

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMER ADAMAWA PROVINCE
OF GONGOLA STATE, NIGERIA - 1926 - 1966.

BY

YAHYA HAMMANYAJI JADA

A thesis submitted to the Postgraduate School,
Ahmadu Bello University, in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science (M.Sc.)

Department of Political Science
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

JAN 1986

J. Wc.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents.

DECLARATION

COPY RIGHT (c) 1985, HAMMANYAJI, Y.J.

This thesis is not part of anybody's work published or unpublished. No part of it has been previously submitted for a degree in any other University. Information derived from the work, of others has been duly acknowledged.

All Rights Reserved. No part of this thesis may be reproduced or stored in any system or by any means, without the Author's permission.


Name:- YAHYA HAMMANYAJI JADA

Signature: 

Date: 3rd MARCH, 1986

CERTIFICATION:

This thesis, entitled INTER ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMER ADAMAWA PROVINCE OF GONGOLA STATE, NIGERIA: 1926 - 1966, by YAHYA HAMMANYAJI JADA meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of master of Science (M.Sc.) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.



Prof. K.G. Folson
Supervisor

Date 10 March, 1986



Dr. Tony Edoh
Head, Political Science
Department.

Date 1/31, 1986

Prof. G.E. Osuide
Dean, Postgraduate School

Date _____, 1986

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

First and foremost, I am grateful to God Almighty who permitted me to complete this project. I am indebted to many people, too numerous to mention all, who directly or indirectly contributed to the successful completion of this work. However, mention will be made of a few of them. Special thanks goes to Prof. Folsom for not only officially supervising me, but also making himself available to me for discussion whenever I encountered some problems, I would also like to register my acknowledgement to Dr. Mahmud M. Tukur and Prof. Saad Abubakar for going through some drafts and making useful comments on them. So also are Dr. Saleh Abubakar, Dr. B. Beckman, Dr. Hinjari, Alkasum Abba, Modibbo Mohammed and Pungri etc for either making construction criticisms when I presented the synopsis of this project at a Departmental Seminar or for having informal discussions on the topic.

Mention must also be made of my numerous informants who sacrificed their times to give me audience, some of whom are mentioned in the references, I also thanks Imohr Charles, for efficiently typing this thesis. A lot of thanks goes to my colleagues, relatives, and friends who have contributed in one way or the other in this work. Finally, I am specially grateful to my wife and child Maryam and Muhd. Bello respectively for enduring a period of relative isolation during the time of data collection and final write-up. I hasten to add here that any defi-

ABSTRACT.

Ethnicity has, more often than not, been associated with the development processes of Third World generally, because of the ease by which the processes can be interpreted in ethnic terms* For instance Nigeria's political development has often assumed the posture of inter-ethnic struggles over the country's affairs, which at times led to unfortunate consequences. For this reason, a lot of work has been done on the phenomenon (of ethnicity in Nigeris), of which this project forms a part. The study focusses on the political relations between ethnic groups at a micro-level (i.e. provincial level), and the effects of their relations on the political development of the area of study (i.e. former Adirawa Province). It however emphasised those areas of the political relations that led to conflicts, without implying the absence of inter-ethnic harmony.

The study reveals that among the causes of inter-ethnic frictions during the period under review, were the desire of some groups to get rid of Fulani aristocracy in some areas especially where it was imposed by the colonial administration, the desire of some ethnics to have greater opportunities

to participate especially in their local affairs, ideological and power struggle between ethnic elites over self-interests and to some extent religious differences. Majority of the cases can however be reduced to struggles between the elites in which the ethnic factor was used as a strategy to draw their ethnic folks into disputes they might not have otherwise joined. There are clear cases of members from one ethnic group joining others from a different group to go against their group. Rather than seeking for the factors at play in such cases, they were generally, and erroneously referred to as cases of ethnicity. Such cases were common in Adamawa.

Inter-ethnic political relations as well had great effects on the political development of the province, notably in the areas of administration, political participation, judicial reforms etc. For instance, it led to adjustments and re-adjustments of administrative units, sometimes, along ethnic lines, in response to the dictates of inter ethnic political relations. Administrative development has also taken the form of federation of political units where such a step promises the relation of ethnic needs. In the judicial field, relations between the ethnic groups led to the establishment of "ethnic" or customary courts, as various groups expressed their desires for such courts in their areas.

It also led to the up-grading of other similar courts that were already existing. These judicial reforms were aimed at ensuring the dispensation of justice, taking cognisance of the customary backgrounds of the various groups as a step towards ensuring inter ethnic harmony. One other area where inter ethnic political relations had their impact felt was political participation. A significant percentage of those hitherto considered politically-inactive became active participants in their local affairs. This was evident from the periodic increases in representative councils, division of portfolios among ethnic groups, the formation of ethnic associations and development of ethnic associations and development of ethnic movements etc.

<u>CONTENTS</u>	Page
Title Page	i
Dedication	ii
Declaration	iii
Certification	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract	vi
Chapter One: INTRODUCTION	1
The Problem	1
Hypotheses	5
Objectives and Limitation of the study	6
Significance of the study	9
Literature Review: Ethnicity in Nigerian Politics	10
Theoretical Framework	17
Methodology	20
Chapter Two: THE AREA	25
Description	25
Historical Background	27
Trust Territory	38
Economic Activities	40
Chapter Three: POLITICAL RELATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN ADAMAWA 1926 - 1966	47
Inter-ethnic Relations Between the period 1926 - 1945	50

Inter-ethnic Relations	
from 1945 - 1966	53
Campaign Issues during the	
Electioneering period	61
Roots of Ethnic Tensions	63
Summary.	66
Chapter Four: THE EFFECTS OF INTER-ETHNIC	
RELATIONS ON THE POLITICAL	
DEVELOPMENT OF ADAMAWA PROVINCE	73
Administrative Development	75
Judicial Development	78
Degree of Participation	81
Development of Ethnic	
Associations and	
Political Parties	88
Chapter Five: GENERAL SUMMARY AND	
CONCLUSION	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY	111

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Ethnic problems have always played an important role in the social development of Nigeria. In fact it is not an unknown phenomenon in the history of African countries. Despite the considerable amount of work or study into the phenomenon, and the implementation of solutions resulting from the studies as to how to eradicate or at least minimise its negative effects, the problem (of ethnicity) still persists, and in some cases has even intensified.

Ethnic identification characterises the relationships between ethnic groups in their economic, political and social contacts. This has for long been seen as having negative effects on the newly independent African states, whose pre-occupation is to develop into prosperous and united states. It has also been realised that unless the negative aspects of the phenomenon (of ethnicity) are properly tackled, the meaningful developments desired by these countries will remain elusive. Among the negative effects are "the whole complex of problems associated with both the inter relationships of peoples of different ethnic origins and relations within any one ethnic group...(the cultivation of) a spirit of respect for members of other ethnic groups; and the fight against (ethnic) separatism and manifestation of (ethnicity)"¹
.../2

"The future development of African states along the line of consolidation of national independence, it is said, will have to start by tackling these. What then is ethnicity?

Since, according to Cohen,¹ contemporary ethnicity is the result of intensive interaction between ethnic groupings and not the result of complete separation,² it follows that the existence of ethnicity pre-supposes the existence of ethnic groups. It is then only pertinent to start by defining the latter.

An ethnic group can be defined as "a collectivity within a larger society having real and putative common ancestry, memories of shared historic past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their (being one people)"³. Examples of these elements include physical contiguity, kinship pattern, religious affiliation, language and dialectical forms etc. Or it can be seen as "a collectivity or aggregate of individuals within a larger society who claim or use cultural or linguistic distinctiveness as myth of common origin or putative descent to promote some special interests (or consciousness) that exclude individuals or collectivities from other ethnic groupings within the same society or other societies"⁴. Simply put therefore, an ethnic group consists of an aggregate of people, socially defined as different from other similar groups on the basis of cultural criteria such

QS language, kinship-pattern, religion etc.

Ethnicity on its part is the "subjective identification with an ethnic group"⁵; or a "social phenomenon associated with the interactions among members of different ethnic groups"⁶. Lemarchand views the phenomenon of ethnicity as taking place where "perceptions of mutual interest are dependent upon, and limited by, perceptions of cultural affinities"⁷. Nnoli listed four characteristics of ethnicity. First it exists only in a society consisting of multiple and diverse ethnic groups whose interrelationship produces it. Second, a common consciousness of being one in relation to another similar group (an out group) is a necessity, because it defines the ethnic boundary of each group which is necessary towards understanding the phenomenon. Exclusiveness is given as the third attribute which manifests itself in the "in-group/out-group" distinction, and which becomes evident during the distribution of resources. The fourth attribute is the inevitability of conflict in inter-ethnic competition for scarce resources⁸. The extent of this conflict is the function of its intensity and the value placed on the resources completed for. In the words of Antonovskv, discriminatory system of relations (ie. ethnicity) required both shared goals and scarcity of resources⁹.

.../14

Our focus in this study is on the relationship that existed between the various ethnic groups in the former Adamawa province, and the effects of that relationship on the political development of the area. This is a problem we feel that is worth exploring because of the importance of inter-ethnic relations to Nigerian political development generally and any multi-ethnic environment, such as the Province. To the Nigerian political scene, the resistance of ethnic groups to integrating themselves into a nation, the relationship of ethnic groups to the formation of political parties and the realisation that ethnic competition led to disasters such as the fall of various regimes and civil war¹⁰ are reasons for the importance of the problem. Because of this a number of studies have been done in the field of ethnicity. But despite the amount of scholarship expended, its persistence and in some cases its intensification calls for more work to be done into it. This could be through embarking on similar studies into various geographical areas. It is with this in mind that this project is embarked upon. But the study is based on a micro-level, because of the importance of such levels in giving more accurate data than the macro-level. Investigations on micro-political levels provide the most reliable grounds for testing hypotheses, despite the unique and diverse nature of local communities.

Moreover, such levels provide the most advantageous points for studying the processes of political development.

HYPOTHESES

This study is meant to generally test three propositions. The first is Francis' statement on the saliency of ethnicity. Says he, the saliency of ethnicity tends to increase:

- (i) the lesser the degree of social mobilisation.
- (ii) the less evenly opportunities and levels of education are distributed over the ethnic sub-units of the (state) population;
and
- (iii) the less evenly key positions in national institutions are manned by members of different ethnic units included in the nation - state .¹¹

The second proposition is that the persistence of ethnicity may be due to either its utilisation by leaders of ethnic groups to gain support for the achievement of their "class interests" (as some people believe)¹², or as Parenti states may be due to early in-group experiences which may implant in a person the awareness of, and pride in, his ethnic origin to the extent that they manifest themselves whenever the person comes into contact with members of an out-group.¹³

The third proposition is that unlike the belief held by some people, ethnicity does not always entail negative values for those societies where it is found, rather it may be a useful vehicle for development. ^

OBJECTIVES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In addition to serve as an intellectual clarification in the field of ethnicity, it is the objective of this study to go beyond the traditional view of seeing development of an area as the initiatives from the top to seek for the forces at play in the political development of the Province. It is also the object of this project to explore further the popular belief that political ideas "imported" into the area from outside the Province were responsible for the changes in inter-ethnic relations. This interpretation, taken on the surface, tends to ignore the possible existence of certain forces from within that might be at play in accounting for the changes in relation between ethnic groups. It is only after these objectives are established that a clear understanding of the political development of the province is possible.

The study is however, faced with certain limitations. For instance we cannot claim to have covered all the ethnic groups in the Province because of their number and sizes.

The study only covers the major ethnic groups that featured in the politics of the Province during the period under review.

The focus is also limited to the political aspect of inter-ethnic relations. There are a number of perspectives from which the study of the political aspect can start. One perspective views politics as essentially "cooperative", involving the co-ordination of a division of labour within society. But despite the importance of cooperation (in meeting goals) as an aspect of politics, it is utopian to expect citizens of a political system to always cooperate, especially when it comes to the distribution of the valued, but scarce, resources. This is because frequently, individual self-interest overcomes the vision of planning and co-operation in the interest of the collective¹⁵.

Easton's definition of politics as the "authoritative allocation of values"¹⁶ thus implies the employment of force sometimes, in the maintenance of order. Hence the "conflict" perspective in the study of political relations becomes more relevant here, especially in view of the scarcity of valued resources. Therefore this study also focuses on issues that led to conflict between the ethnic groups. This does not however imply the absence of inter-ethnic harmony between them.

As can be seen from the study, co-operation and alliances did in fact take place on some issues, indicating areas of harmony. For the purpose of the study, we have taken Coleman's definition of political development as "the acquisition by a political system of a consciously sought, and qualitatively new and enhanced political capacity as manifested in the successful institutionalisation of (1) new patterns of interaction and (2) new patterns of participation and resource distribution....."¹⁷.

The period covered by this study is from 1926 to 1966. The former date signifies the coming into existence of the Province following the re-organisation of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria; thus it provides an appropriate starting point. The terminal period is however a matter of convenience. Inter-ethnic relations is continuous as long as there are ethnic groups co-existing within a given environment; but the study has to terminate at a certain point. As is revealed by the study, relations between ethnic groups in later years became closely tied to partisan politics. Ethnic associations through which ethnic interests were hitherto propagated became affiliated to political parties with the introduction of latter in the area. With the military take-over in 1966, and the subsequent banning of political parties

in the country, we feel that this brings an end to a chapter in inter-ethnic relations, no matter how crude. This is what informed our choice of 1966.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.

This project succeeded in raising important reservations to some already widely held views and propositions on the subject of ethnicity. One of such is Francis' proposition concerning the capability of "demotic" institutions in neutralising the phenomenon of ethnicity. It is here evident however, that these institutions not only, **in** some cases fail to neutralize ethnicity, but that they sometimes promote ethnic identification. Certain modifications have been suggested as well arising from the data we have gathered. For instance the proposition by Francis on the relationship between the saliency of ethnicity and social mobilisation. The above propositions have been found to be over-generalisations. In other words they ignored the peculiarities of certain circumstances which this study is able to point out.

The study also unearthed a kind of relationship that existed between two ethnic groups in Uba (see chapter V) which neither of the propositions on the persistence ethnicity could explain adequately. Though the study itself fails to give a satisfactory explanation of the factors

responsible for such a relationship, it is however able to bring it ^{to} surface as an area worth exploring further by other researchers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The existence of ethnicity is explained as a complex dynamic of group conflict resulting from differential distribution of wealth, power, prestige and other social rewards¹⁸. Studies on the phenomenon (ie. ethnicity) prove this fact, especially in the immediate post-independence period of a number of African states.

The political developments of these states immediately after independence were characterised by conflicts and instability arising from competitions to correct the imbalances. Though, manifestly, the competitions assumed political forms in terms of the struggle for political posts eg. during elections, they had economic motives below, since those given the political mandate were also vested with the power to distribute the economic resources of their respective countries. Consequently, political parties that emerged during that period in most African countries were regionally or ethnically based, rather than on ideology. Examples include those in Zaire, Nigeria, Congo Brazzaville, Sierra-Leone etc. This gives credence to some studies such as Epstein's on the migrants from Malawi, Bemba and Lozi areas in Luanshya. He stated that hostility and ethnic

competition followed efforts by members of the various ethnic groups he studied, to secure or defend their positions in the mines¹⁹.

In the Nigerian experience, competition for political offices between the political parties and ethnic groups often had disastrous consequences. Rather than being peaceful means of winning over the electorate, political campaigns were often turned into mini battles. Personality attacks and character assassinations, and in most cases physical combat became the rules of the game. Appeals to religious and ethnic differences formed part of the issues used in canvassing for votes. This again underscores Vincent's study of the Bogondo of Uganda in which he indicates that individuals employed an ethnic frame of reference only in situations where such emphasis is rewarded²⁰.

National issues, which required co-operation between the political leaders (and by implication the ethnic groups, political parties and the regions) in solving them, became areas where their differences were salient. This went on to the detriment of the country they aspired to lead. For instance, since the competitions between the various interests (ethnic, regional etc) ultimately had economic motives, the formula for distributing the national resources became a central determinant of the relations between the political leaders,

their political parties and their regions. Each of the regions through its "own" political party - parties in the First Republic were seen as ethnically and regionally based - advocated at one time or the other, a formula that best suited its interests. Derivation as a formula was only advocated by each of the regions when a large percentage of the national revenue was derived from products found in it.

The population census of 1963 was another controversial issue. Since seats at the Federal Parliament were to be allocated in proportion to the population of the regions, fake figures were obtained, as each region sought to record the highest number of people. During elections when the popularity of the parties was to be tested, various tactics were used to ensure victory; among them were intimidation suppression of rivals etc.

The creation of the Mid-West Region out of the former Western Region in 1963 was interpreted as a conscious and calculated attempt by the Federal Government, formed by a coalition of the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.) and the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.), to destroy the West which mainly supported the Action Group (A.G.). And in 1955, power struggle between the two factions of the A.G. led by Awolowo and Akintola respectively led to the declaration of the state of emergency in the Western Region.

The cumulative effect of these and similar instances led to the military take-over in 1966. At first the coup was received with jubilation in some quarters, but with suspicion in others.

According to Daudu:

Immediately after the shock in certain quarters and jubilation in others, the Coup's heavy toll on non-Ibo political and military leaders was subjected to ethnic diagnosis. The nature of the killings tarnished the national motives of the five Ibo majors who were the coup makers.

The military under Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi, an Ibo took over political power from the civilians. Henceforth, an uneasy and short-lived peace descended on Nigeria. It was shattered by the ill-timed and ill-fated Decree 34 in which Ironsi abolished the Federal set-up and made Nigeria a unitary system²¹.

The reaction to this decree was another indication of resistance by the ethnic groups to being integrated. Barely six months after, a second coup took place in which Ironsi himself was killed. Dissatisfaction with this second coup led the then military Governor of Eastern Region to declare that region the Republic of Biafara on May 30, 1966. Consequently, the country experienced a thirty-month-old civil war in a bid to keep united.

To minimise conflicts between the ethnic groups within the country, the military created twelve states out of the former four regions. But rather than fostering unity, the creation of states served as a catalyst towards high-lighting ethnic consciousness. Even within the same state, component ethnic groups struggled amongst themselves over the scarce resources of their state. Demands for "our" state, and later Local Government became dominant in the minds of the people.

What all the above point to is the lack of trust which characterised the relations between ethnic groups, especially during the First Republic. It was a period when self and ethnic interests superceeded those of the country. This divisive politics can, in addition to any other factors, be pinned to the desire of the emerging class of elites to fulfill their political and economic dreams which hitherto remained elusive during the colonial period. The **exit** of the Europeans therefore provided them this opportunity, hence various **strategies were** employed (appeals to ethnic sentiments inclusive) to see themselves through.

It is therefore not surprising to note that even those regarded as nationalists during the struggle for independence and who advocated the unity of the country, turned back to advocate its sub-division along ethnic lines. Not only was the ethnic factor

emphasised but it was done in the negative sense of dividing the people to ensure the support for the political leaders from those referred to as the "minority" ethnic groups²². Awolowo advocated at one time, the division of the country into ten ethnic units and later seventeen; Azikwe advocated for eight of such units. The saliency of the ethnic factor in Nigerian political history rests on the conviction that ethnic groups are not likely to have the fair share of benefits due to them unless "their own people" are in government circles. This explains in part, why it has become a common practice for most analysts to seek to interpret the dynamics of Nigerian political development (and indeed Third World generally) in ethnic terms.

To some, however the question of ethnic identification is not indigenous in traditional rural life. According to Huntington, "In much of Africa, (ethnic) consciousness was almost unknown in traditional rural life. (Ethnicity) was a product of modernisation and its impact on a traditional society.... Loyalty to the (ethnic group) is in many respects a response of modernisation, a product of the very forces of change which colonial rule brought to Africa. This to us is a valid statement because colonialism, more than any other single factor before it, gave rise to ethnic consciousness of the magnitude we are experiencing today.

One way through which colonialism led to the intensification of ethnic identification was the style of administration of the colonialists. They emphasised more the differences that existed in the social lives of the various groups that formed their colonies than the similarities. That was a deliberate strategy to ensure maximum disunity among the citizens of their colonies, since unity between them will make their rule difficult, if not impossible. Hence, the adoption of the "Indirect Rule" system in which pre-colonial authority structures were utilized in governing the colonies. The claim of the colonialists that their aim was to encourage the Africans to retain and develop their institutions was equally a farce in that it was designed to emphasise the differences in their ethnic outlook in the name of encouraging them to develop their traditional institutions.

Another area where colonialism was of help to the intensification of ethnic consciousness was in the field of socio-economic development. The level and rate of colonial socio-economic development differed from one area to the other. This later was to become the myth of ethnic superiority between ethnic groups. This unequal development arose from the fact that only those areas where mineral resources required by European industries were developed with infrastructures

to facilitate their transportation to the sea ports. One other area, as is revealed in this study, is the institutionalisation of the domination of one ethnic group or class of people (as the **case** may be) on others where such was not the case before colonialism. This ultimately sparked-off ethnic tension after the departure of the colonialists.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Various attempts have been made to develop some theoretical framework upon which the phenomenon of ethnicity can be explained. Though there is yet no general theory on inter-ethnic relations, a number of rudimentary or "middle-range" ones have been developed. The task of researchers therefore should be to continue to improve them, since the conception of a general theory now or in the near future remains wishful thinking. This pessimistic view emanates from the recognition of the volatile nature of the social field within which social scientists operate; and particularly the fact that the phenomenon of ethnicity itself entails the study of biases from two angles. On the one hand, researchers **easy** include their biases in the course of their researches or investigations, depending on what motivated them to embark on the studies in the first place. On the other hand, no matter how

objective they may try to be, there remains the whole question of how objective their data are.

Among the causes of ethnic identification is the issue of domination in all its aspects be it economic, political, religious or whatever. Lieberman in his theory based on the migrant-indigenous and super-ordinate - subordinate "distinction" seeks to establish a race and ethnic relations that will account for differences, between various societies. Most situations of ethnic contact he says, involve at least one "indigenous" group and one migrant group - by indigenous he refers to a group of people, "sufficiently established in an area so as to possess the institutions and demographic capacity of maintaining some minimal form of social order through generations"²³. In their contact, each group desires to maintain and develop a social order similar to its own prior to the contact. By so doing the fear of one group extending its spheres of influence over the others produces ethnic identification. Examples of this can be drawn from studies of various traditional societies during the era of empire-building and the beginning of colonial rule.

Francis also treated the phenomenon ethnicity in various societies - from "acephalous" societies to the modern nation-states.²⁴

He arrives at a conclusion that the saliency of ethnicity follows where there exists a great difference between two or more groups co-existing in a social context, and that these differences can lend themselves to be interpreted in ethnic terms.²⁵ To him this problem (of ethnicity) will be neutralised where "demotic" institutions such as the military or civil services etc exist, because of their homogenising influence. This position will, however, be contended against, because these "demotic" institutions not only failed to neutralise the problem in some cases, but also helped in promoting ethnic identification. The fact that the institutions are made up of individuals who operate in the same social setting as their ethnic folks have created instances when they couldn't help but fall back to ethnic identification on some major national issues. This^{is} particularly so in some political systems where the spirit of nationalism is not properly entrenched in the citizens as to replace parochial with national interests. For instance the military in the politics of Ghana²⁶ or Nigeria in the First Republic²⁷, or the civil service in the Second Republic. These cases show how the "demotic" institutions aided ethnic identification and limit the application of Francis' assertion. It also indicates the hiatus existing between the ideal and reality.

Existing approaches to the study of ethnicity have been criticised for either taking the ethnic

Factor as an "absolute" thereby ignoring the class factor, or reducing all analyses to the class factor thus neglecting the purely ethnic variable.²⁸ It is therefore said that for an analysis to be "scientific" it must bring the two factors in the analysis of ethnicity. But the existence of ethnicity even in class-less societies seem to suggest that not always do both factors become available at the same time. In other words, in such situations where there is the absence of class distinctions, any attempt to bring the two factors together would lead to distorting the analysis which will make it equally "un-scientific". Suffice it to bear in mind however, as Sklar points out, that focussing on the ethnic factor alone may obscure the fact that ethnic movements may be created and instigated by certain social classes.²⁹

METHODOLOGY

The data on which the study was based was gathered mainly from the archives and libraries (especially the Arewa House and the National Archives, both in Kaduna). This is because the study itself is basically historical. Relevant books and journals, available also formed important sources of data and information in addition to the colonial Provincial Reports. Informed people on the subject matter, who either due to their participation in the colonial administration or by virtue of their ages have witnessed certain

relevant instances were contacted to shed more light on such cases. Leaders of ethnic associations formed part of them.

However, in the course of the research, as is with any study, certain problems were encountered. Among the serious ones was lack of adequate data relevant to the study. This arose mainly from cases of missing documents at the archives. Most of them at the National Archives, hitherto kept in Yola Provincial Archive were damaged beyond useable state while in transit to Kaduna, while others cannot be traced. We were also not fortunate enough to be able to supplement this by contacting all those we intended to, for the fact that some cannot be traced, others migrated to new places beyond our reach, while others are no more. With these important limitations, the study cannot claim to have achieved its full objectives. We are however encouraged by the fact that studies of this nature can at best be stimulants to further research. It is our hope that this too will be part of them.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Ismagilova, R. N., Ethnic Problems of the Tropical Africa: Can They Be Solved? (Progress Publishers Moscow, 1978), p. 43
2. Cohen, A., Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of the Hausa in a Yoruba Town (London, Routledge K. Paul, 1969), p. 168.
3. Schermerhorn, R.A., Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Practice (London House, 1970), p. 12
4. Ikechukwu, E.E., Ethnicity and Political Development, unpublished Ph.D thesis to Wisconsin University, 1974, p. 86
5. Ibid, p 90
6. Nnoli, O., Ethnic Politics in Nigeria (Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980, p.5
7. Lamarchand, R., "Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation - Building", American Political Science Review, vol. LXIV, No 1 March, 1972), p 70
8. Nnoli, O., Op.cit., pp. 6 - 8
9. Antonovsky, A., quoted in Nnoli O, op.cit, p.74
10. Daudu, P.C.A, "The Management of Ethnic Conflicts in the Northern States of Nigeria: 1968 - 73", unpublished Ph.D thesis to the university of Pittsburg, 1974, p.2

11. Francis, E.K., ref. 24 below, p. 392
12. Sklar, R., ref. 29 below.
13. Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification" in Henry J. Pratt (ed), Ethno-Religious Politics (Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974), p. 164.
14. See Andrey Smock's Ibo Politics, below
15. For detail, See Pirages D., Managing Political Conflicts (University of Maryland, Praeger Publishers, N. Y., 1976), pp. 13 - 17.
16. Easton, D., The Political System (N.Y., Knop, 1953).
17. Coleman, J.S., "Introduction" in Coleman, J.S., (ed) Education and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 15
18. For details, see Pierre L. Van den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N.Y. London, Sydney, 1967), pp. 9 - 11.
19. See Andrey C. Smock, Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria (Harvard university Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971) p. 207.
20. Ibid.
21. Daudu, P.C.A., Op.cit., pp. 27 - 28
22. Ibid., p. 16

23. Lieberman, S., "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," in Pierre E. Van den Berghe (ed), Inter-Group Relations: Sociological Perspectives (Basic Books, Inc., Publishers: N. Y., London, 1972), p. 39
24. Francis, E.K., Inter Ethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory (Elsevier, N. Y., Oxford, Amsterdam, 1976).
25. Ibid., p. 382
26. Smock, D. H., and Smock, A.C., The Politics of Pluralism: A Comparative study of Lebanon and Ghana (Elsevier: New York, Oxford, Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 239 - 242.
27. Daudu, F. C. A., op.cit., pp.27 - 28.
28. Nnoli, O., op.cit., p. 20
29. Sklar, R., "Political Science and Political Integration", Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. v., No.1 (1967), pp 6 - 8.

CHAPTER TWO

ADAMAWA PROVINCE

DESCRIPTION

The former Province of Adamawa, which was the third most extensive in Nigeria¹ occupied the south-east angle of the Northern Provinces. It was bounded by the Provinces of Borno and Bauchi to the north; Benue and Plateau Provinces to the West; and Bamenda Province of Southern Cameroons to the South; while to the east it shared a border with the Cameroons - throughout². Two strips of mandated territory of the former German Cameroons were administered as part of the Province as well.

Describing the Emirate of Fombina, parts of which were later to form the larger part of the Province, as early as 1851, Barth noted that "it (was) one of the finest in Central Africa, irrigated as it (was) by numerous rivers, among which the Berue and Faro (were) the most important, and being diversified with hills and dale."³ The principal features of the Province, Cullen noted "(were) its rivers and mountains, and for diversity of scenery, it (was) probably unsurpassed in Nigeria"⁴. The Benue, then an international waterway, was the principal communication link between the Province and the rest of the country. Though its water level fluctuates, large steamers were able to reach the Provincial capital, especially in the

rainy season when its width extends to over kilometre. Together with its tributaries such as the Faro, Kebbi Mayo Luwe, Tiel, Deo, Ine, Belwa etc they provided good fertile land with their rich deposits, for farming throughout the Emirate of Fombina.

In terms of relief, the altitude of most of the area was low with a number of hills and mountains of some considerable heights scattered all over it. Great altitudes were encountered towards the western border forming the sections of the Cameroon - Bamenda - Adamawa - Mandara highlands. These sections at one time recorded a height of up to 13,350ft (over 4,120m) on the coast and decreased steadily northwards to about 4000ft (about 1,230m) near Yola.⁵ Based on the amount of rainfall received, two seasons can be noted - the dry and rainy seasons, of almost equal durations. The former, which used to take place from October to April, was hot and dry, especially during the day time; shade temperatures of up to 110^oF was recorded at one time.⁶ The rainy season usually started in May and lasted to September. The amount of rain received varied from one part of the Province to the other.

The vegetation of the area was a reflection of the rainfall received. Generally, the Province lay within the savanna belt and therefore had a vegetation characteristic of the belt. Thick forest was however found in the southern highlands due to the heavier rainfall recorded in that area, thereby forming climatically part of the rain-forest

zone. Variations in the physical features from plains to mountains affected the distribution of population in the area. In the mountain areas, population was generally sparse except during the days of inter-village wars or the Jihad period when people resorted to them for security purposes. In contrast to that, dense population was found along river basins because of their suitability as farming and fishing environments.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

Fombina, the area parts of which were later to form Adamawa Province, was inhabited by numerous ethnic groups, i.e. embracing "a great diversity of (ethnic groups as a) result of successive waves of conquests and migrations over the centuries."⁷ These people lived in groups of various sizes, spoke different languages and varying customs and cultures. It is difficult to establish whether there was/were a certain group/groups of people who might be the aborigines of the area, and who they are. What is however known is the fact that all the major ethnic groups claimed to have migrated to the area at one time or the other.

Prior to the period of the Jihad, the ethnic groups had been living under various forms of political systems evolved by themselves. "States" of multi-ethnic composition had also at one time flourished in the region.⁸ It is not however going to be easy to deal with all the groups because of these variations; for this reason, mention will be made in respect of a few of those who established some forms of

central authority in their areas before the 19th century. Two reasons are responsible for the selection of the few to be mentioned below. One reason is the fact that it is not the intention of this study to dig into the history of the ethnic groups, but to give an-the-surface account of the area with the hope that it will clarify further the outcome of the study. Within the scope or space of this chapter therefore, it will be impossible to bring in each and every group to light. The other reason is the lack of adequate literature on most of the ethnic groups.

To the northern part of the area, in the Kilbaland, tradition has it that long before the coming of a group of immigrants collectively referred to as "Mandara" people, there existed small "states" or units of people known as Girhuba. The units centered around prominent hills, each headed by its chief or leader referred to as "Til Kirame" (or mountain chief). The "Til" was both the political as well as the spiritual head of his unit. Struggle for supremacy characterised the existence of these units or "states." With the arrival of the new immigrants, they met a situation so favourable for them to intervene and consequently they established themselves as rulers over the warring factions.⁹

According to a tradition as to the origin of the Kilba ethnic group, their ancestors were believed to have come from Marwa in the present day Cameroon Republic and settled in a place near Fadaman Rake. On arrival, they met a certain group of people who called themselves Girhuba (referred to

above) with whom they mixed and inter-married. The present Kilba ethnic group was the result of the mixture of seven different ethnic groups found in the area viz: Fulani, Kanuri, Bata, Fali, Marghi, Bura and Chibok.¹⁰

The result of the usurpation of power from the warring "Tils" was the establishment of a political unit which was under the Til of Kilba. The jurisdiction of the Til Kilba extended over the others (i.e. Til Kirame), that were formerly independent of one another. In return for their loyalty to the Til Kilba, their spiritual positions were upheld, and consultations with them preceded any important decisions taken on major issues affecting the whole political unit. The system of administration established was highly organised and democratic. The Til who headed the government had a large body of officials as his advisers. These officials were constituted into three categories - the Cabinet, the Judicial council and the courtiers.

The Cabinet was made up of important title-holders such as the Hedima, Birawol, Kadagini, Bateri, Zarma, and Medella. The Judicial Council's composition included priests; while the Courtiers composed of title-holders such as Kadella, Barguma, Kadakiliya, Biratada and Sunoma. The democratic nature of the government was reflected by the fact that it took cognisance of the ethnic composition of the area. The component ethnic groups were adequately represented by officials while those ethnic groups who combined their forces to establish the dynasty had certain

that of the Youth), a regent, a collector of gifts for rites and a chief-priest. The Ganɔ was therefore vested with executive powers. The political set-up found in the Yelli chieftaincy stood in between the above two in terms of the degree of democracy.¹³ It is to be noted that in spiritual matters, the three chieftaincies acknowledged the over-lordship of the priest in Yelli; apart from that, each chieftaincy was independent of the others.

Another important group that established its authority over other areas was the Bata. The Bata were classified into two sub-groups - the Jirai who formed the earlier stratum, and the Bazza Bata.¹⁴ Earlier on, the former established their authority over small ethnic groups in the northern plains of the Benue River before they were displaced by the latter group around the 18th century. The Bazza Bata then became the ruling group of Belki, Mulke and Du-voi, and before the end of the century they were able to extend their authority southwards to the Benue valley. Demsa Poa, along River Tiel, was one of their most important chieftaincies.¹⁵

From Demsa Poa, they spread to other areas along the Benue and Faro Valleys, establishing their authority along the Benue, partly through conquests and imposition of their language and culture over the local people.¹⁶ Because of this, the over-lordship of

Demsa Poa became an undisputed fact. The "states" or political units so established by this group were of varying degrees in terms of sizes, strength and importance. Basically however, their political arrangements remained the same. The ruler in each case had a number of title-holders around him (for instance in Demsa, these officials number about twenty-four).

The majority of ethnic groups in Fombnia however lived in fragmented societies with complete absence of secular chieftainships. For example among the Ga'anda, Higi, Verre, Sukur, Mumuye etc, the "Sorcerer, medicine man, the priest or the guardian of the Earth Cult acted as the unifying agent" of the various people depending upon who was found in the particular area.¹⁷ The system of government evolved by the Bachama was largely decentralized. Likewise the Bura were, with the exception of Kidda area, devoid of any central government. Each village area constituted an independent political unit under the headship of the senior member of the oldest established clan.¹⁸ It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that an attempt was made to establish a truly centralised political system in the area by the Fulbe. The result was the coming into being of the Adamawa Emirate which brought the different political units and "states" under its fold.

The Fulani themselves, like the other ethnic groups, entered the area of Fombina from Borno.¹¹⁹ They moved in groups of same clan or sub-ethnic groups. The notable or principal clans that entered Fombina (later Adamawa) included the Mbewe'en, Ngara'en, Wollarbe, Yillaga'en, Ba'en, Jafu'en and Kiri'en. Their initial migrations into the area was motivated by the search for good grazing land for their animals rather than the desire to establish their domination over others, for they are described as essentially non-warlike.²⁰ By the second half of the 18th century, their settlements were found in all parts of the area. Early relations between them and the people they met were cordial. They obtained permission for grazing from the indigenous group and settled down, subjecting themselves to the ruler of that area. Where conditions were however not favourable, they moved to other places, avoiding conflict with the local people.²¹

But by the beginning of the 19th century, the Fulbe under the leadership of Modibbo Adama, answering Shehu Usman Dan Fodio's call for a Jihad against unbelievers, launched a successful war in the area starting about 1805. In addition to the religious elements, some of the Fulani (especially the cattle Fulani) might have joined the waging of the Jihad to end the oppression brought to bear on them in the

forms of demanding for gifts by the rulers high grazing dues, living under alien customs, the practice of "jus primae noctis" imposed on them, and in some cases the claim for supreme ownership of their animals

Consequently, Modibbo Adama was commissioned the Lord of the South (Lamido Fombina) by the Shehu. He continued his campaigns until his death forty-three years later, by which time he had been able to establish his rule over an area of some 20,000 sq. miles (32,000 sq. kms).²³ This formed the Emirate of Adamawa extending into the territory now in the Republic of Cameroon and Chad. The Emirate and consequently the Province derived their names from his.

With the establishment of the Emirate, apart from those chieftaincies taken through conquest, some others entered into agreements with the Jihadists to remain under their protection. They in return were to pay tributes to the Emirate. The Emirate system so established was significantly different from what was known even to those who had attempted a central system of government. Different in the sense that it entailed a common loyalty to the Emir by those under his area of jurisdiction; and also it was based on the superiority of the religion of Islam. Hitherto no "state" had been able to evolve a system involving common loyalty to a single ruler;

likewise the bases for their governments revolved around their indigenous faiths.

With the inclusion of the various hitherto independent units (both the "states" and the politically de-centralised or fragmented units) into the Emirate, the right of the appointment of representatives (to the units) became vested in the hands of the Fulbe Jihadists. Accordingly district heads were appointed, most of whom were Fulani. However, where a suitable local leader (suitable in the sense that he was acceptable to all the component groups in his area) was found, he was appointed to head his people. This proved difficult in many places especially in areas that were politically fragmented; and in such cases the Fulani representative of the Emir was accepted as a unifying agent. These appointments were later to become the bases for agitations against the Fulani ruling class. Though the removal of the Fulani representatives later proved to be a necessary measure towards peaceful co-existence between some groups,²⁴ in others such removals signalled the beginning of fresh struggles between some others who failed to secure acceptable leaders amongst them.²⁵ Such struggles can be likened to those at the national level after the attainment of political independence, when the "elites" competed for offices to replace the departing colonialists.

By the beginning of British colonialism during the first few years of this century, the area parts of which were to form the Province of Adamawa consisted of two large Emirates viz Adamawa and Muri. The latter was similarly established by a Fulani from the Kiri clan. The two Emirates became the Provinces of Yola and Muri respectively, with the latter dating from the inception of the Upper Benue Province in 1900, and the former from September 1901.²⁶

The conception of Adamawa Province started after the conclusion of the Cameroon campaigns in 1915 (see below) when the Germans were defeated and consequently withdrew. Their withdrawal necessitated making provision for administering the conquered areas left vacant. A formal mandate to that effect was given in 1922 by the League of Nations though some of the northern and Southern districts were under British control earlier - the southern districts since 1916 and the northern ones since 1920 (after passing through French control).²⁷ The Province did not emerge de-jure however until the re-organisation of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria in 1926. By that time, the whole of the former Province of Yola and part of Muri Province consisting of Muri Emirate with the Mandated territory of Gashaka and the District of Wase, were merged together to form a single Province re-named Adamawa Province.²⁸ In the

remaining part of Muri, Shani District was handed back to Borno Province while the remainder, went to Munshi, re-named Benue Province.

At its inception, the Province consisted of four divisions.²⁹ First, there was Adamawa Division. This was conterminous with the Emirate, and it extended for about 400 miles, matching with Dikwa and Borno Emirates to the north; with Biu Division of Borno Province to the north-east; with Numan and Muri Divisions of Adamawa Province to the west; and with Wukari Division of Benue Province to the south; while to the east, it was continuously bounded by the French Cameroons. Second was Muri Division, which comprised the Emirate of Muri and the District of Zinna. The latter was administered by its paramount chief, but shared common treasury with Muri. The Division matches the Division of Numan to the north-east; Bauchi and Gombe Divisions to the north; Plateau Province to the west; and with Wukari Division of Benue Province to the south. Its eastern boundary matches with Adamawa Division throughout. Third was Numan Division which was the only non-emirate Division in the Province. It was made up of a congeries of districts. The Division shared boundaries with Adamawa Division extensively and with Biu Division of Borno Province. Its western frontiers fringed with Gombe Division of

Bauchi Province and Muri Division of Adamawa Province.

Gashaka, for a short period of two to three years (1926-1928) formed the fourth Division of the Province. In 1926, Kentu area of the former Bamenda Province was merged with Gashaka District to form this Division, administered by a Divisional Officer stationed at Gashaka. It however lost its status as a Division when it was reverted to a district of Adamawa Emirate in 1928. Five years later it again lost Kentu to Wukari District of Benue Province.

TRUST TERRITORY.

The area that formed this territory of the Province was formerly part of the German Cameroons. The 1914-1918 World War saw a military encounter between the Germans on the one hand, and the combined British and French forces on the other. This encounter which became known as the "Cameroons Campaigns" came to an end in 1915 with the defeat of the Germans.³⁰ German Adamawa (formerly part of the Emirate of Adamawa before the advent of the Europeans) was provisionally shared between Yola and Muri Provinces, and the French for administrative purposes. Consequently, Gashaka was incorporated into Muri Province in 1916; Kentu was attached to Ibi Division; while responsibility for administering the Chamba Districts, and the

districts north of the Benue River was assumed by Adamawa Division.

The sharing of the whole conquered German territory between the British and French was completed in 1920 according to the Milner-Simon Agreement of the previous year (1919).³¹ And in 1922, the League of Nations gave its mandate to Britain to administer the strip of that territory which had been under it since 1916, while the French received a similar mandate in respect to its own larger share of that territory. The mandated areas of Adamawa comprised eleven districts to the north of River Benue and five to the south of it.³²

Various adjustments and re-adjustments were later made, merging some districts together, mostly on grounds of their ethnic affinities. For example in the northern districts Moda and Michika were merged together to form Cubunawa District; Vokna and Maiha were amalgamated; Mayo Bani was restored to Uba; and Kowagol was given back to Holma of which it had formed a part before European Colonialism.³³ Of the southern districts, Yebbi and Gurumpawo, formerly under Nassarawo were made districts after the war while Namberu was later embodied into Nassarawo District.³⁴

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

The Province, at its inception and up to the period that this study terminates, was primarily pastoral and agricultural.³⁵ Other activities were also important but secondary to the above two. The most important crops grown included groundnuts, guinea-corn, maize, cassava, millet, yams, cotton etc. The introduction of the concept of money into the economic life of the people with the coming of the Europeans, and their new forms of taxation (in cash), changed the level at which farming was carried out. The former subsistence level at which agriculture was practiced gave way to production at a large-scale - i.e. to produce surplus. This surplus was sold to meet their civic commitments in terms of paying taxes etc. At one time cotton was extensively grown for both home consumption and export to the South.³⁶ The output for groundnuts was also large.

Pastoralism was also a very important activity, often associated with the Fulbe. Most families lived on the dairy products from their animals which formed an important part of their diets. Excess milk (and other products made from it) were often traded for money or other required grains. Those with lesser number of cattle took to farming in addition to rearing, using the dung

from the animals as local fertiliser. Cattle and hides were exported to places like Kano, while sheep and goats accounted for a substantial amount of the exports to Makurdi and Lokoja as well as to other parts of the country.³⁷

Fishing was another important economic activity, especially to those ethnic groups found along the river banks. It was also important in other areas where ponds of fishing standard existed.³⁸ Fish caught were often dried and exported to other parts of the Northern Provinces. Since there were taxes paid by fishermen (for fishing), the amount of fish caught was mostly influenced by such taxes. The new forms of taxation were also instrumental to the intensification of efforts by the people around other industries, where they obtained wages for that purpose in addition to that of their daily needs. Such industries that engaged the attention of the people included dyeing, weaving, tanning, and smithing. In the mandated areas of the Province, spinning and weaving were among the principal industries, especially in the northern parts; while in the south smithing, basket-works and mat-making were also carried out in addition. Iron smelting was largely carried out by some northern ethnic groups such as the Lala and Verre, and also on the

Mumuye hills. The ore was gathered by panning. Though trading was also important, it was slack owing to ^{poor} transport facilities then.³⁹

To conclude, the area that was later to become Adamawa Province was inhabited by various ethnic groups, who had at one time or other, migrated into it. Some as we have seen attempted the establishment of central authorities over vast areas, while others lived in politically - fragmented units. Most of the chieftaincies north of the River Benue exhibited characteristics similar to one another in the way they were established and organised. The ruling group in each case was said to have migrated from the Mandara. Similarities in most of their kinship institutions seem to confirm this. Chiefs were both political as well as spiritual heads of their respective areas, with their authorities often backed or supported with religious sanctions.

Of those who established their authorities over others (for instance the Batta before the Jihad), a number of factors seemed to have been responsible, in gringing the various groups together. Religion featured prominently among those factors of which the Bata cult - Nzeanzo was an example. In other places such as among the Marghi, Higi and Gudur, the various elements were held together by the majico-religious powers of the "Llidi" Sukur (Chief Priest of Sukur). In others still, the

binding factor seemed to be the need for land and security, with the weak ones associating themselves with their stronger neighbours. Within those who attempted to establish and did in fact establish an organised authority extending beyond their immediate confines, degrees of centrality differed from one unit to another; some were also more democratic than others.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the Fulani established a truly centralised Emirate system of government thereby ending the era of politically fragmented and semi-centralised units in the area. Part of this emirate was later to form the Province. The emirate system of government so established was alien to the area as well as to the people, even to those who lived under centralised authorities. This ushered in new relationships between ethnic groups, some of whom were formerly living in different and politically independent units. This inter-ethnic relations form the subject of the next Chapter.

REFERENCES

1. Cullen, A.A., "Adamawa Province" in Nigeria Magazine, No. 19 (1939), p. 224.
2. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Adamawa: Past and Present (Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1958), p. 1.
3. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., (ed), Barth's Travels in Nigeria (London, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, Accra, 1962), p. 198.
4. Cullen, A.A., op. cit.
5. Njeuma, M.Z., Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa): 1809-1902. p. 2.
6. Cullen, A.A., op.cit.
7. ibid.
8. Saad Abubakar, "The Emirate of Fombina, 1809-1903: The Attempts of a Politically-segmented People to Establish and Maintain a Centralised Form of Government" (December 1970), Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis to the A.B.U. Zaria, p. 77.
9. ibid, pp. 91-2.
10. An informant.
11. Saad Abubakar, op. cit., p. 96.
12. ibid., p. 101.
13. ibid., see foot note 55.
14. ibid., 104. Meek distinguishes between the Riverain and the Hill Bata.
15. ibid., p. 105.
16. Njeuma, M.Z., op. cit., p. 10.
17. Meek, C.K., Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria vol. II (London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd, 1931), pp. 25-49 and also pp. 369-70.

18. Meek, C.K., Tribal Studies vol.I contains more details on this.
19. Strumpell, the German Imperial Governor of Gaiu from 1906-1910 however believed that they entered Fombina through the Hausa land - see Njeuma M.Z., op. cit., p. 3.
20. Njeuma, M.Z. *ibid.*, p. 8.
21. *ibid.*
22. Kwaghe, V.Z., "The Evolution of Sardauna Province 1900-1961," Unpublished B.A. dissertation History Department, A.B.U., Zaria, 1973, p. 18.
23. Cullen, A.A., op. cit., p. 224.
24. This proved to be so in some areas or societies that had earlier experienced some degree of central authority, and because of this they were able to produce a leader around whom they rallied their support.
25. This was found to be true especially in the former politically-fragmented societies. Their relations before the establishment of the Emirate was characterised by struggle for leadership, Thus ever after the removal of the Fulani representatives, it was difficult for them to agree on a common leader e.g. the Bata of Njobolio and in some districts north of the Benue River. In some cases requests were made for the retention of the Fulani representatives. The situation can be likened to that at the national level after the colonialists had left.
26. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Adamawa: Past and Present, op. cit., p. 99
27. *ibid.*
28. *ibid.*
29. For details see *ibid.* p. 125 ff.
30. *ibid.*, p. 70.
31. *ibid.*, p. 81.

32. The Mandated Districts of Adamawa to the north of River Benue included Madagali, Moda, Maiha, Michika, Mayo Bani, Mubi, Vokna, Kowagol, Sorou, Wafango, and Belel. The southern Districts were Nassarawo, Toungo, Namberu, Gurumpawo and Yebbi.
33. Kirk-Greene A.H.M., Adamawa: Past and Present op. cit., p. 83.
34. *ibid.*, pp. 81-2.
35. The importance of the two economic activities i.e. agriculture and pastoralism dated even before the inception of the Province of Adamawa as can be seen from the Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, vol. II The Eastern Kingdoms, p. 31.
36. *ibid.*, p. 31.
37. *ibid.*, p. 32.
38. *ibid.*
39. *ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL RELATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE FORMER ADAMAWA PROVINCE - 1926 - 1966

The former province of Adamawa consisted of a number of ethnic groups of various sizes, cultural and historical backgrounds, and with different levels of political consciousness and sophistication. The province came into existence following the reorganisation of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria in 1926, when the former province of Yola and part of that of Muri were merged together to form it. By that reorganisation, ethnic groups that were up to that time far apart, were brought together under one provincial administration. This necessitated the re-adjustment of Divisional boundaries. To this end Adamawa Division was enlarged by the addition of Yungur, Hona and Lala Districts (all from the old Shellen Division before the reorganisation), and Yendang-Waka, Yebbi and Gurumpawo Districts from the old Numan Division. The latter two were however Districts under Adamawa Division since 1924, and was made part of the Emirate in 1926.

Numan Division was made up of four Districts of Shellen, Bachama, Batta and Mbula (and later Longuda), Muri was made up of Mumuye and Wase Districts (the latter when it became a District under Muri Emirate that year). Kentu area together with Gashaka District formed the fourth Division of the province at its inception. These adjustments, which made some ethnic groups part of others in terms of

administration did not go smoothly in all the affected areas whereas some were contented with the exercise, others strongly objected and expressed dissatisfaction at its outcome. For instance, Yungur ethnic group strongly expressed their displeasure at being made part of Adamawa Division; the Hona only preferred it to the other alternative of being under another ethnic group - the Goila; while the silence maintained by the Lala in the whole exercise was attributed to their low level of political consciousness¹, hence the question of whom they were brought under, to them, was a non-issue.

The Yandang-Waka and Chamba ethnic groups as well resented the idea of being made part of Adamawa Division initially. The former's reluctance was attributed to the fact that for thirteen years, they had been experiencing local autonomy in Numan Division. It appears that this reason is universal to the resentments expressed by the other ethnic groups excised from the old Numan Division. This was because most of them were originally part of the old Yola Division (or Emirate) before similar re-organisations removed them out of that Emirate. This experience of a system of administration in the Numan Division (the only non-Emirate Division of the Province) which granted local 'independence' to component ethnic groups certainly will lead to fears of losing that 'independence' in an Emirate system such as that of Adamawa. With this assumption little thought was given to possible liberalisation of policies as to the administration of their areas by the Divisional administrative apparatus. This may suggest lack of trust initially

between the ethnic groups. Another source of this distrust was the fact that some ethnic groups were brought together for the first time under others, ^{about} whom they knew little

Therefore this first contact is bound to create suspicious between ethnic groups.

Few of such cases if any occurred in the other two Divisions. Numan Division was composed of ethnic groups that had great similarities in their cultures either through historical ties (such as the Bachama and Bata) or through inter-marriages (e.g. the above two with Mbula and Longuda). This gave rise to a situation whereby any of the major ethnic groups had certain aspects of its cultures and traditions within those of the others². Likewise in Muri, the dominant ethnic groups such as the Mumuye had absorbed other smaller ones into their fold to the extent that it became difficult to trace, with certainty, the distinctive features of the latter. Relatively therefore, the ethnic groups became 'homogenous'. In such a situation therefore, distrust as was found in Adamawa Division would be expected to be relatively absent. This is in contrast to what was obtained in Adamawa Division where great differences existed between the group holding the political power (i.e. Fulbe) and the rest of the ethnic groups.

Talking of inter-ethnic relations in the Province, the period under study can be divided into two, on the basis of the influencing factors in that relationship and the intensity

or depth of the relations. The first period starts from 1926 to 1945; the second from 1946 to 1966.

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PERIOD 1926 to 1945

Relations between ethnic groups all over the province between the above two dates have been generally speaking, characterised by cordiality and peaceful co-existence. This does not however mean the absence of rifts between the various groups. "As one should expect conflicts arose now and then especially during struggles by certain (ethnic groups) for political supremacy... On the whole their relations have been largely cordial"³. Most of the conflicts that were recorded during that time centred around those involving pastoralists and farmers over the destruction of the latter's crops by the former's animals. This was the most rampant type of dispute found all over the province.

Likewise, disputes developed over rights to fishing ponds or similar other causes, but usually they involved communities or families; and they were usually settled at their initial stages. At times however such frictions reached alarming stages in that deaths were recorded. It is in such circumstances that some people tend to erroneously interpret the tensions in terms of ethnicity, especially if the two or more parties at logger heads were from different ethnic groups. However to see the tensions as a manifestation of ethnicity would be wrong in that

the parties in disagreement hardly pose as members of different ethnic groups struggling over ethnic issues. Rather they involved some minor economic interests between individuals or families, which can cause friction even within members of the same ethnic group.

A major inter-village warfare with disturbing results was recorded in 1930 in the Northern mandated areas of the province. The outbreak occurred between the various sub-units of the Fali ethnic group in Cubunawa, Madagali, Mubi and Maiha Districts⁴. In 1931, again a "raid by the Marghi 'pagans' on Fulani herds near the Adamawa - Borno boundary resulted into a running fight and several deaths, and the slaughter of a number of cattle"⁵. Again the determining factors in the above two cases had nothing to do with ethnicity. In the first instance, it was found to be a fight between sub-divisions of an ethnic group, hence the cause of that could be attributed to some traditional issues like traditional leadership, or the jurisdiction of certain traditional office holders etc. The second case however was a case generated by an economic factor. The Marghi might have attacked the Fulani cattle probably to satisfy themselves of the need for meat, Raids such as that were numerous, especially in the northern part of the province. To this end, the raid would have been carried no matter who owned the cattle, be it Fulani, Marghi etc. On the other hand, the importance of cattle to a Fulani

man is so great that attack on them would turn into a running fight, as it did, even if the attacker was to be a member of his ethnic group. The point here is that neither did the Marghi attack the cattle belonging to the Fulani because they hated the latter, nor did the Fulani retaliate because they hated the Marghi; the friction simply arose over the mutually exclusive economic interests of few individuals involved.

Similarly, the dispute between the Kaka and Mambilla ethnic groups involved the economic interests of a few of their members. The farmer group, mostly residing in the Camerouns, occasionally crossed the border to pay visits to their relatives who have settled on the Mambilla Plateau because of its economic advantage. These visits, and the consequent settlement of some, created a fear in the indigenous ethnic group - the Mambilla, who saw the Kaka as a threat to their economic well being, especially since the Kaka proved to be very industrious⁶. This line of thinking is given credence by the fact that similar border situations existed but the inhabitants of such areas have been living peacefully in the absence of any economic factor to cause friction between them.

Conflicts such as the ones mentioned above were not uncommon in the other two Divisions. In addition to the farmer/grazier disputes, which formed the majority of the recorded cases, others took place during tax collection in various parts of Muri and Numan Divisions.

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN 1945 - 1966

The hitherto cordial relationship that existed between ethnic groups within the province suddenly gave way to open protests, rebellion and agitations mostly for self-rule and independence. This process started assuming a new dimension after the end of the second world war. One of the main factors that gave rise to this change in relations was the role of ex-servicemen, who participated in the war, in bringing political awareness to the generality of their ethnic folks. Prominent among the ex-service men whose impact was greatly felt in the province were Jonah Assadugu and Yerima Balla, of Bachama and Kilba ethnic groups respectively.

As a result of their contact with various people of different nationalities at the war front, these ex-service men came back with "revolutionary" ideas which were disseminated to members of their ethnic groups. This earned them respect from the latter, which in turn encouraged them to challenge the status-quo. Their first preoccupation was to mobilise members of their ethnic groups and neighboring ethnic groups to fight for common goals. This was done through the formation of ethnic and supra-ethnic associations. Accordingly, PENEDA BWARE was formed by Assadugu with the aim of bringing together the Bachama and Bata to strive for common interests. Similarly KILBUMARGA was founded by Balla to unite the Kilba, Bura and Marghi ethnic groups in his locality to pursue common objectives.

The impact of the activities of these war veterans, which commenced immediately they came back, started to be felt from the beginning of 1950, when the first major agitation movement for secession from Adamawa Emirate was staged by the Kilba ethnic group. What motivated this movement was their desire to have their indigine to represent their interest in the Emirate Council which they viewed as un-democratic. Up to that time, the Lamido's (Emirate) Council was composed of Fulani members all within Yola town⁸. To buttress their reasons for the movement, the Kilba group referred to the fact that they were never conquered by the Fulani at any given time.

The Kilba movement opened a chapter of movements in the province, especially in Adamawa Division. The Batta of Njobolio village in the Division also rose against the administration. Their ground for agitation was to seek for the status of village head, as they could no longer accept a subordinate position under a Fulani village head⁹. The village head was however to be under the Emir. Still in the Division another movement on a similar footing was staged by the Chamba ethnic group, whose contention centred on complaints about the presidency of the chamba federation. The federation, which consisted of five districts of Nassarawo, Binyeri, Yebbi, Gurampawo and Sugu, was mainly inhabited by the the chamba. However the District Head of Nassarawo (a Fulani) was made the president of the federation. Nassarawo District itself was mainly inhabited by the Fulani and was the headquarters of the chamba federation, then.

The chamba ethnic group, which was also not conquered by the Fulani, argued that it was only British colonial rule that imposed Fulani rule on them. Hence they demanded that the position of "Wakili Chamba" (the title by which the District Head of Nassarawo and President of the Federation was known by) be reverted back to an indigenous chamba man, especially in view of the fact that the position was often filled by a Fulani man posted from Yola. There was, they argued, lack of "evidence of progress" in their area as the Fulani had repeatedly neglected them in terms of social amenities¹⁰.

The wurkum of Muri Division were also not left behind in challenging the status-quo in Muri. Though their movement started on minor issues such as the refusal to pay taxes to those authorised to collect them etc., it later developed into a serious campaign directed towards the administration. The first sign was a rejection of their Fulani District Head¹¹, despite the fact that no complaint was made against his conduct.

It is interesting to see how the activities of the ex-service men influenced the development of these movements. Assadugu was found to be associated with the development of all, but the Kilba movement¹². As a touring missionary teacher, he visited these areas, enlightening them (i.e. the inhabitants of the areas) on their rights, and the need to organise themselves to pressurise the administration.

The Warkum and Chamba movements therefore found expression through their respective associations or unions viz. The Warkum Tribal Union and the Chamba Tribal Union respectively. The former was made up of missionary educated elements¹³ while the latter was founded by Phillip Maken¹⁴.

In Numan Division also, the hitherto relative peace that existed between the component ethnic groups within the Federation started shifting by and large towards competition between themselves which generated some ethnic tensions. These tensions mostly manifested themselves at the Divisional Council meetings. The Council consisted of members representing the five Districts that comprised the Division. Though the chairmanship to the Council was made rotational between the District Heads of the component Districts, hardly did members come to agreement on matters during the meetings, "particularly when it (came) to erection of N.A. schools, dispensaries, and other forms of resource allocation ... (this was because) the district representatives were not only representing their districts as such but also representing ethnic groups as the district boundaries coincided with (those) of the five major ethnic groups in the Division"¹⁵. This is a clear indication that ethnic identification is often associated with resource distribution¹⁶.

At first, the movements seemed to be motivated by the desire of the ethnics for greater participation in their local affairs and demands for fair share of resources (both political and economic). All the movements, as is noted above, centred around the substitution of the Fulanis with indigines; the demands were articulated through the socio-cultural organisation formed in each locality. When these organisations proved to be less effective over time, and with the introduction of party politics in the country at large, it was realised that the broader political parties were much more conducive for the achievement of such demands. By that time, it became quite clear that ethnic tensions were directed against the Fulani aristocracy. Thus in the late 1950s, Umaru Ngiki (an ex-policeman) mobilised representatives of neighbouring ethnic groups in Cubunawa and Madagali constituency, with the exception of the Fulani, on August 30, 1957. At their meeting, they decided that "the only way out was to bring(to the area) a party which would act as a political weapon against Fulani domination". Consequently, in November of that year, he received a flag of the United Middle Belt Congress (U.M.B.C.) from Tarka in Jos.¹⁷

In Numan Division, as early as 1949, Assadugu had associated himself with the Non-Muslim League, an organisation to which he was elected the field secretary at its inaugural meeting in Bukuru.¹⁸ He later became its Assistant Auditor in 1950¹⁹. The activities of the

Non-Muslim League centred around the struggle against any possible domination of non-muslims by muslims, through out the Northern Region. Its formation was connected to a motion in the Regional House of Assembly by an independent muslim candidate calling for the restriction of missionary activities in the Region²⁰. Thus its branch in the province pursued the same aims at the local level. The League later changed its religious bias, at least in name, to become known as the Middle Zone League. This change of name was to its advantage since some other organisation which hitherto were reluctant to joint it later did so. Among such organisations was Balla's Kilbumarga. Balla himself became its Field Secretary.²¹

The Middle Zone League (MZL) then combined both the religious and political struggles against the Fulani aristocracy and the colonial administration (the two were seen as partners since the former had the backing of the latter). Despite the fact that no Fulani was ever posted from Yola to administer any unit in Numan Division, the fear of their domination, and consequently the desire to get rid of that ruling class at the provincial level was visibly evident there. For instance Gayus Gilama was reported to have said that "if there were any freedom of choice, nobody would have joined the Fulani in support of a single party, who were always fighting to lord over everything".²² This probably was the reason why the Fulani were often associated

with the Northern people's congress (N.P.C.) which formed the Regional Government. Most of the other ethnics associated themselves with other political parties. This does not however suggest that all non-Fulani were members of other parties while the Fulani's belonged to the N.P.C. In other words, membership to political parties was not, strictly speaking determined by one's ethnic group.

Later a proliferation of political parties in the area led to various alliances between the parties. For instance, the alliance between the Action Group (A.G.) with the U.M.B.C. at the national level was reflected at the provincial level, while Balla shifted his alliance from the M.Z.L. and concluded another with the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) He was at one time in 1954 its political Adviser²³, and later became its First Vice-President²⁴. The UMBC/AG Alliance identified itself as the champion of the minority cause whereas the NEPU posed as the redeeming party for the 'Talakawa' (the common people). The ruling party the N.P.C. was later branded as the party of the status-quo.

Competition between ethnic groups and political parties in the area led to heightened tempers especially during elections to the representative houses at the Regional and Federal levels. For example the first election to the Regional House of Assembly in 1951 generated some bitter reaction from the People of Numan Division towards the administration. In that election, five members were

supposed to represent the whole province. Some how, those elected were all Muslim Fulani's and none from Numan Division. It was alledged that the election (some termed it "selection") was greatly influenced by those at the authority positions of the two other Divisions, and that Numan Division was not even consulted before conducting the elections²⁵.

However, ethnic competition in the Province also drastically changed allaince partners who were hitherto seen as incompatibles. In 1959, Manassa won, by 12 votes to Assadugu's 5, the nomination as the U.M.B.C./A.G. candidate for the Federal House of Representatives, which the latter and his ethnic folks disputed. This started a clash of interest between the Longuda and Bachama ethnic groups. The insistence of Assadugu and his supporters for, and the consequent arrangement of, a second nomination exercise led to Manassa's withdrawal from the U.M.B.C./A.G. alliance. He later declared himself independent which he termed the "UMBC pure"; and the second nomination was viewed among his ethnic folks as "an effort to get a Bachama candidate again".²

The 1959 and 1961 Plebiscites and the 1964 Elections were no different situations in terms of these competitions. The two Plebiscites, which were arranged to determine the future status of the Trust Territory of the province provided avenues where the political parties struggled for recognition and greater followership. In the 1959 Plebiscite, inhabitants of the Trust Territory were asked to choose either to be part of the Northern Region (i.e with Nigeria) or to defer the

decision on their status till a later date. The N.P.C campaigned for an immediate unity with Nigeria while four other parties viz the U.M.B.C./A.G., Kamerun Freedom party (K.F.P.) and Northern Kameruns Democratic party (N.K.D.P.) jointly campaigned for a delay in deciding the status till on a later date. The latter won. The result was however reversed in 1961 when the second plebiscite was carried (see the results at the end of this chapter). The issues that formed the bases for the campaigns will be discussed below.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES DURING THE ELECTIONEERING PERIOD

The main point around which the competing parties and groups centred their campaigns "concerned the relationship that existed between the Fulani as (an ethnic group) and other (ethnic groups) in the area since the issue at state was to get rid of the Fulani ruling class"²⁷. This main issue became a constant throughout the period of party politics in the area, but it was mostly exploited during the two plebiscites. Some were however more specific in their agitations which were directed towards the administration in Yola, especially in those areas where Fulani administrators were posted from Yola to take charge of their local affairs. "Majority of the separatists believed that the movements (were for the) separation from the political system of Adamawa and its administrative system, and so the slogan (of "A Yanke" to them) expressed highly anti-Yola feeling - the fear of domination".²⁸

To this end, specific historical instances of conflicts between the various ethnic groups and the Fulani ethnic group were recalled to the former in order to win them over. Examples of such cases include Hammayaji's rule in Madagahi²⁹, the invasion of other areas such as Wurhuna, Batta and Yungur by the Fulani³⁰, war between Yola and Gulak in 1875³¹ etc. The memories of such incidences helped to arouse resentment of the people against Yola Fulani rule³², and won supporters to those parties that expressed such feelings.

Another factor used in mobilising people during the campaigns was the appeal to one's ethnic origin to ensure communal support. Party leaders often presented to their followers the image that each of the existing parties then, was formed to cater for specific ethnic interests. It was on the realisation of that development, they claimed, that they also decided to bring to their areas, parties that would cater for "their own" interests. In that way, not only did the leaders ensure themselves of realising their ethnic interests (i.e. interests pursued by their ethnic groups), but also their self interests. Evidences of the employment of ethnic frame of reference and association with certain political parties to achieve self interests were numerous. Often, when they failed to realise these interests, they crossed to other parties with significantly different aims and objectives. Examples of such cases include Manasa's nomination and consequent

withdrawal from the U.M.B.C./A.G. in 1959;³³ Daniel Janwe's withdrawal from the U.M.B.C./A.G. again to found a union - the Sardauna Province Union (S.P.U.) which he sought to ally with the N.P.C.;³⁴ the withdrawal of Dominic Majeo from the Chamba Tribal Union (C.T.U.) which in alliance with the N.P.C. sponsored his candidature to the Federal House of Representatives etc. He later joined the N.P.C.³⁵ Few individuals were however held to some parties on ideological grounds such as the organisers of 'VETI' in Muri Division and some other individuals found in other localities. VETI, otherwise known as the "Muri Youth Movement" was originally the Youth wing of the N.P.C. but its radicality became intolerable within the party; hence it broke off.³⁶

Political party support was also influenced by other factors apart from the ones mentioned above. Within each locality, local issues were used which were unique to the area. These issues are too numerous to mention. Suffice it to add however, that the role of the local traditional leaders in using the coercive instruments of the N.A.s. also greatly determined the support, especially of the N.P.C.

ROOTS OF THE ETHNIC TENSIONS

Ethnic tensions are products of modernisation, says Huntington which emanated from the forces of change brought by colonial rule (see chapter one). It is therefore pertinent to start by exploring the extent to which

colonialism helped in bringing about these tensions. There were various policies pursued by the colonialists which later became issues that generated ethnic tensions. One of such policies was the institutionalisation of the Yola Fulani administration to areas that were mostly not under them before the arrival of the British. By this action of theirs, not only did their failure to restore or revitalise the traditional political institution of the various ethnic groups created a feeling of alienation in the ethnic groups; but also maintaining the political prominence of Yola alienated local Fulani ruling classes where such existed.

Thus when agitation movements started, this factor played a prominent role in the relations between the ethnic groups. In the northern parts of the province, the local Fulani 'ardo'en' joined members of other ethnic groups in their localities in opposing the appointments of District Heads and other officials from Yola to their areas³⁷. And with the coming of party politics to the areas, certain Fulani elements defied the popular belief associating them with the N.P.C., and joined others to fight for their lost autonomy and independence from Yola domination. Hama Yaji's family in Madagali for instance "supported the A.G. and N.K.D.P. against the N.P.C. because they saw themselves as rightful rulers of the areas"³⁸. Likewise in the 1959 plebiscite, some Fulani voted against the N.P.C to show their displeasure to Yola rule. This change in

attitude and voting pattern in 1961 resulted from the promise made to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory that they would be made a separate province. The province - Sardauna Province was created in 1961 to fulfil the promise

Uneven development of the areas under British rule as well bred these tensions. On a macro-scale, colonial pattern of development reflected the benefits they^(colonialists) derived from areas under their rule. In other words, the areas where they derived some benefits were developed i.e. in terms of infrastructures to facilitate the exploitation of those benefits. This unequal development, later formed the basis for the myth of ethnic superiority. Certain areas in the Province were regarded as "unsettled" "closed" or inhabited by "primitive tribes" up to later years of British rule in the area.

Rapid social transformation in the area immediately after the second world war was also instrumental to the development of the new kind of relationship between the ethnic groups. Education had a great impact on ethnic movements that cropped up during that time. Generally speaking the movements were organised by the missionary - educated elements in each of the areas they started. Thus, it became difficult to interpret the motive behind the movements. To some it was religious, to others it was political, while some still attributed it to ethnic sentiments. However, whereas these might have contributed the economic motive seemed to be much more significant.

Leaders of the movements used them in struggling for their self-interests as well. And there was this anti-Fulani aristocracy (and the economic benefits attached to the class) featuring throughout the period of campaigns.

That the campaigns were directed towards that privileged class of the Fulani was evident when, in some of the election, local Fulani were sponsored and elected by their neighbouring ethnic groups despite the anti-Fulani feelings. A clear example was the election of Yerima Mumuni in 1961 to the Regional House and Umaru Atiku in the 1964 Federal Elections (the latter was chosen unopposed). Both are Fulani, supported by their District Heads and other ethnic groups against two other non-Fulani contestants.³⁹ Similarly in the Chamba area, it was power struggle between the Chamba and Fulani elites that degenerated into ethnic tensions; the generality of the members were drawn into the conflict.⁴⁰ At one time leaders of the C.T.U. instigated other Chamba members after the break of the C.T.U./N.P.C. Alliance, to demand that all non-Chamba in the area should leave "Chamba land". They quoted the name of the Native Authority i.e Chamba N.A. to justify their claim that everything there belonged to them.⁴¹

S U M M A R Y

Inter-ethnic relations can generally be said to be cordial from the inception of the province up to the end of the World War II in 1945. Conflicts recorded during that period mostly had to do with minor issues which cannot be interpreted in ethnic terms. Such conflicts centred around cases like those involving farmers and pastoralists, raids on

animals, disputes on farming lands and fishing ponds etc. These disputes often involved individuals or families rather than between ethnic groups. This peaceful coexistence, however started giving way to ethnic tensions after the war.

Agitation movements started in full swing, mostly directed against Fulani aristocracy. Three dimensions of the relations become evident - i.e. relations between the Fulani and other ethnic groups, Fulani and Fulani, and ethnics among themselves. The first type became more pronounced when demands for separation from Fulani administration started in earnest throughout the Province. The second type was mainly noticed in areas having local Fulani ruling families, but who later lost their autonomy when officials were posted from Yola to take charge of their affairs. The third type manifested itself in almost all parts of the province where resource distribution was involved. At first ethnic associations were formed, through which these movements were expressed, but later most of them were affiliated to much wider associations - the political parties.

Various policies pursued by the colonial administration later gave birth to the ethnic tensions. These policies included the divide and rule system, maintenance of the prominence of Yola administration over other ethnics, uneven development among the groups etc. With the increase in the political awareness of the ethnic groups due to rapid social transformation within the province, there

grew the attack on the status-quo and demands for changes from the then existing system of administration. These attacks continued up to the military take-over in January, 1966. The pressures exerted upon the administration had significant impact on the political development of the province, which is discussed in the next chapter.

RESULTS OF THE 1959 PLEBISCITE NORTHERN CAMEROONS*

<u>District</u>	(Pro-N.P.C.)	(Anti-N.P.C)
	<u>Immediate Integration</u>	<u>Delay Decision</u>
Dikwa North (Borno)	7,575	7,197
Dikwa Central (Borno)	8,981	11,988
Gwoza	3,356	6,773
Cubunawa-Madagali	4,247	9,818
Adamawa N.E.	6,120	12,578
Chamba	4,539	11,651
Toungo/Gashaka	2,252	2,099
Mambilla	2,745	7,353
Wukari East	3,063	89
	<u>42,788</u>	<u>70,546</u>

*Including the portion in Borno Province.

Source: Wetch, G.E.Jr., Dream of Unity (Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 221

1961 PLEBISCITE RESULTS

<u>District</u>	<u>Pro-Nigeria</u>	<u>Pro-Camerrooms</u>
Dikwa North	22,765	10,562
Dikwa Central	28,697	24,203
Gwoza	18,115	2,554
Cubunawa-Madagali	16,904	13,299
Mubi	23,798	11,132
Gashaka-Toungo	4,999	3,108
Mambilla	13,523	7,467
United Hills	7,791	157
	<u>146,296</u>	<u>96,659</u>

Source: Welch, P, 246.

REFERENCES

1. Memorandum No. 207/1926/45 of 21st September, 1926 in Adamawa Provincial File No. F.2, National Archives Kaduna.
2. Most ethnic groups, especially those within the same locality tended to show such similarities in their cultures - see Gidado, Stephen S., "Party Politics in Adamawa Province: Situation Politics (1951-64)", Unpublished B. Sc. dissertation, Department of Government Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1976; p. 33.
3. ibid.
4. Provincial Annual Report of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1930, p. 9.
5. Provincial Annual Report, 1931, p. 9.
6. An interview with Alhaji Ahmadu Ribadu.
7. Alhaji Aliyu Santuraki.
8. Provincial Annual Report of Northern Provinces of Nigeria 1952, p. 4.
9. See the Report by the Senior Divisional Officer of Adamawa Division to the Resident of Adamawa Province, No. C. 112/18, February 22, 1951 in Adam. Prof. file C. 778, National Archives, Kaduna.
10. Report on Chamba Movement by L.L.K. Rickford, Adam, Prof. File C. 778, NAK.
11. Provincial Annual Report of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1954, p. 4.
12. See Report on the Movements in Adam. Prof. File C. 778 op. cit. Assadugu himself confirmed this to me in an interview I had with him.
13. Provincial Annual Report of Northern Provinces 1954, p. 4.
14. See Toungo, U.I., "Politics and Administration of Ganye Division 1960-1970," Unpublished B.Sc. dissertation, Department of Government A.B.U., 1975.

15. Takoni, Harold I., "Social Change in Bachama District 1900-1965, Unpublished B.Sc. dissertation Department of Government, A.B.U., 1972., p. 31.
16. Nnoli, Okwuliba, Ethnic Politics in Nigeria. (Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980), p. 5.
17. Pur, Bello I., "The Bases of Party Politics Support in Cubunawa- Madagali Constituency 1959-64 Elections" Unpublished B.Sc. dissertation, Department of Government A.B.U., 1975, p. 41.
18. Sklar, R.L., Nigerian Political Parties (Princeton New Jersey University Press 1963) p. 346 f.n. 39.
19. Adam, Prof. File No. 38 National Archives Kaduna p. 53.
20. An interview I had with Assadugu.
21. Adam, Prof. File No. 38, p. 53, NAK.
22. Gidado, Stephen S., op.cit., p. 156.
23. File No. PLT.17, Yola Provincial Office, p.26.
24. See notes on the elected members in Guide to the Parliament of the Federation (Ministry of Information, Time Press, Lagos).
25. See Gidado Stephen's interview with Samson Nadah op.cit., p. 62-3.
26. ibid., pp. 84-5. Gidado states that some of his informants " attributed the Longuda, withdrawal of U.M.B.C./A.C. support to the fear of Bachama domination." p. 97.
27. Pur, Bello I., op.cit., pp. 56-7.
28. Kwaghe, V.Z., "The Evolution of Sardauna Province: 1900-1961," Unpublished B.A. dissertation, History Department A.B.U., 1973, p. 79.
29. ibid. p. 84.
30. Gidado, Stephen S., op.cit., p. 69.
31. Pur, Bello I., op.cit., p. 57.
32. Kwaghe, V.Z., op.cit., p. 84.

33. Gidado, Stephen S., op.cit., p. 97.
34. Toungo, Umar I., op.cit., p. 55.
35. ibid., p. 58.
36. Secretary of VETI, Ahaji Bobboji Jalingo.
37. Kano, Z.M., "Social Structure and Leadership: A Study in Rival Political Structures in Mubi, Gongola State, Nigeria, 1809-1976," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 1979, p. 86.
38. Pur, Bello I., op.cit., p. 123.
39. ibid., pp. 124-5.
40. Toungo, Umaru I., op.cit., pp. 13-14.
41. ibid., p. 94.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EFFECTS OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADAMAWA PROVINCE.

Inter-ethnic relations, especially from the end of World War II increased the volume of demands being articulated to the authorities concerned. And since the stability of any administration is determined, in addition to other factors, by its response to such demands, the Provincial administration became aware of these growing pressures. The demands so articulated can be grouped into those seeking for administrative or judicial re-forms, the question of "autonomy" of the ethnic groups and the need for greater participatory opportunities. Those that centered around the need for administrative reforms were mainly expressed immediately after the coming into existence of the Province. Hence administrative re-adjustments were common during that time. It is these developments that will form the subject of this chapter. In other words, bearing in mind the definition of political development set in chapter One our focus will be the measures consciously taken by the authorities in response to the needs of the people.

The need for administrative reforms in the first place, resulted from the nature of colonial

boundaries which formed the basis of most of the relationship between ethnic groups in their colonies. The advent of the Europeans in Adamawa marked the beginning of the division of the ethnic groups into various political units. First, boundaries were drawn (and redrawn) to demarcate the spheres of authority between the British and the Germans. Consequently, the Emirate of Adamawa (and indeed some ethnic groups) were divided arbitrarily. Later, with the defeat of the Germans by the combined forces of Britain and France, the boundaries were redrawn again between the two powers. These arbitrary lines created problems such as dividing an ethnic group into more than one administrative unit, or the inclusion of traditionally hostile groups into an administrative unit.

The fact that some ethnic groups were brought together for the first time under a single administrative unit created suspicions (which usually characterise human relations under such situations) as was mentioned in the last Chapter. It therefore made it difficult to secure the full co-operation of the component groups when it came to the implementation of decisions, especially when it is perceived that the administration "favoured" a particular ethnic group. Most of the early inter-village feuds resulted from these suspicions.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS.

To rectify the administrative anomalies created by the arbitrary boundaries, "detailed investigations were carried out with a view to identifying and classifying the natural social organisations of, and affinities between (the inhabitants of the affected areas),"¹ The outcome of the "investigations" was the reorganisation and amalgamation of districts and village areas along ethnic lines, taking into consideration the historical background of the people, their general inclination and their geographical positions, in addition to their ethnic affinities.²

On the basis of what is being said above, Moda and Michika Districts were merged together in 1927 to form Cubunawa District. Two years later, a similar re-organisation in the Northern Districts of the Province brought all the "pagan" part of Uba District and the Za village of Mubi District under Cubunawa. But it seems here, rather than ethnic affinities, religion formed the basis of the amalgamation; otherwise one will fail to see the rationale behind the removal of only the "pagan" part of Uba, and leaving the non-pagan part as a village group known as Uba-Mayo Beni. Other Districts merged were Maiha and Vokna to form a single District; and Holma and Sorau also into a District.³

In the Southern Districts, Namberu was incorporated into the District of Nassarawo in 1930.⁴ The Northern Districts of Mubi, Uba, Madagali and Cubunawa were reconsidered with a view of further reorganising them in 1935. This led to further amalgamation of Madagali and Cubunawa Districts to be known as Mandara District. But that proved to be an unworkable arrangement either due to its size or ethnic squabbles. They had to be reverted to the two Districts of Cubunawa and Madagali in 1941. Around the same time Gashaka and Mambilla Districts were created from the former Gashaka District.⁵

With these reorganisations along ethnic lines, the colonialists believed that they have taken a necessary step "to the policy of securing (to the people concerned) a more direct share in the control of their own affairs..."⁶ And with that, their aim was "to stem the process of disintegration (before it went too far), by strengthening natural ties where these (could) be identified with certainty, by giving official recognition to accepted leaders and by teaching (the people) the value of co-operation".⁷

One other remedy adopted as a measure to ensure inter-ethnic harmony was the creation of federations of some ethnic groups. It seems that its success in Numan Division which was a non-Emirate one in the Province, informed this idea of creating more.

Numan Division consisted of ethnic groups, most of whom had either common ancestral background or had blood ties through intermarriages. So strong were the ties between them that a member of one group was not considered a genuine member of the group unless he had brothers from the others.⁸ It was therefore deemed appropriate to federate them, and consequently Numan Federation was inaugurated in 1936. It gave the component ethnic groups opportunity of administering themselves under the colonial set-up, while at the same time ensuring some degree of autonomy of one group vis-a-vis the others.

A Federation of Chamba Districts was put into effect in 1938, after due consideration of the desirability of such a federation in the area.⁹ Proposals to that effect were first conceived in 1931 but as a means for greater administrative efficiency in the area.¹⁰ When it was established the Federation comprised the Districts of Yebbi, Gurumpawo, Binyeri, Sugu and Nassarawa, with the District Head of the latter as its President. Each of the first four Districts was provided with a Grade 'D' court, while a Grade B court with appellate powers - the Chamba District Court - served the whole area. The Chamba District Council, which was subordinate to the Lamido (Of Adamawa) was the Native Authority.¹¹ A federation bringing three village areas of a section of the Mumuye ethnic group was similarly formed in that year (i.e. 1938). By and large, with the passing of time, there was a steady rise in the political awareness in many areas.

Before then, a number of areas were classified as "unsettled" or "closed" to emphasise the inhabitant's apathy towards political issues. Most of them, it was said, saw their business with the government as coming to an end with the payment of their taxes.¹² The "opening" of such areas when there was a growing interest in local issues created a situation whereby the administrative base had to be expanded to cope with the ever increasing demands. That was particularly so after the end of World War II.

The broadening of the administrative capacity, especially at the local level (District) led to the creation of District and Outer Councils. The former was to take care of local issues at the District level, while the latter served as a conduit between the District and the Central administration in Yola, in matters that required the attention of the colonial authorities. The workings of the councils were from time to time reviewed to bring them in line with the existing realities of the day. By 1952, the District Councils included elected members, from whom membership to the Outer Councils were elected.¹³ By that time the authorities were convinced that the "innovation" ^{had} achieved its objective. Hence they were created at the Divisional and Provincial levels as well i.e. Divisional and Provincial Councils.¹⁴

JUDICIAL DEVELOPMENT

The judicial system introduced after the establishment of the emirate system of - government by the Jihadists, administered justice according to the Islamic principles. This,

to the majority of the inhabitants of the Province was alien. Hitherto, cases between individuals or communities were determined by the use of customary procedures, with the elders constituting the judges. This sometimes involved consulting various oracles within the society concerned. The imposition of certain principles based on another religion which most of the inhabitants were ignorant about is therefore bound to cause some friction later. It however took time before demands for judicial reforms started; or even if they started immediately, after the creation of the Province, one can say that they (the demands) did not pose serious threats to warrant the immediate response by the administration.

However, with the increase in the political awareness of the people, and the knowledge of their rights, the need to have some reforms in the judicial set-up became a serious issue. People from various ethnic groups, especially those not converted to the religion of Islam, started expressing concern over the application of a separated set of rules in settling their customary disputes. And in most cases, the punishment often recommended was significantly different from the ones they used to pass onto themselves when judgement was done the customary way.

As a remedy therefore, a number ^{of} customary courts or "ethnic" courts were established in certain areas; or where they existed some were up-graded to have wider jurisdictions. In 1936, two of such courts were established for the Marghi and Higi ethnic groups following the demands for them.¹⁵ And with the formation of the

Numan Federation, "tribal" courts were granted to some ethnic groups such as the Lala and Longuda of Shellem as a step to further political development.¹⁶ An additional magistracy was similarly approved for the Mumuye area of Muri Division in the same year.¹⁷

In 1938, four new customary courts were inaugurated in the Northern Districts.¹⁸ And no doubt, from the number of cases these courts determined, that they served the purposes for which they were set up in the first place. It is therefore not surprising to see their establishment and up-grading were pursued vigorously by the administration as a remedy to the ever-increasing legal cases, triggered by the growing awareness of rights. This was particularly so in the Northern Districts. Thus, the south-east Marghi had a Grade 'D' (Limited) court approved for them at Mbeso (in Uba District); another inaugurated for the Fali ethnic group at Mubi; and a third was established for a group of Hill villages in Cubunawa District.¹⁹ The Numan Federation's court was up-graded to the Status of Grade 'B' (Limited) and its jurisdiction extended to cover the whole Native Authority (the boundary of which was coterminous with the Division).²⁰

At first, these customary courts held their sessions at the market places and on market days in each village where cases were to be determined.

The judges were drawn from the elders of the component ethnic groups over whom the courts (or 'siyasa' as they were called) had jurisdiction.²¹ The presidency of the court rotated between the judges after each sitting. This practice, by and large gave way to a more organised one in which permanent structures replaced market places as courts, and with permanent staff of the courts.

DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION.

In addition to the desire for administrative and judicial reforms, political relations between the ethnic groups unleashed yet another set of demands - the demands for greater participatory opportunities and for greater 'autonomy.' The former was mainly in the form of increasing ethnic representation within N.A. and Emirate councils; while the latter centered around the need to substitute Fulani representatives of the Lamido in non-Fulani areas (as District Heads) to ensure greater autonomy from the Fulani administration in Yola.²² But it seems that the central administration had either anticipated the coming of such demands or in fact encountered with them ^{earlier.} For instance in 1936, the office of the District Head which was introduced in Yanjur after the Jihad was replaced by the traditional council of "priest-chief and elders."²³ The colonial administration claimed that it was in fulfilment of their objective of ensuring "natural development of the (ethnic groups) from within, so that they (might) develop,...., towards

responsible 'self-government' within the framework of Fulani administration."²⁴ This can however be doubted since it did not apply to other similar cases. In other words, if it were to be a policy conceived by the colonial administration, such replacements should have preceded any ethnic movements demanding **that**. This is in view of the fact that the conception of the objective came over a decade before some agitations for such replacements took place.²⁵

In 1942, the District Headship of Kiri, which was held by a Fulani was reverted to a Kanakuru family.²⁶ Similarly, Fulani representatives were withdrawn from Maiha and Kwojji Federation. It was said that the leadership of the latter was assumed by a Fulani following the failure of the ethnic groups within the Federation to agree on a single candidate.²⁷ Both positions were reverted to their respective **indigenes** after the withdrawal of the Fulani representatives.

The desire for greater participatory opportunities became evident from the beginning of the 1950s, when agitation movements started in earnest. It may be recalled that in Adamawa Division, the Kilba ethnic group raised an objection against the composition

of the Lamido's council; with an argument that their interests could best be catered for by their own representative.²⁸ Hence their representation or secession in default of that, necessitated the broadening of the Lamido's council from six to fourteen members in 1952. But it was not the broadening that was of much political significance in terms of inter-ethnic relations per se; rather it was the fact that "for the first time, there was representation from outside Yola and from among the non-Fulani."²⁹ The reconstituted council consisted of three non-Fulani members: the "Til" (or District Head) of Kilba, the District Head of Sugu (one of the Chamba chiefs) and the District Head of Yangur (who was the traditional priest-chief).

The inclusion of these traditional leaders might not be coincidental. The Chamba, like the Kilba, had developed a similar movement around the same time demanding for more representation. The Yangur, on their part had expressed reservations against being re-included in the Emirate at the inception of the Province. This development can therefore be considered a conscious step taken towards finding solutions to inter-ethnic relationships i.e. "intra-societal processes involving ethnic problems" arising due to partial or mal-integration of the population elements (within a society).³⁰

To the Bata, who were the third group to form a similar movement, an opportunity was given to them "to have greater say in their affairs" by creating three village units for them,³¹ thereby bringing the authority nearer to them. In two of the three village areas, however, they turned "to squabbling among themselves"³² i.e. the missionary-educated elements and the majority non-christians quarrelled as to which group should have the right to choose the would-be village heads. None-the-less, their desire for village areas was granted. The British colonial administration also recognised the need to provide the "pagans" in Mubi N.A., an avenue for political participation. Thus they created what is referred to as a "Pagan council" (similar to the Lamido's), which might challenge decisions made by the Lamido.³³

The outputs of any political system are often turned into fresh inputs after acting on the environment and individuals.³⁴ The responses of the authorities to the above demands created fresh ones from various sections. The granting of requests (made by ethnic groups) itself increased the political awareness in them. They realised that there was to be the possibility of achieving their desires when they organised themselves into a sort of pressure group to back their demands. As the agitations for more representation persisted, the process of change within

the council therefore became continuous, almost annually. In 1953, there was an addition of two members to the council, one being a trader and the other a Christian from the Marghi ethnic group.³⁵ This emanated from the recommendations made by the council of selectors to improve the administration of the Emirate. This signalled the beginning of the inclusion of not only ethnic representatives but also religious and occupational ones.

Thus later broadening of the Council not only confined itself to ethnic representations but also the religious when that aspect became salient with the increasing activities of the missionaries. By the year 1955, the council consisted of members from various groups as well as from the various religions i.e. Muslims, Christians and Animists.³⁶ The year (1955) also signified a new development within the Council with the re-distribution of portfolios in which the Santuraki of Kilba (District Head), a non-Fulani, assumed the portfolios of Police and Prisons Departments. This was the first time a non-Fulani assumed these crucial portfolios. Two other non-Fulani representatives were also appointed heads of departments.³⁷ In 1956, it was thought that further changes were necessary to achieve a more balanced membership in the N.A. Council.³⁸ Accordingly a proposal was put forward

and was approved by the then Governor of Northern Region. The new N.A. Council's constitution provided for three Fulani title-holders and three non-Fulani chiefs, six portfolio holders, six popularly elected members and two nominated members.³⁹

Though the number of agitations recorded in Muri Division were fewer than in Adamawa Division, it seemed however that the Council members of the Emirate as well as that of the N.A. realised the potential danger inherent in the operation of an "un-democratic" council. They appreciated the usefulness of involving as many ethnic groups in the area in the decision-making process, as a necessary pre-requisite to achieving stability while at the same time realising the developmental goals desired. To this end indigines irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds were involved. But despite this realisation, only proposals for the inclusion of members from other ethnic groups was achieved. It was not until after the movement by the Wurkum ethnic group that the council started becoming truly multi-ethnic in composition. An indigine from the Wurkum ethnic group was appointed to it and was given the portfolios of Police and Prisons.⁴⁰ This was followed by a comprehensive proposal to amend the N.A. Council's constitution to widen its membership so as to make it more democratic.

In Numan Division, the Federation of the Districts (and ethnic groups) at first proved to be a success. Agitations by one ethnic group against another initially were not common. However, later as we have seen in the last Chapter (Three), the issue of distributing their resources posed a threat to the cordial relations between the component major ethnic groups. Steps were taken, as in the other two Divisions, to amend their constitution so as to cater for the various interests⁴¹.

By 1959, i.e. on the eve of Nigeria's independence, the effects of political mobilisation led to the growth in the number of those who can be classified as politically conscious. With the growth of their number also came an increase in the amount of pressures for the transformation of the political practices. This was particularly evident when the Plebiscite to determine the fate of the Trust Territory was held that year. New electoral regulations were approved with a provision for an increased number of elected councillors to the Adamawa N.A. from six to eight. They were for the first time, to be chosen by secret ballot.⁴²

In Numan Federation, an amendment in its constitution provided for more balance between the Districts in terms of ethnic representation, with the surfacing of new areas of conflict.

Membership of the reconstituted N.A. provided for "two elected members from each of the five Districts..., (while) Numan Town was allotted a seat on the Council as a compromise between demands for excision of the Town as a Federation Territory and the natural claims of the Bachama in whose District it is situated."⁴³ The previous year also witnessed the recognition of a permanent chief for Languda, who was granted a Third Class Staff of Office.⁴⁴ This followed demands to that effect by the Longuda ethnic group, who earlier threatened to secede from the Federation.

The second Plebiscite led to the excision of the mandated areas from Adamawa into a new Province - the Saradauna Province in 1961. With this loss, a partial solution to the problem of autonomy was found, at least from Adamawa. The five notable Districts that posed some problems in that respect i.e. Madagali, Mubi Michika, Mambila and Nassarawo Districts were no more under the Province. Further more, a provision was made in the N.A. constitution (of Adamawa Division) for six optional nominated members to "represent interests not otherwise adequately represented."⁴⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

To facilitate the struggle for ethnic and political interests, a number of associations were formed throughout the Province as we have shown in Chapter

Three. Mention has already been made of KILBAMARGA, PENEDA BWARE and the WURKUM TRIBAL UNION, and the roles they played in the pursuit of the interests of their respective ethnic groups. The associations themselves were formed by the enlightened members of the various groups (in the case of the first two by ex-soldiers of World War II). In addition to any factor(s) that motivated them to develop the associations, the pursuit of self-interests was also evident.

It is our belief that the realisation of the difficulty in achieving their goals individually informed the idea of having an organised force to put more weight behind them; hence the formation of these associations. The justification of this line of thinking lay in the way the majority, non-educated elements of the various ethnic groups perceived the associations.⁴⁶ Despite claims to represent their ethnic groups on some matters, a majority of their ethnic folks dissociated themselves from such claims on a number of occasions.⁴⁷ But the possibilities of the leaders being driven by the need of to seek for a fair share of resources for their groups cannot ^{totally} be ruled out. For instance, some of their activities centred around pursuing ethnic interests (of their groups). Most of them were achieved.

The Chamba tribal Union was similarly formed by Philip Maken, and advocated the separation of the Chamba from Fulani administration. But the Union, like the Wurkum one, was penetrated by the missionary establishment in Numan,⁴⁸ to the extent that its activities were often seen in terms of religion. The Union later grew in strength, and had even sponsored candidates to compete with the political parties found in the area for seats in the constituency. Most of the major ethnic groups in the area (Adamawa) had also formed associations to cater for their interests, though their activities remained latent. They mostly centred on very remote issues which were of little political significance.

In contrast to those ethnic and supra-ethnic associations, the formation of the Muri Youth Movement (M.Y.M.) was politically - motivated. The movement with the slogan of "VETI" (a Fuliulde word for "dawn") was formerly the Youth Wing of the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C). Due to the dissatisfaction with the leadership of the Party at the Divisional level, members of the Wing decided to break away from the Party and consequently it was formed in 1963.⁴⁹ The aim of the movement was to enlighten the general public on their rights and to

challenge any government or party policies they deemed to be obnoxious.⁵⁰ The intention of the movement to participate in the various elections did not materialise because most of its members were imprisoned on charges of "breach of public peace." They were hardly released from Prison when the military took over in 1966. Membership of the movement was determined more by one's political beliefs rather than his ethnic background; Thus the movement was multi-ethnic in terms of composition.

We have also seen in Chapter Three (see pp.49 ff), the relationship between inter-ethnic relations and the introduction of political parties in Adamawa Province. As the political environment became more sophisticated for the effective operation of ethnic associations, it was deemed necessary to find a substitute to the associations. Political parties provided the answer to that. With their introduction to the area, the premodial associations (ethnic associations) became affiliated to them. Political parties therefore became the instruments through which the various interests (ethnic, political, self etc) of ethnic leaders were articulated to the administration. In the course of that, the interests of the leaders so articulated in some cases clashed - even those of members of the same ethnic group. This goes on to prove that some of the interests

often presented as those of ethnic groups were pure self-interests. Their clash often led to shifts in alliances as was mentioned in the previous Chapter. Sometimes such alliances were concluded between parties having significantly different and opposing views.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that the relations between the ethnic groups had great effects on the political development of the Province. We have seen how the scope (capacity) of the administration was widened to cope with the ever increasing demands for greater participation, autonomy, judicial reforms etc. Responses to these demands often generated others which made the process a continuous one. At first, steps taken were mainly in terms of boundary adjustments in an effort to avert any potential threat to inter-ethnic harmony. With the growing political consciousness however, and greater interaction between the ethnic groups, the need for greater involvement of indigenes in their local affairs became more important. Hence the administration became aware of the fact that threat to the peaceful co-existence between ethnic groups can no longer be averted through adjusting boundaries, but through positive steps to secure for each group its proper place in the scheme of things.

Inter-ethnic relations were also instrumental to the formation of ethnic associations which served as instruments through which ethnic demands were channelled initially. By and large however, their effectiveness in articulating these interests deminished due to the rapid change in the social environment. Relations between groups became more complex which required more sophisticated associations than the ethnic ones. This signalled the beginning of the activities of political parties into the area, to which the various ethnic associations became affiliated .

REFERENCES

1. Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the British Cameroons for the year 1935, p. 16.
2. Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government for the year 1929, p. 19.
3. ibid.
4. ibid., 1930, p. 15.
5. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Adamawa: Past and Present (Oxford University Press,, London, N.Y., Toronto, 1958), p. 184.
6. Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government, 1935, p. 16.
7. ibid.
8. This saying is common between the three main ethnic groups in the area i.e. Bata, Bachama and Mbulo.
9. Northern Provincial Annual Report, 1938, p.
10. Letter No. 20780/253 of November 12, 1937 in File G.3.A. vol.II, National Archives Kaduna, p. 109.
11. Provincial Annual Report, 1938.
12. Classification of areas as "unsettled" or "closed" was common in most colonial documents especially during the period immediately following the creation of the Province.

13. Provincial Annual Report of the Northern Provinces, 1952, p. 5.
14. Informant Tafida Idris.
15. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., op.cit., p. 183.
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
18. Provincial Annual Report, 1930.
19. Provincial Annual Report, 1952, p. 7.
20. ibid.
21. Informant-Ahmadu Ribadu.
22. Examples of this were the Bata and Chamba movements.
23. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., op.cit., p. 183.
24. Provincial Annual Report, 1937, p. 7.
25. Compare the time this was said and the time when the Chamba and Bata movements took place (in 1950-1).
26. Kirk-Greene, op.cit., p. 185.
27. ibid., p.186. A similar situation occurred in Cubunawa District when the proposal to replace a Fulani District Head had to be postponed before the local people can agree on a leader.
28. Refer to Chapter Three.
29. Provincial Annual Report, 1952, p. 4

30. Francis, E.K., Inter Ethnic Relations: . . .
An Essay in Sociological Theory
(Elsevier, N.Y., Oxford,
Amsterdam, 1976), p. 392
31. Provincial Annual Report, 1952, p. 6.
32. *ibid.*
33. Mamman, Z.K., "Social Structure and Leadership:
A Study of Rival Political
Structures in Mubi, Gongola State,
Nigeria 1809-1976," Unpublished Ph.D.
Thesis Indiana University,
1979, pp. 89-90.
34. See Easton, D., "An Approach to Political
Systems" in World Politics, vol. 9 (1957),
pp. 383-400.
35. Provincial Annual Report, 1953, p.4.
36. *ibid.*, 1955, p. 1.
37. *ibid.*, p.2.
38. Provincial Annual Report, 1956, p.1.
39. *ibid.*
40. *ibid.*, 1955, p.3.
41. *ibid.*, 1957, pp.1-2.
42. *ibid.*, 1959, p.3.
43. *ibid.*, p.4.
44. Statement of Government Activities in the
Northern Region by the then Governor of the
Region Sir Gawain Westray Bell to the Budget
Meeting in 1958, Northern Regional Legislature,
House of Assembly Debates, 4th Session March 15,
1958, p. 3.

45. Provincial Annual Report, 1961, p.3.
46. Informant.
47. Nigeria: Northern Region Annual Report, 1951, p.2.
48. The activities of Assadugu is an example of the role played by the missionary establishment in Numan.
49. Informant - Bobboji Jalingo. He was the Secretary-General of the Movement.
50. ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of ethnicity in inter-ethnic political relations in the former Adamawa Province was associated with many variables or factors. Among the main factors that gave rise to ethnic identification, from the foregoing discussions were those that centred around the resistance to political domination ; the need for reforms to ensure greater participation of ethnics in their local affairs; and of course the role of leaders in invoking ethnic sentiments as a strategy of achieving their self-interests.

Ethnic identification in the period immediately following the creation of the Province, though not common, was manifested as a result of boundary adjustments. Due to the fact that some ethnic groups lived far apart before the reorganisation and had little knowledge of others, their being grouped into one administrative unit or the other became characterised with suspicion. To this end some groups expressed dissatisfaction of being included in one unit with certain groups. Apart from this factor, there was relative cordiality between ethnic groups. Tensions that were recorded then, centred mainly around issues that cannot, strictly speaking, be reduced to the ethnic factor. Disputes such as those that occurred between farmers and pastoralists and the likes, were insignificant in terms of ethnicity, since their occurrence was not based on the disputants ethnic background. In other words, these are

disputes that can occur between individuals irrespective of their ethnic groups.

However, from 1945 after the Second World War, the relationship between ethnic groups started changing. The cordial relations eventually gave way to increased tensions. Ethnic associations sprang up to become instruments through which ethnic interests were channelled. Their formation started with the return of war Veterans who realised the need to have organised associations to back up their interests. The demands made by ethnic groups through these (ethnic and supra-ethnic) associations were for more participatory opportunities and the substitution of Fulani representatives from non-Fulani areas as District Heads.

The intensity of the agitation movements necessitated the granting of concessions on the part of the administration. These were in the form of boundary adjustments, broadening of ethnic representations in various Councils and re-distribution of political offices to ensure that each group had fair share of resources, and the replacement of some Fulani representations by indigenes in some areas. Later demands also requested for judicial reforms to replace the use of Islamic Law (Sharia) in non-Muslim areas. Consequently "ethnic" or customary courts were granted to certain areas, while others with such courts had theirs upgraded. As a remedy to ethnic tensions as well, certain ethnic groups were federated which meant that the component

groups had relative autonomy vis-a-vis the others.

It was also revealed that as the political situation in the country generally, and the Province in particular, became more sophisticated, the effective operation of the ethnic and supra-ethnic associations became lessened. This was because the increase in inter-ethnic contacts coupled with the activities of missionaries widened the political consciousness within the ethnic groups. The increase in their political awareness also was associated with the increase in the volume of their "inputs" in the form of, not only ethnic interests but also, political religious, self -etc. These interests were of such a nature that they could not be articulated satisfactorily through the hitherto existing premodial (ethnic) associations.

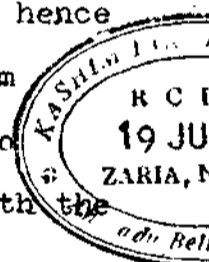
It therefore became necessary to seek for other avenues through which the numerous interests were to be articulated to the authorities, and which could also serve as effective instruments to pressurise the latter (authorities) for quick responses. The formation of Political parties therefore provided the solution to that problem. Consequently, they were introduced into the area i.e. the Province, and the various ethnic associations were subsequently affiliated to some of them. Various issues, ranging from appeals to ethnic sentiments to religious differences etc, formed the basis for mobilising the majority ethnic elements by political leaders. A clear

example is to be seen during the conduct of the two Plebiscites to determine the status of the Trust Territories.

One observation to be made about the occurrences of agitation movements in the Province was that they were more common in Adamawa Division. At least three major movements sought to secede from the Emirate if their demands were not met, in addition to other possible tensions that did not develop into organised movements. This fact can be tied to the fact that the Division was larger in terms of ethnic composition and was the seat of the administrative headquarters. The latter factor no doubt had some effects in instilling greater awareness into the component ethnic groups, of their rights; while the former tends to explain the numerous occurrences. The system of administration that has been in operation in the Emirate (i.e. the Emirate systems) which entailed the loyalty of the subjects to the Emir (in this case the Lamido) was another factor that increased the saliency of ethnic identification.

299747

In Muri as well the presence of some movements could be seen in terms of the desire by certain ethnics to assert their "independence" from the Fulani aristocracy. Here again, the administration (Emirate) could be said to have contributed to ethnic identification. Ethnic groups alleged that they were subjected to forced labour by the ruling class; hence the existence of the movements, notably by the Wurkum sought to challenge their subordinate position and to demand more involvement in local affairs. In both the



Divisions then, we can see the resistance to domination as a factor of ethnic identification.

Numan Division was not an emirate one. It was, instead, made up of a congerly of ethnic groups federated into what was then the Numan Federation. The component groups had relative autonomy vis-a-vis each other. Unlike in the other two Divisions no single ethnic group was associated or identified as having the monopoly of political power over others. Ethnic identification was however found, especially in later years, to have been triggered during resource distribution.

The saliency of the phenomenon of ethnicity was mostly felt, as we have indicated, after the second World War, due to the role played by leaders in mobilising their ethnic folks along premodial lines, as well as other related factors. One can therefore draw a conclusion that the prominence of the ethnic factor, as far as inter-ethnic relations are concerned in a multi-ethnic society (such as Adamawa Province), tends to increase with increasing political awareness.

Francis Postulate² that the saliency of the phenomenon of ethnicity tends to increase:

- (1) The lesser the degree of social mobilisation
- (2) The less evenly opportunities and levels of education are distributed over the ethnic sub-units of the (state) population;

and (3) the less evenly key positions in the (national) institutions are manned by members of different ethnic units included in the nations (etc.!

However, the statement that social mobilisation is the movement away of people from a life of local isolation, traditionalism and political apathy into a different life involving deeper and broader interest in the complexities of modern life², gives room for an observation to be made here, we have seen that the saliency of the ethnic factor increased during the time when social transformation was taking place i.e. when people were involved in mass politics and gradually breaking away from local isolation (due to increase in education for instance). Assuming that involvement in mass politics and the establishment of greater contacts with members of "out groups" to be manifestation of social transformation, we submit that, at the initial stage of the process, the saliency of ethnicity tends to increase with increasing degree of social mobilisation upto a certain stage.

Ethnicity is believed to be a product of colonial rule³. It was seen as emanating from the type of policies (of divide and rule) pursued by the Europeans who used it to divide their subjects; for a unity between the colonised people would have been a threat to their rule. Huntington observed that "In much of Africa (ethnic) consciousness was almost unknown in the traditional rural life. (Ethnicity) was a product of modernisation and it's impact on a traditional society Loyalty to (ethnic group) is in many respects a response to modernisation, a product of the very forces of change which

colonial rule brought to Africa."⁴ Though the problem of ethnicity might have been present before colonialism, its intensity no doubt was increased with the various policies pursued by the colonial administration.

Hitherto, ethnic groups were able to displace others or even extend their domination over others and still ensure the loyalty of the subjects. For instance Eats displacement of the Chamba and the establishment of their authority over a wide area. Despite this historical fact there was a generally cordial relationship ^{between them} before the advent of the British (or Europeans). But the re-orientation passed unto the ethnics by the latter, and the institutionalisation of the rule of certain sections over others (where their authority was not known before), led to the disruption of the natural social order of the subordinate groups. This in turn ushered in loyalty to the ethnic group as a means of resisting the imposition of a new social order upon them. It can however be argued that ethnic tensions could have ^{been} aroused even in the absence of colonialism because of the inequalities that existed between them (ethnic groups). With the passing of time and greater contacts between members of the different groups,

the inequalities that existed between them would have given rise to ethnocentrism thereby paving way to ethnic identification. Only that the process would have been slow because members of certain ethnic groups completely negated their ethnic identity and identified themselves with others. For instance in Mubi N.A., non-Fulani converts to the Islamic Faith "have adopted what De Vos (1975:13) calls 'a transcendent world view,' which makes them negate their ethnic identity in support of a Political Structure which is Fulani in nature."⁵ This practice of identifying with the privileged group or class was not uncommon in all parts of the Province.

The persistence of the phenomenon of ethnicity in the political relations of ethnic groups is believed to be hampering the pace of progress in Third World Countries generally, whose main pre-occupations remain the attainment of socio-economic and political developments. The reason for its persistence could be attributed to a number of factors. Wolfinger for instance states⁶ that its persistence might be due to what is obtained in the political system itself. In other words, in a system that "condones" the use of ethnic strategies or rewards the use of them i.e. by responding to demands based on the ethnic factor, that strategy

will surely be maintained. We have seen for example how ethnic groups directed their ethnic demands to the authority when concessions have been given to them.

An obstacle towards the eradication of the phenomenon however remains in developing countries, which will take time to overcome. The fact that their economies (mostly not diversified and with no steady revenue accruing to them) can not sustain most of their development projects, leaves the ethnic factor as the most effective or rewarding rallying point between competing ethnic nationalisms to gain access to the scarce resources. This emanates from the fact that the countries themselves are colonial creations containing diverse ethnic groups deliberately and arbitrarily brought together, and which are up till now unable to cultivate the spirit of nationalism to replace ethnic loyalty.

Parenti also suggested, as a reason for the persistence of ethnicity, that some people might have developed the awareness of, and pride in, their ethnic origins to the extent that these are maintained in their relations with members of other groups. Any of the observations made^{possible} by these two can make the persistence of ethnicity in the body-politic of a society. But they can not be the only factors that can bring about this persistence. For instance,

even in the course of our investigations, a particular relationship was unearthed which neither of the above suggestions do quite explain. It was that which existed between the Fulani and a section of the Marghi in Uba.⁷ The latter group was categorised into two according to their settlements—one referred to as the "Hill" Marghi, and the other the "plain" Marghi (highly influenced by missionary activities). Thus political competition between the two groups was such that the "Hill" Marghi and the Fulani were mostly together voting for common candidates against the "plain" Marghi. Where a member was appointed from one faction, another had to be so appointed from the other. Neither Parenti's nor Wolfinger's suggestion seems to explain this alliance.

One other fact that became evident is the employment of ethnicity where it was found to be more rewarding. The whole question of ethnic identification in the Province cannot be divorced from the desire of leaders (ethnic and political) to achieve their goals using that frame of reference. A clear example of the clash between the interests of leaders being turned into that of ethnic groups was the Manasa/Assadugu affair which later turned into Longuda/Bachama dispute. In Ganye, it was "an ideological and power struggle between (the

Chamba and Fulani) elite formations" that turned into ethnic tensions,⁸ though their outcome affected all members of the groups.

In some cases appeal to ethnic sentiments were open; for example it was common in the northern Districts of the Province. The area, had more concentration of indigenous Fulani ruling classes who invoked the factor of proximity between them and their surrounding ethnics to oppose Yola rule in some areas. In other areas however, the ineffectiveness of ethnicity as a rewarding strategy led to the use of other social views, such as religion. This shows that ethnicity "does not exist in a pure form" but often associated with other social views such as political, juridical, religious etc.⁹

Suffice it to add here that, despite any negative aspects of it, ethnicity could be a vehicle for the advancement of a society. Ethnic associations do effectively facilitate the accomodation between tradition and modernity by conserving those elements in the traditional political culture that were conducive for political development.¹⁰ We have seen the effects of inter-ethnic relations on the political development of the Province as evidence of this.

R E F R E N C E S

1. Francis, E.K., Inter-Ethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory (Elsevier, N.Y., Oxford, Amsterdam, 1976), P. 325
2. Deutsch, Karl W., "Social Mobilisation and Political Development" in Harry Eckstein and David E. Apter (eds.) Comparative Politics: A Reader (The Free Press, N.Y., Collier-Macmillan Ltd., London, 1963), P. 583
3. Nnoli, O., Ethnic Politics in Nigeria (Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980)
4. Huntington, S.P., Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), P. 32
5. Mamman, Z.K., "Social Structure and Leadership: A Study in Rival Political Structures in Mubi, Gongola State, Nigeria 1809-1976. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis to Indiana University, 1979, P. 128.
6. Wolfinger, R.R., "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting" in Henry J. Pratt (ed), Ethno-Religious Politics (Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974), P. 155.
7. Informan-Buba Galadima

8. Toungo, U.I. "Politics and Administration in Ganye Division 1960-70". Unpublished B.Sc. dissertation to Government Department, A.B.U., Zaria, 1975, P.13
9. Nnoli, O., Op. cit., P. 8.
10. See Smock, A.C., Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHYBOOKS

1. G.A. Almond and J.S. Coleman (eds). The Politics of Developing Areas. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).
2. David E. Apter, Some Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Modernization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968)
3. Fredrik Barth (ed), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969)
4. R. Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Changing Social Order (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, 1964)
5. Brewton Berry, Race and Ethnic Relations 2nd ed, Boston: Houghton Miffling Co., 1958)
6. Hubert M. Blalock Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, 1967)
7. J. Masnoka and P. Valion (eds), Race Relations, Problems and Theory (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).
8. Oliver Cromwell Cox, Caste, Clan and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948)
9. Betteheim Bruno and Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (N.Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).
10. J.S.Coleman and C.G. Rosberg Jr. (eds), Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).
11. Leo Depres (ed), Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975)
12. Shmuel Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires: The Rise and Fall of Historical Bureaucracies (N.Y., The Free Press of Glencoe. 1963).

13. Clifford Geertz (ed), Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).
14. Richard Gray, The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
15. P.H. Gulliver, Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1969).
16. Kenneth Heard, Political Systems in Multi-Racial Societies (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1961).
17. Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (N.Y., New York University Press, 1957).
18. Mehden, Fred R. Vander, Politics of the Developing Nations 2nd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-hall, 1969).
19. J.C. Mitchell, Tribalism and the Plural Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
20. William M. Newman, American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1973).
21. Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962).
22. Antony Richnond, The Colour Problem: A Study of Racial Relations (Harmandsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961).
23. George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination 3rd ed., (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1965).
24. Iseek Schapera, Government and Politics in Tribal Societies (London: C.A. Watts and Co. Ltd, 1956).
25. R.A. Schermahorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York:
26. Edga Thompson and Everett Hughes (eds), Race: Individual and Collective Behavior (Glencoe, IN.: The Free Press, 1958).

27. Paul A. Walter, Race and Culture Relations (New York: McGraw Hills, 1952).
28. Frank R. Westie, "Race and Ethnic Relations" in Robert E.L. Faris (ed), Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964) pp. 576 - 618.
29. Pierre Louis, Race and Ethnicity: Essays in Comparative Sociology (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1970)
30. James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations: The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Groups (New York: The Ronald Press, 1963).
31. Norman Yetman and Hoy Steels, Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations (Boston: Mass.: Allyn & Bacon, 1971).
32. Zubeida Sami (ed) Race and Recialism (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1970).
33. C.K. Meek, Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria vols I & II (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. 1931).
- 34.. C.K., Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, vols. I&II (Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1925).
35. O. Temple, Emirates of Northern Nigeria (Cape Town: Argus Publishing and Printing Co., 1919).
36. Njeuma, Fulani Hegemony in Adamawa.
37. Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, vol.II. (Frank Cass, London, 1972).
38. Kirk Greene, Adamawa: Past and Present (Oxford University Press London, New York, Toronto, 1958).
39. Sa'ad Abubakar, The Lamibe of Fombina (A.B.U. Press, Oxford University Press, 1977).
40. Richard R. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963).
41. Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe (eds), Nigeria: Modernisation and the Politic of Communalism (Michigan University Press, 1971).

42. Post, K.W.J., Nigerian Federal Elections 1959: Politics and Administration in a Developing Political System (Oxford University Press, 1963).
43. Post, K.W.J., and Vickers, M., Structure and Conflict in Nigeria - 1960 - 65, (Richard Clay (The Chancer Press Ltd), Bungay, Suffolk Britain, 1973).
44. Whitaker, C.S., The Politics of Tradition: Conflict and Change in Northern Nigeria 1946-66 (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1970).
45. Coleman, J.S., Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963).

JOURNALS:

1. World Politics, vol. XXIX, No.2 (April 1967)
2. American Political Science Review, vol.LXVI, No.1 (March 1972); vol. LV, No.3 (September 1961).
3. Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.V, No.1 of March 1972).
4. American Sociological Review, vol.XXVI of December 1961, and vol.XXXVII, No.3 of October 1972.
5. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol.V (1964).
6. American Journal of Sociology, vol. LXXIII (1967).
7. American Sociological Review, vol XXVI, (1961), pp 902-910.
8. British Journal of Sociology, vol.X (1959).
9. Human Relations, vol.X (1959).
10. Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria.

FILES IN NATIONAL ARCHIVES KADUNA.

<u>DEPARTMENTAL No.</u>	<u>SUBJECT.</u>
1. Acc 32	- Ethnological
2. Acc 86	- Ethnological Notes.
3. Acc 189	- History of Adamawa from verbal information by H.K. Strumpell (1912).
4. 5.2	- Yola (later Adamawa) Prov. collected histories (1905-31).
5. J,10.	- Bata-Speaking Peoples of Adamawa Emirate by C.K.Meek.
6. J,11.	- Bachama by C.K. Meek.
7. J.14.	- Kona of Muri by C.K. Meek.
8. Acc 30	- Yola (1919-21).
9. 38	- N.E.P.U., Zikism, N.C.N.C., K.S.C., M.Z.L. (1945).
10. 139	- N.E.P.U. (1954).
11. 599052	- Mal. Ibrahim Baban Dije on Elections (1956).
12. Acc 84	- Muri (1955).
13. PLT/13/VI	- Provincial Administration, N.P.C. (Yola).
14. PLT/16	- Provincial Administration, N.E.P.U. (Yola).
15. PLT/82	- Nigeria Progressive Front (Yola).
16. PLT/32/S.I	- U.M.B.C./A.G. Alliance Complaints (YOLA).
17. NAC/1	- Complaints and Petitions from Political Parties (Muri Division Files).
18. NAC/6	- Elections to the Northern House of Assembly: 1961 (Muri Division Files).