been influenced by farming, grazing, and mining and construction activities.[59]

2.7- Hydrology:

Though there are so many other rivers that equally help in boosting the economic activities of the area, but the importance of the Matsirga and Kogom rivers cannot be over emphasized. Kogom River played a significant role because it also served as a major source of income to the people in the dry season period through fishing. During the months of January to March a considerable amount of fishing is done in the Kagom River that flows past Jagindin by fisher folk from the North. The fish usually caught include the following species *Tarwada, karfasa, kurungu, tsage, kaura* and *mari*.[60] The Method used by the natives in fishing was by means of a bell-shaped net known as "*koma*" in Hausa. According to oral sources the river started from the hill of *Yanawuri* and joined *rafin matsirga* round the present Kafanchan city and passed through unguwar rimi and met with Jagindin River and finally fell into what was popularly referred to as Kogom River.[61] The major reason why the people mostly preferred to fish at Kagom was because that was the point where almost all the three big rivers with their water having different colours met and the river is wide and deep enough to accommodate more fishermen compared to any of the rivers mentioned above.

Other important streams were *rafin matsirga*, *rafin sarki* and *rafin sanga*. It is very significant to emphasize here that most of these rivers got their names from either the earliest settlements in Jama'a or from the fauna or flora of the area under study. For instance, river *Kagom* derived its

[59] I.B. Adon, Management and Utilization of Soils of Corundum Mineland for Agricultural production in Kafanchan, Kaduna State, M.A Thesis University of Jos, 2005, pp 10-11

[60] N.A.K. Zarprof, Jama'a N.A.191/1920

[61] *Op.cit.*

name from where most of the rivers in Jama'a ended i.e. *Kagom*, which means the tail end of two or three rivers which marks the beginning of another major river, where the people embarked on a major economic activity like dry season farming and fishing. *Gurara* also is the name of a person who was said to be the first to settle in the area. After settling he built his house, which was by the riverside where he engaged in both rainy and dry season farming. After some few decades, people observed that the river kept on widening and they feared that it may one day consume their houses. This made it necessary for them to move further away from the banks of the river, there by abandoning the area as *kufai.* From there the place came to be known as *Gurara*, meaning the area abandoned by early settlers.[62] As stated above, the economic importance of these rivers cannot be over emphasized; these rivers also have some influence on the nature and pattern of settlement that emerged in the area. Most of the people especially the Fulani nomads, the Hausa and Kaje (Bajju) farmers lived by the banks of the rivers. This is because they also engaged in dry season farming and cattle rearing along the marshland. Fishing also encouraged crafts in the area, as there was need from various instruments and tools by the people for trapping fish, which in turn encouraged trading activities.[63]

2.8- *The Fauna*

The commonest fauna found in the area under study are Monkeys (Kaka), hyena (kura), lion (zaki), giraffe (rakumindaji), rabbit, elephant, gorilla, snake etc, some of the aquatic animals still found in the area include; crocodile, fish and frogs. There are also reptiles and birds of different kinds in the area. Some aspects of the fauna were very significant to the socio-cultural and history of the people of Jama'a emirate, i.e. the culture of hunting among the people is very important in the reconstruction of the history of the people of the area. Some of the domesticated

[62] *Ibid*

[63] Interview with Yabvo Yashim, 7o, Farmer/Fisherman, Aduwan Five, 12th February 2016

animals include dwarf goat, sheep and chicken. These animals serve as source of meat, money and the skin of the goats and sheep were used for making traditional drums and also as raw materials in most of the leather industries for the making of shoes and bags. Some of the ethnic groups like the Kagoma, Ninzom, Bajju and Fantswam for example paid their bride price in kind with goats and chickens.[64] Since marriage was a very old cardinal social function among the various ethnic groups, the people took the rearing of such animal's to sustain the marriage institutions.[65]

Prior to the introduction of upland rice in the post- colonial period, the marshland in and around Jama'a provided good grounds for hunting. Hunting was one of the major occupations of the people especially in the dry season, engaged mostly by the youth, who have been initiated into the secret of their ancestors. Animals hunted ranged from small hare, and buffalo. At the end of every hunting season, the meat was prepared and eaten in a feast, each clan according to tradition, prepares its own feast. Invitations were sent to other clans by clan heads to send their representatives for the occasion.[66]

Apart from being used to supplement the diet, the game also has some economic significance. Men hung the skins of the animals at the end of the hunting season; others used it to supplement clothing, but skins of the larger animals like the buffalo were hung by lineage heads, while some cut the skins into strings for the bows. Horns of other animals were used in both ceremonial and

[64] *Op.cit*.
[65] *Ibid*
[66] S. Bala, The Land and People of Jema'a Emirate, *Lapai* Journal, p61

religious occasions. Apart from been a source of meat, hunting was considered as clan or groups activity that closely linked to rituals.[67]

It must be noted therefore, that the contribution of the land, climate, vegetation, fauna, to mention but few to the people of the area is imbedded in their economic activities. Each of the above contributes immensely to the main stay of people, which is agriculture. A compressive discussion and display of these contributions will be made below when we discuss the economy of jema'a.

2.9-The Peopling of the Area

The concept of peopling refers to the earliest evidence of man's presence in an area. In some part of Africa for instance, especially to the East and South comprehensive fossils records and cultural remains represent evidence of early human occupation. In East Africa the skeletal remains of man cover the stage from Australopithecus (Southern ape man) to Homo sapiens (Modern wise man). Similarly, cultural evidence in the form of tools assemblages and habitation has been documented for virtually all the stages of human evolution. This, therefore, support the fact that people existed in our area of study as artifacts such as terra cotta figurine, iron tools (hoes, cutlasses) grinding stones, pot shed and furnaces were found in Jema'a Emirate which falls within the central part of Nigeria where the Nok culture flourished from 500BC-200AD.

Therefore, Jema'a Emirate, which came into existence in 1810 with its capital in Darroro, is a long conglomeration of diverse communities that belong to the Jos Plateau hills of the branch of

[67] *Ibid*

the Niger Congo family. Among such groups are the, Fulani, Nizam, Ayu, Yeskwa, Kaningkon, Hausa, Fantswan, and Bajju.[68]

The historical tradition of these community of people suggest migration, and it is not possible to say exactly which particular group first settled in the area that later became Jema'a Emirate. It may not be possible to discuss the pattern as well as the factors that led to the migration of all the ethnic communities in Jama'a emirate because they are too many.[69] Therefore, only a few of the principal community of people will be highlighted in this regard. The movement of different peoples into the area in the early period and the establishment of population centers was a slow process. It took several centuries before the different communities were brought into proximity with each other.[70] Several factors had contributed positively to the movement of people from one part of the emirate to the other. Migration into Jama'a emirate could be seen as a movement of people changing their geographical environment either in search of labor or grazing land for animals. Two types of migration took place in Jam'a emirate in the early period. First, there were internal migrations, which involved the movement of communities from one parts of the of the Jama'a emirate to another in the pre-jihad and post-jihad periods; there were also evidence of immigrations into the area known as Jama'a emirate from distant lands by different communities. The most important of these immigrations were those of the Fulbe community, the Hausas, the Bajju, Kaninkons, Ayu and other people that formed early settlements within and outside the emirate. These people according to some sources happen to have migrated from various parts of

[68] A.A.Jatua, The History of Jema'a of the People of Jema'a emirate; being a paper presented at a symposium organized by the library board of Kaduna state, Kafanchan branch at teachers college Kafanchan on July, 1988
[69] Group Interview with Fantwam Traditional chiefs, Fantwam Chief's Palace, Zipak, 15th February, 2016
[70] *Op.cit.*

Hausaland and beyond including the Kajes (Bajju), the Kaninkons who played active and impressive role in the establishment of Jama'a Emirate.[71]

This wave of migration caused by human and environmental factors such as the Fulani Jihad, wars, and famine cause other kin sub-groups such as the Ninkyob (known as Kaninkon by the Hausa), the Bajju and the Atyap to settle among the Fantswam. The Fantswam received them with open arms. The Hausa-Fulanis also came and settled among the Fantswam after they were driven from Kajuru by the Kajuru chief in the early years of the Fulani Jihad of the early 1800s.[72] Usman Yabo led his people from Kajuru to settle in a place they named Jama'a Daroro meaning "people of Daroro" and founded an emirate amidst the people who gave him and his people the portion of land where they stayed, south of the Fantswam territory. Yabo's descendant, the Hausa-Fulani ruler, Muhammadu, moved his capital to the heart of Fantswam land in 1933, after the formation of the Plateau Province in 1926.[73] This was done with the support of British Colonialists. Since neither the Fantswam nor their neighboring kin-groups had Monarchs, the British colonialists on arrival in the 1900s made the ruler of the Hausa-Fulani settlement emir of the surrounding area. We must note therefore that the Jama'a emirate was a vassal state of the Zaria emirate.[74]

Sources from the Emir's Palace (Jema'a emirate) stated that some tribes must have met other in the area at the time of their arrival.[75] It must be emphasized that, these different ethnic groups have reasons for their migration into the area later referred to as Jema'a Emirate. In the case of the Fulani, their movement, followed the season, that is, during the dry season they moved

[71] S. Balla, History of Jema'a Emirate 1800-1966, M.A Thesis 2002
[72] Y. Afuwai, The Place of Kagoro in the History of Nigeria
[73] *Ibid*
[74] *Ibid*
[75] Group interview with some members of Jema'a Emirate Council Kafanchan, 17th February, 2016

Southwards in search of grazing land for their cattle and in the rainy season they moved northwards to the area of less rain. The other 'tribes' migrated because of defense from war, fertile land for farming and grazing land for their cattle.[76]

With the settlement of these diverse ethnic groups due to the economic viability of the area, the Fulanis who, having received a flag from the Sheikh and the name of the settlement given as Jema'a Darroro (gathering or party of people) and after the establishment of Jema'a Emirate in 1810 began to subjugate the other ethnic communities. Ames C.G described the subjugation of non-Muslims groups in Jema'a Division thus;

> *That it appears the Emir's hold over the tribe was very weak and that subjugation was nothing more than periodic slave raids or the acceptance of tribe to buy off threatened raids. No attempt was made to administer the tribe*[77]

This subjugation resulted into series of conflicts between the Fulani and other ethnics communities of the Emirate. As such, Ayu, Numana, Gwandara, Moro'a and Bajju were subdued during the reign of Usman in 1833. Musa Abdullahi subdued Ninzam but Kagoro was never completely subdued and it was not until the reign of Abdullahi that several outlying villages of Kagoro where captured and remained a state of vassalage to Jema'a up till today. This situation saw the attempt of the incorporation of the non-Muslim groups into the Emirate administration as was observed by Simon Yohanna that;

> *Following the establishment of the Emirate system in Jema'a attempts were made to incorporates the neighboring societies either peacefully or otherwise.*[78]

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[76] I. James , *Studies in History, Politics and Culture of the Southern Kaduna People's Group,* p 200
[77] *Ibid*
[78] S. Yohanna, Southern Zaria in Historical Perspectives, Departmental Seminar, Department of History ABU, Zaria, p 30.

The major occupations of the inhabitance were farming, hunting and cattle rearing. Their crops can be classified into two groups. Subsistent crops include Cocoa yam, Maize, guinea corn, millet, cassava and yam while for commercial purpose include soya beans, rice, yam, beanie seed, cotton, sweat potatoes, ginger and palm oil.[79]

2.9.1 Traditions of Origin, Migration and Human Settlement

In trying to trace the origin, migration pattern and human settlement in our area of study, we must first of all admit that this will be a herculean task. The reason has been that, to the best of the knowledge of the researcher, not much systematic or sustained research has been carried out on the history of the people inhabiting our area of study. Migration features prominently in all traditions; especially as it is a very important variable used in explaining the evolution and development of settlements and states within the Nigerian area.[80] There is the common belief that migration especially during the pre-colonial times had to do with the general movement of people from one place to another. However, scholars like Akin Mabogunje, is of the view that these movements were to an extent not general in nature, but was sometimes an involuntary act by smaller tribal groups in the face of aggressive incursions of smaller immigrant communities.[81]

The entire history of the world from ancient times to date is full of anecdotes of movements, migrations and integration. Until the creation of modern nation-state with all its strict border controls and restrictions on movement, people had being moving from one place to another iin search of food, shelter and security. Even with the strictness and barriers of nation-state, human beings are still being compelled by existential circumstances to migrate from one place to

[79] N. Irimiya, The Role of the Native Authority in Colonial Economy of Jema'a Emirate, M.A Thesis, A.B.U Zaria. 2011. pp.12

[80] S. Abdullahi, "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland" in *A Little New Light* (Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith), Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, Zaria, pp.69-70.

[81] M. Akin, "Land and People of West Africa" in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds), *History of West Africa*, Vol.1, Longman Group Ltd, 1971, pp.27-29.

another. History is full of testimonies of how people run away from wars, persecution, famine and pestilence and ecological problems. Movements and migrations are constant narrative of our existence. Even in the scriptures of our dominant faith systems migration is recognized and encouraged especially when members of a given community of faith faced inhuman persecution.[82]

The traditions of origin of the people and their migration has had so many divergent versions which tends to be a serious challenge to us, despite this, however, we shall attempt to sketch the outlines of the tradition of origin, migration pattern and lastly Human settlements. This is very important. Suffice to say it will form the first step towards our understanding of the history of the Fulani, Ninzam, Yeskwa, Kagoma Ayu Kaninkon, Kagoro, and Bajju peoples that formed the Jema'a division.

Fulani Tradition of Origin

The Fulani are believed to have come from the Futa Toro area in Senegal and settled in Hausa land[83], but as a result of their occupation, they spread to other parts of the Nigerian area. Their tribe is Fulani and so is their language. Their origin is a matter of controversy; and many theories have been advanced to explain their emergence. Their own tradition, however, claims descent from the famous Arab, Uqba.b.Amir.b.Nafi.[84] It is claimed that Uqba left Arabia at the time of the prophet, on reaching the western Sudan, he married a 'black' wife, Bajemango and their children then became the ancestors of the Fulani, except the Mbororo'en.[85] Their population increased with time and they are believed to have consisted of many clans especially in the pre-

[82] Prof Abubakar Liman Interview with B.B.C Hausa , so what if the Bayajida legend was a myth, http://dailynNigeria.com , retrieved -12/12/2018

[83] A. Dan Fodio, "The Intellectual Background to the Jihad" in Thomas Hodgkin (ed), *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology*, Oxford University Press, London, 1975, pp.240-243.

[84] A. Sa'ad, *Lamibe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa 1809-1901*, A.B.U Press, Zaria, 1977, p.27.

[85] *Ibid*

jihad period, Vis; the Toronkawa, the Sullebawa, the Kasarawa and a host of other 'cattle Fulani'. They were mostly found around Gobir, Gwandu, Kebbi, Zamfara and upper Sokoto valleys.[86] While the Toronkawa and some clans were Muslims, many of the cattle Fulani and the Sullebawa were not. Amongst all these clans of the Fulani, they are today divided into the 'cattle Fulani' (nomads-Mbororo'en), the semi-settled Fulani Na'i, and the settled Fulani Shi'e.[87] This division was due to developments within their society made possible by the degree of the attachment of each to pastoral nomadism.[88]

The economic activity (pastoralism) of the Fulani is one of the factors that necessitate their movement from one place to another. They had to migrate to areas in search of better grazing lands for their cows and sheep. Some groups were left behind either as a result of cattle decline through disease and other misfortunes, or because of good pasturage, they preferred not to migrate.[89] Those who no longer migrated because of the decline in the size of their herds had to adopt other occupations to supplement their resources, usually farming.[90] In the event of the herds disappearing totally, the Fulani became settled agriculturalists, but where they still had some cattle, though not sufficient for their sole reliance upon them, they became semi-settled, tending cattle and doing small-scale farming.[91] The latter, called Fulani Na'i, represented those Fulani who were partly changed through cattle decline and through the adoption of other occupations for subsistence. They occupied a transitional position. When the cattle were recouped, pastoral nomadism was reverted to, but failing that they became settled peasants, Fulbe Shi'e, the last category of changed Fulani.

[86]L. Murray, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd, London, pp.ixx-ixxxi.
[87] Op.cit.
[88] *Ibid*.
[89] *Ibid*
[90] L. Murray, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd, London, pp.25
[91] A. Sa'ad, *Lamibe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa 1809-1901*, A.B.U Press, Zaria, 1977, p.28.

The migration of the Fulani into other parts of the Nigerian area was seasonal in nature, taking place usually during the dry season when there was inadequacy of grazing pastures or the prevalence of the cattle threatening tsetse flies. The Fulani along with their herds of cattle usually travelled down South during the dry season and back to the North in the wet or rainy season in search of greener pastures. This is because during this season the grasses in the North gets very dry and therefore becomes unsuitable for cattle consumption.[92]

It is, therefore, in the course of these migrations that the Fulani Na'i and Fulani Shi'e found settlements in the central Nigeria area that were very favorable to them. In addition to this, the Mbororo'en is also widely found in the area too, this is not unconnected to the fact that a considerable part of this area has recorded a low prevalent rate of the tsetse flies. While it is actually true that some of the Fulanis have been able to assimilate into the communities in this area, a considerable number are still holding unto their distinct Fulani customs and tradition.

The Fulani of our area of study are believed to have migrated from Kebbi and settled on the Kachechere hills with their leader known as Abdurrahman. These Fulani herdsmen moved into the area in search of rich grazing centres and pastures for their cattle around 1500 AD up to around 1660's. From the Kachecherr hills they moved to the spurs of Daroro hill because of defense against the attack from the Kajuru. At the spurs of Daroro hill they met some non-Muslim groups who then drove and settled there. The Fulani who moved into Hausa land in the

[92] These types of movements have been taking place for hundreds of years now and usually it involves a small group of herdsmen alongside their families. When they get to a considerable distance, they pitch their tents there for their families to stay behind while they go ahead to graze the cattle in places not far away from where they camped. This practice goes on for a couple of months before they eventually get to their preferable destination.

14th century and in large number in the 18th century, later become rulers in the succeeding century.[93]

The Fulanis who settled in Jama'a emirate in the pre- Jihad are numerous. They were divided into clans and each clan was headed by a clan head popularly known as *Ardo*.[94] The major occupation of the Fulani is cattle rearing. They move from place to place in search of pasture for their animals. Those that chose to stay in one place were referred to as *Fulani gida*. They own small herds of cattle but hold to farming and other forms of trade as their main source of subsistence. The semi-nomadic, which form the second group, also herd cattle and till the ground but they rarely maintain a permanent base to return to after their seasonal migration. The first group as stated above took rearing of cattle as their main occupation; they possess more than ninety percent of the national herd.

Another factor that led to the migration of *Fulbe* community to Jama'a Emirate has to do with the economic exploitation as well as discrimination against the Fulanis by the *Habe* ruling class through tax and *jangali* collection. The *fulbes* were forced to pay heavy tax to then Emirs of Borno, and the later could not provide adequate security to the Fulanis and their wealth in the 18th century.[95] This therefore, was among the factors that led to the movement of the Fulanis down south where they could be free to rear their cattle without any intimidation or harassment.

[93] Ahmed Usman (80yrs) the interview took place in his residence no 20 Jema'a street Kafanchan 9-4 2010 Also Kurk Greene Guizetters of Northern Nigeria province p13
[94] S. Balla, The Land and People of Jema'a Emirate, Lapai Journal, p.61
[95] A. Sa;ad, The Emirate of Fombina 1809-1903, PhD Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria, 1973. P.86

Ninzam Tradition of Origin

There are a number of traditions of origin on the Ninzam, the first myth of origin trace their origin to the Eastern parts of Egypt from where they migrated through the present Niger Republic to Sokoto. From Sokoto they went to Bauchi and settled at Sanga town. Why the Ninzam people migrated from Egypt is still not known but the speculation is that general desiccation of the desert could have been push-factor triggering out migrations.[96] Their subsequent migration from Sokoto to Bauchi could be attributed to the search for a more conducive settlement and the choice of a permanent destination. The Ninzam were led by one Uyakwanto from their Egyptian and Sokoto migration, they moved down to Jengre and settled in the Pangana hills. One evidence of this occupation of the Pangana hill by the Ninzam is the close linguistic affinity between the Ninzam language and the Rukuba language. It is assumed that the Rukuba and Ninzam were one single ethnic entity but during the course of the migration, the Rukuba remained behind in the area of Pangana hills while the Ninzam migrated to Zaria.[97]

However the tradition is silent as to the connection the Aninka had with the Hausa and the reason for the invitation to settle in Zaria and the time of their settlement to Zaria. The Ninzam had to migrate to Zaria because the tradition has it that the Ninzam were notorious for attacking and killing Fulani cattle while on transhumance until the Fulani declared war on the Ninzam and killed many Ninzam. The few surviving Ninzam had to migrate from Zaria under their leader Uyakwanto. Along their migratory route, they fought war with the Adara (Kadara) and the Ham (Jaba) and Bajju (Kaje), until they came to Godogodo area. According to oral account, when the

[96] N. Irimiya, The Role of the Native Authority in Colonial Economy of Jema'a Emirate, M.A Thesis, A.B.U Zaria. 2011. pp.12

[97] I. James , Studies in History, Politics and Culture of the Southern Kaduna People's Group, p 200

Ninzam leader was asked by some neighboring groups in the Godogodo area who he was, his answer was "Ni da Jama'a" (meaning I am with people) from here it is believed that the name Jama'a came into existence and to be referred to as Jama'a Darroro.

Because of incessant attack from their neighbors and frequent warfare, the Ninzam moved away from Godogodo and Kofe-Sanga became the dispersal point for Ninzam out-migration and settlement of the entire Ninzam land. It was from kofe-Sanga that Ninzam clans migrated to unguwar Yohanna, ungwar Kaura, Fowan Yatai, Ancha, Tattaura which today consists of Ninzam speaking peoples although with some slight dialectical variations.[98]

Tradition suggests that when the Ninzam leader Uyakwanto arrived at the Kofe-Sanga destination, he concluded that, that was the end of his endless journey because Kofe- Sanga was not only a defensive site but it was also conducive for hunting and farming as the area was very good and Uyakwanto had the reputation of being a great hunter. The etymology of the Ninzam derives from the Hausa "N zo" which is a corruption of the Hausa words "Na zo" since Uyakwanto was not fluent in Hausa language but was determined to express his appreciation for the new settlement kofe-Sanga.[99]

The other tradition which I find more convincing Like most of the tribes in the area later known as Jema'a Division said the history of the Ninzam cannot be traced very far back as it goes no further afield than Sanga, which is only a few miles across the tribal boundary. This Ninzam tradition says that their original ancestors came from Sanga, which was then a much larger town. The origin of Sanga is Jarawa (Bauchi Division) but whether it should be assumed that the Ninzam forefathers who came from Sanga were also of Jarawa extraction is uncertain. They were

[98] Interview with Ancha Yohanna, trader, Jagindi, 22nd February, 2016
[99] *Op.cit.*

led by YAKWANTO, a renowned hunter, and legends of the number and size of the elephants and bush-cows which he killed are still repeated by the Ninzam. This happened before the emirate of Jama'a was founded, when elephant were then numerous in this part of the province. Their bones were used as chopping blocks in pagan houses until relatively recent times and some many still be in existence. The original settlers founded several towns, or possibly other people subsequently left Sanga, as Yakwanto had done, and settle in different places. All this towns acknowledge Sanga as their overlord, each dealing direct with the chief of Sanga and possessing no chief or co-coordinating body of their own. In the later days other villages were founded by parties from the original settlements and in these cases, the nearer villages were subservient to the parent villages and did not deal direct with Sanga, who in those days could put into the field a force of over four hundred well equipped cavalry, so they say. Sanga fell before the Fulani invasion and the Ninzam (Ninzo) transferred their allegiance to the emir of Jama'a, who were second to none in slave-raiding and depopulated the countryside. The Ninzam were better off in this respect than many tribes because the hilly nature of their country afforded them some protection and caused Emir of Jama'a to look to Ninzam for slaves only after the maximum had been exacted from other easily worked neighborhood. In later days the chief of fadan wadan WATE established himself as chief of the tribe, but it is not clear on what grounds he was able to do so. the present chief of Fadan Wate as at the of writing this gazette is the thirteenth of his line and is the District Head, the weakness of his control of his district reflecting no doubt the lack of any clearly defined religious basis for the chiefly status of his ancestors.[100]

[100]A.H.M Kirk-Green, *History and Origin of Ninzo*, Gazetteers of the Northern Province of Northern Nigeria, (The highland chieftaincies) Plateau Province, Volume IV ,St. Anthony's College, Oxford England Publisher(Frank C ass: London

Yeskwa Tradition of Origin

There are two versions regarding the traditions of origin of the Yeskwa people, the one by the Yeskwa (Nyenpka) and the other by the Kagoma (Gwong) people.

The Gwong version claim, that Gwong and Abainde or Byende were two sons of one person called Bona or Thyona. These two sons left their father around Bauchi area in the late 18th century and migrated to the area referred to as Southern Kaduna today. These two sons later parted from each other and gave birth to their own children.[101]

The second and the most acceptable version by the Yeskwa is the one which claims that the Yeskwa originated from a place called Kudarigo or Darigo in Barde Kaduna State. Oral account further claimed that the Yeskwa people had come from the Far East and settled in Kudarigo. The clans that constituted the political administration of the Yeskwa are the Nanjo, Verbe and Ngava.[102]

Kagoma Tradition of Origin

Though there is no written document regarding the tradition of origin of the people of Kagoma but according to oral tradition, the Kagoma people believed that their founder was one Thona, but where he came from nobody can say specifically but it is believe that the Kagoma people just like most Southern Kaduna traditions of origin settled in the Jos Plateau hill before migrating into their present area.

[101] Interview with Yabo Nyank, 73, Farmer, Jagindi, 22nd February, 2016

[102] N. Irmiya, The Role of the Native Authority in Colonial Economy of Jema'a Emirate, M.A Thesis, A.B.U Zaria. 2011. pp.12

According to an informant, Thona is believed to have given birth to three sons namely Gwong, Nyankpa and Nindem. Gwong is believed to have established the Kagoma people of present day Gwong chiefdom while Nyankpa is said to have established the Yeskwa and Nindem is believed to have established the Nindem people who are presently in Godogodo chiefdom. However, because of their common origin, the Kagoma people are referred to as Gwong Thona, the Nyankpa Thona and Nindem Thona.

The tradition continued that, the Gwong Thona is believed to have given birth to only one son by name Kamah. Kamah on the other hand gave birth to four sons namely Dyeri, Dye, Kyot and Daki. Gyeri the first son remained with his father at Anguwan madaki (Ngkyozi), Dye Kamah founded Angwanga, Kyot Kamah founded Afana and Dak founded Fadan Kagoma.

The political system and administration of Kagoma were organized between the four clans which is associated with the grand sons of Kamah. So, the initial son of Kamah was said to have established the Bifan clan, the Bisat clan, Asso clan, Kpadan clan and Kwagiri clan.[103]

Ayu Tradition of Origin

Ayu is the name of group of people that inhabits the area. It is located south of Jema'a emirate, though the *ganuwa*. The area where they formerly settled had by the late 18th century experienced the influx of immigrants from the various ethnic groups of the Benue-Plateau such as Kibbo and Numana and most importantly the Gwantu where inter-married among themselves.[104] They left the area for some reasons and settled in their present location close to Jema'a emirate. Though, the reasons for their movement to the present location is still a subject of debate, some of the *Ayu* suggest that they left their former place for Jama;a because of fear of

[103] *Ibid*
[104] *Op.cit.*

domination by the Numana and Gwandara and they chose to stay under the Hausa and the Fulani of Jama'a.[105]

However, according to a legendary story, one *Akaku* from Katsina quarreled with his relatives and as a result he left Katsina moving southward with his few associates and settled at what is known today as *Fadan Ayu*. In the course of time however, the people were joined by more of their kinsmen. They inter-married with the local people around the area later assimilated by *Ayu*s peaking people.[106] However, it is difficult to deny the fact that, inter-marriages between Hausa and the Fulani and other ethnic groups of Southern Zaria origin had existed for centuries. There were also socio-economic interactions among the people as well. The major occupation of the people is farming; some of them participate in the selling of farm produce in the Jema'a main market as pointed out by Clapperton in his traveler's account.

Kagoro Tradition of Origin

Unlike some of the Southern Kaduna peoples, the Kagoro do not have several versions of their traditions of origin. Even though, it is believed by the Kagoro that "it is more probable that Kagoro are members of a large group which migrated from North-West Zaria. The only accepted versions by the Kagoro themselves is that they migrated from Fobour, an area which is presently occupied by the Afizere (Jarawa) in Plateau State. This migration, which apparently was in waves, is said to have started by C1600 A.D then by 1700 A.D, they are said to have finally arrived at their present settlement, after having had brief settlement at Assop, Numbia (Nimbia) and Tsok –Busa.[107]

[105] S. Balla, History of Jema'a Emirate 1800-1903, M.A Thesis, ABU Zaria, 2002, P.79
[106] *Ibid*
[107] Interview with Kabuwat Kukui,78, Farmer, Kagoro, 25th March, 2016

While at Numbia, the Kagoro hunt animals for food but had to migrate from Numbia because their domestic animals were been decimated by wild animals. This prompted their movement up on top hills to Tsok- Busa. At Tsok –Busa the Kagoro discovered good plain land at the western side of the Kagoro massif. While the Eastern and Northern parts were effectively occupied by the Tacharak (Kachechere) who were under the domination of Kajuru. [108]

The Kagoro came down, fought and drove the Tacharak Northward, and settled on the plains at the foothills of the Kagoro massif. Tradition suggests that it was during this Kagoro – Tacharak war that Yamuang Ada the famous Zafan warrior slew seven Tacharack in one day after these skulls of tribal enemies legitimately acquired in combat became superior trophies. Tacharak later came back and peacefully settled among the Kagoro and were assimilated into Kagoro immigrant. Tsok-Busa became the dispersal point for Kagoro Out-migration as some were said to have migrated to other directions thus given rise to the Angwan – Kamantan and perhaps Angan which both claims to be Kagoro immigrants.[109]

Between 1700 and 1800, Kagoro land became attractive to refugees and migrants from other neighboring areas. The immigration into Kagoro territory is said to have gone on throughout the 19th century. The inflow of other groups into Kagoro territory came mainly from the West and South territories raided and ruled by the Hausa/Fulani of Jema'a Emirate. One of such waves of migrant groups was the kata clan which M.G Smith suggests might have originated from the Kpaisa lineage makata the Agbat clan among the Atyap. The kata clan claim that the word "kata"is derives from the woven local hat mostly worn by them while in miango in Irigweland where they originated. They ma-kata were referred to as kpashan by the Kagoro. Later immigrant

[108] Oral Account collection by D.O. Amwe, Department of Special Education, University of Jos
[109] Interview with Yoba'alyat Bodam, Trader, Kagoro, 25th March, 2016

into Kagoro territory after the kpasan were referred to as muzaram and were all placed under the control of kata. Kagoro political system and administration were hence forth organized in moieties of Ankwai and kpashan.[110]

Moro'a Tradition of Origin

The origin of Moroa is shrouded in too many controversies. Many versions of Moroa traditions of origin exist. One version of the tradition suggested migration from the far North between Katsina and Kano. A section of the Moroa people migrated to the present day Plateau State and later joined their kinsmen at a place called Tankurang. The other section of the Moroa people mostly of the Aswa, a clan, migrated and settled at Afang Rimi present day Atyab land (Kataf land). The main section of the Moroa had migrated and settled at Tankurang. The main waves of the Moroa people were later joined by the Aswa clan which moved from Afan Rimi in Atyab land to Moroa land at Tankurang.[111]

From Tankurang, Aswa migrated to Rindiyam while the other clans, migrated to Manyi Agyui. Moro'a migrations were as a result of the frequent harassment they were subjected to by stronger polities like Katsina, Kano and Borno forces. These Moroa migrations probably took place between the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Then second version of the Moroa myth of origins alludes to the Katsina and Kano origins; that the Moroa people migrated from between Katsina and Kano. They migrated to Kafanchan and settled there for some time before eventually migrating to their present settlement at Manchok. The third version and perhaps the most popular amongst most of the Moroa clans is that which

[110] E. Didam, *synopsis on the Kagoro tribe, Kagoro* Ezedam enterprise, 1991 p2

[111] Interview with Yashim Nkom,81, trader,Manchok, 2nd April, 2016

claims that the Moroa people migrated from Bauchi Plateau along with their cognate Netzit neighbors.

The Moroa people first settled at Tankurang and later moved to Tinariya, still in Jos Plateau. From Tinariya the Moroa people finally migrated and settled at Tsok their present location. Tradition also recounts that the Moroa migrations were as a result of inter –tribal warfare and slave raids.

A fourth version of Moroa tradition lays no claims to any distant migrations. According to this tradition of origin, the Moroa people have not migrated from anywhere before, but have lived there from time immemorial. This tradition claims that the Vak which is the original home of all Moroa people. Vak is the religious and secular headquaters and served as the main "dispersal point" for all Moroa clans. This tradition claim that the Akuru Berom of Plateau State are of Maroa origins and have migrated from Vak. This tradition is strongly associated with the oldest clan litsue of the Moroa people. The Litsue clan is probably the autochthonous land-owners clan and Moroa other clans refer to Litsue as "Tatyin" i.e. root of all Moroa people. The Moroa word "Akuru" which is used to refer to the Berom merely means that the Moro'a has migrated. They Berom call themselves "Akuru" not Berom. The Berom towns of Bukuru and Kuru derived their names from this Moroa word Akuru.

Moroa comprises of many clans, sub clans and lineages, some of whom are not of Moroa origins because these clans in the process of migration eventually settled there. Example is Chawai clan, and Kataf clan. The main Moroa clans are: Litsue, Abuwad, Aswa and Azam.[112]

[112] I.T.Tabat, The History of Moroa'a (Sholio) up to the 1950s, M.A Thesis, University of Jos 1994 Pp2

Kaningkon Tradition of Origin

The Kaningkon claim to have come from the Eastern part of Egypt on their migratory journey, they first settled at Katsina Ala in the present day Benue State. The Kaningkon probably left Katsina Ala sometime in the 17th century and moved Northward in search of arable land. They settled in two sites traditionally known as "Dye" and "abon" which lay about fifty kilometers north- west of their present location. They are mostly affiliated with kanufi and other Plateau languages occupying the southern part of the Jema'a Emirate, Numana, Ayu, Nindem and Ninzam.

The Kaningkon had a single chief called "Tum" prior to the establishment of the Jema'a Emirate in the wake of the Fulani Jihad of the 19th century. Before the jihad, Tum Ninkyop fell out with his younger brother Roro. Roro moved to another village called Nindem and set up a rival chiefdom. This chiefdom grew in status and was a contemporary of the Sanga chiefdom. Roro, the dominant Ninkyop chief, founded what later become the most prominent Village in the area i.e. Jema'a Na Roro at the foot of the Darroro Hills. The name of this Jema'a Na Roro later became known as Jema'a Emirate.[113]

It was the above dynastic feud which later split the people into two; the Nigyetyo who are believed to have earlier settled at Dye and the Nitaran settled at Gbon.

The Kaningkon was organized into clans with the oldest member of the clan representing the entire clan. Kaningkon was organized into two broad groups of villages. These groups of villages

[113] See Program of the Coronation Ceremony of the First District Head of Anguwar Fari, Mal. Baka Galadima (Turn Ninkyop) 26th March, 1994, Pp.11

occupied by the Nitaram people had their overall chief at Bakin Kogi while these groups of villages occupied by the Nigbyetyo had their overall chief at Anguwar baki.[114]

Ham (Jaba) Tradition of Origin

According to the Ham myth of migration, a man named Ham who had ten sons: Dung, Kpat, Ngaing, Chorh, Weynom, Kudah, Daduu, Shamgan, Hamduh and Fillow. Fillow was the first ancestor of the Ham people. Ham and his sons migrated from Egypt, and were supposed to have travelled along the ancient trade routes. They first settled in Borno and later migrated to Bauchi where they probably spent some time before moving to settle at a place known as Ungwar Jaba near Samaru Kataf in Zangon Katab District. From there they migrated to Godo-Godo in Jema'a Division and later settled at a place known as Kofen Sanga (Kufan Sanga) in Gwantu District of Jema'a Division. From Kufan Sanga they led a nomadic life before they finally settled at a place known as Sheik-Ham translated the "Ham Forest", near the present day Njeng-Dung Kwagirin Kaje. This Sheik-Ham settlement was their first settlement in the territory they now occupy and later served as a dispersal point for most of the Ham clans, sub-clans and lineages.[115]

A second version of the Ham tradition of origin lays no claim to any distant migration. The usual claim of the Ham landowners (Fu Djin Fu Rwo) is that they came from Ton-Njeng, Ton-Dung, Hobein Zheick, Sheik-Kwack (Kurmin Rami), Nock, Nzeick, Bitaro, Fuwant, Zew, Nkyong e.t.c. The common saying of the Ham landowners whether in singing or direct narrative is that they came from Ton-Njeng Kwagiri cave; Ton Dung-Jaban Kago cave, Sheick Kwack-Kurmin

[114] *Op.cit.*
[115] *Op.cit.*

Rami, Nock which means "to start", Bitaro-an assembly point, Hobye no Zhieck- the old settlement. As for the Ham religion they claim it came from Njeng-Kwagiri.[116]

The Ham came to be called Jaba during the slave raid era (at about the mid-19th C).[117] Jaba is a Hausa word referring to a particular rat of the rodent family whose abode is not known and found both at home and in the bush and it frightens other rats. It is however, claimed that the allegoric name was also applied on the Duhyan, Lungu and other dialects of the Ham (Jaba) language to metaphorically imply 'ever-evasive, illusive' whose number and abode remained a mystery to the Jihadists.[118] The Ham (Jaba) seemed never finishing and could swiftly disappear into the caves of Yeskwa and the hills stretching from Kwoi to Fai. The inability of the Jihadists to penetrate the Ham is remembered in a Hausa song, "Jaba maggaggari, komi jirin giya yana da wayo". It means "Jaba the unconquered, no matter how drunk with beer he is still wise".[119]

Bajju (Kaje) Tradition of Origin

According to oral tradition, Bajju migrated to Southern Zaria (Southern Kaduna) from the Jos Plateau, the Bajju claim to have originated in the area near Bauchi where the Jarawa live.[120] From there they moved to Miango, an Irigwe village at the Western edge of the Jos Plateau. It is unclear from oral tradition when this migration occurred, though evidence indicates that the Bajju were in their present location in the early 1800s. Smith hypothesizes that the Agorok, a related ethnic group, migrated in approximately 1700 AD to their present location in the Southern Zaria (Southern Kaduna).[121] It is conceivable that the Bajju migrated around this time. Though I have not found evidence to substantiate this, but it is a fact that most African history is

[116] *Ibid*.
[117] Group interview at Kwoi, 11/10/2015
[118] M.A. Filaba, and L.A. Gojeh, *Koro and Gbagyi Subgroup Relations…*p.42
[119] *Ibid*.
[120] Interview with Baba Tinvak, 95, Farmer,Madakiya, 12, August, 2015
[121] *Social Organization and Economy of Kagoro, Occasional* Publications, No. 4, Zaria, 1975, p.5

derived from and through oral tradition, passed through generations. Written records are not available on most historical phenomena. We are however, aware that African oral tradition has their method of dating events. The main method is to tie up a particular happening to another major one. Thus, could it be wise then to say the Bajju arrived almost the same time with the Agorok, between 1700 and 1800AD?

The tradition of origin of the Bajju people has it that on the Jos Plateau, there is an area called Hobir. This is the area mainly occupied by the Jarawa people.[122] A group broke way and migrated South-West- wards and settled on a hill called Nkwon. This is the Group from which the Miango people are derived. In due course two brothers by the names of Zamfra and his junior Wai also broke away from the group. They further migrated South-West-wards. Wai, according to the oral tradition settled on the place now called Chawai. He is the progenitor of the Chawai people. Zamfra went further and settled at Purbuang. Today the place is called Uguwar Tabo, situated North of Zango Kataf village in the Southern part of Kaduna State of Nigeria.[123]

Now Zamfra had a wife called Zambarang. They had two children, the first was called Baranzan and the other was known as Aka'ad. The two sons took to their father's occupation of hunting. Baranzan hunting areas were the forest and plains around Dibyyi (Kurmin Bi) while those of Aka'ad were around Manchok and Atakar hills in present day Kaura Local Government Area of a Kaduna State. Baranzan migrated and settled in Tibyyi meaning there were many wild animals,

[122] D. Bagayang Habu, *The Social Anthropology of the Bajju People of Nigeria*, Futurize books, Ikeja Lagos.1993. p.1

[123] *Ibid*

which was later changed to Dibyyi (Kurmin Bi). Dibyyi means grave; that is where Baranzan's grave is located.[124]

Baranzan had four, five or six sons, depending on which of several current oral traditions one follows. The tradition with five sons is the most common.[125] The sons founded villages however, over time through fission these villages developed into larger territorial unit or sections (Kwai) related to each other through consanguine ties. Morrison noted that the pre-1800 pattern of fission and fusion was the typical pattern for Plateau ethnic groups.[126]

The five semi-autonomous Bajju sections are the Batadon, Bayinbiyin Bayindwang, Bayinsok, and the Banyanhwan. Some would include a sixth Kwai, the Bayitrung. This term translates literally as "people who put down their head loads." It was comprised of either non-Bajju who have now been assimilated into the Bajju community or of Bajju who migrated into the area but do not trace their gneaology to Baranzan. Just as fission occurred, fusion also occurred with non-Bajju readily assimilated within one generation into the Bajju. Today some Bajju would prefer to include the villages of the Bayintrung within other Kwai.[127]

In the alternate oral tradition in which Baranzan fathered four sons, adon is omitted. This tradition seems to be more common in the Southern Bajju area. In the oral tradition in which

[124] R. L. Aboi, *Bajju Social Traditional Structure; a cultural Revival and Reawakening*, MCGA, Nigeria, 2013, p.5
[125] Asake Musa, "*Tarihi Shigowar Bishara a Kasar Kaje" (Histroy of the Good News among the Kaje*) Kafanchan: Evangelical Church of West Africa. 1982
[126] J.H. Morrison, *"Plateau Societies' Resistance to Jihadist Penetration*" *in studies in the History of Plateau State, Nigeria*, (edt) Elizabeth Isichel, London, Macmillan press Ltd, 1982.p.136
[127] C. Mckinney, *The Bajju of Central Nigeria: A Case Study of Religious and Social Change*, University Microfilms International, London, 1985,p.53

Baranzan fathered six sons, the sixth is unnamed. He remained at Dibyyi and assured the responsibilities of his father Baranzan.[128]

Hausa Tradition of Origin

The notable tradition of origin of the Hausa is that which relates that the Hausa are the descendants of the offspring of the marriage between a migrant Bayajidda from Baghdad and the Queen of Daura.

According to the tradition popularly known as Bayajidda legend, Bayajidda son of the king of Baghdad had a quarrel with his father and fled to Kanem Borno in the Chad basin. Though the then ruler of Borno allowed Bayajidda to marry his daughter, yet Bayajidda felt insecure and unhappy because he did not have his followers. This is because he isolated him by giving them chieftaincies in newly conquered towns. Bayajidda realizing the Mai's true intention where he sought Bayajidda's friendship by giving him his daughter in marriage fled to the west, leaving wife at Biram, where she bore him a child who became founder of the State of Biram. Bayajidda reached Daura where he killed the snake that had long prevented people from drawing water at the well. The Queen of Daura then married him and they had a son called Bawo. When his father died, Bawo ruled in his place, and had seven sons who became the foundation of the seven states referred to as 'Hausa Bakwai.' They are Daura, Biram, Katsina, Zaria (Zazzau) Kano Gobir and Rano. In addition Bawo had another seven sons which are referred to as Banza Bakwai or 'Seven Bastard' Hausa States, which probably represented states which came under the Hausa influence

[128] Interview with Baba Yabo Kawai,70, Farmer, Zonkwa, 8th September,2015

namely: Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Ilorin and Kwararafa. The Hausa are primarily farmers and traders.[129]

2.9.2 Pattern of Settlement

As a manner in which a people's cultural activities and social institutions are distributed over the landscape, the settlement patterns of this area therefore is necessarily an examination of how ecology influenced settlement either by its own natural attraction or by hazards and subsequent steps taken to check the hazards. By our study of the pattern of settlement, it is intended that by and large we shall unravel the material conditions under which the social, economic and political developments that led to changes that will be examine subsequently in this work.

The pattern of settlement that emerged in the plains of Jama'a Division followed the production pattern of its people. This suggest that, the settlement pattern of the area and its environs shows that by 1700 majority of the population were living in nucleated settlements, which were either of nucleated *kurmin* type settlements, or the nucleated hill-foot settlements.[130] It has been observed that, the people living around the area used Kogoro hills as defense against any external attack. This was mostly peculiar to the Kogoro people. The major settlements were directly linked together by well-established network of roads, cattle tracks and foot paths. Jama'a emirate was a walled town; the wall served both economic and socio-political purposes like in most of

[129] T. Falola, A Mahdi, M Uhomoibhi, U. Anyanwu, *History of Nigeria I, Nigeria before 1800 AD* Longman Nigeria 1989 p 29

[130] J. Woodford, " Pattern of Settlement in Southern Zaria" Savannah Journal of Environmental Studies, A.B.U Zaria, vol.3 No.1, June 1974, Pp43-6o

the cities of the ancient Hausa land. There are other settlement sites around Asso and Jagindi which were probably of Kagoma, from an early date before they finally moved to the hill-foot settlement similar to those of Kagoro. That is to say that, the settlement pattern of Jama'a area by the late 19th century, was made up of *garuruwa (*towns) or *karkara* surrounded by *kauyuka* (villages) and *unguwoyi* (hamlets) located in areas of continous cultivation. The major towns include Kagoma, Jama'an Danroro, Kwoi, Unguwar Baki Unguwar Marina, Jagindi, Kagoro, Madakiya among others. These *garuruwa* (towns) according to historical research served as the major centres of political and economic activities on which the surrounding villages, wards and hamlets depended. Though, the villages around Jama'a do provide almost all the food items consumed in most of the *garuruwa* (towns) within the walled town of Jama'a, the authorities of the emirates in the towns made sure that peace and stability is maintained in all the districts within and around the area.[131]

Like in most of the typical rural areas of northern Nigeria, compounds in Southern Zaria (Southern Kaduna) area and Jama'a in particular are built in accordance with the extended family system. The head of the household with his wife or wives, children and other relations live together in one large compound with separate rooms and apartments. The separation of rooms is meant to ensure privacy of each of the household within the compound. It is worth noting, that the Fulani herdsmen maintained their hut system, but was later changed to the modern Hausa traditional style of settlement. Their houses are similar to those found in typical Hausa land.[132]

[131] S. Balla, History of Jema'a Emirate 1800-1966, M.A Thesis 2002 Pp.58
[132] *Ibid*

MAP SHOWING THE PEOPLING OF JEMA'A EMIRATE

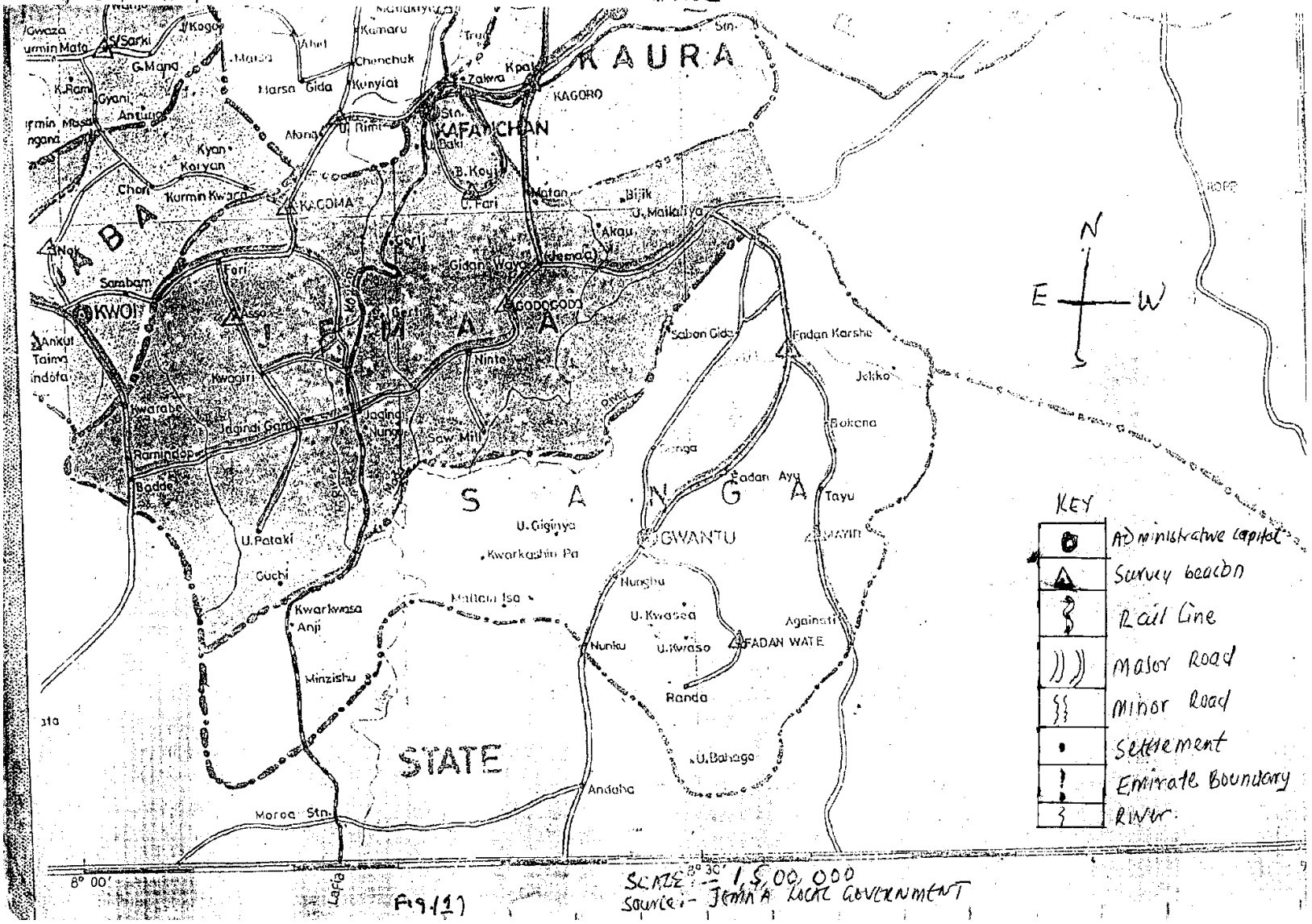


Fig 1.1

SCALE :- 1,500,000
Source :- Jema'a Local Government

2.10-Economy of Jema'a Division

From the above discussion, looking at the Geography of the area under discussion, the soil, drainage, climate and vegetation, rainfall and wind, hydrology to mention but few, offered opportunities for human activity and settlement. This contributed to the growth of towns in the area. It was this conducive environmental factor that made the inhabitant of the area to engage in the pursuit of different economic activities. Such activities included agricultural production, pastoralism, irrigation, fishing, manufacturing, industries, trade, and taxation. It is important to briefly examine how each of these activities was carried out in Jema'a area within our period of study.

Agriculture

Agriculture was the foundation of the economy of Jema'a Division. It was an activity that provided the raw materials used in the manufacturing industries. It was similarly from this activity that many items or commodities used in trade were obtained. Agriculture was the main stay of the economy.

In Nigeria rainfall is the most important element of climate as far as agriculture is concerned, the rhythm of economic activity, which is revealed in the farming calendar of the various parts of the country, is controlled by the incidence and distribution of rainfall as the length of the rainy season which decrease from South to North which is critical factor in agriculture in an area where most of the farmers do not practice irrigation.[133] The crops produced in various parts of the country differ considerably, largely as a result of the difference in the length of the rainy season.[134]

[133] S. Bala p.9
[134] *Ibid*

Rainfall in Jema'a Division begins in March and ends in October. It is last for the duration of eight (8) month. At the beginning of rainfall, farming and planting commence immediately. The productivity of the soil which is classified into two based on their agricultural potentiality as tropical lateral soil otherwise known as the red soil and the dark of the Fadama or marsh land supported the cultivation of both cereals and root.[135]

In Jema'a Division, guinea corn, cocoa, yam, were the staple food crops, while maize, cassava and some species of yam were introduced later. But with missionary and colonial influence other crops such as spinach, mango, guava, pawpaw and many other crops were introduced. Because of the cultivation of a variety of food crops, the Division and its environs was far from being mono-cultural.[136] It must be emphasized that the main subsistence crops in the area were maize, millet; guinea corn, cassava, and yam while for commercial purpose include soya beans, rice, yam, cotton, sweat potatoes, ginger and palm oil

Therefore, out of the many crops cultivated in our area of study groundnut and ginger were partly responsible for the wealth of the area. Hale Middleton a Senior Resident of Pllateau Province of which Jema'a was part observed that:

> *Nevertheless. A start in the right direction has been made and while it is extremely doubtful weather groundnut would ever be extensively cultivated with any success in the Plateau proper, quite a large number of farmers in the southern Jema'a Division have begun to take an interest in his crop and the prospect in those area are encouraging. Of even greater importance perhaps, is the rapidly increasing*

[135] N. Irmiya, Jema'a Division unde Colonial Rule: The Role of the Native Authority 1903-1960, p.35
[136] *Op.cit*

> *popularity of ginger cultivation which has been taken up with enthusiasm in Jema'a district*[137]

An experimental farm shows every promise that the local soil and climate condition is eminently suited to this valuable rooted crop.

It is significant to note that because of the importance of agriculture to the economic development of our area of study; the people of Jema'a Division were engaged in extensive agricultural activities.

The household had been the basic unit of production. This consisted of the family headed by the husband, the wives, children and clients. Almost everybody in each household or the entire family participated in the family activities including women, because of the high level of agriculture, Clapperton who visited the area was particularly impressed by the cultivation of the marsh lands and the system of irrigation being employed. He mentioned that the rice field which he saw under cultivation in Kogum is the most intensive he had seen while passing the area. He furthermore noted that every spot capable off cultivation was planted with millet and guinea corn which was in fine condition in the whole area.[138]

It must be pointed that the farm to maintain its fertility and increased agricultural productivity, the farmer have to move to another new land leaving the other one to fallow (i.e was shifting cultivation). In this way a good number of farming land were resuscitated. Palmer noted this practice at inception of colonial rule and said;

[137] S. Bala , The History of Jema'a Emirate, p.14
[138] S. Bala, The History of Jema'a Emirate, p.100

> *Within the boundaries of village, land cultivation rotates, manure is little used and farms are resuscitated by letting them lie fallow and cattle graze on them…..*
>
> *A farm if cultivated more than two or three years in succession grows barren*[139].

Pastoralism

Pastoralism was another important economic activity as far as Jema'a Division was concerned. Like agriculture, is sensitive to the variability of rainfall. In fact, all aspects of nomadism are dependent on brooms of ecological reality in which vegetational affluence and drought are two crucial factors. As a result, pastoralists devised various forms of transhumant activities to sustain livestock production as well as other form of "risk-averse" strategies to buffer themselves against risk of livestock decapitaization.

The pastoral groups not only specifically reared cattle, sheep and goats but also livestock provided them with their food and the means to engage in all social relations with the non-pastoral groups. It was however practiced by the seminomadic Fulani, including members of the ruling class. [140]

In Jema'a Division, the pastoral groups employed nomadism and a variety of transhumant movements as their principal mode of resource utilization. This involved seasonal and long term movement as well as a vertical and horizontal migration of stock and human population across ecological zone in search of water and pasture. Transhumant movement is one of the major strategies employed by the pastoral group to make use of land resources in the absence of private

[139] M. Mamman, The Role of the Native Authorty in the pastoral economy of Katsina Emirate, PhD Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria 2005, P36

[140] N. Irmiya, Jema'a Division unde Colonial Rule: The Role of the Native Authority 1903-1960, p.36

ownership of land. The main mode of transhumant movement employed was determined by what it can be called ecological resources logic as Chafe succinctly put it:-

> *Animal must be moved regularly to provide the best feed for them and to avoid over-grazing; in normal conditions annual patterns of movement may be quite regular. In period of extreme draught, pastoralist must be able to leave their traditional grazing lands and wonder far in search of adequate feed resources*.[141]

Barth had witnessed the practiced of this activity his travels. He noted that;

> *Now and then a herd of cattle was dispersed over the rich pasturage ground all of white color and the bulls provided with a large fat lump hanging down on one side. We met numerous herd of fine cattle… returning to their pasture ground after having been watered… the bulls all with the beautiful wimp and of the fine strong imps, both of moderate size and with small horns.*[142]

Fishing

Fishing in our area of study was not a primary activities or major source of livelihood; it was rather a secondary exercise so as to supplement agricultural production, farming and the domestic rearing of animals. The fish were produce both for local consumption and for export outside Jema'a Division. Fishing was generally undertaking in rivers and lakes that contained water throughout the year such as river Kogom, river Matsirga river Sarki, river Sanga, to mention but few. Although fishing was carried-out all year round, there was a peak season between September and April when fish stock was more abundant.[143] These rivers played a

[141] K. S. Chafe, State and Economy in Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Pratices in the Metroplitan District 1804-1903, Ahmadu Bello University Press 1999, P.121
[142] Barth Travels and Discoveries Vol 1, P.482
[143] N. Irmiya, Jema'a Division unde Colonial Rule: The Role of the Native Authority 1903-1960, p.37

significant role as far as fishing in Jema'a is concern, because they are major rivers recognized by the people for fishing activities.

During the month of January to March considerable amount of fishing is done in the Kogom River that flow past Jagindi. The fish usually caught include; "Tarwada", "Karfasa", "Kurugu". "Tsage", "Kaura" and "Mari". Therefore, fishing as an occupation had main grades. One of this was mainly concerned with catching the fish and the other combined these activities with aquatic hunting.[144]

But whichever type predominate in any given area depended on the size of the "gulbi' and the water available throughout the season. Therefore, one can point out that because of the available water and "gulbi" in Jema'a Emirate the two activities that is catching the fish and aquatic hunting were prevalent as the fish caught was used for commercial and consumption purpose.

Hunting

Hunting was another major occupation of the people in Jema'a Division especially in the dry season. In Jema'a Division we must note there were two categories of hunters, the first group consist of people who took hunting as a game. They usually organized themselves into groups for that purpose. Professional hunters spent most of the time in the bush and in addition, had a reputation as great herbalist which was attainable in our area of study. The venture is undertaken by adult men and young person. They hunted meat which include hare and buffalo and were been used to supplement diet and also had some economic significant because the people took part to the market for sale.[145]

[144] S. Bala, The History of Jema'a…… P.102
[145] *Ibd*

However, apart from being a source of meat hunting was generally considered as an activity of clan or groups that are closely linked with spiritual worship. Certain areas were marked in the pre-colonial days for hunting. Gunn reported that people were not allowed to hunt in some area only those who first went to the place claim ownership and the right to hunt in such places. For one to participate in the activity there must be an atmosphere of happiness, goodwill and purity of heart. Another law for the hunting expedition has to do with avoiding illegal sexual intercourse, because the people believed that such act causes bad luck. In order to ensure that all participant had observe the rules, all members of the hunting group were asked to assemble at a spot half way to the expedition ground and asked to confess any breach of the prohibition. This is done in order to avoid clashes while the hunting is fully taking place. In order words, man must be in harmony with his fellows and should not bear any grudge against anyone in the community nor should have any anger in this heart.[146]

Irrigation

Irrigation is the replacement of rainfall with water from another source in order to grow crops. It is also referred to as the artificial application of water to land to promote the growth of crops. The earliest form of irrigation in Jema'a Division area consists of diverting flood flows of streams unto crop land. Most common practice today is the storage of flood waters in reservoirs from which the water may be withdrawn for use. With rivers such as Kogom and Matsira that never get dried in the dry season becoming the main source. The form of farming was one of the major occupations of the people of Jema'a Division.[147] Some of the crops grown by the people in the season include; garden egg, pumpkins, maize, vegetables such tomatoes, lotus, pepper onions.

[146] *Ibid*
[147] *ibid*

Trade

The development of commerce in the area was largely due to the growth and development in agriculture as well as crafts, all of which led to a high degree of economic interdependency. As a result, there developed trade networks between the different parts of the region and between the region as a whole and other area of Northern Nigeria. The people of Jema'a had involved in trading activities which also include short and long distance trade, and even some times inter-regional trade. The people have been trading with their neighboring communities for quite a long time. Some of these communities included Abuja, Zaria, Kano, and Nasasarawa. Turaki pointed out that;

"Peaceful contacts, travels, communications and commerce had existed among the people of Zaria especially the Hausa and the diverse ethnic communities of Jama'a Emirate".[148]

Mahdi Adamu observed that Katsina seems to have dominated the trading activities and commerce into Hausa land from the Eastern part of the Nigerian area. Kano played a crucial role in controlling the commercial activities of the Southern part of Northern Nigeria up to the Benue valley, with Jema'a at the centre. The first trade routed started from Kano o Zaria, Zungeru and reached Jema'a area through Too, and Umaisha. This trade route, according to Mahdi was first mentioned on the traveller account of Liard. The second route, according to the same source was the one which after leaving Kano, passed through Jos Plateau to Kufyer Mirriam, the Ankwe territories and crossing the Benue at Dampar and terminated at Kwararafa now referred to as Wukari.[149] The Northern trade riute according to Mailafiya, was divided into subdivisions, some

[148][148] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Societies and Politics in Nigeria* 1993, p.39

[149] Salisu Bala, The History of Jema'a Emirate… p.150

of which passed through Jema'a and then to Lafiya and Garku.[150] Ohiare observed that the routes that ran from the ports to Umaisha and Loko on the Benue and from Lokoja and Koton Karfe on the Niger were the most important routes into the interior of the Northern Nigeria. They were the central routes in Nigeria through which the Royal Niger Company traded with the Hausa States.[151] These entire trades route had linked up with the town of Jema'a.

Jema'a and the settlement immediately surrounding them were the main commercial centers. Early in the nineteen century, the area emerged not only as a new political center but as a center of economic and social activity as well; Jema'a in this regard was like a melt-down center. Bala Usman cited by Salisu, observed that;

> *Some of them grew into important centers of commerce which they were as a result of the combined effects of the internal trading links of which they were centers and the external commerce passing through them*

Jema'a area was a very vital source of produce to her neighboring communities and also communities in the far North. Items like ivory, groundnut, timber, yam, corn, and maize to mention but few were distributed to other places from Jema'a. Jema'a was noted for the collection and treatment of shearbutter, locust beans and groundnut. The shear-butter was of great economic value for soap making.[152]

The locust beans form the raw materials for daddawa, a chief ingredient for making soup/stew which is part of almost every cooked meal. Groundnuts were in large demand in Europe on

[150] *Ibid*
[151] *Ibid*
[152] N. Irmiya, Jema'a Division under Colonial Authority…. P.42

account of the oil which was used for the lubrication of machines. Other products of the area are pepper, cassava, indigo, tobacco, onion, fibers of many kinds.[153]

2.11- Pre-Colonial Education in Jema'a Division

This study will not be carried out appropriately without the adequate knowledge of the forms of education prevalent in Jema'a Division before the arrival of colonial/ western education. In evaluating western education in the area under study, one must determine the extent to which it is meeting the needs of the society at any given time, but we can only do that by briefly looking at other forms of education that preceded it not with the intention of judging their performances on how they failed to conform to the ways of the westernized system but by their performances within a given period and social context. We will therefore be looking at indigenous/ Traditional and Islamic forms of education.

2.11.1 Indigenous Educational System

Pre-industrial educational system popularly known as traditional education is the oldest form of education in Nigeria. This system proceeded Islamic, colonial and Christian influences and all other forms of education came along with them.it was targeted toward producing an individual who grew to be grounded, skillful, cooperative, civil, and able to contribute to the development of the community. This form of education has been used in training children and youths in the Family and the village. The educational structure in which well-rounded qualities were impacted was fundamentally informal; the family, kinship, village group and the larger community participated in the educational and socialization process. The idea behind this life-long training is to make the person fit for the environment. Traditional education therefore, prepares the

[153] *Ibid*

individual physically, morally, intellectually, socially and vocationally so as to make the individual good enough to shoulder the responsibilities of life. [154]

Every society, whether simple or complex, has its own system for training and educating its youth, and education for the good life has been one of the most persistent concerns of men throughout history. However, the goal of education and the method of approach may differ from place to place, nation to nation, and people to people. For instance, the Greek idea of an educated man was one who was mentally and physically well-balanced. The Romans on the other hand place emphasis on oratorical and military training. During the middle ages in England, the knight, the lord and the priest were considered classical examples of well educated elite; in France, the scholar was the hall-mark of excellence; Germany, it was the patriot. In our area of study, Nigeria and Africa at large, the warrior, the hunter, the nobleman, the man of character or anyone who combined the latter features with a specific skill was adjudge to be a well educated and well-integrated citizen of his community.[155]

All the ethnic groups in our area of study regarded education as a means to an end and not as end in itself. In particular, education to them emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values.[156] Children learnt by doing, that is to say, children and adolescents were engaged in participatory education through ceremonies, rituals, imitation, recitation and demonstration. They were involved in practical farming, fishing, weaving, cooking, carving, knitting and so on.[157]

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[154] A.S Tukur and A.N Ezene, *Short History of Education*, p.1
[155] Babs Fanfuwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, P 15

[156] *Ibid*
[157] Interview with Baba Abrak,76 , farmer,Madakiya, on 20th November, 2015

Although the area later known as Jama'a Division consist of many ethnic groups and societies, each with its own culture and tradition, they all have common educational aims and objectives. These societies have a similar way of educating and training of children which usually starts from infancy. Arrival of a child in the area has always being with a great occasion. It is celebrated with fanfare and merriment. The naming ceremony is conducted in full view of all of the members of the extended family, relatives and friends, special rites are performed by the head of the family and the child may be given as many as half a dozen names and each name has a special significance either in terms of a specific events, period or special circumstance surrounding the birth of the child.[158]

Just as any other society, the baby is fed regularly mostly through breast-feeding at the appropriate time. Every child between the ages of one (1) and six (6) is curios and watches his mother's gesture and expression. He learns his language from his mother and knows what it means when she smiles, frowns or weeps. As the child grows older he becomes even curious about things around him, he gradually realize that there are other worlds outside his mother's own. He notices others around him and watches their activities. He learns to manipulate things, plays with objects that are easily accessible to him. In some families the grandparents, uncles, and aunts become involved in the education of the child. They send him on small errand, tell him stories, teach him obedience and respect for elders.[159]

Education in pre-colonial Jema'a Division specifically was not formal, as there were no organized classes or curriculum for teaching, the area was predominantly agricultural, the basic activity was farming which was transmitted to the child as an inheritance. Children learnt by

[158] S. Kazzah, Political History of Education in Zango Kataf, B.A Project, KASU,p. 24
[159] *Op.cit.*

doing; a child followed his father or uncle to the farm daily, and failure to do so, the child would seriously be punished.[160] Agricultural education concentrated on teaching the child how to grow and produce good crops, especially the discrimination between fertile and non-fertile sols, the various soils suited to specific crops. Likewise trades and crafts were restricted to certain families, which required a high degree of specialization. These trades attracted apprenticeship system. However, children were not free to choose the trade of their own liking for they were bound to follow the guidance of their parents.[161] The female child on the other side was pre-occupied much more with cooking, washing, sweeping, gathering of firewood etc. she learnt all these through being close to her mother.[162]

The mother always keeps a very close watch on the female child to observe any physical changes on her body. At that period, following any sign of maturity, the mother begins to teach the child how to grow up and become a good mother. Similar observation is also kept on the male child, the father of the child and some of the uncles will begin to teach the child how to grow up and become a very strong man as no family will like to give out their daughter to a lazy man and to a family where there is starvation.

It should be noted, according to oral tradition, that at the ages of eighteen (18) to twenty (20), the male child has to be circumcised (removing the foreskin) which basically was a part of African Traditional Religious rituals and also making the child a complete man. Afterward, the male child would then be initiated into the *dodo* cult. The *dodo* cult was a form of religious worship that was restricted to only male members of the community that have been initiated. Women

[160] Interview with Dakaci Ibrahim T. Audu, 68,at Takau (Kafanchan) on 24 November, 2015
[161] L. Gidado, Women and Colonial Education in Zaria city, 1902-1960, M.A Thesis, A.B.U Zaria 2012
[162] Dakaci Ibrahim T Audu at Takau (Kafanchan) on 24 November, 2015

were not participants and it was even a taboo for them to even go close. They were not allowed to see the dodo, because of its sacred nature[163]

The aim of this form of education is multilateral purposely to preserve the cultural heritage of the extended family, clan and the tribe. To adapt members of the new generation to their physical environment and teach them how to control and use it; to explain to them that their own failure depends on the understanding and perpetuation of the institutions, laws, language and values inherited from the past.[164]

The objective is to produce an individual who is honest, respectable, skilled, and cooperative and conforms to the social order of the day.

It was to develop the child's latent physical skills, to develop character.

It was to inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority.

It was to develop his intellectual skills, to acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labor.

It was also to develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs.[165]

From the above deduction, it is obvious pre-colonial education was all embracing and left nothing out in the development of the whole personality of an individual. Traditional education shunned unemployment, and the society did not take kindly to idleness. Idleness was not only a

[163] *Ibid*
[164] S. Ameiele, *A Study Guide on History and Policy of Education in Nigeria*, INDEMAC Nigeria Publishers LTD, 2003, P.5-6
[165] B. Fanfuwa, Opcit, pp. 20

disgrace to the individual alone but the whole household. People had to work hard to keep their wives and to retain their prestige within their social circle.

However, the advent and the introduction of other forms of Education, mostly through the mission schools changed, in many fundamental ways, the dynamics of African education. Western education soon took the center stage in Africa, debasing, challenging, and supplanting the traditional, informal education along with its cultural foundations.

2.11.2 Islamic Education

The religion and its education came to Nigeria through the ancient Kanem Borno Empire, covering the present Borno, Bauchi and part of then Gongola States. It was further argued that the Empire later extended to the Lake Chad and to as far north Fezzan.[166] Through trade and diplomatic ties Kanem had become a centre of Islamic education. By the end of 12th century AD, renowned Muslim scholars and teachers from Timbuktu in Mali were found in the empire advancing the education. From this point the education spread to Kano, and Katsina. The Jihad of Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio in 1804 did not only lead to the widespread of the religion and education in the northern, and to some extent; the south western part of Nigeria, it also revived the genuine Islamic practices there.[167] The Jihad served Islam by making possible Islamic empires and states, which allow Islam, Shar'a and Islamic education to fully function. In Hausaland, Islam existed as a religion for many centuries, but did not assume theocratic and state functions until after the jihad.[168]

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[166] Y.A. Abdulkareem, *A Guide on Historical Foundations of Education in Nigeria*, Ibraheem Kewulere Commercial Press, Ilorin

[167] *Ibid*

[168] Y.Turaki, *Tainted Legacy; Islam, Colonialism and Slavery in Northern Nigeria*, Isaac Publishing, United State OF America, 2010, p,63

For centuries scholars have realized that Arabic as a language and Islam as a religion have contributed substantially to world civilization and culture. Beyond any doubt 'Arabic is in many respects the classical language of Western Africa'[169] and in the non-Arabic-speaking Muslim countries it is studied because it is the Language of the Qur'an and, therefore, has great spiritual value. Indeed, 'then history of the teaching of Arabic throughout the Islamic world, but particularly in the non-Arab world, has been the history of the spread of Islam.[170] This is one of the reasons why elementary Arabic schools in Nigeria were called Qur'anic schools, and both Arabic and Islam were taught simultaneously. When a pupil began to read the Arabic alphabet, he did so with an intention to read the Qur'an. Thus two types of Qur'anic schools developed in Hausaland: *Makarantar Allo* or 'Tablet-school' and *Makarantar Ilmi* or the Higher Islamic Studies. The first school is meant for beginners while the higher school embraces all aspects of Islamic studies.

In the process of the spread of Islam, teaching of Qur'an, the Holy Book of the religion was done. Knowledge of the Qur'an is essential as it is the main source of knowledge of Islam. Teaching of Qur'an is started at elementary level by a teacher who teaches his pupils to memorize the Holy Book. After memorizing the Holy Book, the Pupils would move to advanced level of learning. At this level, the teacher teaches his students the meaning of the Qur'an; and the teaching continues until the students become vast enough to become teachers themselves.[171] . Qur'anic schools for children are found at every town in Nigeria area where there are substantial numbers of Muslims.

[169] K.O.Dike, 'The Teaching of Arabic in Nigeria', *Kano* Studies, No.2 (July 1966)
[170] A. Hamidu, 'A Note on Arabic Teaching in Nirthern Nigeria', *Kano* Studies, No 3 (June 1967) p.11
[171] B. Fanfuwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, 1995, p.53

Before missionary or western education was introduced to Nigeria, the Muslims community especially the ones in Jema'a Division had its own system of education. Qur'anic education was said to have been introduced into the area later known as Jema'a Division about 110 years ago by late Mallam Qassim. He acquired his Islamic education from *Makaranta Mai Bakin Karfe* in Maiduguri. The school popularly known as *Makarantan Mallam Qassim* was the only Qur'anic school serving Gidan waya, Sanga, Zango Kataf, Kafanchan etc[172] this began at an early age of about five years of a child, and continued for a certain period of time. The essential part of the formal education of the young ward in Qur'anic school is his proper grounding in the Qur'an. He was made to read and memorize the Qur'an. The Qur'an is central in the formal education of the pupils, this entails, Qur'an recitation in well-drawn out stages or hizfia which numbers up to sixty, and their informal education was also very important and basic. The pupils in the process of studying the Qur'an were also taught various stories about the prophets, and also stories about early history of the religion. Besides, most of the pupil spent a greater part of their time with their teacher in his home, and they would often follow him as he goes out to perform various religious duties such as conduct of service, and open air preaching in or outside the neighborhood. In this informal way, the pupils come to know how to live and behave as Muslims. They learnt how to pray and worship and they also learn the basic tenets of the religion.[173]

On graduating from this stage of the memorization of the Qur'an, the student proceeds to the second stage of his study which is the 'ilm stage'. Here the student was taken through a meaningful study and translation of the whole Qur'an. This study necessarily involved the learning of certain subjects such as Arabic, grammar, literature and poetry, study of the hadith,

[172] Interview with, Mallam Hamza Musa, Zaria Street, Kafanchan, 48yrs, 16/04,2018
[173]P.K. Tibenderana, 'British Education Policy in Northern Nigeria, 1906-1928 :reassessment , P. 7

tafsir and Islamic law. This continues to specialization level and a student here goes out to major centers of Islamic education which are either nearby in places like Borno, Sokoto or as far as Cairo or Tripoli to be grounded in Islamic law and jurisprudence with a view to becoming teachers or judges in their areas. After completion of ilm schools, graduates were each given Ijaza, a form of certificate by their teachers allowing each graduate to teach the subjects in which he had qualified.[174]

Makaranta Mallam Qassim presently known as Abul-Qassim Islamic Center Kafanchan has graduated quite a number of students, few among whom were; Mallam Aminu na Baba, Isiaka Ladan (one time vice chairman of Jema'a LGA-2011-2014)[175] etc. with the introduction of missionary education, parents were skeptical to enroll their wards because of the fear of cultural and religious infiltration, but were subsequently allowed to attain both the Missionary and the Qur'anic schools after realizing that both schools can co-exist and the wards can learn harmoniously.

Islamic education irrespective of the geographical location is part and parcel of Islam. The ambition of every good Muslim was to study Arabic so as to be able to read the Qur'an, study the laws and traditions of Islam. Those who possessed Islamic education were highly esteemed in the society. Lastly, it is worth noting that these systems of education as discussed above have never being static, as there are a lot factors determining their operations. They change as time changes to feet into the global system.

[174] *Ibid*
[175] Interview with Mallam Bashir, Trader, Kafanchan, 67, 16 April, 2018

2.12- Conclusion

We have attempted in this chapter to show that climatic conditions made it possible for the type of vegetation cover in this area which also on the other hand attracted people to settle and also participate in production to meet their material needs. From our understanding of the environment, we have come to see how man utilized it to sustain himself by using his skills and the available resources. We tried as much as we could to trace the origin, migration and settlement pattern of the major ethnic communities that were later known as Jama'a Division.

It is also clear from our discussion that the environment also helps in determining the nature of settlement pattern and some of the early settlements, socio-political and economic activities of the people and most importantly the method of educating, grooming, training and raising the young ones which was basically geared toward functionalism in line with the societal norms. All these will go a long way to further expose us to clearer understanding of the society which we seek to study.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH COLONIAL CONQUEST AND INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

The history of Western-oriented cum education in Nigeria was intimately bound up with the history of Western education in Europe during and after the dark ages. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the old literary and rhetorical education of the Roman era was almost completely destroyed because it was considered pagan in spirit. The Church was therefore not at all enthusiastic to revive it; and became indifferent to education for some time. Soon, however, the Church saw that it could not do its own work effectively unless its adherents were able to read and write. In no time at all it realized the advantage of an education that was tailored to its need, unlike the Roman schools, which were secular, the church schools were religiously biased. William Boyd further put it like this:

> *…….it must be kept in mind that the Church undertook the business of education not because it regarded education as good in itself, but because it found that it could not do its own proper work without giving its adherents, and especially its clergy, as much of the formal learning as was required for the study of the sacred writings and for the performance of their religious duties.*[176]

Thus, to help our understanding of the coming and the introduction of Western education in Jema'a Division it is appropriate to have grasp of how the area was subjugated, dominated and reorganized into what was later known as Jema'a Division. Our concern in this chapter therefore, is examining the colonial conquest of the area, the administrative structure of the colonialist, reorganization of the area into district and division. We will also look at the introduction of colonial education in the area and the policies guiding Western education.

[176] B. William, The History of Western Education, 1961, p.99

3.2 Colonial Conquest of the Area

During the nineteenth century, the British had established contact with Northern Nigeria through a series of gallant explorers who risked their lives to map the course of the Niger. But as the details of their discoveries became widely known, interest in the Western Sudan grew quickly, stimulated alike by prospects of trade and by the determination to stamp out Muhammadan slave-raiding and slavery throughout the area. When France and Germany revealed their interest in Africa, the British redoubled their efforts in Hausaland, and under such leaders as Sir George Goldie of the Royal Niger Company, and Fredrick Lugard, they won the race for a treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto, excluded their European rivals from this region.[177]

The treaty between the Sultan of Sokoto and the representatives of the British meant different things to the parties concerned. To the British, the treaty established their influence throughout the Sultan's territories, to the exclusion of French or Germany interests. The Sultan probably regarded the treaty as an alliance which promised protection against other European Powers and perhaps against local revolts.[178]

The British conquest was of course not limited to Sokoto and its vassals like Zaria, a strong hold of the Fulani, but a process of conquering the state and nationalities that were economically and effectively subjected by the Fulani; which were later merged to become the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Colonial conquest was not a uniform phenomenon, while the rulers of Zaria did not resist the conquest the southern section, especially most of the nationalities that fall within our area of study stood their ground, even though in the end the tentacles of subjugation was imposed on them.

[177] A.C. Burns, *History of Nigeria*, London, Allen, 1948, pp.75
[178] *Ibid*

It was natural to expect that once the predecessors were on control, all subordinates area would follow the same, but it turned out to be an uphill task for the colonialist. From 1903- 1950 onward, military operation in our area of study never ceased. The first expedition in 1903 was conducted by six (6) officers and one hundred and ninety five (195) men viz: Major E Grawley; Lieut. Short; Lieut. Parker; Surgeon Rice and Resident Bob.[179]

The March began from Zaria moving south-eastward taking one village at a time. The story that accompanied these expeditions was nothing to write home about. Both Manguat and Bonat recounted incidences of resistance. Military expeditions were characterized by looting, burning, excessive killings, confiscation of livestock etc.[180]

The British officially reached Jema'a in 1903 and Emir made a formal submission to the British, the ethnic nationalities were in a state of war with the Fulani rulers of Zaria and Jema'a at the arrival of the British. This state of war was characterized by slave-raiding, slave trade, and religious proselytization on the part of the Fulani warriors. As such, despite this formal submission by the Fulani Emirate (Jema'a), the other ethnic groups actively resisted British occupation.[181]

Jema'a Emirate, being considered a Fulani enclave in Southern Zaria, was considered peaceful and an ally of the British Colonialist. For this reason it was given British protection against " the warlike and hostile" people of southern Zaria as they were called. But this "warlike and hostile" attitude towards the Fulani during British occupation of the area was more or less a continuation of effect of the pre-colonial slave-raiding and slave-trade of the Fulani warriors.[182]

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[179] Gazetteer, vol 4 pp 249
[180] *Ibid*
[181] *Ibid*
[182] H. Gidado Bello, Women and Colonial Education in Zaria City, 1902-1960, M.A Thesis A.B.U, Zaria 2012, P.56

The basis for British protection of the Fulani was both political and economic. The provincial Annual report stated that the need to subdue the Kogoro and the Attaka was to protect the Fulani so that they could stay in the area and increase taxation.[183]

The British looked up to the Fulani and the Hausa to provide political and administrative control of the area. The colonial Administration had continued to doubt the ability of the ethnic groups to manage their own affairs. It was for this reason that the colonial administration subordinated some ethnic groups to Fulani rule based upon some illegitimate pre-colonial claims of sovereignty.

Lugard and Lady Flora Show contributed immensely to the development of this bias in the administrative circles. Lugard stated that "the Fulani of Northern Nigeria are more capable of rule than the indigenous races". [184] Furthermore he stated...

> *I believe myself that the future of the virile races of this protectorate lies largely in the regeneration of the Fulani. Their ceremonial, their colored skins, their mode of life and habits of thought, appeal to the native population…… This, then, is the policy…….. to regenerate this capable race and mold them to ideas of justice and mercy so that they may become worthy instruments of rule. My desire to utilize the Fulani as rulers has been described in a former report.*[185]

Unlike the Muslim Hausa and the Fulani, the ethnic groups in our area of study had been assigned an inferior status and placed under the colonial Administration. He placed the Muslim and Fulani under the "advanced communities". The peoples of the non-Muslim areas were what Lugard called "primitive tribes".[186] Derogatory designations such as "pagan", or "heathens", "savages", "primitive", "uncivilized" etc., have already defined colonial prejudices and

[183] NAK; Nasarawa Province. Annual Report, 1912. Kagoro District
[184] L.F. Lugard, *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, London pp 198
[185] D.C Doward, "the development of British Colonial Administration Among the Tiv, 1900-1949, African Affairs 68, 1968, pp. 316-333
[186] *Op.cit*.

discrimination against those to whom such terms were directed. These terms were also laden with contempt against their culture, religion and values.

3.3 Colonial Administrative Structure

One of the major actions of British Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria was the introduction of what was known as Indirect Rule through the machinery of Native Authorities headed either by the Emir or Chiefs as the case may be. Throughout the Northern Region, the Native Authority became the unit of local administration. In Muslim areas of Northern Nigeria, the emirate structures were used as a framework for the Native Authority administration. In some place where there were no centralized authorities such as non-Muslims areas of Southern Zaria, chiefs were appointed and made to administer their people through the Native Authority in similar ways as the emirates. Yet in many other places as in what and where later became Jema'a Division, due to the exigencies of colonial rule administration and since there was no organized traditional political structure or power to rely upon in building and consolidating colonial rule among these various ethnic groups, the colonial power brought them under Muslim traditional rulers of the emirates. Initial resistance and protests by these ethnic groups were brutally suppressed by the British colonial power.[187]

As the corner stone of Indirect Rule, Native Authorities, Native Courts and Native Treasuries were experimental systems which consciously developed into a constructive system of government for Northern Nigeria. The Native Courts were charged with responsibility for all administrative and executive work among the natives for the furtherance of trades, education, agriculture etc. throughout the territories.[188] Native Treasuries were no new innovations and

[187] M.D, Suleiman, Southern Kaduna; Democracy and the Struggle for Identity and Independence by Non-Muslim Communities in Northern Nigeria 1999-2011…

[188] JHSN Vol. 4 No 3 pp. 423

Lugard only formulated the system of accounting to insist that tax was paid into a single know source and estimates based on derivable revenue be formally prepared. Native Courts showed the willingness of European to allow the Native law and customs a place in the new order that was being built and to use non- European agency to dispense this laws, except aspects that colonial power found objectionable. The Lugard's Indirect Rule was a concept of local government during the colonial rule. The local government was integral part of colonial administration and concerns with economic and other development for effective exploitation.[189]

For instance, Yahaya perceived the Native Authority Institution solely as

> "*an organization manifestation of a social group in the society which did not only constitute a dominatory political group but also comprised traditional classes in the society; such a group comprised of Emirs, District Heads, Village Heads, Titled Officials, N.A Employees, Teachers and Traditional Occupational Groups*".[190]

The implication is that these were the groups that controlled the economic resources and the surplus was horal depended on the position each group occupied on the hierarchical ladder, while the peasantry who were actually involved in the production remained at the lowest part of the ladder. No matter how hard they tried to improve, there were always matching measures introduced to increase their exploitation and to subject them to perpetual condition of uncertainty and fear. All these were done in the hope that they accept their condition as pre-determined with no option but to be submissive.[191]

There were basically tow type of administration: the Independent District and non-Muslims Peoples in Emirates. This first administrative policy was the territorial grouping of the ethnic groups into division and districts and much later the creation of village areas between the year

[189] A.D Yahaya, *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria1950-1979: A study in Political Relations with particular Reference to Zaria Native Authority…* pp.5

[190] *Ibid*

[191] *Ibid*

1900s and 1920s. During punitive patrols and assessments, political officers were ordered to gather the history and the demography of districts and village areas.[192]

The information were used mainly to assess whether an area is economically viable and/or it could be designated as "independent", that is owing allegiance to nobody, particularly a Fulani emir, or it was " subjected to Fulani rule in the past". Areas not yet brought under British control were designated as "Unsettled Districts". In these areas, nor Europeans or even missionaries were allowed to enter until when brought under British control.[193]

As briefly captured above, ethnic groups in the Independence Districts were declared free from any allegiance to the Fulani rulers; they were at the time of British conquest under no Fulani rule or claimed so by any ruler. Right on the onset, Lugard made a policy statement of maintaining "the independence of those who had maintained their liberty against the Muslims conquerors."[194] Furthermore, Lugard states; "That no independent or revolted "pagan tribes" were to be included in the Jurisdiction of a Muslim ruler without the express sanction of the governor". Lugard's aim was to maintain the independence of these districts and gradually to form them into tribal and racial units under paramount chiefs of their own selection.[195]This was what the Colonial Administration did for over twenty years. District heads, Village heads were created or developed so as to effect the implementation of Native Administration. Local chiefs in these areas were at first designated as district heads but were later known as the paramount chiefs.[196]

It is worth noting that the administration of these areas at some points was handicapped by lack of adequate finance and competent staff. The colonial policy was that, each Native Authority

[192] Y. Turaki ,The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993,pp. 92

[193] *Ibid*

[194] *Ibid*

[195] *Ibid*

[196] J.A. Ballard, "Historical Inferences from the Linguistic Geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt, Africa 41 19721, pp.11

should be able to raise its own funds. Taxation as we know has only newly introduced in these economically poor areas. But even of the little money raised through taxation, the largest portion went to the coffers of the Colonial Administration. Because of financial problems, some areas were subordinated to the Native Authorities of the stronger emirates, for example, Kogoro, Moroa and Kwoi in our area of study.[197]

The second type of administration in the non-Muslim areas and what later became known as Jema'a Division was their subordination to Fulani rule in the emirates. Direct Fulani rule over certain areas in the pre-colonial period was usually more of a claim than being a historical fact. The pre-colonial relations were not usually of political rule or control but military exploits or slave raiding. The subsequent extension and the consolidation of Fulani rule over this area were affected by the Colonial Administration. District boundaries were usually drawn based upon the claims of Fulani emirs. By 1913, the colonial Administration had abolished the old system of district head residing in the capital. District heads were posted to their districts.[198] This administrative policy brought some non-Muslim peoples for the first time under direct Fulani rule.[199]

Perham confirmed the consolidation OF Fulani hegemony over the non-Muslim areas by the Colonial Administration. Mohammadan rulers thus sometimes obtained for the first time an effective grasp upon peoples whom they had done no more than raid or mulct of an occasioned tribute of slaves, and in some few cases they were allotted groups which had always maintained their independence. [200] Furthermore, Okonjo adds, "ironically, therefore, the theory of indirect

[197] M.G. Smith, "*Kogoro Political Development*" pp. 144-148
[198] Gazeteers, vol 31, Nassarawa Province pp.20
[199] *Ibid*
[200] M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, Oxford University Press, 1937.pp 187

rule in the non- Muslim areas required that British bayonets maintain the Fulani in power over an unwilling and unconquered people.[201]

Going by the above analysis therefore, the justification of the placement of most of the ethnic nationalities that later form Jema'a Division under emirate rule of both Jema'a and Zaria emirates was usually based on the grounds that it was difficult to obtain efficient indigenous chiefs and that among some groups they have not yet obtained a status of self-rule. Thus, Fulani district head were thought to be the best institution for administering these areas. This conveniently explains the motive for organization of the societies after imperial conquest under districts and later on division.

3.3.1 Reorganization of the Conquered Areas

I. District

The British reached Jema'a in 1903; the emirate (Jema'a emirate) made a formal submission to the British. In October 1904, the Colonial Administration posted a political officer together with a detachment of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF).[202] Despite the formal submission by Fulani emirate (Jema'a) the other ethnic groups actively resisted British occupation. Despite their resistance, the British colonialist was still able to subject these ethnic groups under their influence.

To begin with, the Jaba (kwoi district) Kagoro and Moroa were designated as chiefdoms or Independent Districts. This designation was based upon the fact that these areas were not under the claims of any Fulani ruler and therefore their independence must be maintained. However, direct colonial rule was imposed upon them since they had no chiefs.[203] Despite the claim of

[201] I.N. Okonjo, *British Administration in Niger* 1900-1950: A Nigerian View, New York: Nok 1974. Pp 130
[202] Gazetteers, vol.4,pp.249
[203] A.D Yahaya, The Native Authoriy System in Northern Nigeria 1i950-1979: A study in Political Relations with particular Reference to Zaria Native Authority, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980, P.99

being independent, Kagoro and others were somehow and subsequently subordinated to Jema'a and Zaria emirates.

The Kaje (Bajju) on the other side were subordinated to both Zaria and Jama'a. Since 1870 the Jema'a Kaje have been ruled nominally at least by Jekada from Jema'a and in 1912 they were induced to acknowledge the political suzerainty of the Sarkin (emir) Jema'a and accepted as district head; Liman Umaru, a Fulani of Jema'a.[204] One political officer remarked, "I should doubt whether any of the Kaje could undertake the administration of a district.[205] The other half of the Kaje along with the Kataf, Kamantan, Ikulu and others were claimed by the Emir of Zaria as his subjects.[206]

The Kagoma and the Nothern Yeskwa were placed under Jema'a rule. The same was done to the Kaningkon, Kafanchan, ninzom, Ayu and others. The reason for doing so just as discussed above was that those groups were "subdued" by the Fulani.[207] Although the history of the Kagoma refuted these "false historical facts"[208] Large scale Wars were never fought between the Kagoma and the Fulani of Jema'a'. A formal friendship existed between the two. This friendship was established between them, the chief of Kagoma and Mallam Usman the first Emir of Jema'a 1810.[209] But this is not in any way against the fact that there were wars of resistance by these ethnic groups against Fulani rule and domination. As such, the subordination of some of these ethnic groups in our area of study to Fulani rule which they had fought against and resisted during the pre-colonial period was hardly justifiable on any political grounds or administrative expedience by the Colonial Administration.

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[204] C.L. Temple, *Native Races and their Rulers*, London. Frank cass, 1967,pp.89
[205] NAK: Nassarawa Province Annual Report, 1914
[206] *Ibid*
[207] *Ibid*
[208] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.97
[209] C.L. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria, Frank Cass*, London, 1965, PP.181

II. Division

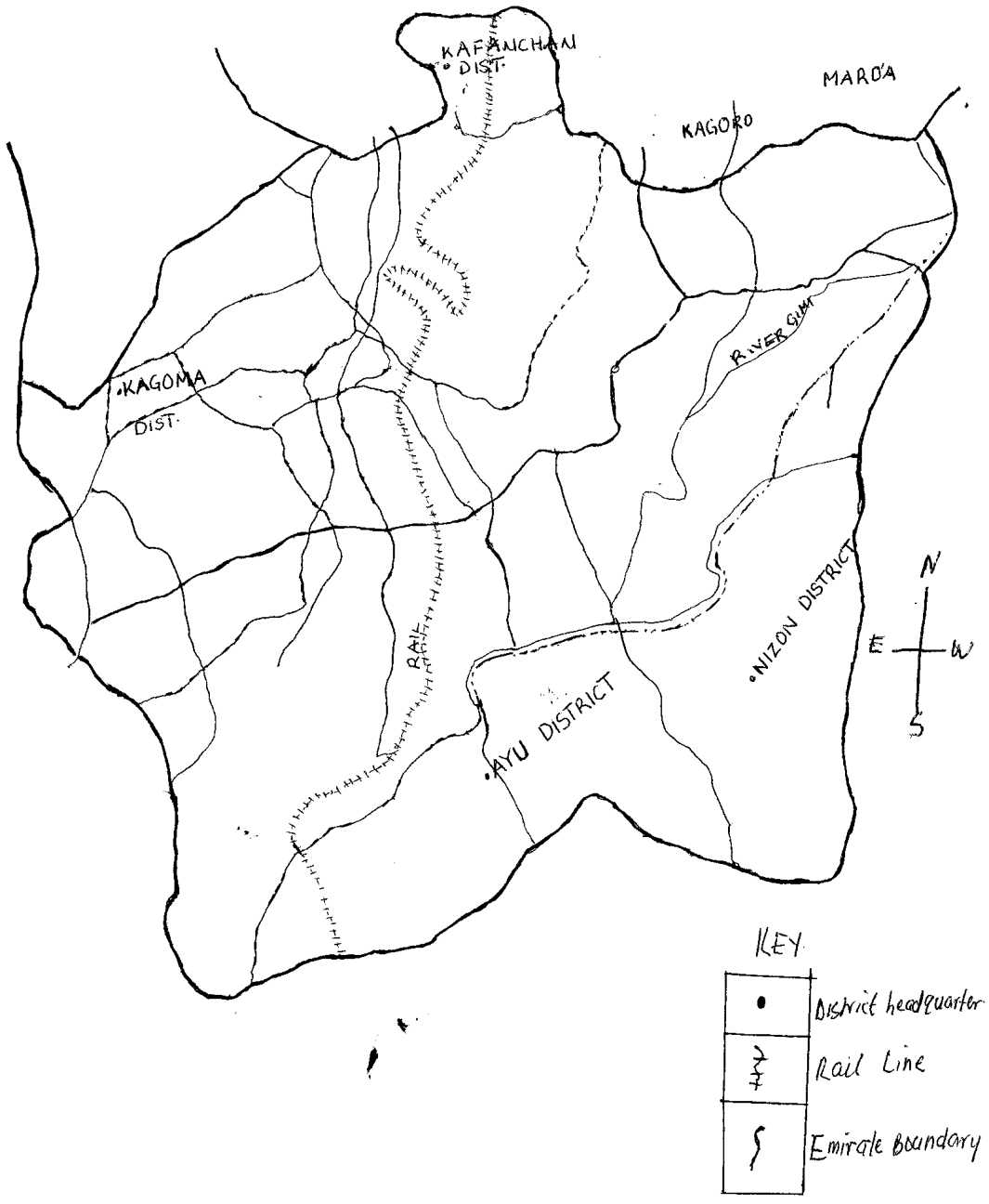
The Division was a colonial political creation, which came into being as part of the British colonial divide and rule system for easy and convenient administration and economic exploitation of the area. To achieve that, they relied on the already existing central system of administration of the Jema'a emirate to exert their influence.

In 1912, Jema'a Division was fully organized within Nassarawa Province. The political division was made up of three chiefdoms; Jaba, Kagoro and Moro'a, and the entire Jema'a Emirate Comprising Ayu, Kagoma, Yeskwa,[210] Ninzam Districts and Kaje (Bajju) of Madakiya. The British therefore imposed direct rule over the chiefdoms, while Fulani rule was imposed upon these areas within and under the influence of the Jema'a Emirate. There was also a provincial re-organization that transferred Jema'a Division from Zaria province to Nassarawa province as a punishment to Zaria Province for the assassination of captain Maloney in 1902. Furthermore, in 1926, Jema'a Division was also transferred to the newly constituted Plateau Province curved out from Bauchi Province.[211]

In 1934, the Kaje (Bajju) of Jema'a, Kagoro, Moro'a and Jaba chiefdoms (independent district) were transferred from Plateau to Zaria Province.[212] Therefore, the administrative and political re-organization of the Jema'a Division were mainly for the convenience of the political officers and Fulani rulers as well as for the smooth and easy domination and administration by the "colonial government"

[210] NAK: Nassarawa Province Annual Reports, Kagoma District 1914
[211] Gazatteers vol 4, pp.15
[212] NAK: ZARPROF, Au 412 264 Zaria-Plateau: Proposal for Tribal Adjustment , 1944

JEMA'A DIVISION SHOWING THE FOUR DISTRICTS



3.4 Introduction of Colonial Education

When the Colonial Government began the provision of western education in Nigeria, in 1882, it did so within the framework of its administrative policy: that is the policy of "indirect rule". This was the policy adopted by the British colonialist in administering Nigeria. School curriculum was planned to enhance the implementation of the administrative policy. As the colonial government did not need high level manpower to implement its administrative policy, it concentrated on the production of low level manpower under its education system. [213]

In line with its general Administrative Policy, the British Colonialist had a colonial educative policy that was in principle a policy for separate development of the Muslim areas and the non-Muslims areas. The fundamental basis for this administrative policy was religious and political; the promise of religious non-interference and the policy of the exclusion Christian missions from the Muslims areas. The Muslim areas were to be protected and preserved, while "pagan" areas should be opened to western civilization and Christianity. As such two types of educational programs where introduced, one for the Muslim areas and the other for the non-Muslim areas.[214]

Colonial Education was introduced in Nigeria by the British colonialist prior the educational activities of the missionaries with the objective of colonial domination and control of the resources of the country; what was produced, how they were produced and how they were distributed. Though their centuries of colonial domination in various parts of the world, they came to recognize that the most effective area of domination was the control of the mental universe of the colonized, essentially through the manipulation of culture, how people perceived

[213] S. Mohammad, Education and Nation Building some reflections on Curriculum Development in Nigeria, Olayemi A. e'tal (eds) Nigeria at 50: *The Challenges of Nation Building*. A publication of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 2010 ABU press Zaria, 2012, pp. 465

[214] Y. Turaki , *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.76

themselves and their relationship with the rest of the world.[215] The single most important devise fashioned out for this purpose was colonial education. The primary role of colonial education was the control of the mind of the colonized.[216] The Curriculum of colonial education at the onset centered on: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Memorization and drilling was the main feature of learning as opposed to child's environment. As observed by Tai Soloni:

> *Little was done to teach individuals things that are immediate to their physical or social background. A child would be forced to learn by heart everything about British Empire, the British Isles and Queen but would never be taught anything those same concepts from his background. Those who received such education ended knowing almost nothing about the very environment they are expected to return to and help develop. The education given to these gentlemen bestowed on them the rudiment of English grammar, the definitions of all conceivable jargons in topographical geography, the chronology of all Kings of England, lived, inconsequential or moribund from A.D 1066, or unmatched knowledge of insane wars of Europe.*[217]

The type of curriculum designed for colonial education was more relevant for the preparation of individuals for the metropolitan countries than the indigenes ones and tended to alienate the child from his cultural environment. The product of this system of education formed part of the British administration as clerks, messengers, interpreters etc.

It is important to stress that the development of education in Northern Nigeria by the Colonial Administration was centered in the Muslim areas. The Mallams' class started in 1909, the sons of the chiefs in 1910. Students for this school were recruited from the Muslim areas which Zaria was one. Provincial Education became more and more the responsibilities of the Native

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[215] A. Mahdi, Colonial/Neo-colonial Education and the Under-Development of Nigeria. Inaugural lecture A.B.U, delivered on 1st July, 1997, pp.5

[216] T. Nguyi, *Decolonizing the mind, the politics of Language in African Literature*, London Heine Mann, 1986. P. 133

[217] A. Mahdi, "Colonial/Neo-colonial Education and the Underdevelopment in Nigeria" A.B.U Inaugural Lectures, series No 1, 1996/97pp.8

Administrations while the Government focused its attention on central Education.[218] By 1916, Zaria was one of the provinces where such schools were built. The colonial Administration did not destroy the Qur'anic schools but allowed them to exist side by side with its own new schools.[219]

The colonial education provided by the Native Administration and the "colonial government" was slightly different from the Education provided by Christian Missionaries and based on the educational policy of the British Colonial Administration; the Christian Missionaries Education was restricted to the "pagan" dominated areas like the Jema'a Division. This will be comprehensively discussed in our next chapter.

3.5 Colonial Policy on Education

Colonial policies on education in Nigeria cannot be separated from the total policies of colonial administration. Colonial educational policy was in principle a policy for separate development of the Muslim areas and the non-Muslim areas. The fundamental basis for this administrative policy was religious and political…The promise of religious non-interference and the policy of the exclusion of Christian missions from the Muslim areas. The Muslim areas were to be protected and preserved, while "pagan" areas should be opened to western civilization and Christianity. "I have, however, held out every encouragement to establish missions in Pagan centers, which appear to me to need the influence of civilization and religion……." says Lugard.[220]

Central to the educational policy for the Muslim areas was the administration's promise of religious non-interference to the Muslim rulers and avoidance of upsetting change in the colonial

[218] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.83

[219] D.w. Bittenge, *An Educational Experience in Northern Nigeria in its Cultural Setting*, Elgin ill; the Brethren Publication House. 1941, pp. 191

[220] ARNN, P.135

situation. Being aware of these, the Administration was very cautious about introducing European education and allowing the activities of Christian missions. The post-Lugadians rejected missionary education in favor of the Government's for it can be controlled. They also felt that it was their duty to keep the pledge or promise to Muslim rulers by checking the moving frontier of Western Civilization which if allowed would destroy the "northern Culture".[221] Hanns Vischer was chosen by Girouard to develop Government education. Should Government education be developed over the entire Northern Region? The proposed Government schools were to be confined to the Muslim areas while Christian mission should take care of the non-Muslim areas. The extension of Government schools to the non- Muslims areas were to be considered after the successful establishment of schools in the Muslim areas.[222]

Because of its importance to education, it is appropriate to further outline what these policies were and their overall relevance to the progress and character of education in the period under consideration. These policies were embodied in education codes, the first of which were those of Lugard in 1916. Lugard 1916 education code stressed the need to emphasize character training on the curriculum of primary schools, technical instruction and gardening. He wanted teachers employed to be qualified and those schools lacking qualified teachers were to be closed down, while those with qualified teachers were to be assisted with government grants.[223] In addition, value of religion was to be recognized and utilized.

As far as Lugard was concerned, the primary function of Government educational policy was to make the ordinary individual useful in his environment and to ensure peace and order and the

[221] F.A. Ogunsola, "An Historical study of the Impact of Colonial Ordinances on Education in Northern Nigeria, 1916-1966, PhD Thesis, Ohio University, 1970, pp. 243

[222] S.F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, P.74-75

[223] A.H.M, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria; a documentary record*, Frank Cass and co. ltd, London 1968, P.151-152

advancement of the community. It was also meant to pledge loyalty to constituted authority.[224] Lugard's policy on education did not anticipate social change; rather its aim was to maintain the status quo of the people. The people were to retain their indigenous dressing, manners, customs etc.[225]

In essence, the 1916 code had the intention of controlling the rapid expansion of western education, because the government had the power to open and close schools. The emphasis on manner, character training was alright, but it points to the government anxiety to produce educated men with an outlook and stamp that conformed to what the colonial government wanted. The code wanted to produce educated men who were domicile to colonial authority and local rulers. It down played bookish, academic oriented leaning. It put its weight behind the production of artisan who would be left to the field to work, while men with clerical and bookish education would be kept away from areas in offices where they could compete with colonial rulers. The whole intention was to keep Nigerians away from sensitive position, in other words, it was to control or extend the life of colonial regime.

Furthermore, Lugard emphasis in education policy on moral instruction led him to outline the course of instruction that should be followed in order that the compelling power of religious sanction may be enlisted in the formation of habit of discipline and self-control.[226] The moral instruction was to be secular morals concerned with the value of truthfulness, courage, love of fair-play and justice, self-control, respect for senior and those placed in authority, good manner etc.

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[224] A.H.M. Kirk Greece, *Lord Lugard Political Memoranda; Revision of Instruction to Political Officers on Subject of Chiefly Political and Administrative* 1913-1918, Frank Cass and co ltd, London, 1970. P.130

[225] C.O. Taiwo, *The Nigeria Education*. p.5

[226] A.H.M. Kirk Greece, *Lord Lugard Political Memoranda; Revision of Instruction to Political Officers on Subject of Chiefly Political and Administrative* 1913-1918, Frank Cass and co ltd, London, 1970, P 135

However, the 1916 education code was significant for our study to the extent that it helped to promote cooperation between government and voluntary agency. As noted earlier, the missions were solely responsible for the education work in Jema'a Division. To do this effectively, they need pro6ection from the colonial government which was adequately provided. On the other hand, they preached the preservation of social relations with the colonial government. In addition, they emphasized humility, docility and total submission and assure better life here after.[227]

Ad-hoc efforts were made to control education through the codes but the most comprehensive attempt was that of the Phelps-Stokes commission. Phelps-Stokes visited Nigeria in 1920-21, and its observations were not different from the body of ideas and prejudices which were already enshrined in the Lugard code of 1916. It said that education was spreading too fast; there was too much premium on academic and examination oriented education that technical instruction was neglected. This body of ideas was accepted and became the white papers on colonial policy on education. By 1925 a memorandum on education prepared by the colonial office Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa set down new educational policy for the territories as follows;

"education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes occupations and traditions of the various people, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life and adopting them where necessary to change circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his/her condition whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of Agriculture, the development of native industries, the

[227] W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Opcit, pp. 253

improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable trustworthy public spirited leaders of the people belonging to their own race.

The committee set up clearly the objective of colonial education in Africa which aimed at adapting education to the life of the people; to promote social community improvement and to prepare the leader and administrator far from this, the type of education provided in Nigeria was meant to perpetrate the colonial rule as it is noted in their various policies on education.

In 1926, Sir Hugh Clifford set up a representative Board of Education under the 1926 Education code to regulate the opening of new schools and to close any school not adequately equipped or managed. In addition, teachers were to be registered. He also recommended that the running of elementary education in the south should be left in the hands of the Christian Missions. The primary aim of the 1926 education code was to regulate the condition of schools in the southern provinces. And for the Northern Provinces, it simply incorporated most of the provision of the 1916 education code. The only change was in the definition and composition of the membership of the Board of education. A teacher training institution and "any assembly of not less than ten pupils" were in the definition of a school, while the two non- official people in the Board of education in 1916 education code was increased to four in the 1926 Education code.[228]

In July 17, 1929 the North and South Education departments were amalgamated and E.R.J Hussey became the director from 1929-1936.[229] Among other things, his first task was to improve the quality and quantity of education in Nigeria. After he had toured the whole Northern and Southern Provinces, he presented his memorandum on education which was accepted by the

[228] S.F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, P.137
[229] *Ibid*

sub-committee and Advisory Committee of education in the colonies under the leadership of Lugard. The central theme of Hussey policy on education was "to plough back educated men from office desk to the field. This meant more emphasis on agriculture and craft. The teaching of agriculture in the rural areas and handcraft in the town were to be special features of curriculum in which teaching would be in vernacular in the first two years while English would be used as a language of instruction from the third year of the elementary school. Therefore, another major area of colonial educational policy was in the area of medium of instruction. Government and Mission schools were prohibited to teach English language at early stage. Vernacular was the medium of instruction in all schools.

Between 1900 and 1920 the Colonial Administration had not implemented any serious educational program for the non-Muslim areas and Jema'a Division in particular. Even though the Educational Ordinances of 1916 had a plan for their education it was never implemented early enough. During the same period, Christian Missions were busy with itineration, planting of mission stations and evangelization. There were resistance and suspicion over the activities of the missionaries by the peoples of the non-Muslim areas in the beginning. It is important to note that the majority of mission stations were established between 1920 and 1940.[230] The Colonial Administration on the other hand was also busy with punitive patrols, tax assessments, ethnographic surveys, and the administrative problems of implementing the emirate model between 1910 and 1930.ernemtn policy was that the non-Muslim students could not be set to Zaria schools: the Elementary and Middle Schools. The simple reason was religious. One political officer felt disputed with this unfair policy. "I think this fear of Muslim proselytization has become a fetish and it would do both Muslims and pagans good to mix out the Middle

[230] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.85

School."[231]Since the Colonial Administration would not agree to send the non-Muslim students to Zaria, being a Muslim city, it was suggested that they be sent to the Government School at Kaduna. But the response was that "the resident does not like the idea of sending those (non-Muslim students) to the Government School at Kaduna.[232]

The only hope for elementary education in Southern Zaria was that "the Toro pupils would return to their 'Pagan' areas and open one-teacher schools.[233] Since the opening of boarding schools would be too expensive in the non-Muslim areas, one-teacher schools were to be built in their place. The Education Report of Zaria suggested Area [234]School, but these schools were never built until 1951-52.

It was certain that during the first 20 or 30 years of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, both the Colonial Administration and Christian Missions were just trying to occupy the non-Muslim areas. The British were concerned with pacification and the introduction of 'Pax Brittanica" and hardly with education. While on the other hand, missionaries were preoccupied with itineration, evangelization, church and mission planting and hardly with education.

Since Jema'a Division received much of its education from Christian missions, it is important that I just mention in passing the educational policies of Christian mission up to the Second World War and perhaps up to early 1950s. Christian missions were primarily concerned with the training of pastors, evangelists, teachers and communicants. All their training was geared towards evangelistic purposed. The focus of education was theological and not secular. The aim was not for any advanced education but just enough to enable converts to read and write so that

[231] NAK: ZARPROF. ACC.559, 557," Education in Pagan areas…"
[232] *Ibid*
[233] *Ibid*
[234] *Ibid*

they could effectively use the scriptures for evangelistic purposes. It was not for social advancement but for laying a spiritual foundation for converts. It was not for the society at large but primarily for the Church.

The presence of Christian missions in the areas under study cannot be viewed as sharing of responsibilities. The truth of the matter is, the area was abandoned to Christian missions. Colonial dual educational policy reflected very much its differential treatment of ethnic groups along racial, cultural, class and religious lines. For this reason, the Colonial Administration strongly advocated the policy of separate development and the isolation of ethnic groups. Colonial educational policy led to the strengthening of the pattern of dominance –subordination relationships between the Muslim and non-Muslim groups. It also helped defined the condition of the role and status of the non-Muslim groups since they had no access to colonial education, and political or administrative institutions.[235]

3.6 Conclusion

From the above, one will be able to say that the colonial administration was overly concerned about the maintenance of the status quo than the development of democratic and just institutions purposely for the convenient exploitation of the area. Not much was done in the area in the aspect of education by the Colonial Administration as their concern was basically on the collection of taxes. Evidently, it must be noted that the Colonial Administration and the Native Administration did not provide education for their non- Muslim subjects. Even though they paid taxes to these Native Treasuries they never benefited from this social service because of colonial religious policy.

[235] *Ibid*

CHAPTER FOUR

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT WESTERN EDUCATION IN JEMA'A DIVISION

4.1 Introduction

Western Education in Nigeria has been administered by various authorities (voluntary agencies or missions) colonial 'government' through inspectorates and departments, and later by Federal, State and Local Government. For the effective and efficient functioning of any organization, the operating administrative structures, that is, the units of the systems charged with specific functions to be carried out must be clearly defined and described in terms of role performances needed for achievement of goals. The history of education in Jema'a reveals that Christian missionaries were the first to establish schools in the 1920s and to administer them through their superintendents. But this does not excused the fact that at some points there exist a kind of dual control by government and the missions.

This chapter therefore is set to examine missionary activities in Jema'a Division as well as the establishment/administration of schools, the missionaries' relationship with the British Administration in the area and the enrollment of pupils/people into the schools.

4.2 Missionary Activities in Jema'a Division

Western Education is a system of education that originated from Western Europe and penetrated to the other parts of the world after Industrial Revolution that introduced a civilization of science and technology. Its main approach therefore was modernization of social life through science and technological advancement.

There has being a lot of arguments by scholars on what this system of education should be called, some are with the opinion that it should be referred to as missionary, some colonial, some western, while others says it should be called modern education. Be it as it may, amidst this arguments we have come to the understanding that what it is called can only be determined by a number of factors; the period for its introduction, the area where it is introduced, the body that introduced it, the purpose for its introduction etc. based on this argument therefore, our focus here is to look at missionary/colonial education because the educational system was introduced by the missionaries in collaboration with the colonialist in our area of study.

The history of western education in Africa is mostly directly traceable to the relentless efforts of European Christian missionary bodies. Missionary activities in Africa began as early as the late fifteen century following the successful exploratory missions sponsored by Prince Henry ("the Navigator) of Portugal. Our focus here will be restricted to the introduction of this system of education to Jema'a Division.

Missionary activities in Jema'a Division have its origin to the penetration of Christian missionaries into central Nigeria which occurred simultaneously with the pacification of Northern Nigeria by Sir Frederick Lugard. In Northern Nigeria, it was the colonialists that paved the way for the missionaries' penetration. Lord Lugard had at Rowland Bingham's persistence to establish a mission station at Pategi;[236] The Pategi station established in 1900 acted as a launching pad for Christian missionary penetration of all the communities that later became known as Jema'a Division.[237]

[236] I. James, *Studies in History, Politics and Culture of the Southern Kaduna Peoples Groups*, p.130
[237] *Ibid*

Among the missions, the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) was the first to arrive in 1910. The first station was opened at Kwoi in 1910 by Rev. F.E Hein. The second station was Kurmin Musa in about 1921 by Rev. T Allen and the third station was Kagoro by Rev. T. Archibald. Kwoi and Kurmin Musa were both in Jaba-land. From these three stations, the missions carried out itineration, evangelization, church planting and the establishment of out-stations. The Kwoi station served the Jaba, Kagoma, Yeskwa and Koro. Kurmin Musa served the Jaba of Kachia, Kaje and other ethnic communities in Kachia District as far as beyond Kufana. Kagoro was the largest station and served the Kagoro, Kataf, Moro'a, Kaje, Kaningkon, Kafachan and others.[238]

By the 1930s, there were about four Christian Missions operating in the area. They were the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) the largest, the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) the second largest, the CMS and the Sudan United Mission (SUM). There were also five Southern churches in the area, located mainly in Kafanchan town. These Southern Churches were the Baptist, Apostolic Church, Faith Tabernacle, and the United African Church (UNA). These Churches grew up as a result of the Southerners who were mainly clerks and laborers to the colonial Administration and the Nigerian Railway Cooperation.[239]

The gradual penetration of Jema'a Division area by such several denominations introduced some elements of competition. This was the competition for converts or souls, for spatial territorial control, competition for influence over traditional locus of power and competition for the radical transformation of the philosophical and the socio-cultural milieu of the people. This triggered off

[238] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy In Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonail Society and Politics in Nigeria*, Challenge Press, Jos, 1993, pp.111

[239] *Ibid*

the change of philosophy and policy among some denominations and triggered off the proliferation of Western style school system.

In the early part of their work, the main aim of the missionaries was to convert the traditional worshipers and Muslims to Christianity; and to carry out this activity successfully, the missionaries tried to remove and do away with all obstacles. Firstly, communication which was a major barrier and a challenge was systematically tackled. Aside from teaching few of their immediate followers English Language and writing, upon their arrival in a particular village they also participated in almost all the cultural activities as well as learning Hausa language which was the most popular medium of communication among the various communities. They were only doing this to win the trust and confidence of the people.[240] As conversation therefore was easier through education, schools were started and religion formed the main course of study. But, slowly subjects like reading, writing, arithmetic and geography were also taught. These subjects helped the converts to understand the religious instruction and these were also useful to work as clerks in offices of the business firms in the coastal towns.[241] Moreover, schools needed teachers and churches needed catechists and pastors. 'Such persons were first taught in the elementary schools. Then they were taught in the seminaries. Technical schools were opened to teach some useful skills to the convert. The aim however was to produce a technician who was a good Christian.[242]

Generally speaking, missionaries did not attach must importance to the indigenous culture of the people. They wanted them to give up their culture and take up Christian culture. As believed by the imperialist "that Africa was a dark continent". The Christian missionaries argued that they

[240] Interview with Baba Abrack, farmer, madakiya, 20th/11/2015
[241] A.S Thukur and A.N. Ezenne, *A Short History Of Education in Nigeria*, pp.13
[242] *Ibid*

were in Africa to show light through moral and character training according to Christian way of life. They aimed at the rebirth of the local people through Christianity and schooling. They wanted the converts to start a new life.

The missionaries were serious type of people very dedicated to their objectives. As their main aim was to teach religion, schools or learning centers were at first found at mission compounds, and learning organized in the mornings and closed in the afternoon with prayers and hymns, the Bible, catechism and hymn books, written in English were translated to Hausa and other indigenous languages, so also were most songs.

With their major activity being preaching and conversion, the missionaries recorded remarkable successes in the number of converts. The statistics below shows the number of converts into Christianity in the area during the periods 1930-1939.

Table 0.1

CHURCH	**1930**	**1933**	**1934**	**1935**	**1936**	**1937**	**1938**	**1939**
SIM	320	-	260	130	202	200	325	442
RCM	155	-	350	258	268	275	325	450
CMS		-	148	168	154	157	139	303
SUM	30	-	150	112	150	155	200	250
BAPTIST		-	-	45	45	62	72	80
FAITH TABENACLE		-	30	32	32	26	21	33
UNA		-	80	92	72	72	192	176

SIM had three churches at kwoi, Kagoro and Kafanchan. But in 1934 Kwoi and Kagoro were transferred to Zaria Province leaving only Kafanchan in Jema'a. The 130 in 1935 stands only for SIM Church at Kafanchan.[243]

Below are the list of churches and their congregation in the 1945

CHURCH	CONGREGATION	MEMBERS
RCM	St Peters Kafanchan	434

[243] NAK: ACC.500 265 Jema'a " Religious Denomination, 1931-1940

	St George old Jema'a	68
	St Patrick Gertic	56
	St Andrews Kagum River	29
CMS	Holy Trinity Kafanchan	172
SIM	Kafanchan	300
SUM	Randa	400
UNA	St James Kafanchan	37
Baptist	Kafanchan	68[244]

The Missionaries suffered from the effects of bad weather and diseases like malaria and yellow fever. Yet they continued their work and succeeded in starting, increasing and improving schools in Jema'a and beyond. They converted many people to Christianity. Pupils coming out of the schools took up jobs as teachers, pastors, clerks and technicians. Bright pupils entered secondary schools and some even went overseas for higher education. Missions laid the foundation of western type of education. Such education became a useful passport for better jobs. Later on, higher form of education which included science and technology were also introduced.

[244] *Ibid*

4.3 Establishment and Administration of Schools in Jema'a Division

Unlike the Native Administration that did little or nothing in the establishment of schools in Jema'a Division, literacy programs, Sunday school programs, Classes for Religious Instruction (CRI), Theological Training Program, Primary Educational Program, Secondary Education started to proliferate around mission station and outstations with emphasis on itineration, religious instruction, preaching and writing, Christian Missionaries began to move from one village to another. The media of instruction were mostly in Hausa and native languages.[245] The main stations for classes for religious instruction in the Jema'a area were Kagoro, Kwai, Kafanchan etc. the main objective of this type of education was proselytization and evangelization.

The first SIM School was established at Kagoro in August 1929, and it was a Bible school.[246] The policy for converts and education was stated by Dr A.P Stirrett in 1933:

> *Don't lead them into English, Math; Science etc keep the Bible as the text book and the only one- thus sending out successive relays of young men with the word of God in their hands and Christ of God in their hearts. Out, not as agents of the mission, not in any way dependent on any church but quite independent to go wherever God may open their way to go.*[247]

Almost throughout the 1930s, the only education available to the Jema'a area was the type described by Dr. Shirrett. The first elementary school in Southern Zaria as a whole was the Native Administration Elementary school at Jema'a Mallam opened in 1930. But the Gazetteers

[245] S. Kazzah, Political Impact of Western Education in Zango Kataf L.G.A, B.A Project ,KASU, 2010 Opcit, pp.29
[246] SIM Toronto: Kagoro files misc No 1 "schools" 1934
[247] Sudan Witness, July-August, 1932-33,pp.56

stated that the school at Jema'a Mallam was for Muslim boys only.[248] During the 1930s and 1940s, Christian missions were only concern with providing little education in the C.R.I and the Bible schools. Emphasis was placed on the training of evangelist and not on teachers for elementary schools.[249]

The breakthrough of education in Jema'a came in 1937. This was through the instrumentality of the two graduates of Toro Training Centre, Mallam Bagaiya and Mallam Gwamma (former chief of Kagoro), and the SIM, the first Elementary Training School (ETS) was established at Kagoro.[250] The Roman Catholic Mission, during the 1940s concentrated on training teachers at the ETS in Kafanchan.

By the end of the 1940, sufficient teachers were trained for the established of Mission Elementary Schools in the Jema'a Division. The education records both at Kaduna and Zaria clearly indicated that the majority of applications for the establishment of schools and churches were filed by Christian Missions between 1948 and 1955. [251] The early big missionary educational centers were Kagoro, Kafanchan, Kwoi and much later Ungwar Rimi and Fadan Kagoma.

The rapid expansion of primary education in Jema'a and Southern Zaria at large was based upon the emphasis on teacher training in the Missionary Training Centers. Kagoro SIM and Kafanchan RCM were sub-centers. There was also a great demand for education almost everywhere.[252] Church leaders and teachers kept on pressurizing the missionaries from education. It must be

[248] Gazetteers vol. 4 pp, 314
[249] Y.Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.115
[250] Interview with Baba Tinvak, Farmer, Madakiya, 20th/11/2015
[251] ARNN. 156. PP.161
[252] *Op.cit.*

borne in mind that the rapid growth of education in the Jema'a area should not be interpreted to mean that the area had a head start in education than the Province (Zaria). Formal Western education was first established in the province by the Colonial Administration. A good secular education did not really start in the Jema'a Area until the 1950s.[253]

The value of education had been identified quite early in mission work. Education was the most powerful tool and means of evangelization and church planting in the mission field. The reason is simple; Christianity is a "literate" religion. The deep truths, value and principles of the Word of God, the Holy Scriptures have to be read learned and taught, and literacy is a potent vehicle of achieving that.[254]

The available records in the SIM archives reveal that early missionary educational philosophy, policies, programs and activities were, in the main, means of Christian propagation and the spreading of the Gospel of Christ. Education was primarily auxiliary to and also a hand- made of evangelism and church planting. The goal or the end is not education in itself but attainment of the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. Furthermore, it was a means of grounding and rooting the Christian faith in the word of God, the Holy Scriptures. Education was indeed a primary missionary activity but with the sole purpose of spreading the Gospel of Christ. With this philosophy in mind, the mission saw the necessity of training the indigenes in the rudimentary arts of education and its application to life.[255]

It should be noted therefore that the establishment of and the development of western education in Jema'a Division by the missionaries when through some processes and stages, as highlighted

[253] *Ibid*
[254] Y. Turaki, An Introduction to the History of SIM/ECWA In Nigeria 1893-199, November 1993, pp.136
[255] *Ibid*

above (literacy programs, Sunday school programs, classes for religious instruction (CRI), Theological Training Program, Primary Educational Program, Secondary Education) which will be discussed briefly.

I. Literacy program

The primary goal and objective of mission literacy program was to introduce the early converts to the elements of reading and writing. The purpose of this program was to teach the early converts how to use the Bible in both teaching and preaching. Furthermore, it was also necessary to ground them in the knowledge and teachings of the Bible and basic Christian doctrines. This literacy program was the first step of developing missionary education in the mission stations and out-stations. Therefore, the bulk of missionary education was primarily and mainly of literacy education: reading, writing and notation.[256]

The major literacy policy of the mission was the transmission of literacy to the illiterates. The mission trained the "mission boys" quite early in the literacy program on how to propagate literacy in the surrounding villages and districts. Many of the early educated converts became voluntary teachers to the illiterates. The efforts of these pioneers in literacy training later grew into religious classes, primary and elementary schools.[257]

II. Sunday School Program

The Sunday School Program was quite different from the literacy program in that its sole purpose was to equip the early converts with sound Biblical knowledge, catechism and basic Christian doctrines. The Mission swathe need and the necessity of developing practical

[256] *Ibid*
[257] Interview with Baba Timbvak

indigenous Christians whose lives were to be guided by the Bible, Christian faith and doctrine and catechism. In order to achieve this goal, the Sunday school program had the following basic subjects: the teaching of Bible stories, lessons, narration, memorization and recitation of scriptures. Catechism, Christian doctrines, choruses and Christian songs and prayers. Since many of the early converts were not literate, oral method of teaching was used.[258]

Sunday school was usually conducted in the mission stations and out stations and they were of primary importance. As mission stations and out stations grew in number and more conversions and more places needing outreach, the need of getting missionary helpers from among the early converts became imperative. The need to train indigenes as Sunday school teachers, itinerant evangelist, Bible teachers and catechists became more acute at the expansion of mission work.

Sunday School Program just like the literacy program contributed immensely in grounding the early indigenous converts in the Word of God, catechism and basic Christian life and practice. The program also was the means of imparting Bible knowledge and basic Christian doctrines to the ordinary people who would otherwise not go to school or become literate. For the majority of Christians, Sunday school program was the primary means of being introduced to the general Christian beliefs and way of life.[259]

III. Classes for Religious Instruction (CRI)

CRI can be rightly termed as advanced literacy program. Its primary goal was beyond literacy, that is, reading, writing and notation. It was a tool for providing elementary Christian and theological knowledge. This advanced religious literacy program dominated the educational

[258] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.142

[259] Interview with Baba Abrak

programs and activities of the Mission until the early 1930s when the Colonial Administration gave it a clear definition but also differentiated it from regular "school."

The Education ordinance No.65 of 1933 and Gazette Notice No.39 of 1934 gave a clear definition of the classes for Religious Instruction (CRI). It states:

> *"class for religious instruction" means a class or assembly of not less than six persons receiving instruction in religious subjects and in one or more of such elementary subjects as are specified in a syllabus drawn up for the purposes of this definition…. No new school or class for religious instruction shall be established after the 1st day of January, 1934, without prior approval of the Resident of the province in which it is desired to established such school or class. Any application for such approval shall be made through the Provincial superintendent of Education. Provided that a class for religious instruction personally conducted by a person who is a native of or is domiciled in the town or village where such class is established shall not require such approval.*

Where any school or class for religious instruction is established in contravention of this section the proprietor shall be liable to a fine of ten pounds.[260]

The missionary CRI program was the major powerful literacy tool used by the mission and which also contributed immensely to the growth of literacy and Christianity. Early converts were usually in most cases the first indigenes to become literate. This also afforded them to gain deeper knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, Christian faith and basic doctrines and catechism. Many of the literate early converts became itinerant evangelist, Bible teachers and catechists in the surrounding villages and districts. At the early stage of mission work, these literate indigenes became volunteers and enlisted themselves "free" itinerant evangelist, Bible teachers, Sunday School teachers and catechists without receiving any remuneration either from the Mission or the

[260] Gazette, No.39, 1934

indigenous Church. As a result, this evangelistic fervor in missionary concept of education and also from enthusiasm of the early believers caused Christianity and literacy to spread rapidly in the Mission Field, especially in the progressive and responsive areas.

IV. Primary Educational Program

The Mission's policy on Literacy, Sunday school, CRI and Theological training programs left the Mission with very little interest in developing an effective primary or elementary educational programs. At the early stages of mission work any education beyond literacy and religious instruction was not of priority. In principle, education did not go beyond literacy, religious instruction, Sunday school and elementary theological training. Thus, primary or elementary education did not feature prominently in the pioneering stages of the Missionaries. Serious consideration of primary education began in the 1930s and the 1940s. The lack of trained indigenous Christian teachers hampered early and full development of this educational program. The lack of man-power adversely affected the Teacher Training and Secondary programs.[261]

The Primary vernacular programs were not fully developed nor standardized by both the Christian missions and the Colonial Administration during the 1930s. And primary education hardly exceeded Primary IV or Standard II. The preoccupation of the Mission was with its war against illiteracy, the mission was very reluctant to give more education than necessary.

V. Secondary education

[261] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.149

Secondary education was the least developed by the missionaries in Jema'a Division and Southern Zaria at large. The Mission was very apprehensive of training its products and turning them over to Higher Government Schools. Its policy states:

> *There appears to be some misapprehension regarding the sending of boys to Government schools. No Christian boy who is attending a mission school can be forced to attend a Government School.*

The mission was afraid of Secondary education for fear that its products might turn out worldly and be lost to Christianity. Since Secondary education emphasized the acquisition of 'secular' knowledge, the mission was not ready to embark upon this type of education. Dr. Andrew Stirrett, the field Secretary once remarked:

> *Care must be exercised not to introduce subjects on the curriculum other than reading of the Bible and writing, because if subjects such as English, Mathematics, Commercial Arithmetic, Book-keeping and other worldly arts and sciences are taught they become a source of temptation to the pupil to enter Government service, receive lucrative positions and often to spend his substances in riotous living.*

It was this philosophy of the mission that hindered its early development of secondary education. At that time, the Mission did not see it as an opportunity of influencing future leadership of the nation but saw it as dangerous to the Gospel. This development therefore affected the speedy growth and development of western education in the division. Their focus was placed on raising a group of itinerant evangelists that will help in the propagation of the Gospel.

But with increase in the influx of various missionary bodies, there was also increase in the establishment of both primary and secondary schools in the Division. Important to not here is the fact that there were basic procedures guiding not only the coming into the Division of these

missionary bodies but there activities especially the establishment and administration of schools. Every missionary body establishing a school has to apply for permission to do that, and such applications or requests as to be directed or addressed to the Colonial Provincial Education Officer. Therefore, establishment of any school was conditioned to the positive response of the Colonial Provincial Education Officer.

There was not any serious establishment of School in the division as activities were geared toward the propagation of the Gospel of Christ until late 1940s and 1950s, in the late 1950s specifically; there were quite a number of Schools established by different missionary bodies across the division, this include;

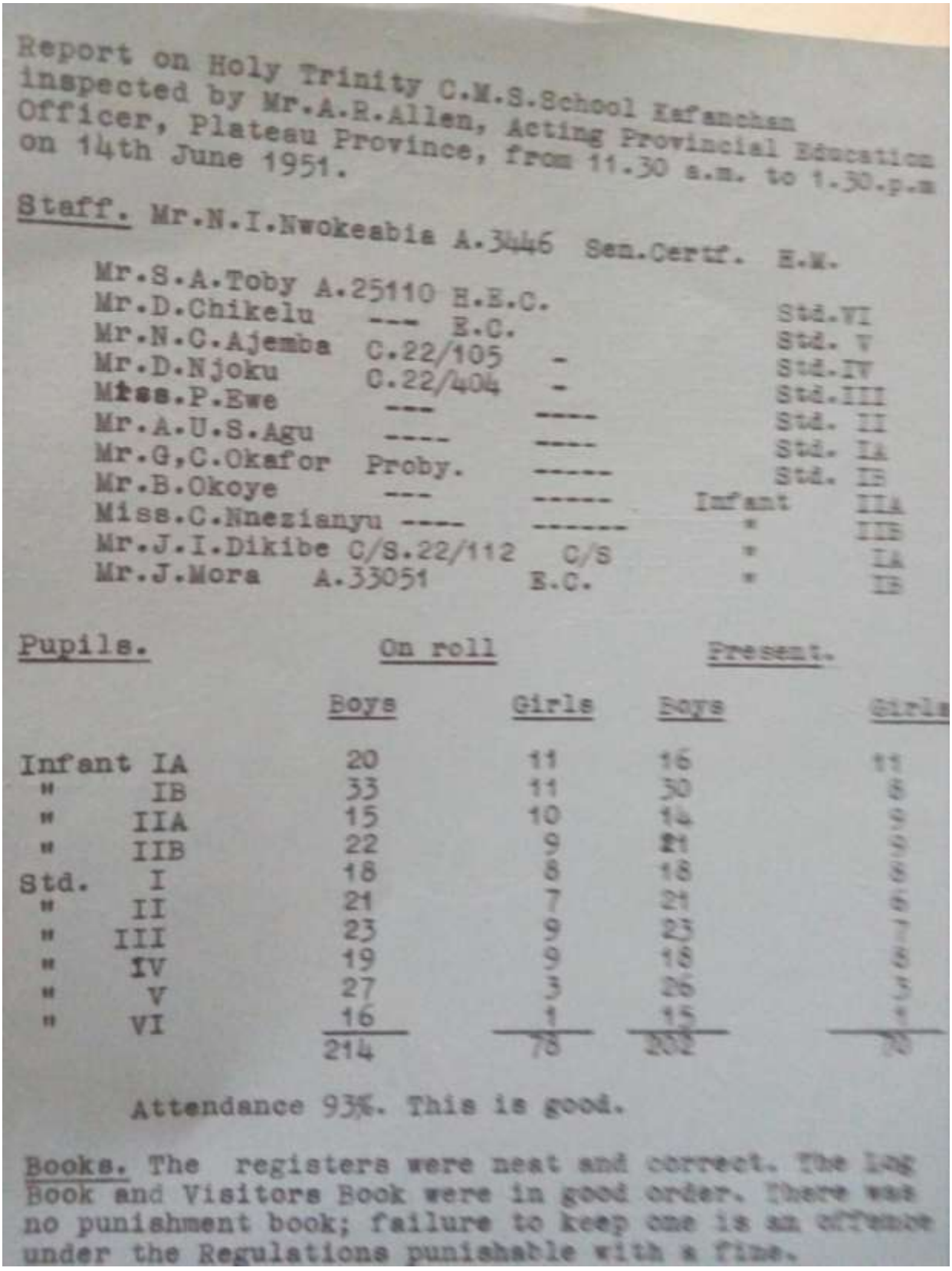
1. Kagoro Bible School 1929/30
2. Vernacular Bible School 1937
3. First Kagoro Primary School 1937
4. Kagoro Demonstration School 1937
5. Mallam Maude Primary School 1938
6. Teacher Training School 1939
7. Bible Training School Kwai 1942
8. First Kagoro Secondary School 1947
9. Holy Trinity C.M.S School Kafanchan 1951
10. Godo-Godo C.M.S School 1951
11. English Bible Institute Kagaro 1955
12. Ankung Primary School 1958

13. Katugal Primary School 1958
14. Fadan Kagoma Primary School 1958
15. Sab-Zuro Primary School 1958
16. Kwai Girls Primary School 1958
17. Kagoro Bible College 1960
18. R.C.M School Godo-Godo
19. R.C.M Junior Primary and Senior Primary School Kafanchan
20. S.I.M Primary School Kafanchan
21. C.M.S School Jagindi
22. S.I.M Secondary School Kagoro [262]

The above established schools though administered by the various Missionary bodies that owns them, were yet, highly monitored and supervised by the Native Authority. These schools were inspected at intervals by the Colonial Provincial Education Officer or anybody delegated to do so, to report on the number of students, staff, classes and furniture, so as to enable them assess the progress of the school over time. Below are examples of such reports.

[262] The Jouuney so far: *Seventy Years of God's Faithfulness at Kagoro ECWA Theological College (KETC) 2000*. Personal Touch Publishing, kwoi Kaduan State Nigeria. pp. 9

Figure 1



Report on Holy Trinity C.M.S.School Kafanchan inspected by Mr.A.R.Allen, Acting Provincial Education Officer, Plateau Province, from 11.30 a.m. to 1.30.p.m on 14th June 1951.

Staff.

Mr.N.I.Nwokeabia	A.3446	Sen.Certf.	H.M.	
Mr.S.A.Toby	A.25110	H.E.C.		
Mr.D.Chikelu	---	E.C.		Std.VI
Mr.N.C.Ajemba	C.22/105	-		Std. V
Mr.D.Njoku	C.22/404	-		Std.IV
Miss.P.Ewe	---	----		Std.III
Mr.A.U.S.Agu	----	----		Std. II
Mr.G,C.Okafor	Proby.	-----		Std. IA
Mr.B.Okoye	---	-----		Std. IB
Miss.C.Nnezianyu	----	------	Infant	IIA
Mr.J.I.Dikibe	C/S.22/112	C/S	"	IIB
Mr.J.Mora	A.33051	E.C.	"	IA
			"	IB

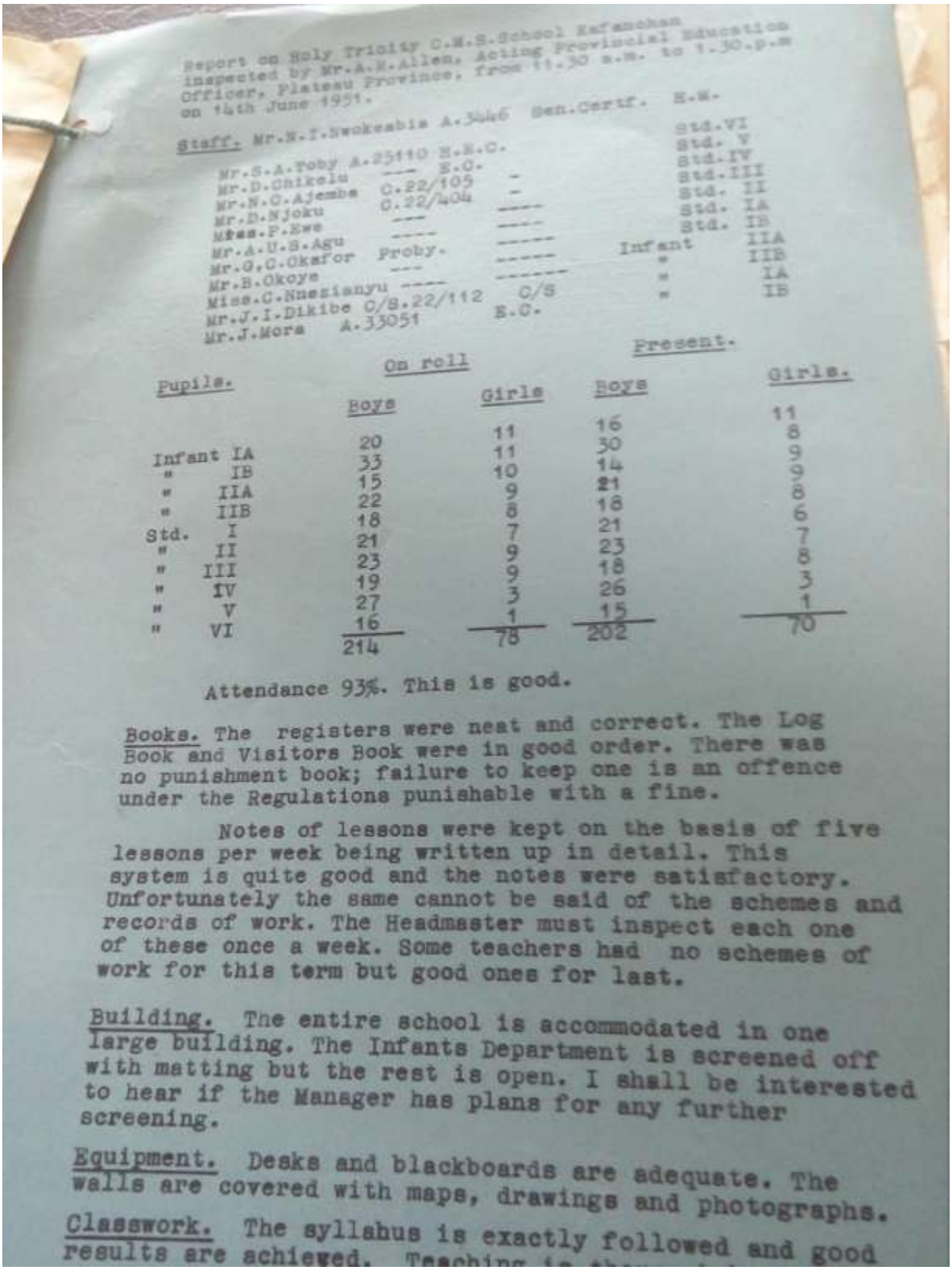
Pupils.

	On roll		Present.	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Infant IA	20	11	16	11
" IB	33	11	30	8
" IIA	15	10	14	9
" IIB	22	9	21	9
Std. I	18	8	18	8
" II	21	7	21	6
" III	23	9	23	7
" IV	19	9	18	8
" V	27	3	26	3
" VI	16	1	15	1
	214	78	202	70

Attendance 93%. This is good.

Books. The registers were neat and correct. The Log Book and Visitors Book were in good order. There was no punishment book; failure to keep one is an offence under the Regulations punishable with a fine.

Figure 2



Report on Holy Trinity C.M.S.School Kafanchan inspected by Mr.A.E.Allen, Acting Provincial Education Officer, Plateau Province, from 11.30 a.m. to 1.30.p.m on 14th June 1951.

Staff. Mr.N.I.Nwokeabia A.3446 Gen.Certf. H.M. Std.VI
Mr.S.A.Toby A.25110 N.E.C. Std. V
Mr.D.Chikelu --- E.C. Std.IV
Mr.N.C.Ajemba C.22/105 - Std.III
Mr.D.Njoku C.22/404 - Std. II
Miss.P.Ewe --- ---- Std. IA
Mr.A.U.S.Agu ---- ---- Std. IB
Mr.G.C.Okafor Proby. ----- Infant IIA
Mr.B.Okoye --- ----- " IIB
Miss.C.Nnezianyu ---- ------ " IA
Mr.J.I.Dikibe C/S.22/112 C/S " IB
Mr.J.Mora A.33051 E.C.

Pupils.	On roll		Present.	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls.
Infant IA	20	11	16	11
" IB	33	11	30	8
" IIA	15	10	14	9
" IIB	22	9	21	9
Std. I	18	8	18	8
" II	21	7	21	6
" III	23	9	23	7
" IV	19	9	18	8
" V	27	3	26	3
" VI	16	1	15	1
	214	78	202	70

Attendance 93%. This is good.

Books. The registers were neat and correct. The Log Book and Visitors Book were in good order. There was no punishment book; failure to keep one is an offence under the Regulations punishable with a fine.

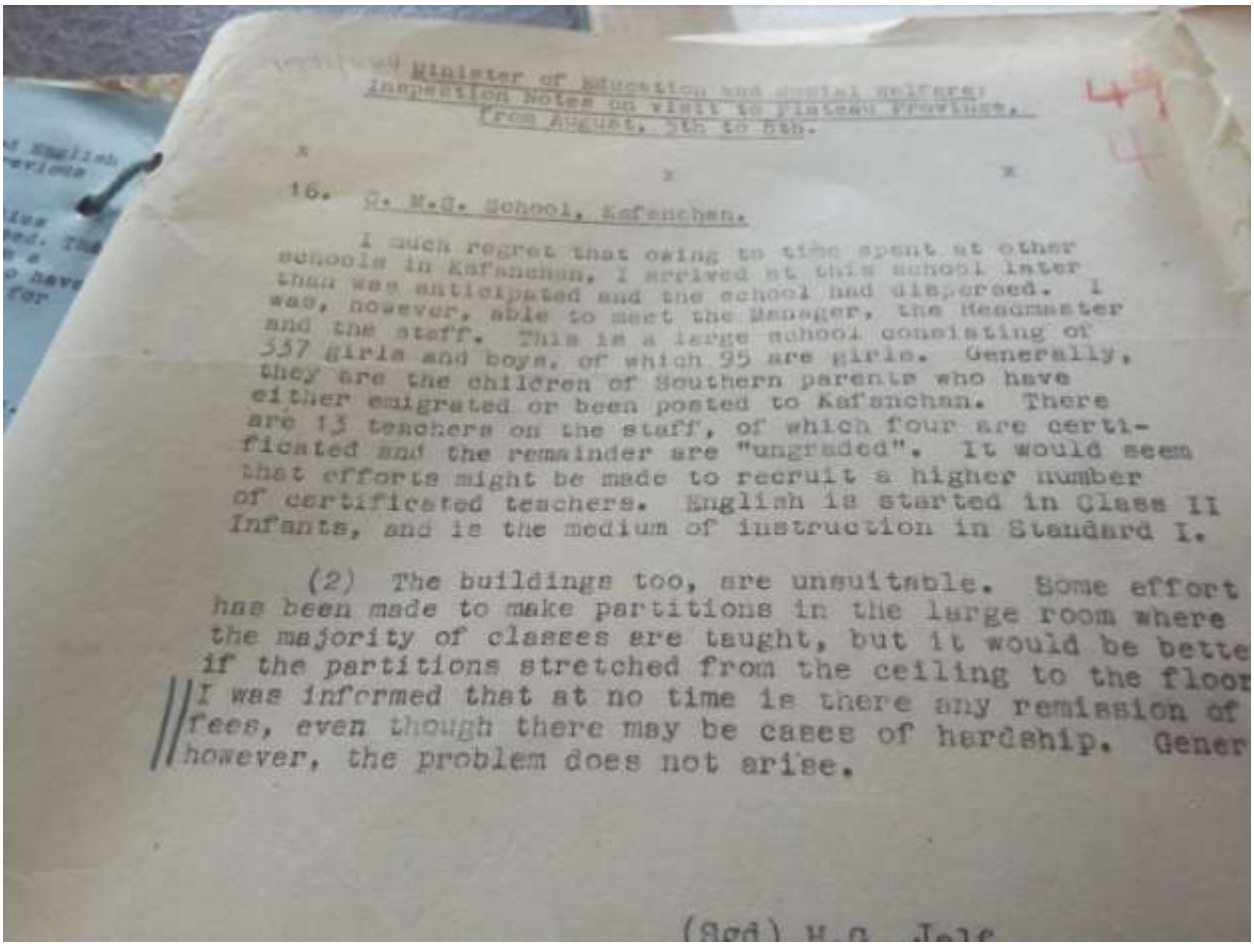
Notes of lessons were kept on the basis of five lessons per week being written up in detail. This system is quite good and the notes were satisfactory. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the schemes and records of work. The Headmaster must inspect each one of these once a week. Some teachers had no schemes of work for this term but good ones for last.

Building. The entire school is accommodated in one large building. The Infants Department is screened off with matting but the rest is open. I shall be interested to hear if the Manager has plans for any further screening.

Equipment. Desks and blackboards are adequate. The walls are covered with maps, drawings and photographs.

Classwork. The syllabus is exactly followed and good results are achieved. Teaching is

Figure 3



Minister of Education and Social Welfare:
Inspection Notes on visit to Plateau Province,
from August, 5th to 8th.

49
4

x x x

16. G. M.S. School, Kafanchan.

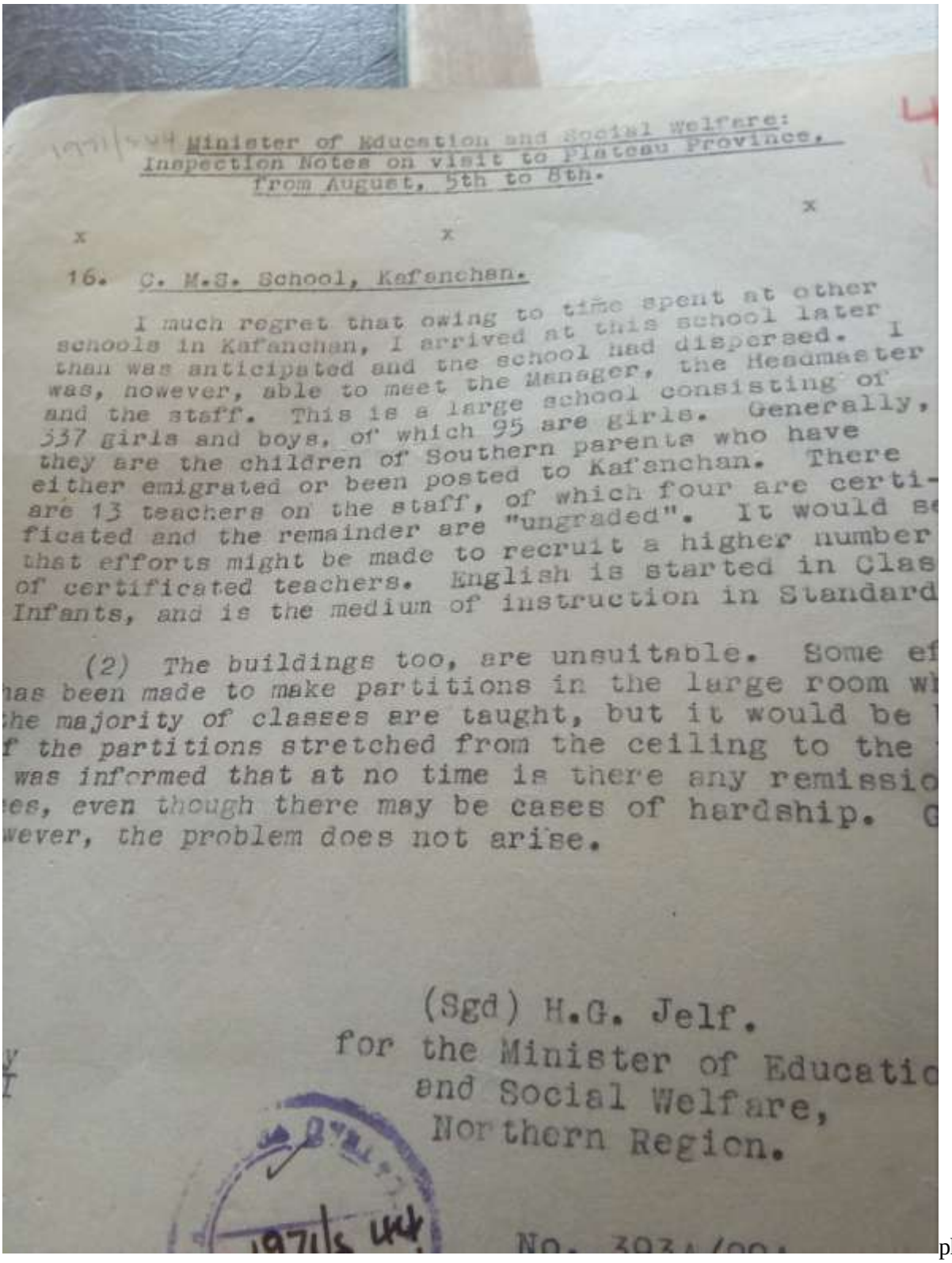
I much regret that owing to time spent at other schools in Kafanchan, I arrived at this school later than was anticipated and the school had dispersed. I was, however, able to meet the Manager, the Headmaster and the staff. This is a large school consisting of 337 girls and boys, of which 95 are girls. Generally, they are the children of Southern parents who have either emigrated or been posted to Kafanchan. There are 13 teachers on the staff, of which four are certificated and the remainder are "ungraded". It would seem that efforts might be made to recruit a higher number of certificated teachers. English is started in Class II Infants, and is the medium of instruction in Standard I.

(2) The buildings too, are unsuitable. Some effort has been made to make partitions in the large room where the majority of classes are taught, but it would be bette if the partitions stretched from the ceiling to the floor

I was informed that at no time is there any remission of fees, even though there may be cases of hardship. Gener however, the problem does not arise.

(Sgd) H.G. Jolf

Figure 4



Minister of Education and Social Welfare:
Inspection Notes on visit to Plateau Province,
from August, 5th to 8th.

x x x

16. C. M.S. School, Kafanchan.

I much regret that owing to time spent at other schools in Kafanchan, I arrived at this school later than was anticipated and the school had dispersed. I was, however, able to meet the Manager, the Headmaster and the staff. This is a large school consisting of 337 girls and boys, of which 95 are girls. Generally, they are the children of Southern parents who have either emigrated or been posted to Kafanchan. There are 13 teachers on the staff, of which four are certificated and the remainder are "ungraded". It would se that efforts might be made to recruit a higher number of certificated teachers. English is started in Clas Infants, and is the medium of instruction in Standard

(2) The buildings too, are unsuitable. Some ef has been made to make partitions in the large room wh the majority of classes are taught, but it would be f the partitions stretched from the ceiling to the was informed that at no time is there any remissio es, even though there may be cases of hardship. G wever, the problem does not arise.

(Sgd) H.G. Jelf.
for the Minister of Educatio
and Social Welfare,
Northern Region.

No. 393/00.

photos by the researcher from National Archives Kaduna. November, 2016

Though is it an undisputable established fact that western education was introduced by the missions in Jema'a Division and Southern Zaria (Southern Kaduna) at large, but it must be noted that the establishment of schools in the area were guided by a number of principles and policies from the Native Authority. As part of the Policies, aside from the initial sign of interest by either the community where school will situated or the mission that will establish the school, a formal letter of application for the opening of school is first directed to the education officer, (N.A) and it was not just their responsibility to permit the opening of the school, but the education officer often go round to supervise and inspect every school established. Therefore the above pictures are sample of reports of supervisions and inspections.

4.4 Community Response to Western Education in Jema'a Division

The imposition of colonial rule and its domination, missionary activities and the system of education that came with it to Jema'a Division was never without a strong resistance and condemnation. As with most other areas in Nigeria, the communities in Jema'a Division were initially reluctant to accept western education as well as enroll their wards into the system. The factors responsible are not difficult to identify. The communities in Jema'a Division had their own way of educating their children. Hence, any attempt to introduce a new system was seen as a distortion of their cultural system. The western system of education to be specific was out rightly rejected by the people due to its inability to reconcile with the existing belief and educational system that was peculiar to the people.[263] Besides, the social status of a man in the community was measured by the size of his farm. As a result, the people of the area were reluctant initially to send their children to school. Apart from the elderly children working on the

[263] B.I. Samuel, A Study of the Historical Development of Baptist L.E.A School Ekinri-Adde Kabba Division, 1929-1979, M.A Thesis submitted to Department of History A.B.U Zaria.

farm, the younger ones were also economically useful, they fetched water and firewood, tend babies, run errands, help to carry produce and in various ways were very useful to their parents. To allow them to go to school mean much sacrifice, and the benefits of school education were not so apparent to encourage such deprivation.

At some stages, following the activities of the missionaries, some parents got persuaded to send their children to school. Interestingly, parents reacted fairly positively to persuasion. They sent lazy children or the children of wives they did not like to school.[264] The general attitude of illiterate parents is summarized thus;

> *Let us send one or perhaps two boys to be trained to get a paid job as a clerk; we need the others to help on the farm and it is no use sending them to school, it will only spoil them for farm work.*[265]

Furthermore, some parents argued that since they were going to be deprived of the service of their children on the farms, they should be paid for such service; on the other hand, others complained that schools taught their children to be disrespectful to elders and their culture and traditions.[266]

It will be proper to rightly point out that at it early stage, the education provided by the missionaries did have any organized procedure or processes of the enrollment of pupil/students. The missions at the early stage focused its attention on the training of early converts in the arts of Evangelism, Itineration, Church planting, Bible teaching, Catechism and the elements of reading and writing, Memorization and recitation and Bible story narration. The new Brand of converts

[264] *Ibid*
[265] AND 1796 Kabba Province Education Annual Report 1988
[266] Op.cit., P. 118

and prophets were taught to emulate the missionaries by observation, reading and teaching of scriptures, itineration, and evangelism, preaching, planting of churches etc.[267]

The principle of apprenticeship or disciple-making was imbedded in the early missionary education. Before the establishment of the training schools, the early converts were taught in the mission stations. They were called "mission boys". Since these "mission boys" were usually taught directly by the missionaries, they learned through assimilation and thus emulated what the missionaries were doing, quite after, in their preaching and teaching styles and speaking mannerism. Until the 1930s, the bulk of missionary education was primarily and mainly of literacy education: reading, writing and notation. The mission trained the "mission boys" quite early in the literacy programme on how to propagate literacy in the surrounding villages and districts. Many of the early educated converts became voluntary teachers to the illiterates. The efforts of these pioneers in literacy training later grew into religious classes, primary and elementary schools.[268]

Even at the stage of the religious classes, primary and elementary schools, there were no any organized and formal procedure for the enrollment of pupil/students into the schools. But as time went on and as people saw the educated (mostly these "mission boys and who later got converted) been given more respect than their non-educated counterparts in the offices and in the society, they began to send their children to schools, which first started with the Christian religious classes. Some of these men became evangelist and teachers. On the other hand, some find employment with other establishments like the Nigerian Railways Cooperation.

[267] Y. Turaki, An *Introduction to the history of SIM/ECWA in Nigeria*. P.139
[268] *Ibid*

By the late 1930s, the division had started to agitate for more schools to be established as discussed above. This as far as the communities were concerned from that moment on ward, education then meant civilization, fame, respect, power and the acquisition of knowledge and wealth in the society.

4.5 Conclusion

The early mission schools were established in church promises. Each Christian denomination was actively involved in the establishment of their own churches and schools. They used education as a means of converting the people of Jema'a Division into their various denominations. Because of their overriding interest on evangelism, the missions confined themselves within the area of literacy, religion and moral education. The education was necessitated by the need for more personnel to spread the gospel to the increasing audience. The early missionary education though limited to the elementary school at the onset but later experienced a reasonable level of growth and development in sizes and numbers, following the agitation for the establishment of more schools by the indigenes. It has therefore been established in this chapter that system of education that was vehemently opposed, condemned and rejected by the people of the area later became not only acceptable but the basis for class/ social status and individual relevance in the societies.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF WESTERN EDUCATION ON JEMA'A DEVISION

5.1 Introduction

The study of education has always been important in western thought, attracting the interest of the greatest intellects in every age. Yet, after several thousand years of close attention a precise definition particularly of the more normative and ideational aspects of education, still eludes us. We do have the very strong implicit feeling that education is concerned with the maintenance of a social and cultural consciousness, with the transmission of an informed tradition that sustains civilization. Today however, more than ever before, the study of education is of crucial significance since we expect not only the sustaining of our cultural traditions but also their critical revision and development.

From the ongoing therefore, this chapter is set aside to critically examine the level at which western education has sustained and maintained and on the other side effected social and cultural changes that has taken place in Jema'a Division as a result of its impact.

5.2 Social/ Religious Impact of Western Education in Jema'a Division

The dissemination of western literary education in Nigeria has had an impact of a revolutionary character, out of all proportion to its spread among the population, on the course of development of the Nigerian society. Like Christianity to which it was closely allied at the beginning and with which it is still substantially linked in many parts of the country, it tended to create a dichotomous relationship between the traditional values and morals of the people and those being paddled by its champions. Just as stated earlier, each and every system of education has certain goals and impacts it is geared towards. However, the goals and the method of approach

may differ from place to place, nation to nation and people to peoples. The introduction of Western education in Jema'a Division was not without some impacts.

The missionaries did not, however come to Jema'a Division with the avowed motive of educating the natives in the real sense of the word. Their educational aim was evangelical. It was a means to an end, the end been to win converts. Any smattering of book knowledge acquire by students at this particular period was incidental. The energies of all the missions were directed to teaching the pupils to be able to read so that they could understand the Bible. The following statement made by European Missionaries in 1923 throws additional light on the aim of missionary education in Nigeria at large.

> *"We do not pretend to organize a board school system. That is a matter for the government to do. All we care about is spiritual conversion. The people want school, and it is in our interest that they should be able to read the Bible and their catechism and hymn books. That is all we are interested in. the government has no right to demand anything further from us".*[269]

The above citation indicates that missionary schools were "instruments for making converts. The purpose was to prepare souls for life after death, not to help people improve their social status through education.

Western education therefore, especially the variety of it provided in missionary institutions in Jema'a, was from the very beginning aimed at subverting the indigenous cultures of the people regarded as primitive and sinful and at producing young men and women thoroughly immersed in the 'supposedly superior European Christian culture'.[270] Consequently, traditional ritual songs, dance, drama, games and art were all condemned by the missionary teachers as pagan, while the

[269] I.N. Scholassica, The Development of British System of Education in Nigeria, 1882-1929. PHD Thesis, University of Oregor, 1969, P.65

[270] S.O Osoba and A Fajana, *Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century*, Longman Group, 1970, P.585

curriculum bristled with Bible reading, history of European activities, the singing of European songs and the study of English literary classics.[271]

In their activities therefore, the missionaries adopted a destructive attitude toward the traditions, customs and the religion of the various communities in Jema'a Division. No attempt was made by them to employ an aspect of the tradition in the preaching of the gospel. Cultic worship was regarded as 'idolatry' and was vehemtly opposed by the missionaries. The missionaries were obsessed by the superiority of their culture which they thought stood in sharp contrast to that of the natives. They therefore, felt that they were not only to preach the gospel of salvation but also to disseminate the seed of civilization.[272]

The youths who attended the schools (at the mission stations mostly) were made to believe that the objects of worship of their parents were superstitious. These youths who would normally have followed their parents in the veneration of the cults were thus set in opposition to their traditional religion and they lost interest in it. They became Christians and the tradition could not be transmitted to them. Also, the succeeding priest could no longer follow the traditions correctly especially in respect of language and liturgy,[273] because their knowledge of them was meager. These facts led to the decay of the pre-colonial forms of worship in Jema'a Division which Christianity has largely succeeded in displacing.[274]

Western education has drastically influenced the life and thoughts of the indigenes in consequence of the exposure to foreign cultures, which are in some respects considered higher and more sophiscated than the traditional African values. Though there are educated elites that emanated from the system, who are more enlighten, more scientific in their ideas and therefore

[271] *Ibid*
[272] O.K.O Jacob Olabode, Christianity in Ijesa 1858-1960, M.A Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970, P.276
[273] *Ibid*
[274] *Ibid*

more pragmatic in their approach to complex issues affecting their material and spiritual well-being. Traditional explanations for certain happenings in human life are not only regarded as superstitious especially by these elites in the community but are gradually given way. The traditional way of life is considered as primitive and crude and the traditional religion as a religion of the uncivilized and nobody wants to be associated with it, at least openly.[275]

This Westernizing Programme of the British has had serious implication for the social and cultural identity of the communities in Jema'a Division and Nigeria at large. This is because children sent to western-type schools have been denied the full opportunity (sometimes from the age of five or six) of acquiring other forms of training, which are more relevant for a rounded and properly integrated role in the cultural setting into which they were born. The result is that there is generally an inverse ratio between the level of academic attainment and knowledge of such things as family and lineage traditions, folk music, dances and games, which is automatically acquired in a purely indigenous milieu.[276]

One other way in which western education has radically affected the development of the society is in its disruption of the pre-colonial social structure and distribution of political power in the various communities. There was the disruption of the communal/extended family structures, traditional system of funerals, Birth ceremonies, wedding/marriage ceremonies and celebration, initiation, chieftaincy installation etc.

It should be noted, though western education introduced in Jema'a Division by Missionaries was not for the modernization of social life through science and technological advancement but evangelism, still in one way or the other the indigenes benefitted from the system. For instance,

[275] O.A. Abolarin, Western Education and its Effects on Yoruba Social Institutions: Yoruba Religious Education as case study. Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary studies, Federal College of Education Kontagora, published by MCSER-CEMAS-Sapienza University of *Rome*. Vol 2, No 6. 2013, pp.151

[276] *Op.cit*.

the decade 1951-1960 being a decade of the struggle of African nationalities for the political independence of African nations, posed a great challenge to the missions: One Africans to take over from the foreign missionaries the management of both the churches and the schools, if they (foreign Christian missionaries) had to leave. Two, they have to indigenized their work and churches in mission field so as to avoid government take over and nationalization of all mission work.[277]This therefore paves ways for the inclusion of the indigenes in the management and administration of both the churches and schools.

As early as1913 about six young men including Dogo Nowro a chief in Jaba-land, Zemo N Audu and many others who had been attending reading classes in Jaba-land. Some of them got elevated in different capacity in the community because of the education they acquired from the missionaries, some served as teachers, pastors, clerks and even chiefs. For example, the humble beginning of Zemo N. Audu's missionary journey had him to be one of the most active participants as chaplain of N.A (Nigerian Army) Chaplaincy from the beginning to the end of the Nigerian civil war. Others like Mr Paul Gaya Dow and Habila Andrew later became Pastors.[278] Also was Mallam Maude who happened to first step out and makes a profession of faith. And in spite of much persecution never wavered and was a tower of strength in the church through the years. He later established a school in 1938, which is in existence even up to date, known as Mallam Maude Primary School Kwoi.

This system of literary education also paved way for the introduction of literatures in the indigenous dialects of the people. Because of the needs to preach the gospel, some Christian literatures like the Bible, Hymns were translated in some dialects in the area. For example, the

[277] N.A. Zemon, *The Advent of Christianity in Hamland; a Historical Account in Hamland (Jaba) and Environs from 1910-2010*, Pyla-Mark Publishers, P.26

[278] *Ibid*

first Jaba books containing the gospel of Luke and a small primer were received in 1920. Later, the gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles were translated into Jaba language and were printed in one volume by the society.

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Lastly, it must be noted that the missionary activities; the introduction of Christianity and the system of education that came with it played a very central role in structuring and the Christianization of the area. Jema'a Division and Southern Zaria (Southern Kaduna) became predominantly and highly Christian dominated area.

[279] S.O Osoba and Fajana, *Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century*, Longman Group, 1970, P.586

5.3 Political Impact of Western Education in Jema'a Division

During the era of British colonial rule in Nigeria, the necessities of running an effective administration and establishing a colonial money economy compelled the colonial authorities to depend less and less on the 'traditional' ruling authorities, emirs, obas and chiefs of different categories. They worked more and more with the new men equipped with a measure of western literary education. Furthermore, because it was the educated elements that spear headed the anti-colonialist movement of the 1930s to the 1950s thereby displacing the traditional rulers as the spokesman of the people, they came to be accepted by the departing colonial authorities as their successors.[280]

The result was that from 1952 when the principle of majority African rule became established, a new elite of western-educated Nigerians assumed a preponderant position in all the key institutions of political control in the country, the regional and central legislatures and executive councils, the public services, the security forces and judiciary.[281]

Among the elites that emerged in Jema'a Division during the period of our study were missionary trained, products from the mission schools. They were converted to Christianity when the Christian missions made their first appearance in the area. First, they were equipped with the skills of reading and writing, so as to read the Bible and interpret to the illiterate members in the local dialects of the people. When catechetical centres were first established for the teaching of catechism, it was the same elites that were appointed to teach catechism in the centres. It was the early products of the mission schools that were employed as teachers in other mission schools

[280] *Ibid*

[281] See S.O Osoba, The Nigerian 'Power' Elite, 1952-1965: A Study in some Problems of Social Change, paper presented to the 16th annual congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, December 1970.

that were later established. It was the mission products that provided man power in such key areas as clerk, interpreters, messengers, dispensary attendants etc. the mission schools had continued to produce manpower for the period that the administration lasted.[282] The point to note here is that, these mission products were indirectly preparing themselves for the future leadership of their various communities as well as for the re-ordering of the traditional political set up distorted by the colonial authorities and the missionaries in the communities.

In 1903, the British colonialists were able to subject the various communities in the area that later became known as Jama'a Division under their influence despite all forms of resistance. To ensure their dominant influence and maintain maximum exploitation of the economy, they first and foremost reorganized the conquered areas into districts and later division. There was a lot of distortions of natural boundaries without due recourse to antecedent institutions and cultures. Indigenous institutions were also submerged and dismantled, and in its place, a foreign rule was established. Traditional institutions before then we most note, were regarded as not only political authorities but also custodians of cultures.[283]

Christianity and education were instrumental in awakening the political interest and self-determination of the people. The people became awakened to the oppressive and the autocratic rule of the Fulani rulers who were at that period just agent of the British colonialists. Their mal-administrations, extortion, political and social injustice, neglect, discrimination and prejudice by the Zaria Provincial and Native Administrations as it seems could not be tolerated. Their silence, submission and acquiescence soon gave way to open protest, rebellion and agitation for self rule and independence. Their social development through Christianity and Western education had

[282] B.A. Agaba, The Impact of Christianity in Obudu District of Ogoja Province in Eastern Nigeria 1908-1960 AD M.A Thesis, ABU, July, 2008. Pp.161

[283] Dare Arowolo, The Effect of Western Civilization and Culture on Africa, Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences, Volume 1, No 1 Quarter 4, 2010

resulted in the development of a new ethnic identity which could no longer tolerate their prescribed subordinated role and status under both colonial and emirate rule.[284]

M.G Smith observed that the development of chieftaincy in Kagoro by the colonial Administration resulted in Zaria domination of the Kagoro Distric. Kagoro was an independent District and was to be place under British direct rule.[285] In 1934, Kagoro, Moroa and Jaba districts were transferred from Plateau Province to Zaria Province. They were then placed under Zaria Provincial Administration. Both in principle and in practice, they were subordinated to Zaria Native Treasury even though they still claimed their independent status. During the next few years, Hausa influence, as represented by the Hausa staff in the Kagoro administration and by Kagoro's dependence on Zaria emirate for departmental and treasury services, steadily increased, until it became dominant in tribal affairs. The tribal chieftainship became a more orderly copy of its Hausa model. The British were pleased, the Kagoro greatly alarmed at the prospect of losing their independence and absorbed into Zaria. [286]

The Kagoro resentment of Hausa domination was so strong in that they wanted their own man in place of the Hausa. For this reason, Mallam Gwamna was forced out from the SIM Elementary Training School to become the Assistant Scribe of the district. Later on, he became the chief scribe of the district that became possible because of the level of western education he acquired in S.I.M Elementary Training School.[287]

In describing his function as the chief scribe of the district, Mallam Gwamna stated that his major concern was to rid his people of the injustices and maladministration and the

[284] Y. Turaki, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.119
[285] M.G Smith, Kagoro Political Development, pp.141
[286] *Ibid*
[287] *Op.cit.*

manipulations of the Hausa staff.[288] Secondly, he was so obsessed with the lack of social development of the area. The Hausa staff in charge of Kagoro, or in fact any parts of Jema'a Division were not interested in the social development of the area. This primary objective was to keep the area in perpetual oppression and darkness.

Progressive programs were usually turned down and moreover there were no enlightened people of the area in the government machinery to put the progress of their people and area at heart. His hand work, dedication and fearless progressive ideas won him the hearts of his people but also won his disfavor, fear and contempt from the British political officers and Fulani/Hausa rulers of Zaria.

When the reigning chief died in 1944, it was the 'pagan' priests and majority of the populations which refused on four occasions to accept anyone but Gwamna as their chief. Despite considerable Hausa intrigue and pressure to appoint a Bafwai rival who repeated Mugunta's legend. The British were forced to give in and Gwamna was installed as Third Class Chief of Kagoro in 1945.[289]

The fact that the British political officers did all they could so that an enlightened man, and a Christian not be installed as chief of Kagoro was quite evident. The chief himself recounted that on several occasions British political officers advised him not to ascend the throne.[290] His ascension brought in so many development as briefly pointed out above which can somewhat be attributed to western education.

In Kagoma-Yeskwa district of the division, there was also the fight for the separation of the Kagoma from Jema'a emirate rule. The struggle was simply the demand of political

[288] *Ibid*
[289] M.G.Smith, Kagoro Political Development,.145
[290] T. Yusuf, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria, Challenges Press, Jos, 1993, P.124

independence from Jema'a overrule.[291] In 1952 during the council meeting (majalisa), the question of the removal of Kagoma was raised against just as it had always been since 1912 when Kagoma was officially placed under Jema'a.[292] The Emir of Jema'a responded angrily, "the Kaje have been removed from my domain, and now, there is a move of separating the Kagoma district, while in actual fact the Kagoma have no tradition of chiefs".[293] Just a month earlier before this council meeting, the Kagoma had written the Jema'a administration that the Fulani district head, Fagaci, had refused to leave fadan Kagoma by staying put.[294] This continued on and on, finally the Kagoma prevailed and the Fulani district head was removed.

In a nutshell, it should be noted that the demand for political independence in Jema'a division with district after another. With a critical look, we will understand that western education did not only concioustised the people on the need for political independence from both the emirate and colonial administration, but also help them to know how diplomatic to go about it. The agitations were properly planned. In many occasions, meetings were organized and letters were sent by the people to both the provincial and colonial authorities. It is therefore very obvious from the ongoing the impact of western education in Jema'a division, from re-ordering the political institutions in existence as fashioned by the emirates and the colonial authorities to suit their exploitative purposes, to the concioustizing and the agitation for political independence which was spear headed actively by the products of the western education.

5.4 Economic Impact of Western Education

Colonial Historiography has always maintained that the economy and society of pre-colonial Africa in general and Nigeria in particular was a subsistence economy, which according to them

[291] NAK: Jema'a, ACC.13 02 " Kagoma-Yeskwa Disrict Political situation" 1946
[292] *Ibid*
[293] NAK: Jema'a ACC. 485, " Kagoma-Yeskwa District Affairs, 1952
[294] *Ibid*

was unformed, unchanging and therefore disarticulated. In other words, both the society and the economy were static, backward and primitive.[295] They further argued that the dominant agricultural sector was immobilized due to some factors such as primitive technology, communal land tenure and the extended family. The reason for all these arguments were due to the fact that Europe by this time was industrialized and capitalism was fully operational, therefore, any society and economy that had not yet measured up to their standard was regarded as primitive, traditional and so on. They failed to recognized and acknowledge the 'self-sufficiency' of both the hill and plain economy of Nigeria at the time they came in contact with the people. It is usually argued that the hill and plain economy were ideal for economic survival of the people due to the abundance of water, fertile soil, and fauna and flora and security.[296]

A survey of the pre-colonial economy of the Jema'a Division will show that the people developed a complex society made up of various sectors that were effectively integrated together into a stable, viable and 'self-sufficient' economy. This not to say that throughout the existence of the people everything was rosy and cozy, because there were times when the economy declined as a result of natural disasters such as locust, invasion which in turn caused famine though not on a large scale.[297] The economy has mostly been considered subsistent especially by colonial historiography, but that did not hinder the production of crops by individuals and households in large quantities, which made it possible for them to exchange it with their neighbors for items they did not have or for crops they do not produce.

The harmonious activities of the colonialist and the Christian missionaries in the later part of 18th century and the first half of the 20th century impacted greatly on the economy of the area under

[295] *Ibid*
[296] J.J. Gajere, The Role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Kagarko District, Nigeria, 1902-1960, M.A, Thesis, ABU, Zaria
[297] *Ibid*

discussion. Their contact with the missionaries and its system of education introduced some major changes especially in the main stay of the economy which was agriculture. Not only in terms of improved seedlings, but agricultural practice shifted from the cultivation of strictly food crops to the cultivation of cash crops. The expansion of cash crops cultivation in the area also expanded the exchange rate among communities. Therefore, big and organized system of exchange began to emerge. Communities in the division began to move even outside their domains for the purpose of trade. This also affected the medium of exchange, from the trade by barter system, to using of cowries and materials to the introduction of currencies. Even though peasant cultivators still constitute the overwhelming majority in the society, colonial educational economic and administrative policies have brought into being a whole complex of new social groups, engaged in wage labor or commerce but highly differentiated in terms of level of education.

As the colonial economy expanded it generated demands of all kinds of skilled personnel ranging from engineers to motor mechanics, plumbers, and welders. These personnel were majorly product of the western system of education drawn from various communities. It is a tribute to the flexibility and adaptability of the indigenous apprenticeship system that it was able with increasing effectiveness, as the educational system produced a growing number of literate adolescents, to cope with the training of Nigerians in a large variety foreign skills.[298]

Because of the colonial and post-colonial policy of concentrating development in the few urban centres of administration and commerce, there was an increasing tendency throughout our period of study for people with any measure of western education to migrate from the rural communities to the major urban centres in search of wage employment, which they consider

[298] S.O Osoba, Op.cit, P.588

more remunerative and secure than the back-breaking exercise of farming with primitive implements.[299] This phenomenon of rural- urban migration, characterized by the colonial commissioner for labor in Nigeria in 1943 as the flight to towns has assumed increasingly frightful, proportions as the explosion in education has moved apace, with far-reaching consequences both for the rural and urban communities. Its main disruptive impact on the rural areas is manifested in the progressive impoverishment of the communities not only in material terms, but also in the sense that they have been losing to the towns an increasing proportion of their most enlightened and enterprising members who, if it were possible for them to stay behind, might have made significant contributions to the improvement of rural life and economy. Communities in Jema'a Division were also affected by the urban drift of their most enlightened and enterprising members but to a minimal extend, because many of them joined the Kafanchan railways which was booming almost at the same time.

One by–product of Christian missionary activities which can also be considered as another impact of western education is the introduction of the western variety of medical health care. Understandably, Nigerian communities and communities in Jema'a Division specifically, prior to their increasing contact with the Christian missionaries in the 20th century and their forcible subjugation to British political control, had evolved over time various techniques of dealing with different kinds of human diseases. In many pre-colonial Nigeria communities medical and health care was a more or less specialized occupation practiced by specially trained people who combined knowledge of herbal cure with powers of divination and mediation between the patient

[299] Nigeria Annual Report on the Department of Labour for 1943, Lagos, pp. 3

and supernatural forces (like one's ancestors or malevolent god, witches and wizard) believed to be capable of afflicting people with ill health or even death.[300]

Given the intimate relationship between indigenous Nigerian health care and the people's religious beliefs, and the fact that the early pioneers of western medicine in Nigeria at large and Jema'a Division in specific were Christian missionaries, it is understandable that initially, like western education, western medical practice ran against strong psychological and cultural barriers among the Nigerian people. In the later part of the 20th century, communities in the division came in contact with western medicine and came to accept its superiority in coping with certain varieties of diseases.

5.5 Conclusion

The enduring impact of Western education produced its own contradictions. Early enough, the colonial governments had recognized that their power over Africans depended not necessarily on physical but mental (psychological) control through the school system. Deficient in scope and content, western education promoted vocational studies and neglected technology, pure and applied sciences, and engineering. African studies were excluded from the colonial education curricula. For instance, the history syllabi emphasized the history of European activities in Africa instead of the history of Africa and Africans. It praised the Europeans who supposedly discovered Mount Kenya and Rivers Niger and Congo as if Africans who lived in the areas did not know about these rivers. In almost all instances, no mention is made of Africans who led the European explorers to their targets. Unquestionably, western education resulted in the erosion of African identity and imparted a limited sense of the African past.

[300] *Op.cit*.

The novelist Ngugi Wa Thiong'o noted the isolationist and alienating influences of western education in Africa, including contempt for their African names, languages, environment, heritage of struggle, unity, and mental abilities. Educated Africans not only became deluded hybrids alienated from their cultures and tradition, but individuals who longed for alien and "more civilized" cultures of the West. It was on this score that Walter Rodney argued that western education in Africa "was education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment".[301]). By killing the communalist spirit in Africans and replacing it with a capitalistic one; by corrupting the mental sensibilities of Africans; by providing selective training to fill auxiliary positions in the colonial service, by emphasizing vocational rather than a well-rounded education; and by disregarding the peoples' cultures in the educational curriculum, western education, according to Rodney, fostered the underdevelopment of Africa's intellectual resources. However, despite its limited and misplaced purposes and negative effects, Western education produced some unintended positive consequences for Africans. It served as a catalyst to African nationalism.

Following the successful European invasion and imposition of colonial rule, Africans had been disconcerted by their humiliation and loss of sovereignty. European Christian missionary evangelism and religious instructions, embraced by many Africans mainly for their implicit benefits, gradually became perceived as agents of European imperialism. African suspicion increased. Revolt became imminent. From the discontent of the earlier African converts who founded their own independent Christian churches through the establishment of private schools, slowly but surely, Africans began to protest against not only European occupation but also the concomitant cultural dislocation and alienation. To be specific, the natives of Jema'a Division

[301] Rodney, *Op.cit*.1972, P.264

suffered the same fate as discussed above, though not intended, western education later on served as a tool used for the emancipation of the natives of Jema'a Division against both colonial and emirate subjugation and administration.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 General Conclusion

This thesis had endeavored to highlight the impacts of western education in Jema'a Division. Despite the fact that the purpose for the introduction of this system of education by the Christian Missionaries was never for the purpose of intellectual training for any meaningful technological development of the economy, rather for the purpose of evangelization and souls winning, but notwithstanding, we cannot excuse the fact that it has contributed in other aspects of the economy. Through this system of education, people have improved their production and market worth from little schooling to a high educational attainment, thus, the transformation of unskilled man into a valuable input for the capitalist production process which became an important function of the capitalist society.

Based on this, employers and employees alike, perceived western education as providing skills in preparation for economic functions in an increasingly complex technological society, including socializing them to fit into new kinds of economic organizations. As a consequence, western education more or less motivated parents and eventually students themselves in the division to regard the system of education as the key to higher income and status, a step towards success in a competitive capitalist economy, perhaps, a factor that contributed and also added to the relevance

of the western system of education and its acceptance in Jema'a Division. This served as incentive for social mobility which meant hope for bridging the gap between lifelong poverty and the access to the new opportunities of capitalism. This also served as a major factor that necessitated the change in the response and acceptance of this system of education in Jema'a Division (i.e. from rejecting it to its acceptance).

Western education we must note led to the creation of new classes and a redefinition of the roles of pre-existing classes. Ruling classes existed in opposition to the oppressed classes, especially the peasants. Out of the peasants group came the unskilled workers found on the railways, roads and mining camps, some in the plateau. The peasants worked on the farms to produce for export and food crops needed for European and migrated to tin mines to work and procure money for tax. Though the peasantry was not a colonial or missionary creation, colonialism drastically changed their material condition of existence. Artisans and slave classes disappeared gradually following the extinction of local industries and the abolition of legal status of slavery.[302]

Another class that emerged was the Elites; these were the products of the Christian Missionary Schools, considered educated, they served in different capacity, some as messengers, clerks, interpreters, teachers, pastors/preachers etc. while some decided to work for the colonial authority, others remained with missions.

Artisan class became marginalized, the peasantry and workers constituted the majority of the oppressed classes whose labour was used to create the surpluses appropriated for repatriation to Europe. While the educated Elites served as the linked between the colonialist/missionaries and the natives. This class (elites) we must note later became the forces for the emancipation of the natives in Jema'a Division against both colonial and emirate subjugation. It is necessary to

[302] Bonat, Z.A, articles, "Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A case of Zaria Province 1902- 1945. Paper presented to the centre for social and economic research A.B.U Zaria, 24th April, 1986

emphasize that these classes were still in formative years up to the 1940s but the process of formation continued after 1945 and have persisted down to present.

As time goes on, more emphasis had been placed on western education at the expense of other economic ventures, with limited commiserating benefits. Since colonial education was emphasized in the modern economy, very few had thought of engaging in other profitable economic ventures like trading. Often, the attitudes of the people of Jema'a Division to trading as an occupation in the colonial period had been confined to people who could not make it in the academic lane. Moreover, since trading was dominated by the Hausawa who were associated with exploitation, the natives of Jema'a Division shunned participation in such an occupation for fear of being seen as supporting the exploitation of their people.

In a nutshell therefore, the research has carefully provided a close link in all the six chapter of this work in a bid to analyze the impact of western education in Jema'a Division. In chapter one of this work which deals with general introduction, the researcher was able to discuss in clear terms the statement of the research problem, the scope, objective, significance of the study, theoretical framework and he also employed the needed historical methodology for the research. In chapter two, a comprehensive background of the people and the area that later became Jema'a Division as well as the peopling of the area and other forms of education is discussed. Chapter three discusses colonial conquest and the re-organization of the area into districts and division for convenient administration by the colonialist. Missionary activities and the establishment and administration of schools is discussed in chapter four of this work while chapter five deals with the impact of western education which is discussed under political, social and economic impact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORAL INTERVIEW

S/N	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Baba Tinvak	Male	95	Farmer	Madakiya	12th August, 2015
2	Mr. Yabo Kawai	Male	70	Retired Civil Servant	Kagoro	20th September,2015
3	Baba Abrak	Male	76	Farmer	Madakiya	20th November, 2015
4	Ibrahim T Audu	Male	68	Retired Army	Takau	24th November, 2015
5	Group Interview	Mix	45-65	Farmers	Kwoi	24th November, 2015
6	Luka Babuga	Male	82	Farmer	Madakiya	12th,February,2016
7	Yabvo Yashim	Male	76	Fisherman	Aduwan Five	12thFebruary, 2016
8	Retired Rev Chidawa	Male	76	Clergy	Zonkwa	12thFebruary, 2016
9	Group Interview	Male	60-80	Council Members	Zipak	15thFebruary, 2016
10	Mallam Hamza	Male	48	Trader	Zaria Street	16th April 2018
11	Mallam Bashir	Male	67	Trader	Kafanchan	16th April 2018
12	Yoba'alyat Bodam	Male	70	Trader	Kagoro	25th March, 2016
14	Ancha Yohanna,	Male	68	Trader	Jagindi	22ndFebruary 2016
15	Group	Male	60-80	Chiefs	Jema'a Emirate TC	17th February 2016
19	Anchan Yohanna	Male	63	Trader	Jagindi	22nd February2016
17	Group	Male	60-80	Chiefs	Fanstwan Traditional Council	15th February 2016
18	Yabo Nyank	Male	73	Hunter	Jagindi	22nd Feb, 2016
19	Kabuwat Kukui	female	78	Trader	Kagoro	25th March,2016
20	Mallam Dauda Gajere	Male	78	Retired Pastor	Bakin Kogi	26th March, 2016

21	Yaskim Nkom	Male	81	Trader	Manckok	2nd April, 2016
22	Tabat Ishaya	Male	58	Civil Servant	Kafanchan	9th August 2017
23	Mallam Ibrahim Zaki	Male	66	Farmer	Gidan Waya	12th August 2017
	Audu Kabashio	Male	63	Carpenter	Gidan Waya	12th October 2017
24	Allahbamu Tete	Male	55	Civil Servant	Kaningkon	10th October 2017
25	Alhaji Usman Bala Ahmed	Male	75	Retired C/Servant	Kafanchan	10th October 2017
26	Bawa I.D	Male	70	C/Servant	Yeskwa	12th October 2017
27	Gandu Jonathan	Male	75	Farmer	Kagoro	21st October 2017
28	Mallam Usman	Male	80	Retired C/Servant	Kafanchan	30th October 2017
29	Maisule Maitala	Male	59	Trader	Sanga	30th November 2017
30	Babale Yusuf	Male	60	Farmer	Sanga	30th November 2017
31	Audu kabashio	Male	57	Civil Servant	Ayu	2nd December 2017
32	Rabecca Inuwa	Female	69	Bussiness	Anguwar Rimi	10th December 2017
33	Waje duniya	Male	58	Farmer	Yeskwa	10th December 2017
34	Babale Makarfi	Male	65	Retired C/Servant	Takau	12th December 2017
35	Kanjit Auta	Male	60	Trader	Godogodo	12th December 2017
36	Anthony Williams	Male	65	Farmer	Manchok	15th December 2017
37	Wakili Anshio	Male	50	Hunter	Ayu	20th December 2017
38	Audu Sule	Male	55	Civil Servant	Madakiya	22nd December 2017
39	Aruwan Kpak	Male	50	C/Servent	Jagindi	15th January 2018
40	Kagai Doba	Male	54	Carpenter	Jagindi	15th January 2018
41	Kazaure Musa	Male	80	Framer	Yeskwa	15th January 2018
42	Musa Nungu	Male	52	Farmer	Gidan Waya	15th January 2018
43	Shehu Zakari	Male	58	C/Servant	Kafanchan	20th January 2018
44	Adullahi Danlami	Male	61	Palace Guard	Emir's palace Kafanchan	20th January 2018
45	Hilda Musa	Female	63	House wife	Bakin Kogi	20th January 2018
46	Bala Jonathan	Male	70	Farmer	Ayu	28th January 2018
47	Mansir Sadau	Male	66	Farmer	Ayu	28th January 2018
48	Nayari Unguwar Rimi	Male	55	Farmer	Unguwar Rimi	30th January 2018

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