AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF KIM DISTRICT IN NUMAN **DIVISION** OF ADAMAWA PROVINCE FROM, c. 1900-1960

By

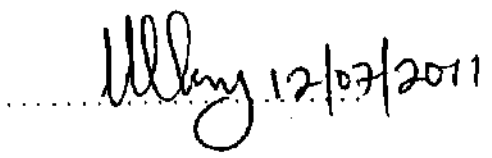
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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POST GRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

JUNE, 2011

DECLARATION

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



(Signature)

CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled, **AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF KIRI DISTRICT IN NUMAN DIVISION OF ADAMAWA PROVINCE FROM, c.1900-1960** by HENRY ABDULLAHI MAMURU meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts (MA) History of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an examination of the various processes that laid the foundation for the establishment of British colonial economy in Kiri district between the years 1900 to I960. These processes transformed a pre-colonial subsistence society where the economic pre-occupation was basically agriculture to one centred on the export of agricultural produce, particularly cotton. Though, the pre-colonial economy in Kiri area was adequately balanced in terms of agricultural productions,this balance was disrupted by the actions and policies of the British Colonial Government. As a result, our emphasis is to understand the production and reproduction of people within Kiri district, which picked up momentum from 1913 to 1957. This development in the colonial economichistory of Kiri district and indeed Nigeria as a whole, led to the incorporation of Kiri society into the international capitalists economy.

On the whole, this dissertation demonstratedhow colonialism impacted on the agriculturalproduction of Kiri districtthrough the introduction of modern innovations in agricultural methods and practices. Thus, the scenario created, abated the independent growth of the economic pre-occupalionof a people. The effect of this situation was the commercialization of cotton production through the competitive, oligopolistic and monopolistic tendencies of the Colonial State and its agents. This, in a lot of ways created imbalances within the fabrics of Kiri district,especially economic, political, social and cultural spheres of development that has kept her in a state of an underdeveloped rural community.

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ABBREVATIONS

ADO: Assistant District Officer

AS: Agriculture Shows

BCGA: British Cotton Growing Association

BEF: Bole Experimental Farm

CAO: Colonial Agriculture Officer

CS: Cotton Supervisors

DO: District Officer

DOA: District Officer, Agriculture

ECGR: Empire Cotton Grower Review

FYM: Farm Yard Manure

GSR: Guinea Savannah Region

JAH: Journal of African History

JHSN: Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria

KFC: Kofare Farm Centre

LBA: Licensed Buying Agent

MOA: Ministry of Agriculture

MURIPROF: Muri Province

NA: Native Authority

NAK: National Archives, Kaduna

NISER: Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research, Ibadan

NN: Northern Nigeria

RAC: Riyom Agricultural Centre

RCC: Raw Cotton Commission

RNC: Royal Niger Company

SAS: Samaru Agriculture School

SNP: Secretariat, Northern Provinces

UAC: United Africa Company

WAFF: West Africa Frontier Force

WAPMB: West African Produce Marketing Board

YOLAPROF: Yola Province

GLOSSARY

The following alphabetical letters: H, D, F, and Ar. as employed in this dissertation represent the words of their English opposite meanings, and they connote the words Hausa, Dera, Fulfulde, and Arabic. Other indigenous representations beside Dera (D) include Lunguda (L) and Lala (Ll) respectively. For conventional Hausa, English, botanical or Latin orthography see Bergery, G. A*A Hausa-English Dictionary*, London, 1934 and for the indigenous orthography (see NAK SNP10 275p/1919, 'Kanakuru District Assessment Report, 1919', by Rosedale, W.O.P.(Appendix X), pp. 24 – 25, p. 37 and Meek, C.K *TribalStudies in Northern Nigeria*, vol. 2, London, 1931, pp. 325 – 331; 360 – 368

Ajami (Ar): Arabic education

Amna (D): the title-word meaning Chief for the paramount ruler among the Dera in Shani, Shelleng and Kiri

Ardo (F) (pl. Ardo'en): an elder or learned individual among the *Fulbe*

Ashi (D): a half size hollow calabash decorated with intricate lines

Ayari (H): an organized trade group led by a *Madugu*

Bilama (D): title of a rain cult priest in Kiri

Burkutu (H): the local brew made from guinea-corn

Da'dawa (H): processed locust beans cake

Dadadala (D): a large bowl-like calabash with the simplest designs on it

Daji (H): bush land

Daura (H): woven cotton cloth from Kano

Dawa (H): guinea-corn

Dawah (D): granary for grain storage

Duram duram (D): *tsada* or the *cerisa edulis* plant

Dushe (D): the Dera word for the *commiphora Africana* plant

Fadama (H): seasonally low-lying undulating wet and dry fertile land for mostly for irrigation

Fatauci (H): long distance mode of trading especially in the dry season

Fombina (F): the southern lands been referred to today as Adamawa territory

Fulbe Kitije'n or Kitaku (F): one of the early Fulbe groups to emerge inside Kiri area from the Gombe region

Gaiya (H): a system of communal work

Gamji (H): the baoboa tree commonly found in Kiri area

Garap (D): the baoboa tree in Dera dialect or *ficus platyphylla*

Gero (H): millet

Gorat (D): the okra plant

Guyi (D): the water lilly plant

Gwalala (D): another term for the Gongola River among the Dera

Jambo (D): the *tamarindus indica* plant commonly found in Kiri area

Jangali (F): the pre-colonial cattle tax during the Caliphate period

Jarawa (D): title-word for the custodian of the bush lands around Kiri

Jido (D): a plate-like carved and decorated calabash

Kakanda (probably Hausa): they are fishermen from Nupe land who entered Kiri area before colonial rule

Kanakuru (H): a derogatory term used to describe the Dera tribal group

Karago (H): the groundnut cake

Kasar Hausa (H): lands north-west from the confluence of the Gongola and Hawal Rivers to the southward fringes of present day Niger Republic; of predominantly Hausa speaking people

Kasuwoyi (H) (sl. Kasuwa): the term for more than one market

Kebbawa (H): fishermen from the Kebbi region found in Kiri area

Kindirmo (F): yoghurt

Klakla (D): a typical calabash which is designed with animals and popular among the Dera

Kudin kasa (H): pre-colonial land tax

Kumkum (D): the local cassava variety which is peculiar to Kiri area

Kwaire (D): sorghum

Kwarak (D): title-word of the custodian of all bodies of water especially, the River Gongola within Kiri area

Lem (D): fishing net

Leppi (F): hand woven cotton cloth popular in Gongola and Benue River valley regions before and during the colonial period

Lushi (D): the *cynodon dactylon* shrub

Madugu (H): title-word for the leader of a caravan train before and during colonialism

Menwara (D): the festival to mark the start of fishing

Njigari or Jigari (F): the early red and hard sorghum which was commonly cultivated and consumed in Kiri area

Nupawa (H): the common term used to describe the Nupe language group found in Kiri area

Piroguru (D): the ancestral deity or god among the Dera

Sarkin ruwa (H): the Hausa term for the custodian of bodies of water

Shido (D): the *kigelia Africana* plant

Taje (F): iron bars used as currencies for exchange during the pre- and colonial periods

Tsafi (H): fetish practice

Unguwa (H) (pl. Unguwoyi): a hamlet or as it is used in this thesis to refer to areas dominated by a particular language group, e. g. *Unguwan Kambari* and *Unguwan Bura*

Welina (D): representatives of the *Amna* in the various hamlets or *Unguwoyi* in Kiri area

Zango (F): traders or drovers camp during long distance trade and transhumance among the Nomadic Fulbes

PREFACE

This study attempts to fill in the constant emerging gaps in our knowledge of the economic history of colonial Nigeria. Though, efforts were concentrated in the study of the political, geographical, and ethnographical components of colonial Nigerian history, especially of northern Nigeria before the mid-twentieth century. The economic consciousness for scholarly endeavours of societies during colonial rule in northern Nigeria however, began to emerge in the1970s. Hitherto, our earlier understanding of the economic histories of peoples in the Nigerian area was gleaned from the few European explorers who recorded their experiences about the economic conditions of people in the Nigerian area particularly, with the advent of the British from 1900 and what became a significant watershed in the history of Nigeria. The British styled colonial rule thereafter initiated and instituted massive political transformation, which saw the subjugation of peoples of different areas of the Nigerian area. For example, as was with people in the north-eastern regions of colonial northern Nigeria. Specifically, non-emirate peoples of the Gongola and Benue Rivers Basins, who through this political transformation a vast array of economic, social and political institutions emerged and led to the sustenance of the colonial enterprise.

Therefore, the thesis being postulated in this study is that, colonialism, with its attendant consequences on colonized people, stifled and stripped most colonized societies of all forms of economic growth. To assist us argue this postulation, certain approaches were considered as being the appropriate guide for a theoretical framework. These are: the neo-classical, dependency and Marxist approaches. Each of these approaches, though, offered us partial and sometimes, misleading analyses of the process and content of economic change and development peculiar to African societies in the pre-colonial era, the first two paradigms have little to say about pre-colonial economic history, apart from offering myths and stereotypes. Their concepts are derived from, and are intended to analyse the operations of

capitalism, or relations between advanced capitalist and dependent capitalist formations. While the third, the Marxist approach attacked both the neo-classical and dependency approaches for their theoretical inadequacies, empirical shortcomings, and ideological biases. It specifically criticized the two approaches for giving primacy to exchange rather than production relations, and for ignoring class struggles. Thus, the Marxists sought to employ the concepts of dialectical and historical materialism, which seek to examine how specific systems originate, develop, function and change in given historical epochs, to unravel Africa's historical realities. The results have been less than inspiring. In other word, it proved difficult to fit Africa into the Marxian modes, whether 'primitive communism', 'slavery', 'feudalism', or the 'Asiatic mode of production', 'African', 'tributary', and 'lineage' modes of production, all of which have pronounced biases towards mechanisms of surplus appropriation. Its weakness lies in the analysis of the actual organization and control of the labour processes, especially the mobilization and use of productive resources.

Thus, in view of the shortcoming, as well as strength of the three approaches, part of the problem has been the eagerness with which scholars construct models and theories, which they then glibly impose over the diverse and complex historical reality that is Africa. Therefore, greater care needs to be taken to wed theories to facts, link structures and processes, production and exchange; integrate the relations and forces of production, society and nature; decipher the dialect between internal and external forces, short-term and long-term trends, and capture the similarities and differences in the patterns of economic change between and within regions in Africa. This study therefore, is informed by the convection that economic history cannot be reduced to the markets of neo-classical theories, the world system of the dependency writers, or the modes of production of the Marxists. Rather, economic history is about people, how they produce and reproduce their daily lives in their households, communities, societies, states, regions, and within continents as a whole. Consequently, the

material and social conditions of production and reproduction are moulded by a complex interplay of nature and society, men and women, rulers and ruled, local and foreigners, the past and the present. To wed these perspectives in this study, we have divided the chapters into six in order to address specific theme. Thus, chapter one began with our examination of the relationship between people in our study area, and their environment as it impacted their historical movement. Chapter two traces the pre-colonial political evolution of Kiri chiefdom, the dominant economic pre-occupations that were spun into internal and external relations, which were organized and functioned to later favour the evolution and basis for colonialism to thrive.

Chapter three continues with an examination of the challenges faced by the British, to establish and consolidate colonial rule in Yola emirate and the surrounding non-emirate areas. That is, after the attack and capture of Yola metropolis. Other related issues examined were how the people responded to the invasion and the initial institutionalization of colonial administration, through the creation of Province, Division, and District administrations whence hitherto, people were defined by their ethno-geographical boundaries. Chapter four on the other hand, examined the nature of the British colonial policies that were instrumental to the entrenchment of British styled colonial economy, and in which emphasis is laid on how the British colonial policies affected the entire agricultural system of production which was built on the structures of the pre-colonial economic systems of Kiri society before colonial rule.

In chapter five, we further discussed the British colonial policies as they impacted agricultural production in Kiri district, in view of the different infrastructures put in place that encouraged the cultivation of crops such as cotton in the 1950s.This crop became an important export crop after it was first introduced by the British Cotton Growers Association (B.C.G.A). In addition to chapter five, we attempted an examination of the economies of

by these players. We conclude this study with a general perception of how colonialism strived to change a society that was relatively balanced in terms of economic growth and development to one where it led to absolute disruption of the most important economic sector of the people (i.e., agriculture), into an export-oriented processes of agricultural production which outcome was only beneficial to the colonial government and its co-players in the scheme of extracting the abundant agricultural resources that lay within their reach in Kiri district.

NOTE ON SOURCES

The source materials used for this study were derived from numerous sources regarding British colonial activities in Northern Nigeria from the mid nineteenth century to about 1960. These source materials are mostly primary and secondary which are deposited in the National Archives, Kaduna (N.A.K) and some conventional libraries, etc. These archival materials, beside their reserve state are also repository of the reflection of the various levels of British colonial policy statements. Furthermore, they are classified into annual, bi-annual and quarterly reports which after scrutinizing them they are found to have certain degree of coverage that are fairly high because of the nature of information contained in them. For example, some contain economic, agricultural and demographic data as well as ethnographic notes of peoples within our study area. There are however, exceptions to some of these source materials. That is, in terms of their disclosure of specific information that are relevant to our study. Nevertheless, it is a known fact that most of the detailed information regarding historical developments of pre-colonial states like the Sokoto Caliphate skewed towards their grandeur, instead of the historical development of periphery polities within the Caliphate.

Although studies abound of periphery states regarding especially their political history, studies of the pre-colonial and colonial economic history of periphery states are rare. Thus, for this study we relied on oral testimonies collected during fieldwork. While the different secondary and tertiary sources materials which were scholarly deductions of researches, they are however embed with certain advantages and disadvantages but, which can be verified with oral and archival source materials. Therefore, in our assessment and use of source materials for this study, we took note of their relevance and shortcomings.

Archival Reports and Records

The earliest archival reports and records on Kiri area and its people are deposited in the National Archives, Kaduna (NAK). They are in the form of letters, intelligent reports, assessment and re-assessment reports and ethnological notes, as well as memorandum that gave us certain degree of our understanding of the various economic activities and occupations of peoples, their political histories, social configurations and cultural affiliation. Worthy of mention among these reports and records are the assessment and re-assessment reports which were compiled annually and quarterly. There are the reports also of the various exploration expeditions that contain instances of how the numerous military and police patrols quash the rebellion of the so-called 'recalcitrant tribes' who were said to have engaged in the obstruction of trades along vital trade routes that cress crossed the Gongola River Valley hence, Kiri area. The compilation of these reports and records were however done by colonial officials (e.g. designated 'political officers' and O.C Troops), on the instruction of the senior colonial official (i.e. a Resident) who commented or amended such entries, then transmitted to the Headquarters at Zungeru from where they are sent to the Secretary for Colonies in Britain for onward policy formulation and implementation.

Meanwhile, before the commented and amended reports reached the Secretary, Northern Provinces (SNP) at the Headquarters for his final comments and approval, they probably have lost their originality (i.e., purpose and expectations) through series of amendments, explanations and commentaries of queries. This brings us to the question of reliability. As other scholarly commentaries on colonial source materials have posited about the degree of these records' reliabilities, we are of the view that these records can or cannot be thrown out into the winds simply because of their distorted nature. But given the raison d'être of colonialism, we are required to thoroughly and accurately understand not only the historical and cultural backgrounds of colonized peoples but, their reactions to the political

and socio-economic structures of the Colonial State, because they would manifest especially during relationships between the colonialists and the colonized, and when the dominate social force may prevail. Furthermore, we argued that whatever forms of distortion and inaccuracy found in any colonial report and record, they are attributed to four (4) factors. These are: methodological weaknesses in terms of collection; deliberate suppression of information relevant to trends and tendencies detrimental to colonial policies; racial prejudice and the rationale for colonial domination and lastly, the internal situations of the colonized people.

Furthermore, we insist that whatever distortion and inaccuracies found in colonial reports and records, they are attributed to four (4) main factors. These are: their methodological weaknesses in terms of collection; the deliberate suppression of information that are related to trends and detrimental to colonial policies; the racial prejudices and the rationale for colonial domination, lastly, the internal situations for the colonial peoples. Consequently, we find these archival materials worthy of scrutiny because our subject of discussion i.e., colonial economic history has been reported in colonial records with the utmost distortion and inaccurate commentaries, especially in the areas of agricultural activities. The colonial reports or records however, used in this thesis have assisted our understanding of the intrigues of colonialism, and illuminated our knowledge of colonial economic history in Kiri area. Therefore, the general limitations of most archival colonial source materials which we were concerned about are the nature of prejudices, especially in relation to indigenous peoples and their endeavours. As a result, the contents of the various archival reports and records were in favour of imperialists with respect to economic issues.

However, the little detailed information that exists on the economic history (i.e., on agricultural production, commerce and trade) in Kiri area prior to and, during colonialism, has helped us tremendously in writing an economic history of a people and place. In spite

these, the numerous colonial archival source materials used throughout this thesis proved useful information before we undertook the fieldwork.

Published Colonial Official Accounts

These accounts comprised experiences of the numerous British colonial official and administrators in northern Nigeria whose reports were made possible with the inventories of early explorers and travellers'; in addition to their self-investigations they were supported by the Colonial State. The authors of these colonial sponsored publications used also published books and articles which were earlier financed by the British colonial government. Although in this thesis we are more concerned with published colonial official reports on our study area, few of the examples we were able to find are: C. O. Migeod's '*Yola Provincial Gazetteer*', O. Temple's '*Notes on the Tribes. . .*', and Kirk-Greene's '*Adamawa Past and Present*', which was particularly compiled from archival documents and Meek's '*Northern Nigeria. . .*'; another useful colonial administrator's account used in this thesis to try and reconstruct the histories of societies such as Kiri chiefdom. V. N. Low's the '*Three Nigerian Emirates. . .*' that was compiled from both oral and written source materials also became a significant source for this thesis.

These published colonial official's reports, although, largely oral/written documents, they are mostly ethnographical and anthropological evidences instead of detailed economic histories of peoples and environment they wrote about, which this thesis seeks to fill the gap to the economic aspects. Thus; we have no doubt that these source materials contributed the relevant information needed in this thesis but, it was pertinent for us to also corroborate in order to verify their information for a meaningful reconstruction of the economic development of environment and people in places like Kiri area.

Early European Explorers and Travellers Accounts

One of the earliest European explores and travellers accounts of relevance to thesis is Dr. Henrich Barths' '*Travels and Discoveries. . . .*' of 1851, which is in 3 volumes in which he gave extensive accounts of his 'travels and discoveries' in '*Fumbina*' otherwise called Adamawa which led to his penetration into Yola. Though, his travels led him through 'a very extensive country' from 24 May, when he left Kukawa. He nevertheless travelled and explored the lower Gongola River Valley Region but, obtained some of his detailed narration regarding places, was from his 'old experienced Hausa warrior 'Madugu Mallam Katuri who plied the region from Hausa land through Dukku in Gombe region to Yola, before he met Dr. Barth in Kukawa. The fact that Barth entered Adamawa and reached Yola, he was the first European to set eyes on the Upper reaches of the Benue River. Narrating his excitement, Barth 'looked long and silent upon the stream' because it rarely happens that a traveller beholds the principal features of a new country. Yet, 'in a state of mind not exempted from anxious feelings', Barth described what he saw inside Yola. Yola, he said was a large open place with ' conical huts surrounded by spacious courtyards and even cornfields. . .' despite this description, we were also led by Mallam Katuri's itineraries of areas between Yola to Chongon; mostly inhabited by pagan tribes especially the Tera and Fulbe Kitije'n or Kitaku. This was a region dominated by mountainous terrains and unsafe roads along the southward flows of the River Gongola.

However, this was the region Dr. Barth anticipated Mr. Vogel would have cress-crossed, after they parted ways. In fact, Mr. Vogel and his companion Corporal Macguire did pass through this region. As a result, they got rich information on its peoples, particularly by the end of 1855. It is worthy to stress here that the information gotten through Mallam Katuri's itineraries about conditions along trade routes from Dukku into the Gongola Region hence; Yola was part of the whole accounts of Dr. Barth's travels and discoveries, which

helped us, understood and appreciated the state of affairs in areas like Kiri area prior to the twentieth century. Though Barth left Adamawa disappointed, his travels in northern Nigeria was ranked among the great African explorations and his account of his journeys remained a most fascinating and enthralled records.[1] The accounts of Dr. Williams Balfour Baikie published in his '*Narratives of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue*', which is also commonly referred to as 'the Niger and Tsadda' appeared after the news of Barth's discovery of the Benue, and his identification of it with the river, hitherto known from the Lokoja end, as the Chadda, determined the British Govrnments' exploration of this 'new' waterway up to Yola on the *Pleiad*. On the *Pleiad*, Baikie's Exploration Expedition of 1854 entered the southern villages of Hammanruwa (Muri Emirate) after which he described the Fulbe (who during this period were mostly the Kitije'n or Fulbe Kiri who migrated into the Gongola valley hence, Muri areas and established Muri Emirate after Buba Yero led his jihad from Gombe Abba) mannerism, mode of dressing and language, but that Hausa was also mostly spoken and understood.

In addition to this description of the Fulbe in Hammanruwa, we were also led to understand the reactions of the various riverine communities in Muri Emirate through Baikie's exploration expedition. They were hostile comments nonetheless, because the Fulbe were mistaken for Fulbe slave raiders.[2] Consequently, this exploration gave us an insight into the nature of slavery in the Gongola and Benue regions. However, the exploration party failed to reach Yola and Faro, and the Upper Gongola Valley. The Flegel and Ashcroft's accounts, though given in separate records, they were mostly informative sources. For instance, the Flegel account as given in a lecture to the *Royal Geographical Society* in 1880 and Ashcroft's diary which was quoted in the *Church Society Intelligencer* of 1880. In these separate

[1] Kirk-Greene, A. H. M Adamawa Past and Present, London, 1958, p. 29

[2] Ibid, p. 31

accounts, as with W. B. Baikie's described inhabitants and their environment but, emphasized that there was a great lack of clothing among the people. By these descriptions early European explorers who travelled 'extensively' in Adamawa, were the first to really detail the ethno-geographical insight that opened up the potentials of the different territories they visited. Beside these early European explorers and travellers accounts, other accounts of the nature of the different inhabitants and environment, especially crops and plants were gleaned from A. F. Mockler- Ferryman's '*Up the Niger*' of 1892, Von Uechtritz's accounts in '*Adamawa*' by Siegfried Passarge of 1895 and Mizon's numerous experiences in the Benue which are however hard to find but, Mizon was on record to be the first French explorer to have made journeys to Numan and the Upper Benue. Moreover, other early European expeditious accounts, particularly by a corporate body were in the records of the Royal Niger Company (RNC), who by the last few years of the nineteenth century (1895 to be precise), sent Major Arnold one of their agents who led an exploration party up the River Gongola from Numan and reached Kiri area while on his way to Shelleng (one of the RNC trading station) in a barge; thus, the first steamer to go up the Gongola in September of 1897 for commercial purposes. Although this commercial exploration expedition did not give us its detailed accounts of activities, it more or less helped us appreciate the fact that the River Gongola became an important waterway for European merchants who transported their goods up stream along which they had trading posts. Kiri, Shelleng and Nafada therefore became few of the RNC's trading posts within the Upper and Lower Gongola River Valley Region by 1897

The Alexander Boyd's '*From the Niger to the Nile*', which narrated his accounts in 1904 to 1905 expedition up the River Gongola, illustrated how the famine of 1904 and 1905 devastated the Gongola River Region, especially how it affected agricultural activities, livestock, and its inhabitants. The significant of this brief early European explorers and

travellers accounts as source materials for this thesis, is based on the fact that, before the twentieth century, Kiri area no doubt had being penetrated by merchant capital, hence, British colonial rule. Therefore, the numerous accounts of explorers and travellers are vital source materials for the reconstruction of the histories of societies like Kiri chiefdom, especially where source materials like oral traditions lacked details to fill the missing links between the pre-colonial and colonial milieu in the history of Kiri area.

Recent Source Materials

The recent source materials used in this thesis vary in scope because very few or none points to our study area but, the issues under consideration i.e., the economic histories of Kiri area during colonial rule, recent source materials such as a 'study of economic transformation in Numan Division, which focused on the changes the colonial rule and economy had on five language groups in Numan division. The sectors of these groups' pre-colonial economy, mostly affected by colonial rule and the colonial economy as identified by Doris D. Ezra were agriculture and commerce prior to the Fulbe, the Kanuri and Hausa groups emerged in Numan area. Consequently, no reference was made of Kiri area however, the work touched on the effects of the Second World War on the people in general as a result of the conscription policy of the British colonial government, when men went to fight in the war and women were left to handle the production of both food and cash crops. By and large, this study is myopic in terms of its generalization of issues raised thus; the need for a study that would highlight in precise and detailed terms the economic aspect of colonial economy in places like Kiri area situated in the Gongola valley.

Alkassum Abba's study on the other hand, centred on the pre-colonial and colonial development in Yola metropolis, with, emphasis on the political evolution and establishment of Yola metropolis. This work looked at the role and effect of the pre-colonial economic,

political and social development in Yola, and their influence on how the conquest of Yola was achieved and sustained, and its effect on economy and society like Kiri chiefdom. Furthermore, the work examined the status of agriculture before and during colonial rule hence; the author stressed the significant role the different people in the region played. In addition to Abba's study, Sa'ad Abubkar (1977; revised in 2008)[3] focused mainly on the socio-political dynamics of *Fombina* societies within the influence of Yola before colonial rule, and the impact colonialism had on the numerous societies' economic activities. The author moreover, highlighted the extent to which the autochthonous economic, social and political organizations were similar. His analysis also is limited in scope and subject matter, in the sense that the opening and terminal dates were the periods of turmoil in *Fombina* as a result of British interests in the region.

In addition, this work provided insight into the pre-colonial economic activities in *Fombina*, especially among language groups north-east of Yola on the southern edge of the Shari Valley region whence little was mentioned of areas in the Gongola River Valley Region. Hence, like other studies on *Fombina*, Sa'ad Abubakar's analysis of economic activities was relevant for this study; it however lacked detailed explanation of contributions made by individual communities like Kiri area to the overall socio-economic and political development of '*Lamibe Fombina*', which this thesis seeks to achieve. Although no reference was made of Baumann Hermann's study in this thesis, his analysis however made about agriculture in African societies gave us a tiny peep into the reason why there was increased and decreased role in division of labour in agriculture among peoples of societies in Africa, he emphasized however that, this was as a result of colonialism which the work posited was sedentary but, the introduction of modern innovations in agriculture led to differences in roles.

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[3] Abubakar, S The Lamibe of Fombina: a political history of Adamawa 1809 – 1901, Zaria, 1977 (revised 2008)

The conclusion of the nonetheless, was over generalized because of the study's ambition to cover the whole of Africa. Therefore, our present research is intended to put micro-studies in perspective, in order to avoid some of the conclusions Baumann arrived at. Notwithstanding, his study provided us a background analysis of certain issues, especially the intrigues of the colonial economy which will be examined within its impact on colonial agricultural development, to put in perspective the debate of contributions of colonialism on agricultural production and growth. In conclusion, there are numerous scholarly works on colonial economic history in articles, seminars, conference papers on their limitless outburst of critical issues. These were primarily intellectual pursuits, which are specifically meant to advance the cause of subject matters and colonized society's general circumstances of development during colonial rule.

Arabic Manuscripts

The Arabic manuscripts available and used in this study include '*Buba Yero of Gombe*' a translated version of the original Arabic version by R. C Abraham, and the '*Tabyin Amir Buba Yero na'a Umalihi wa-Aah Abihi*'. These two source materials revealed the childhood and adult lives, and the jihad campaign which he led into non-Muslim areas like the Gongola River Basin to as far south, into the Benue River Basin where a rival emirate (i.e., Muri Emirate) was established to counter the hegemony of Yola Emirate established by Modibbo Adama. Buba Yero however was able to extend his campaign to parts of *Fombina*; as far as Namtari few kilometres to Yola.

These source materials though, rich in historical details of the Fulbe Kitije'n from Gombe Abba into Kiri area. It posed certain limitations to our reconstruction of the history of Fulbe migration and economic activities inside Kiri area for this thesis. This limitation steam from the difficulties to get complete translation and damages to these manuscripts thus, their

unavailability which led to inaccurate reconstruction of the histories, which unfolded in and around Kiri area

Oral Testimonies

The numerous oral testimonies obtained are very useful to this thesis in that they helped to illuminate areas blurred by the paucity of facts in archival and contemporary documents on economic activities in Kiri area. This is because these oral testimonies provided insight into earlier activities of the people within Kiri area, and helped us to cross check archival reports of European travellers, exploers, traders and missionaries, which is the main reason behind the method of oral interviews. Most of the oral interviews conducted and gathered in Kiri area span the years 2006 to 2009, especially during the wet and dry seasons and were mostly conducted in both Hausa and few instances questions asked in the local dialect (i.e., Dera). The interviews were stored in mini cassettes. As a result, over three (3) mini cassettes were obtained in addition to verbal dictations written in notepads.

None of the informants objected to either methods but, this exercise proved difficult. The procedures employed during interviews were one-on one interviews, and in some instances group interviews were organized. Though, as a native of our study area, I needed no formal introduction per se to most of my informants. But when accompanied outside Kiri town the researcher was normally introduced to respondents by the interpreter, except in few cases where I was directed with list of names on short notice. Preferred locations were arranged between the researcher and informant, wherein these arrangements were mostly helpful in terms of the number of respondents that may be interviewed and the opportunities to cross check most of the information. This method of data collection proved useful for this thesis because of its level of preservation. Hence, every piece of information recorded or dictated was backed with photographs obtained during fieldwork.

The researcher was able to conduct more than one interview with one informant, and had group sessions. This also proved most useful by way of shading more light on certain issues and gave the discussion a much greater scope. To avoid rigidity, questions were asked in such a manner that virtually every aspect of the research topics were taken into consideration. To this end, most of the informants were selected on the basis of their social and economic status, mental stability, and knowledge ability of issues discussed. Therefore, this researcher was privileged to interview the oldest Dera potter, the *Sarkin ruwa* and a onetime confidant of the *Annangin* of Kiri who also acted as the *groit*. The age bracket of these informants ranged between 35 to 75 years old.

In conclusion, oral testimonies as source materials have their own strength and weaknesses. Their strength however lies in the fact that, being the collective memories of peoples' histories, they are considered important or detrimental to the people. While their weaknesses are manifested in the chronological problems and biased stance that we find in most oral testimonies

CHAPTER ONE

LAND AND PEOPLE

Introduction

The fact that land and people are part and parcel of history makes the overall knowledge of anything meaningful about them very important. Hitherto, neglecting them may seem and endless journey through time and space.[1] In this chapter therefore, we shall attempt to examine how geography influenced the peopling of Kiri area,[2] with particular reference to location, topography and climate, and in addition to our understanding of the predominantly Dera language group otherwise called Kanakuru or *Kanakurawa*,[3] a word coined from the Dera dialect common salutation: '*Kanaku*' (meaning peace to you) by the early Hausa immigrants,[4] whose entrance as traders, middlemen, artisans and

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[1]Mabogunje, A., 'The Land and Peoples of West Africa,' In: Ade-Ajayi, J. F., and Crowder, M. (ed.) *History of West Africa, vol. I*, Ibadan, 1979, p. 1

[2]Originally called Gewat Kermi; meaning 'mountainous sanctuary.' It became known as Kiri during the early influx of different linguistic groups like, the Fulbe Kitije and Hausa in the late 18th and 19th centuries. It is also, one of the numerous autochthonous settlements of a split Dera speaking group that was attacked before they moved into their present location which provided them with the conducive human and physical geography peculiar to their environment today. These include: elevated flat–topped hills, deep and wide valley, the presence of dense vegetation covers which are inhabited by wildlife, lush grasses, assured underground water supply for agriculture and fishing. Above all, it served as a permanent and dependable beacon that provided safe corridors throughout the ages for the people. See for details of this characterization in Ibriszimow, D. and Kowka, R. et.al 'Historical Implication of a Linguistic Environment -- towards a systemic approach', in *Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs* 268, Band 14 Frankfurt a.M. 2000, pp.179 – 90

[3]Davis, J. G argued in his anthropological studies during the 1950s, that he rather call the people (the Dera) Kanakuru because to him the word Dera means a "small bundle of corn." Thus, he was not comfortable with such a meaning, as there is nothing that portends that in the Dera language. The closest word of similar meaning he emphasized is used by the Bura. Rosedale, W. O. P. however argued that, the name Kanakuru is not the correct tribal name because there is no name to describe the whole tribe because, each tribe in the Gongola River Valley region is identified by its own name: Dera, Lunguda, Tangale and Waja, Yungur and Lala and so on. For further details on both arguments, see Davis, J. G. *The Biu Book*, Zaria, 1956. National Archives, Kaduna (NAK) Secretary, Northern Provinces (SNP) 10, 275p/1919 'Kanakuru District Assessment Report 1919,' by Rosedale, W. O. P., p. 15

[4]Temple, O and Temple, C. L (ed.) *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 2nd edition*, London, 1965, p. 214

clergymen from about the late seventeenth century,[5] also impacted on the culture of the Dera and when other language groups such as the Fulbe Kitije or Kitaku began to trickle into the *Fombina*,[6] hence into Kiri area on the Lower Gongola basin at the beginning of the nineteenth century[7] before they entered the area of the Muri mountain on the northern banks of the upper Benue valley.[8]

The impact of this development was the emergence and mixture of varied economic, social and cultural overlaps of different language groups that thrived on the environmental benefits peculiar to Kiri area from the earliest times to the late 1950s.

Geographical Location

Kiri area, the focus of this study is situated roughly on the western bank of the 40 miles River Gongola, and on an extensive undulating plain that stretched inland for over 5 miles on the Gongola valley trough between Latitude 9^0 37' and 9^0 45' north by Longitude 12^0 00' and 12^0 11' east.[9] It is bounded by the Lunguda Plateau to the northwest, where it separated Kiri district and Gombe division. Towards the south by the plains of the upper Benue basin, on which Bachama district formed its boundary; to the

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[5] See Adamu, M., *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, 1978

[6]The name '*Fombina*' as explained by Sa'ad Abubakar, is a derivation from the Fulbe dialect for 'the south' and not the name of any ancient 'pagan' kingdom as Barth made reference to in his 'Travels and Discoveries. . ..' see fn 1, p. 234 in Sa'ad Abubakar 'Relations between Borno and Fombina before 1901,' in Usman, Y. B and Nur-Alkali, M (ed.) *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*, Zaria, 1983, pp. 211 – 236

[7]Hamman, M. *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812 – 1869: the impact of the establishment of the emirate of Muri*, Kaduna, 2007, p. 75

[8]Adelberger, J. (2009). *Maxims and Mountaineers – the Colonial Subjugation of the People of the Muri Mountains and the Adjacent Region in Northern Nigeria*: Retrieved March 11, 2009 from http://afrikanistik-online.de/archiv

[9] Adamawa Province District Names and Boundaries, Adamawa, October 1965

east by the river Gongola and slopes of the Botare Hill that overshadowed it from the boundaries of Adamawa division.[10]

Thus Kiri area, the headquarters of the six villages that make up the district also comprised of Kem, Talum, Gundo, Daso and Boberre villages[11] under Numan Division which formed the only non-emirate division in Adamawa Province from 1912, and its modern formation did not properly crystallize until the 1926 reorganization of the Northern Provinces. Furthermore, the division consists of 2,214 square miles, and carries a population estimated at 121,438 during the 1952 decennial census.[12] Out of these figures Kiri district covers almost 300 square miles with an estimated 2,790 inhabitants.[13] Therefore, Kiri district with its low altitude of annual temperature between 80^0 to 100^0 Fahrenheit and average rainfalls of 6.71 or 20 to 40 inches during the peak of rainfall in the month of September,[14] its soil is described as the 'rich dark cotton soil', also called the *vertisols* soil which metamorphosed from the parent rock formation of mixed ancient cretaceous sedimentary rocks; made extremely fertile by the annual deposition of rich alluvial from the River Gongola. The fertility of the soil has been maintained through the different methods of various economic ingenuities of the people, and the continuous

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[10] Rosedale, op cit., p. 1 see also maps 1 – 3 on pp. 107 - 108

[11]See 'Adamawa State District Creation Law no. 2 of 1992,' in *Adamawa State of Nigeria Gazetteer no. 35, vol. 2*, 27 August, 1992, p. A5

[12]Kirk–Greene, A. H. M. *Adamawa Past and Present: an historical approach to the development of a Northern Cameroons Province*, London, 1958, p. 166

[13] Ibid, p. 2

[14]Kirk–Greene, bid, p. 7; see also Buchanan, K. M., and Pugh, J. C., *Land and People in Nigeria: the human geography of Nigeria and its environmental background*, London, 1955, pp. 23 – 27

dialogue between man and geography up to the introduction of modern agricultural and industrial productions.[15]

[15] Hopkins, A. G *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, 1973, p. 11

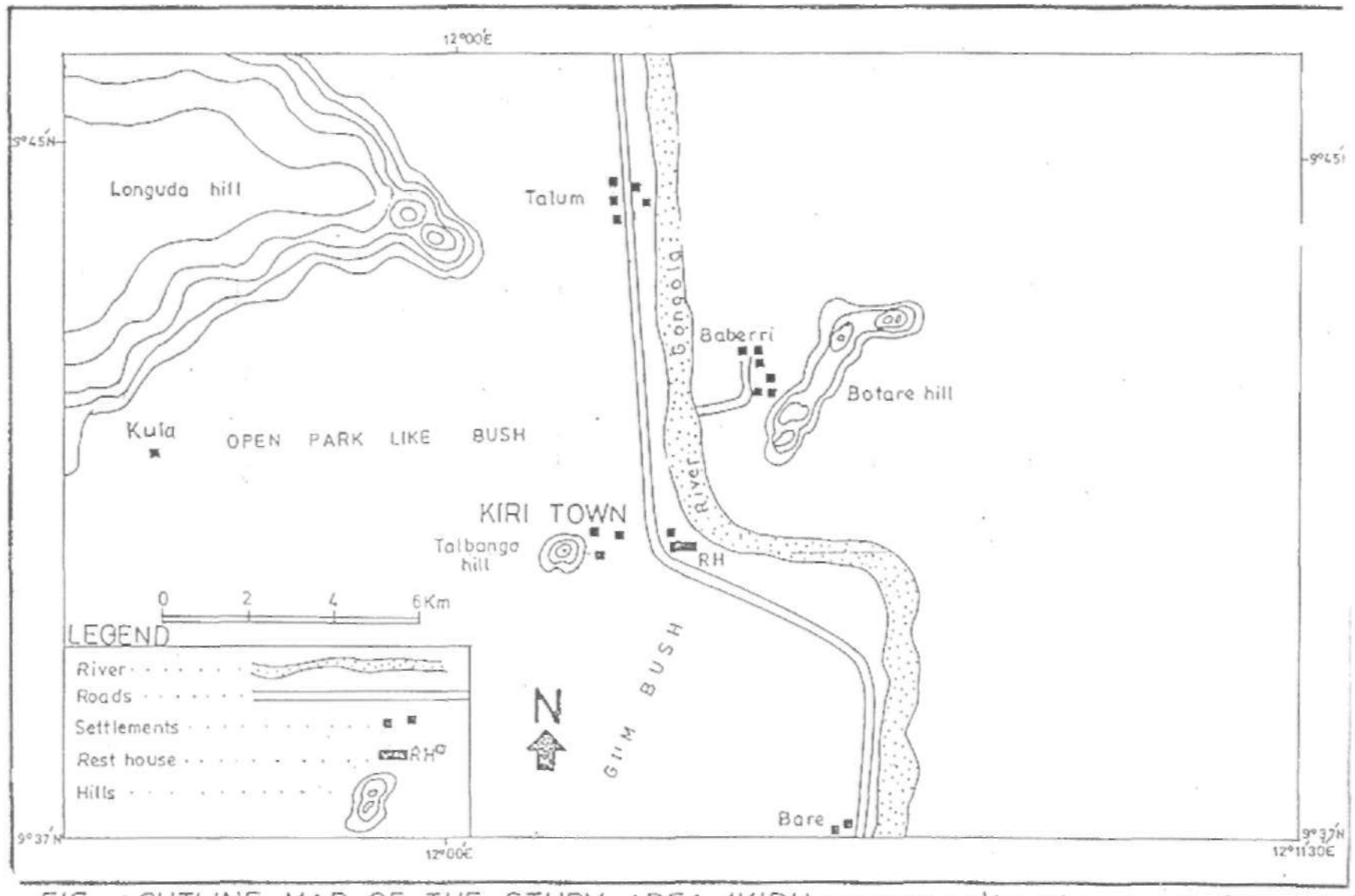


FIG. : OUTLINE MAP OF THE STUDY AREA (KIRI) SOURCE: NAK YOLAPROF ACC. 68/127/22
13 JANUARY, 1933

Topography

Topographically, Kiri area is carpeted by plain undulating lowlands and dotted by highlands and mounds (i.e. the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo hill ranges and the *Mami Gumaki* and *Tamno* mounds) which are characterized by sharp and smooth flat-tops. The formation of these landforms was the result of erupting and weathering forces on the cretaceous sedimentary rock formations, which are common in northern Nigeria,[16] thus this gave rise to the thick layers of localized soil residues called the 'dark cotton soil' with its typical vegetation covers[17] common to Kiri area. These plain undulating lowlands and highlands measured between 200 feet below sea level to about 1000 feet above sea, and are visible from any elevation in Kiri area. Besides this, they represent and re-vibrate certain socio-economic and socio-cultural symbolism and aura in the lives of the Dera in Kiri area.[18]

The area has three distinct climatic conditions: the seasonal cycle of tornadoes and rains in the marginal months of April and October; the rains spreading from May to September, with a brief dry spell in August; lower temperatures during the harmattan months of November to January; and the hot and airless weeks from mid-February to the

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[16] For detail see Buchanan and Pugh, op cit., pp. 2 – 12

[17] Udo, R. K *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1981, p. 10

[18] The *Mami Gumaki* and the *Tamno* mounds to the Kanakuru in Kiri area connote masculinity and feminism, and served as sacred abode for deities worshipped by the Dera in Kiri with full acceptance and recognition of the benefits derived. The Talbanga and the Guwar-Jambo however, unique their posture in Kiri area also serves as sanctuaries in times of enemy attacks. These symbols equally are homes to animals hunted during the hunting season. Custodians of these symbols are recognized title holders. For example, the *Bilama* who doubles as custodian of seedlings for the next farming season retires to the Talbanga before the rains to appease the gods for a bumper harvest. But, evoke ancestral spirits in times of drought for rains. The *Jerama* on the other hand, acts as custodian of the bushes above and below these landforms and also appease the spirits of ancestors, before any hunting expedition is taken when the hunting season starts.

onset of the rains.[19] These seasonal cycles of the climatic condition in Kiri area however, influenced the daily livelihood of the people as a result, the general nature of its topography. The area consequently became the abode to numerous autochthonous ethno-linguistic groups like the Dera or Kanakuru, the Lunguda, and the Bena Lala and Yungur respectively.

Land:

The nature of land in Kiri area as illustrated earlier is characterized by vast and uniform undulating fertile plains whose soil was formed from the metamorphosed and exposed dissected basalt and sandstone land formation of the ancient cretaceous sedimentary rocks, which is also rich in mineral elements like the olivine and pyroxene, and metric mineral elements like, iron, aluminium, magnesium and potassium.[20] In addition, this land area is situated within the typical Guinea Savannah Region (G.S.R) climatic and vegetation zone in the northern parts of Nigeria, with the River Gongola otherwise called *Gwalala* (meaning the big water) as the most important water body that extends from its source for over 56, 000km^2 of meandering channel of water which cuts between Latitude 9^0 37' to 9^0 45' north and Longitude 12^0 00' to 12^0 11' east.

The combination of these geographical features of varied climatic conditions also determined the drainage patterns in Kiri area hence, the abundance of grassland and bush land (*daji*), streams, ponds and marshland; soil texture and colour that gave Kiri area its peculiar blend of climatic and landforms that supported several vegetation covers.[21]

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[19] Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 5

[20] Buchanan and Pugh op cit., pp. 1 – 12

[21] Ibid, p. 39

Soil

The nature of soil in Kiri area is a reflection of the general underlying rocks formations in northern Nigeria[22] but, influenced by the superficial deposits of sandy from the river Gongola on the broad plains of Kiri area. Therefore, the soil is a combination of the sandy superficial deposits and the ancient cretaceous rocks, peculiar to the Gongola river trough and which composition allows the makeup of broad plains, marshlands or *fadamas* which scattered in and around the various hamlets or *Unguwoyi* and surrounding villages that constitute Kiri area. For instance, the *vertisols* soil and the derived sandy deposits are mostly found in and around *Unguwan* Jambo, Bokorok, Bopuwa, Kambari, Laworwo, Lajirmir and Talum, Gudu and Barre villages respectively. Another peculiar soil but, which is unique to only two hamlets, i.e., Bura and Talum is the *girki* or *firki* which is a combination of the *vertisols*, sandy and loamy soil. Hence, during the wet/rainy season it turns into thick and muddy soil that becomes sticky or clay-like. While during the dry season, large gaps of cracks appear to give it the common feature of this soil type in and around these hamlets.

These different soil types were the host to varieties of crops that were both indigenous and non-indigenous in Kiri area. For example, the early but short-season and tall-stemmed sweet-stock white sorghum called *kwaire* (D), *njigari* (F) or by the generic *dawa* in Hausa was well established in Kiri area and the Gongola region, was mostly cultivated at the start of the rains and besides its use to brew the local drink called *burkutu* or *peto* by women during special festivities like the *Men da mo*,[23] its stems play

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[22] Buchanan and Pugh op cit., p. 37

[23] Kachalla, Andema A., Unguwan Bopuwa, Kiri, 21st August 2007. 47 years old.

an important role in both animal feed and house construction.[24] In addition, there are the non-indigenous crops which were introduced into Kiri area simple for their economic value by Hausa immigrant traders before colonial officials introduced theirs during the colonial period. The latter category of crops nonetheless, had been earlier introduced on the coastal areas as part of the Colonial State's experimental trials in colonial farm centres. before they reached the hinterlands of northern Nigeria in the early 1920s for the same purposes as above,[25] but didn't reach our study area until the late 1940s.[26] See tables 1 and 2 below for list of the crops introduced by Hausa immigrant traders and the colonial officials.

Table 1: Crops Introduced by Hausa Immigrant Trader

Oryza Sativa	Asian rice
Arachisa hypogaea	Groundnut or peanut
Lycopersicon esculentum	Tomatoes (plum type)
Saccharum officianarum	Sugar cane
Zea may	Maize
Capsicum annuum	Chili
Vigna unguiculata	Cowpea *cvs. Unguiculata sesquipedalis*
Capsicum frutescens	Pepper
Amaranthus spp	Edible amaranths

[24] Blench, R. M., 'A History of Agriculture in North Eastern Nigeria.' In: Barreteau, D., *et.al.* (ed.), *Homme et le Milieu Vegetal dans le Basin du le Tchad.* Paris, 2004, p. 15

[25] See Adamu, M. M 'The Introduction of Mixed Farming Scheme and its Problems in Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Period,' in *Zahir, Department of History Journal*, 2:1, (June 2002), p. 95

[26] Kirk–Greene, op cit., p. 187

Vernonia amygdalina	Bitter leaf
Citrulluys lamatus	*Egusi* melon/water melon
Piper guineense	West Africa Pepper
Musa Sapientium	Banana

Table 2: Crops Introduced in the Colonial Period

Scientific Names	English Names
Dioscorea rotundata	Guinea yam
Xanthosoma mafaffa	New Cocoyam
Solanum tuberosum	Irish Potato
Mangifera indica	Mango
Carica papay	Pawpaw
Citrus aurantifoliaa	Lime
Citrus Sinesis	Orange
Anacardium occidentale	Cashew

Sources: Blench, R. M., op cit., pp. 29 – 30

Moreover, the adaptability of most of the crops in the tables above always almost differs with the soil types. For example, the soil within *Unguwan* Jambo adapt well to the cultivation of the *njigari*, which starts in April and ends in August. Although the *njigari* is not listed above, its mention here is based on the fact that it was well established before the crops were introduced into Kiri area hence, its distinct roots in the Fulfulde and series of Adamawa language.[27]

[27] Blench, op cit., p. 15 – 16

Other crops cultivated on the soils of Kiri area include, maize (*masarra*), millet (gero), *gorat* or okra and *jang* or the spinach species in and around *Unguwan* Butungushi and *Unguwan* Bokorok. While in *Unguwan* Bopuwa, Bura and Kambari, the cultivation of the indigenous *kumkum* was common, besides maize, the *njigari*, *gorat* and *jang*. On the other hand, crops like cotton, groundnut, *egusi* melon, cowpea and cocoyam adapted well on the soils of *Unguwan* Talum where they are abundantly cultivated.[28] As a result, we argued that the soil in Kiri area did not only support the cultivation of these varieties of crops, it also supported other numerous human economic activities. These developments by and large were affected by the unique nature of the topography and climate within Kiri area.[29]

Plains

Plains, especially on river valleys are rarely stable landforms because of the rise and fall in water levels.[30] Kiri area, though characterized by undulating plains on the Gongola river valley, its plains became not only a granary of grains from the conducive agricultural systems adopted by the people but, has been a hob of settlements to different language groups who entered the area. This confirmed the historical fact that, the fertile plains of Kiri area formed part of the crucial factors responsible for the abundant cultivation of crops like sorghum, cotton and groundnut during the pre-colonial period when these crops were not only produced for subsistence but, as export cash crops marketed outside Kiri area especially, to the southern parts of the Nigerian areas, the

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[28] Observation carried out during fieldwork, 29th June to 1st July, 2007

[29] For detail of how crops adapt to soils due to the effect of topography, see Udo, R. K., *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Berkeley, 1970, p. 151

[30] Ibid, p. 139

Borno Empire, *Kasar* Hausa, and as far as markets in North Africa. This was the same for the two former crops but, they were mostly produced for export to Europe during the colonial period.

The hamlets (i.e., *Unguwoyi*) and villages inside Kiri area where plains are mostly found include Bopuwa, Bura and Kambari hamlets; Gudu and Boberri villages whose inhabitants mostly built their homes on the broad plain of the Gongola river bank.

Marshland

The potentials of marshlands or *fadamas* (as they are popularly called in northern Nigeria), are because of their extensiveness and fertile nature which during our period of study was capable of supplying grains like wheat, maize, the late red sorghum and rice,[31] and also supported perennial plants like oranges, sugarcane, tomatoes, pepper, banana, pawpaw and edible amaranths. Thus, like the plains, the marshlands in Kiri area by their nature were mostly water-logged, and the top soil enriched annually with alluvial deposits from the flood waters of the River Gongola and streams.

Consequently, the marshland has since played significant roles to provide the people pools of illimitable possibilities, in agricultural productions before and during the colonial period when agricultural produce were known to have been supplied to markets inside Kiri area and beyond.

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[31]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 8

Climate:

As earlier stated, two distinct climatic conditions of varying features and temperature are common in Kiri area. Ordinarily, they include the wet/rainy and the dry/harmattan seasons but, with a brief period of high humidity. These two weather conditions are, however, influenced by the nature of the topography in Kiri area to produce the environment peculiar to Kiri area, where the people and geography went through significant historical changes.[32] Therefore, the seasonal cycle of the two weather conditions identified usually starts with the rainy season in the months of April, until it is interrupted by a brief dry spells in August before it continued to September. This season more or less ends when the dry north-easterly trade winds starts to blow and manifested into the whirling movement of trees branches, leaves and papers. Thus, the dry or harmattan season whose effects on humans are no less marked (particularly in the drying and cracking of lips and skins), is usually coated with dust.[33]

When the turns of these seasonal cycles finally completed, and after they most have shaped the economic development of peoples in Kiri area before and during colonial rule, it is fair to say that their roles cannot be underestimated as regard our subject matter under study.

The Wet/Rainy Season

The wet/rainy season in Kiri area as it is with weather conditions in Northern Nigeria, starts with high winds in the form of tornadoes or storm and thunder which may engulf the area before few showers, then the heavy rainfalls to as high as 650mm. in

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[32] Zeleza, P. T., *A Modern Economic History of Africa: the nineteenth century, vol. 1*, Dakar, 2003, p. 24

[33] Buchanan and Pugh, op cit, pp. 23 - 30; Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 6 – 7

between April and the months of May to September. The fixtures of the wet/rainy season as described above are the characteristics of relief rain, which is determined by topography inside Kiri area. With the start of the rains in May, farm activities also commenced. During this period, farmlands were prepared through the clearing and burning of grasses and shrubs before ridge were made, hence, selected seedlings from the previous harvest are sowed. Weeding on the other hand, was done in between ridge preparation and harvest.

The *njigari* and *gero* crops until the early twentieth century were the major staples among the Dera in Kiri area. The other significant crops included okra, maize and cowpea. There were also valuable perennial plants such as the Gum Arabic, Shea Nuts and Gutta Parch which were pruned for their economic value.[34] These crops and plants were all cultivated during this season that span between the months of May or October to early November.

The Dry/Harmattan Season

This season, though a unique period in Northern Nigeria and lives of people in Kiri area, it starts when the hot, dry, north-easterly trade wind blows proper in November up until February, during which period temperatures fall to as low as 17^{0}celcius within hours. Thus, the human experiences of this season has remained as vividly described by a touring colonial official in Adamawa province during the 1950s. He described it as a period when,

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[34] A considerable quantity of grains and sylvan products were known to have been bought by traders, especially Hausa traders from as far afield as Jos, Kano, and Maiduguri in Kiri area and taken to the Niger Company stores at Nafada to the north and at Numan to the south. See details in Rosedale op cit., pp. 27 and 35; Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 109

> *"suddenly dark clouds disappeared over the hill-tops and corn stocks and leaves turn brown and brittle, dead leaves from tree plants litter the dry dusty grounds indicating the commencement of the dry season that brings invigorating hot suns and chilly evenings. The harmattan veils the whole land with its mantle of Sahara borne sand particles which infiltrate everywhere ...."*[35]

The sudden change also ushers in the start of other human activities apart; agriculture inside Kiri area. These activities ranged from hunting in the surrounding bushes to renovation of houses (i.e., re-thatch roof tops with grasses, re-surface walls of building with mixed mud and strew and fishing).[36] Thus, the dry/harmattan season was observed as a period of utmost significance and expectation because it opens another round of the rainy season which starts in April.

Rivers and Streams

The importance of rivers and streams in the lives of people cannot be over-emphasized. This is because of what they make of man and what man makes of them. Therefore, the Gongola River or *Gwalala* and *Gundug* stream for centuries has influenced and determined the historical development of the Dera speaking group in Kiri area. and other groups within the Gongola river valley region. Hitherto, the *Gwalala* has been a major body of water that runs its course for 330 miles (531km), with several branches and tributaries, namely, the *Lere* and *Maijuju* Rivers on the eastern slopes of the Jos Plateau, before it cascades as several scenic waterfalls onto the plains of the Gongola river Basin, from where it follows a south-easterly course through Nafada area in Gombe

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[35] Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 5

[36] Mal. Mohammadu Kariyawa, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri. 1st July, 2007. 67 years old

Region before it takes an abrupt turn southwards and passes Kiri area.[37] Thus the river Gongola is the longest tributary from the upper Benue which joined the Benue River at a right angle opposite Numan town.[38]

Moreover, the River Gongola has been an important source of livelihood for inhabitants on its banks. For instance, its navigability was vital during the pre-colonial and colonial periods when, movement of people and goods was possible on locally made canoes, barges and light drought streamers. That is, during the peak of the rainy season between the months of September to October.[39] The navigability of the *Gwalala* however, trickled with the fall in water levels during the dry season when the upper Gongola River, the Hawal river and many of its tributaries practically disappeared; even the lower course becomes un-navigable hence, the fishing season and irrigation of farmlands.[40]

Besides the *Gwalala*, the *Gundug* stream is the only body of water second to the *Gwalala* inside Kiri area. This stream took its own course from the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo hills, which are situated to the southwest of Kiri area. As such, it flows steadily through deep channels of erupted basal rocks. Thus, along its course, the *Gundug* transverse *Unguwan* Butungushi until it emptied its contents into the *Gwalala*.

It is significant to mention that the *Gwalala* and *Gundug* were huge fishing bowls and water systems that determined settlement patterns before and during colonial rule inside Kiri area. Consequently, the various settlements that constitute Kiri area were

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[37]"Gongola River" Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010. See also Migeod, C. O (compiled) Northern Province Gazetteer of Yola Province, London, 1927, p. 5

[38]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 9

[39]Mal. Mohammadu, K., op cit.; Kirk-Greene, ibid

[40]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 8 and "Gongola River", op cit.,

known to have relocated countless times to avoid floods. Hence, Talum, Bobberre and Gundo villages which were originally settlements on the edge of the *Gwalala* have over the centuries been moved away from banks of the *Gwalala*; towards higher grounds of over 3 kilometres away from their original sites.[41]

Meanwhile, inhabitants of hamlets or *Unguwani* such as, Talum and Bokorok whose homes were also originally located on the banks of the *Gwalala* have often been relocated due to the seasonal floods of the *Gwalala* before and after the construction of Kiri Dam.[42] However, we opined that, beside the uncomfortable effects the floods might have caused on the people's livelihood within the vicinity of the *Gwalala*, it brought modernization through colonial programs and infrastructures to peoples of Kiri area. These included the Mixed Farming Scheme,[43] a veterinary control post[44] and the construction of Trunk 'A' and 'B' roads (i.e., out of the old main trade routes into motorable roads) that linked Kiri area with Yola via Numan to the south and southeast; with Gombe via Banjiram, Kombo to the north.[45] Thus, these infrastructures were nothing by 1960 but, legacies of colonial rule which saw places like Kiri area abound with limitless agricultural resources to be extracted.

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[41] Yusuf, Michael. Unguwan Talum, Kiri. 21st August, 2007. 55 years old

[42] Seaman Gundo, Gundo village, 29th June 2007, 69 years old

[43] This scheme, though started in Adamawa Province by 1948, it was until 1955 that it reached Kiri district. That is after the tsetse fly clearing scheme was undertaken in 1953

[44]See Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 112

[45]Migeod, op cit., pp. 38 – 39; see also Kirk-Greene, ibid, p. 115 and 189

Vegetation

The fundamentals needed to understand the vegetation patterns of a region or area according to K. M. Buchanan, and J. C. Pugh lies in the dynamic nature of geography.[46] This is noticeable through either 'succession' patterns between simple to complex plants structures. That is, if the environmental conditions remained constant or stable to establish climax vegetation which may have distinct features common to its characteristic pattern of climax vegetation.[47] Thus, the combined semi-dense forest vegetation found on hill-tops and the expanse of Orchard land terrain in and around Kiri area, established the fact that it is located within a derived climax vegetation region stretching between the Middle Belt and northern parts of Nigeria.[48]

Therefore, the principle vegetation cover in Kiri area included the *Tamarindus Indica*, *Tsamiya* (H) or *Jambo* (D); the *Aduwa* (H) *Ngodum* (D) or *Balanites Aegyptica*; *Ademsonia digitata L*, *Kuka* (H) or *Kurinje* (D); *Ficus Platyphylla*, *Gamji* (H) or *Garap* (D) and the *Cerisa edulis*, *Tsada* (H) or *Darum-Darum* (D).[49] In addition, there are the popular *Dogon yaro* or *Limis* as it's called in the Dera dialect, while it is botanically referred to as *Aradirachta Indica*. The *Rahaina* (H), *Shido* (D) or *Kigelia africana*, *Commiphora africana*, *Dushe* (H) or *Arrarabi* (D); the *Zogale* (H) or *Jugale gandi* (D) or *Mornaga oleifera* on the other hand formed the typical annual and perennial plants found inside Kiri area. Their uses moreover varied; from medicinal to usefulness as raw

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[46] Buchanan, and Pugh, op cit., p. 33

[47] Ibid

[48] Ibid

[49] Most of the details on these plants and their uses were collected during field work from, June 29th to July 1st, 2007. Further details of botanical and Hausa names of these vegetation are gotten from Daziel, J. M., *Hausa Botanical Vocabulary*, 1916

materials for hoe handles and poles to demarcate land areas in and around homestead, garden plots and animal pens. These plants, especially their fruits, leaves and barks served either as edibles and additives.[50] Furthermore, evidences collected during field work indicated that these plants and their uses have been the same since time immemorial.[51]

The annual vegetation covers of shrubs and grasses indigenous and common to Kiri area include the *Adenium honghel*, *Karya* (H) or *gasaya* (D); *Gynandropsis gyranandra*; *Burbanana* (D) or *Andropogon gayanus*; *Cynodon dactylon* also called *Kiri-Kiri* (D) or *Lushi* (H) and the water lily or *guyi* (D). Meanwhile, the *yele* (D), *chediya* (H) or *Ficus polita* branches are used during burials, thus a sacred plant handled and known by an elderly person especially, a representative of the *Amna*.[52] These plants are annual vegetation covers that formed part of the 'succession' and 'stable' vegetation structures and patterns, which uses ranked among the essential needs of the Dera in Kiri area. Thus, they also formed the most important edible plant combination given to domestic animals like cattle, goats and sheep; they are also used as material to roof homes and prevented erosion on either farmlands and around compounds.[53]

The varieties of vegetation that are cultivated crops and supported by the soils in Kiri area are also indigenous and non-indigenous. Among the indigenous crops include

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[50] Daziel, op cit.,

[51] Kondeni, Clarkson Unguwan Jambo, Kiri, 30th June 2006. 59 years old

[52] Ibid

[53] Ibid

the white *njigari*, and the *kumkum*, maize and cowpea. They also formed the staples of the people,[54] especially during our period under study.

Fauna

The nature and character of faunas on land and water in Kiri area are peculiar. For instance, the hippopotami, crocodiles and rhinoceros from evidences collected, flourished on both land and water for centuries. These faunas also played important roles in the lives of people in Kiri area.[55] For instance, the tiger according to informants was last seen in 1950 but, believed is extinct. The hedgehog, hyena, python, monkey, cattle, sheep, goats, pig, horses, rodents and birds however are seen in the wild and formed the common domesticated faunas in Kiri area.[56]

Furthermore, excellent fish stocks are abound in the *Gwalala*. These fish stocks according to the *Kwarak* (i.e., *Sarkin ruwa*) Mallam Mohammadu Kwariya, are the Nile perch otherwise called *Giwar ruwa*, the Tiger fish, the eel-like fish called *Dan sarki* and the famous cat fish and tilapia. He further added that, they formed the favoured catches among fishermen and women.[57] Thus, this authenticated our argument that they have added value to the economic and social demands of the different ethnic groups inside Kiri area, as such, they met the demands for the fish trade by 1960.

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[54] Adelberger, op cit., p. 1

[55] Blench, op cit., p. 30

[56] Clarkson, op cit.,

[57] Mal. Mohammadu, K, op cit.,

The Peopling of Kiri Area:

Kiri area, one of the ancient settlements in the Gongola basin, constituted the present day Shelleng Local Government Area. It lies on a fertile valley plain with defined and distinct geographical features; different ethno-linguistic groups with varied accounts of movement into the area. The accounts of tradition of origins of these different language groups claimed emigration from perhaps outside the Gongola valley region, especially from the east in more than one successive migratory trend.[58] The causes for these waves of movements were more or less the quest for territorial expansion and disintegration, which began from the fourteenth century to as late as the 1800s.[59] This resulted in various levels of interactions and quarrels with other groups and the establishment of settlements like Kiri whose inhabitants are regarded as the most diverse in nature.[60] Apart from the diverse nature of the population in Kiri area, the combination of fertile plains with lush pastures, underground water supply gave support to large number of people and animals.

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[58] Perhaps people migrated from the Lake Chad and the Mandara Highland Regions south-westward, who probably began their immigration in the early 14th century, as a result of incursions by both Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan language speaking peoples like the Kanuri. This may have been the first wave of incursions before the infiltrations and invasions by the Jukun of Kwararafa Kingdom, who's political, cultural and religious influences, have survived in several non-Jukun communities on the Benue/Gongola Rivers Basins for over 500 years. See for details, Abubakar, S., 1983, op cit., p. 211; Rosedale, op cit, p. 3. Greenberg, J., *The Languages of Africa*, The Hague, 1963 and Low, V. N., *Three Nigerian Emirates*, Illinois, 1972, pp. 81- 86. Archaeological evidences which exposed an early incursion or invasion from the east was as a result of the emergence of the Kanuri around the shores of the Lake Chad, as distinct people who infiltrated and invaded the Gongola River Basin. See, Connah, G 'Some Contributions of Archaeology to the Study of the History of Borno.' in Usman and Nur-Alkali (ed.), op cit, pp. 1 – 16

[59] Jalingo, F. M., 'How Giant Crocodiles guided the Jukun to Kwararafa.' *Daily Trust-The online edition: Wednesday, 24th June 2009*, 00:00; Kerini, Baba. Unguwan Bokorok, Kiri. 30th June, 2006. 79 years old. Moreover, this tradition has remained the accepted account among the aristocracy and people about the peopling of Kiri area

[60] Rosedale, op cit., p. 15

Nine (9) different ethnic and linguistic groups: the Dera otherwise called Kanakuru and Lunguda, whose combined population was estimated at 22,719 in 1919; the Bena Lala and Yungur 2,793; the Fulbe Kitije'n and Borrooro'en 3,558; the Tsobo (Lutos-Piri) 45; the Bura (from Borno) 482; Hausa 149 and the Tangale and Waja 61, a total of 29,807.[61] These figures though obtained in the first quarter of the twentieth century (i.e., 1919) after an organized assessment of both human and material resources, the figures however indicated that Kiri area before and during the assessment was a fairly high demographic area despite slavery, droughts, epidemics, etc. Furthermore, the nine different ethnic and linguistic groups belong to two important language families: the *Chadic family of Afro-Asiatic and the Niger-Congo language families namely*, the Adamawa and Benue-Congo.[62] The two dominant groups and autochthonous in Kiri area: the Dera and Lunguda.[63] whose tradition of origin points to the east before they scattered towards different directions, especially south-westward of the Gongola valley basin.[64]

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[61] See, Rosedale, W. O. P., op cit., p. 15. While the last four ethnic and linguistic groups are not reported as groups of considerable number inside Kiri area, they however occupied and commanded important socio-economic positions

[62] *For detailed list of the various groups and their linguistic classification see*, Adelberger, J., and Kleinewillinghofer, U., 'The Muri Mountains of North-Eastern Nigeria – An outline of the Ethnographic and Linguistic Situation.' *The Nigerian Field* 57/1-2:1992.47. For Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo, see Kleinewillinghofer, U., 'Die Nordwestlichen Adamawa-Sprachen – Eine Ubersicht.' In: Uwe Seibert (ed.) *Afrikanische Sprachen zwischen Gestern und Morgen*. Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blatter 8:1996.80 – 103; a general study of the linguistic situation in Nigeria, by Crozier, D. H., and Blench, R. M., *Index of Nigerian Languages*. 1992

[63] Nyam Nyam or Yam Yam was the name the Fulbe and Hausa called the Lunguda who however, rarely mix or interact with the Dera and seldom cross the River Gongola to trade or complain to the Native courts during the colonial period. Meanwhile, the plain Lunguda who extensively adopted the cultures of the Dera, were divided from the Dera during the early 1920s colonial re-organization of administrative structures in Adamawa Province

[64] A claim this thesis considered because of the use of systematic approaches in interdisciplinary understanding of history, particularly tradition of origins and patterns of language migration. For instance, of the West Chadic language groups, the Dera language is the only language which falls 'naturally' within the Central Chadic language families that existed within the immediate vicinity of the Lake Chad. Nevertheless, it is apparent they may have migrated independently from the Shores of Lake Chad,

Kiri tradition also emphasis that they co-existed with one another and, with neighbouring groups such as, the Bena Lala and Bena Yungur, and the Bura language groups, etc., for centuries.[65] See map showing ethnic groups in the Lower Gongola River Valley Region to east and west. As a result, Kiri area became one of the larger heterogeneous societies within the Gongola river valley basin,[66] where the different ethno linguistic groups neither maintained their own socio-cultural values nor become assimilated into the cultures of the autochthonous group before and during the colonial periods.

The Dera and the Lunguda

The Dera who presently occupied areas between Shani territory on the Biu Plateau in Hawal river valley to the Lower River Gongola valley; though part of a linguistically and culturally integrated group of the Bolewa, Terawa, and Jerrawa ethno-linguistic groups, emerged in this region after an intense but gradual wave of successive movements from the Darfur region in present day southern Sudan, through the Mandara mountain region on the north-eastern boarders of Nigeria[67] hence, the Lake Chad region from where they moved south-westward before they hit the eastern slopes of the Lunguda Plateau on the Lower Gongola River Valley Region. Here, they occupied and established

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consequently populated the Mandara Highland Region to ignite an incursion southwest-ward into the Gongola River Valley, before they met the Tera, the Bolewa, Kalam and Daniski who had earlier separated from the Kanuri on the Yo River. For details, see, Ibriszimow, D., et al., op cit., p.185

[65] I have not yet seen or found evidences that gave an exact or approximate date for human existence in Kiri area, since archaeological survey of the area is yet to be carried out. Because of this failure, we can argue here that people have lived in this part of northern from earliest times. This therefore qualifies the language groups within the whole lower Gongola valley region, especially the Dera as autochthonous in Kiri area

[66] See Rosedale, op cit.,

[67] Ibid, p. 10

themselves.[68] Another group of the same stock also claimed to have moved westward from the Darfur region, through the Mandara region to enter the Ga'anda territory where they met another group from Yemen, who claimed had earlier settled in the Shani and Kombo territories.[69] While the Dera traditions of origin remained consistent about their east to west origin and movement, the Dera found in present day Kiri area however narrated their emergence in the Lower Gongola basin area after they reached the Bauchi region from where they moved and established settlements like Jendang and Mada on the upper reaches of the Gongola River. They gradually moved southwards towards Gureshi in Lala territory where they established their first seat of authority. In Gureshi territory they were forced to move because of violent incursions from the Jukuns, Kanuris and Lungudas before the nineteenth century. This group further moved southward during which a few group crossed the Gongola River to the east to establish themselves among the Bena Lala and Yungur.[70]

The western group on the other hand wondered and reached Kafaratti in Gombe region, from where they moved to establish Lakumna situated on the north-western corner of the River Gongola. The Lakumna group however crossed into Gureshi territory

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[68] It is important to note that most migrant groups were not the first group of occupants of the places on their migratory routes and current habitats in particular. This is based on the existing evidence from their traditions of origin, that they met people inhabiting the places they passed through or later settled. Hence, in the southern route the Bole (wa) of Kalam and Daniski met the Kilba, Dera and Pabir on their later movement after their separation with the Kanuri. See Ibriszimow, D *Bole Language and Documentation Unit, BOLDU II.* (Westafrikanische Studien 13), Köln: Köppe, 1996

[69] This is a tradition popular among local historians in Kiri area. However, other versions speak of movement into this area from the north-west or the Gombe Region. See for further details Abubakar, S., *The Lamibe of Fombina: a political history of Adamawa1809 – 1901*, Zaria, 1977, (revised 2008) pp. 4 – 20; Ibriszimow, and Kowka, et.al, op cit and Col. Adamu, J. S., 'Goodwill Message on the Occasion of the Men Tamo Festival,' 10 May, 2007

[70] Kirk-Greene, op cit., and Baba Kerini, op cit.,

(south-east of the *Gwalala*), from where they moved again south-westwards into Kiri area ahead of attacks from the Lunguda in the late nineteenth century.[71]

While other Dera traditions of origin in Kiri area points to the Ga'anda and Mokan territories as their ancestral home.[72] The Ga'anda and Mokan were said to have established other Dera settlements like Buma, Walama, Shani and Gasi before they established Lakumna ahead of Buba Yero's siege on non-Fulbe groups such as his cousins the Dera in the Lower Gongola River Valley region from 1792 to 1798, by which period he overran the Gongola valley from Nafada.[73] These attacks further pushed the Dera south-westward until they established '*Gewat Kerini*' later called Kiri.[74]

Apart the circumstances that led to the Dera entrance and settlement in the Lower Gongola Valley Region, the accounts nonetheless failed to explain in details the reasons for their movements. Evidences as regard the plausible reasons of movements were linked to internal instabilities and external pressures from Jukun incursion as a result of their disintegration which began in 350 AD up until 1596 AD.[75] During these periods the Jukun attacked a lot of the language groups in the Gongola valley region and impacted on them politically and socially. Other relevant reasons were the effects the broad fertile plain land with its exotic vegetation and fauna species; availability of underground water

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[71] Meek, C. K., *Tribal Studies of Northern Nigeria*, vol. 2, London, 1931, p. 311

[72] Ibid

[73] Kirk–Greene, op cit., p. 172; in addition, V. N. Low in his book Three Nigerian Emirates narrated that, Buba Yero was born in Shani or Shelleng territories at the confluence of the Gongola and Hawal rivers (c. 1760 – 1765?), where his paternal grandfather from Rai Buba in the Cameroon migrated to Mayo Faro in Adamawa, from where he married a daughter of Gongon a Dera chief at Shelleng who gave birth to Buba Yero

[74] Col. Adamu, op cit., p. 1

[75] Jalingo, op cit.,

supply for agriculture which attracted and supports the Dera in Kiri area from earliest times up to the present. It is therefore our opinion that the Dera within Kiri area took pride of these advantages and used them for protection, and with such items they spur their culture around the need to survive.[76]

Beside the above accounts of the Dera traditions of origin, the peopling of the area was the benefit for the growth and development of a material culture inside Kiri area. These, though did not go beyond the stage of fabricating crude tools and instruments from locally available raw materials especially, among agriculturist, hunters and fishermen, and the auxiliary industries. It also, did not take the people pass the rudimentary stage of their political organization of a rural/agrarian society. For instance, the iron ore used in the production of items like hoe spades, cutlass blades, knives, spears and arrow heads were sourced from outside especially from the Bena Lala territory and smitten inside Kiri area. While the *tamarindus indica* tree plant, popularly called *jambo* and processed into hoe handles and pedals for canoes were sourced and fabricated internally. In addition, the gourd which was used as a storage utility was carved into different forms, a typical example is the tapered gourd used to store seedlings especially, among agriculturist who used it till this day.[77] Agriculture, the main pre-occupation among the early Dera in Kiri area emerged with certain implements and practices. These implements and practices according to my informants: Baba Kerini and Seaman Gundo, differed between genders that is, the spur hoe is used by men and the spur-less hoe used by women. However, they insisted these hoes performed similar tasks of tilling the soil

[76] Temple, and Temple, op cit., pp. 214 – 215

[77] Temple, and Temple, op cit., p. 324

during a typical farming session.[78] The system of farming adopted however, involved the shifting and rotation methods which led to the production of sufficient food and cash crops in the pre-colonial society of Kiri area.[79]

The typical homestead among the Dera in Kiri area was made with strew-mixed mud in half circle of three to four huts, and a partitioned entrance lid into the compound built of woven grass. The centre of each compound was usually conspicuously dirty, while the rooms are scrupulously kept clean with layers of fresh sands and light gravels. The kitchen area, though built of mud, it had a mill of mud platform set at 15 degrees to receive grinded grain flour; an open air and wet whether hearth built separately for cooking.[80] The granary, otherwise called *dawah* opens on top but covered with woven *andropogon gayanus* (*gupung*) grasses, according to expert granary builder the *dawah* was usually situated beside the kitchen area in the compound.[81]For sleep, it was a general habit to sleep on either bare floor with mat or wooden bed made from the *tamarindus indica* tree plant.

The development of these material cultures before colonial rule, illustrated the extent to which the Dera adapted to certain level of sophistication. For instance, they accepted a form of weight measurement that facilitated transactions in both agricultural and industrial goods, and solemnization of social contracts with items like hoes, grains,

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[78] Kerini, Baba, op cit. Gudu, Seaman Gudu Village, Kiri. 30th June 2007. 57 years old

[79] See, Ibriszimow and Kowka, et al, op cit. Moreover, oral information collected during field work around Kiri area especially, in Gudu, Barre, Kula, Kem and Talum villages corroborates my secondary sources

[80] Ibid. p. 323

[81] Yusuf, op ct.,

loin clothes (i.e. the *leppi*), goats and so on during marriages ceremonies.[82] Like the Fulbe and Hausa who established themselves as Muslims, the Dera group however accustomed themselves with Islamic tenets and principles because, Islam first reached them but adhered to traditional believes or (*tsafi*) which was embedded within the believe that, ancestor spirit re-incarnate in elders, relatives, animals and certain objects.[83] This belief the Dera inculcated into their concept of how they view the world, particularly how this influenced the circle of the annual rains which resulted in erected shrines at Mada, Gureshi and Tyu, and in Kiri area to be used in the appeasement of the gods in times of lesser and bountiful harvests.[84]

Lastly, unlike the Yungur, the Bachama, and the Batta, the Dera, the Lunguda, the Hausa, the Fulbe (Kitije'n), and the Bura in Kiri area had no sacred item as charms but, used the commonly used the liquid substance of the cacti species to hunt and as antidote against venomous bites. A system of adjudication (i.e., the *Guwil oath*) which specifically seeks adjudication of judgment over land issues, succession disputes, and infidelity, and murder cases between adversaries was instituted.[85] The systems of adjudication and religious practices among the Dera, clearly was an indication that the people upheld and respected justice, law and order; fairness to human believes and existence which culminated in the overall world outlook of the Dera people inside Kiri area before colonialism.[86]

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[82] Rosedale, op cit., pp. 16 -- 17; Temple, and Temple, op cit., p. 319

[83] Rosedale, ibid, and Meek, ibid

[84] Rosedale, op cit.,

[85] Ibid, p. 19

[86] Ibid, pp. 22 – 23

Lunguda who called themselves Nungu Rabe were according to oral traditions collected among Dera headsmen, and supported by G. N. Barclay's report points to Gwandan in Gombe region as the proto-town of the earlier Lunguda group. This proto-town was established after a Jukun incursion led by one Wanda from the east. The result of this incursion however, forced the proto-Lunguda group to migrate from Gwanda or Wanda and occupied some area of over 400 square miles of fertile broad plains on the western bank of the *Gwalala*, opposite Shelleng and that extended southwards from the Gongola and Hawal Rivers Confluence to the vicinity of Kiri area, where they are bounded by range of highlands known as the Lunguda and Tangale-Waja escarpment.[87] During this movement, the proto-Lunguda from Gwanda or Wanda encountered a segment of a Dera group from Mada already established at Lakumna in the eighteenth century.[88]

This Lunguda group however, mingled and married the Dera inside Lakumna, a situation that overwhelmed both parties and led to over population and quarrels ensued over lack of resources. Consequently, this incident resulted into massive waves of movement by both the Dera and Lunguda groups who established numerous Lunguda and Dera settlements along the valley plains of the Gongola River.[89] For instance, the settlement of Dukil was created by immigrant Lungudas on the Lunguda escarpment as the hereditary rain-cult centre of the Lungudas, and where the Chief of Dukil seats as the

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[87] Meek, op cit., p. 331

[88] Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 21, 172

[89] These settlements comprised of the immigrant hill Lungudas, who settled among the plain Lungudas and Dera groups already established on the plains of the Lunguda/Tangale Waja foothills. Meanwhile, the Dera group was forced to migrate across the eastern banks of the *Gwalala* where they established Shelleng as the new Dera centre.

head of the rain-cult family. From here he exerted spiritual authority.[90] From Dukil also, other Lunguda towns were founded. The most important town was the political centre of the plain Lunguda called Gweo or Guyuk.[91]

From Dukil and Guyuk, the Lunguda group began their gradual penetration into Kiri area but, with the permission of the Dera group already established at Shelleng directly opposite Lakumna.[92] As a result, the interaction between the *Lungudawa* and the Dera group in Shelleng and Kiri area was further encouraged and sealed.

Other Groups:

The other ethnic and linguistic groups that emerged in Kiri area either maintained or adopted the political, economic and cultural values of the autochthonous Dera. These groups were the Lunguda; kinsmen to the Dera whom they rarely interacted with;[93] the Bena Lala and Yungur, the Fulbe Kitije'n, the Bura, and the Hausa who were overflows from neighbouring regions to the northeast and northwest and the south-western territories of the Lala Plateau, and southeast of the Gongola Valley Region. The Fulbe Kitije'n who entered the Gongola Valley Region from the Gombe region, probably met the Bura from the ancient Kanuri empire. While the Hausa were immigrants of circumstances who emerged inside Kiri area as traders, middlemen, talisman or refuges of the jihad in Hausa land in the nineteenth century.

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[90] See Roseale, op cit., p. 4; Kirk–Greene, op cit., p. 172

[91] Meek, ibid, p. 333

[92] Kirk-Greene, ibid

[93] Ibid, p. 4

The examination of these groups' emergence inside Kiri area is to be understood and appreciated in the light of their contributions to the Deras' economic, political, social and cultural influence during the pre-colonial and colonial periods inside Kiri area.

The Bena Lala and Yungur

The Bena ethnic groups were made up of the Lala and Yungur who occupied the high tablelands of the south-eastern slopes of the Lala Highland in the southern angle of the Gongola and Hawal rivers Confluence in present day Song and Gombi Local Government Areas of Adamawa State. Meanwhile, the Lala traditions of origin (a tradition shrouded in mysteries), traced their origin to the Mandara Highland Region where they formed a cluster or clan groups called the Lala. The term Lala was however given to them by Hausa traders and middlemen who sold their crops at the United African Company (U.A.C) buying station. Thus, anytime the Hausa traders and middlemen came to sell their crops at the U.A.C trade station in the River Port of Shelleng on the *Gwalala*,[94] the Hausa traders would inquire from the Lala whether they still had more grains in stock. They replied 'Lala', meaning plenty, that is, they had plenty of their grains in stock, hence the name Lala.[95] Though as earlier highlighted, the Lala were known to have inhabited the high tableland on the northwest of the Benue and east of the Gongola to west of the Kulanyi and the south of the Hawal river valley called the Lala Plateau. It is highly probable according to O. Temple that, this area up to the Biu Plateau was earlier occupied by the same stratum of people (i.e., the Lala); an indication

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[94]According to Lala tradition, Bena was the name of the ethnic group when they left Mandara but, the Lala are the northern half of the entire Bena clan living on the Lala Plateau and the north-eastern bank of the Gongola River.

[95]Oral interview as collected by Pongri, J. H., between the 14th and 16th April, 1983 from Dumne, Riji and Yang villages. The term 'Lala' however came to acquire derogative connotations referring to the 'primitive' and 'backward' state of these peoples.

that the Lala were either the autochthonous because they don't have any of re-collection of histories about their movement from anywhere, except around the Lala plateau region north-west of Yola Province.[96] According to oral traditions, the Lala were gradually pushed southwards out of the Biu Plateau into their present location as a result of the coming of the Pabir group into the Biu Plateau, which led to population explosion thus the search for farmland by the Lala, Dera, Yungur and Pabir language groups from the fifteenth century.[97]

Another Lala traditions of origin also narrated that by the early sixteenth century, small chieftaincies began to emerge on the Biu Plateau (possibly of peoples who refused to be incorporated into these chieftaincies). Thus, chieftaincy tussles ensued as to which chieftain controlled the rest. This however led to wars and consequently the exodus of people out of the Plateau.[98] It is therefore our opinion here that, the Bena Lala ethnic group were among those who refused incorporation into larger chieftaincies that emerged in the Biu and Shani regions. Hitherto, the Bena Lala moved and established Mukan their first settlement and religious centre on the Lala Plateau. Furthermore, the Lala who founded Mukan abandoned it to establish Diteri under Dimsin their leader who led them through the journeys and ruled at Diteri from, about 1743 to 1772.[99] From Diteri they migrated to the Pirambe hills due to reasons unknown[100] but, traditions of the Jukun,

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[96]Temple, *op cit.*, p. 255; Abubakar, 1983, *op cit.*, p. 216; Davis, 1956, *op cit.*, p. 32

[97]Mbaya, J. W. K., 'The Establishment of Pabir Hegemony over the Gongola-Hawal Plateau.' Unpublished B.A dissertation, A.B.U., Zaria, 1972, p. 8

[98] Hogben, S. J., and Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1969, p. 569

[99]NAK Yolaprof G.2.M, Yungur District Miscellaneous Paper, 1923-29

[100]Abubakar, 2008, op cit., p. 12

Ga'anda and Gundo made specific reference of their encounters with the Lala as neighbours in areas where they settled.[101] As a result of these encounters, the Lala adapted and equated their *tsafi* with that of the Jukuns which they integrated into their politico-religious system, and employed to maintain diplomatic relations with other groups such as their kinsmen the Yungur, for whom they acted as intermediaries with earlier Jukun sovereignty within the Gongola River Valley Region.[102]

While another group of the Lala were known to have had contacts with the Ga'anda (i.e., the Dera kinsmen), and who the Fulbe and Hausa in Kiri area referred to as "backwardness" and "primitiveness",[103] the Lala however looked up to their chief (Gubo) as their secular cum religious head until the colonial periods when Lala territory was nominally administered as part of Song Governorate under Yola Emirate, before their political position was once again altered due to the re-organization of Yola Province to Adamawa Province in 1921, that saw the Lala merged with the Independent Pagan Area of Numan Division.[104]

The Yungur on the other hand, like their kinsmen the Lala, traced their origin to the Mandara Region from where they moved to their present location on the south-eastern slopes of the Lala High Tableland. They were also known to be war-like in character and have had relationships with the Dera in Kiri area for over centuries. In addition, their historical accounts also indicated that the Yungur were once raided by a

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[101] Pongri, op cit., p. 106

[102] Low, op cit., p. 86 and Davis, op cit., p. 25

[103] Pongri, op cit., p. 108

[104] Abubakar, S., 'The Emirate of Fombina, 1809 – 1903.' Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1970, pp. 65 – 69

rampaging Fulbe group (which included the Fulbe Kitije'n), led by Buba Yero from Gombe Abba in the nineteenth century. They were however not conquered by the rampaging Fulbe group but remained isolated until, the pacification of their territory by British forces in 1902 and 1911. Hence, by 1921 they were incorporated into Shelleng District as a sub-district.[105]

The Fulbe Kitije'n[106]

The Fulbe Kitije'n or Kitaku as W.O.P. Rosedale and J. H. Pongri posited, emerged inside Kiri area during the pre-jihad periods (probably in 1740).[107] They first settled amongst the Ga'anda, the Bena Lala and Yungur, and the Dera[108] especially in Kiri area where they mingled and inter-married with these non-Fulbe groups on discreetly equal terms, until they were able to assume the headship in Kiri from the late nineteenth century before it reverted to a Dera headship in 1942.[109] Meanwhile, the earliest Fulbe group to have reached the Gongola River Valley Region from *Kasar* Hausa in the seventeenth century were the Mbororoc'n, who had no prior politico-religious leader (i.e., an *Ardo'en*) during their movement into the Gongola River Valley Region.[110] They avoided Borno and moved south-eastward because of the desire to secure good pasture for their cattle which were abundantly present in the Gongola River Valley Region. The

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[105] Migeod, op cit., p. 30

[106] These Fulbe groups formed a colony of cattle herders for themselves and non-Fulbes, who settled from the confluence of the Gongola and Hawal rivers to the mouth of the Gongola on the Benue River. See, Abubakar, op cit., pp. 30 - 31; Low, op cit., pp. 86 – 89

[107] Migeod, op cit., pp. 13 – 14 and Abubakar, ibid, pp. 45 – 51; also Rosedale, op cit., pp.12 – 14; Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp.129 – 136

[108] Pongri, op cit., p. 164

[109] Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 185

[110] Abubakar, op cit., p. 29

Fulbe Kitije'n on the other hand, formed the latter group to have entered the Gongola River Valley Region as part of the Buba Yero's band of jihadists, who almost conquered the entire Upper to the Lower Gongola River Valley Region and the Upper Benue basin to as far as Namtari, on the Western boarders of Yola Emirate.[111]

The antiquity of Fulbe migration therefore, from both Kanem/Borno and Hausa land to settlements within the Upper and Lower Gongola River Valley Region can be traced to Malle (i.e. Mali) in the western savannah belt of West Africa from the eleventh century.[112] In Borno their earliest abode, and where evidences showed that a party of Fulbe envoy from the Emperor of Malle visited the court of Kanem during the reign of Kachim Birir (c. 1240 – 1260).[113] Beside envoys sent, there were indications of distinguished Fulbe Islamic scholars who visited Kanem/Borno (as mentioned in the Bornoan *Mahram*) and gave good accounts of themselves in the Courts of the Mais. This however led to Fulbe scholars been recognised officially by Mai Dunama Idris Ibn al-Hajj Ali (c. 1479 – 1503) with titles of '*Gabidima*' and 'Ardo'. These title holders more or less became liaison between the Bornoan authorities and the various Fulbe communities in Kanem/Borno, from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[114] when the Bornoan authorities adopted hostile attitude towards

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[111]Low, op cit., pp. 90 – 98; see also Rosedale, op cit., pp. 13 – 14

[112]For detailed accounts of Fulbe emergence in north-eastern Nigeria and their subsequent south-westward movements into the Gongola River Valley Region, see Njeuma, M. Z. *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa)*, Yaounde, 1978, p. 18; Abubakar, op cit., pp. 29 – 32; Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 127 – 129 and 'Fulbe Historical Notes in Fombina', in Migeod, op cit., pp. 9 – 23

[113]Njeuma, op cit., p. 18

[114]Ibid, p. 19

until Fulbe groups, possibly because of their political ambitions in the courts of the Mais.[115]

This interpretation of Fulbe sojourn in Kanem/Borno was only applicable to Fulbe aristocrats in Borno, as majority of the Fulbe by this time chose to be nomadic pastoralists and illiterate rather than get involved in Bornoan politics.[116] Similar interpretations were also recalled among Fulbe aristocrats in Kiri and Muri emirate.[117] Therefore, during their emergence and long sojourn inside Kiri area, they paid tithes, tributes and taxes to non-Fulbe groups in order to herd cattle on the plains of the Gongola Valley Basin. Consequently, they earned their livelihood through the exchange of dairy products for non-dairy goods from their non-Fulbe benefactors. Items so exchanged include grains, household items and local industrial goods from non-Fulbe groups like the Dera, the Lunguda, the Bena Lala and Yungur in Kiri area. Beside this account, it was posited that shortly after the demise of Jukun incursion around southern Borno between circa 1660 to 1669, the Fulbe in Borno Empire began their movement into *Fombina*,[118] from where they scattered towards different directions especially, the southwest into the Lower Gongola Valley Region where they settled among the various ethnic communities they encountered. They were as a result, able to establish partial hegemony in the region. Hence, according to V. N. Low, eleven Fulbe descent groups emerged within the

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[115] Pongri, op cit., p. 161

[116] Pongri op cit.,

[117] See Hamman, M. *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812 – 1869: the impact of the establishment of the Emirate of Muri*, Kaduna, 2007

[118] Abubakar, op cit., pp. 29-31; Palmer, H. R., *The Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, London, 1936, p. 258 and his note in Ibn Fartua Ahmed. *History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma of Borno (1571-1583)*, trans. Palmer, H. R., London, 1926, p. 79; H. R. Palmer in Meek, 1969, op cit., p. xxvi

Gongola River Valley with distinct Fulbe social, economic, political and religious affinities or inclination. While some adopted certain elements of non-Fulbe cultures, especially from non-Fulbes like the Dera, the Lunguda and the Hausas in Kiri area.[119]

The Bura

The emergence of the Bura in *Fombina* hence, Kiri area was likened to both an invasion and an incursion from the Kanuri Kingdom in the south of the Lake Chad Region. Thus, Sa'ad Abubakar reiterated this when he explained that before the twentieth century, the Buras were autochthons of the Hawal and Gongola Plateau region, and at one time lacked centralized systems of government which would have integrated its various villages. As a result, they formed clusters of independent political units under different elders/leaders.[120] But according to Bura traditions of origin as collected by J. D. Davis, that the Bura were a part of two strings of earlier Jukun incursion from the Mandara region, via Kilba territory before they entered the Hawal River Valley Region and spread southward into Dera territory on the Lower Gongola River Valley Region.[121] In addition, another tradition narrated that by the 1500s, little or nothing was known about the areas occupied by the Bura speaking group. But as a faint illustration of Bura earlier migrations indicated, the Bura migrated from the east and north-east of the Nigerian area to form a large block of language groups that stretched from the Mandara Region to the Biu Highlands, where they encountered much the same as their former settlement towards the

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[119]Low, op cit., p. 86; Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 21 - 22 also, Abubakar, op cit., pp. 29 – 31

[120]Abubakar, 1983, op cit., p. 32

[121]Davis, J. G., also implied that this group was an earlier Dera speaking stratum that had adopted the Jukun/Kwararafa politico-religious systems and Bolewa language, and probably engaged in the process of migrating southward due to either over crowing or quarrels which prompt them to migrate.

east by 1000 A.D.[122] This account therefore attest to the fact that, the Buras were probably one of the earliest groups to have occupied the Hawal/Biu axis where they are presently found and still spoke the Bura dialect.[123] It is therefore our view that the Hawal/Biu axis was the region from where the Bura moved into Kiri territory rather from any other place.

Similarly, the emergence of Shani as one the strongest Bura settlement in the Biu Plateau by the 1600s had as its strength a diverse population of Kushite, Bura, Marghi and Dera language groups. Thus, the Bura that entered Shani territory by the 1600s met the Boti (a stratum of the Dera) who were led by their leader Bilewati in Shani before they entered Kiri area.[124] Thus, Shani is presently one of the largest settlement groups where majority of the inhabitants are Dera speaking but, socio-politically dominated by the Bura. It was therefore probable that the Bura group in Shani spread to either gain control of settled areas of theirs in the Lower Gongola Valley Region, as was the case in Kiri area where they established an enclave called *Unguwan* Bura.[125]

Furthermore, it was narrated that the movement or dispersion of the Bura into the Lower Gongola River Valley Region was wrapped around the legendary Yamta's incursion into Limbur, a settlement between Chikorkur and Mandaragaram in the Biu region where the Bura dominated presently. On his arrival in Limbur, Yamta was said to have found the Buras already established as an entity, but still laid siege on the people; A siege he over powered the Bura and as a result, they were forced to migrate hence, they

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[122]See fn. 42

[123]Davis, op cit., p. 33

[124]*Ibid*

[125]Group interviews with both Bura and Dera headman. April – May, 2007

established settlements like Jaragwal, Wuyo and Shani. In Shani they found the Dera with whom they formed another stratum of a Bura stock.[126] The immigrant Bura group that entered Shani however, migrated south of the Lower Gongola Basin where they mingled further with another Dera group earlier established in Kiri area.[127]

The Hausa

This group began their movement into the Gongola Basin hence, Kiri area before the nineteenth century. The main reason had been for commercial purposes but, as the Hausa culture influenced the different communities they encountered,[128] the emergence of the Hausa group in the Gongola River Valley Region, also followed the trends of the various military campaigns towards south-eastern Hausa land by the ruling aristocrats, and the Buba Yero led jihad which included Hausa warriors or soldiers of fortune who were in search of new homes because, they were not quite satisfied at home with their governments. Moreover, few Hausa clergymen, traders, and artisans (i.e., blacksmiths, tailors, drummers, musicians and butchers), farmers, hunters and slave traders.[129]

These circumstances became possible because most Hausa immigrants from *Kasar* Hausa were not subjected to detailed pre-jihad government intervention and control in terms of individual relationship with neighbouring states especially, outside Hausa land. This was possible on the grounds that, majority of the immigrants were private entrepreneurs and self-acclaimed Muslim clerics, whose individual roles in their

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[126]Ibid

[127]Group interviews, op cit.

[128]See Adamu, M. 'The Spread of the Hausa Culture in West Africa, 1700 – 1900', *Savanna*, **5:1**, 1976, 3 – 13

[129] Adamu op cit., pp. 9 – 12

different places of business was not directly supervised by their governments until, the Sokoto Caliphate was established in 1804.[130] Thus, the presence of Hausa language groups from Kano, Katsina and Sokoto in Kiri area was never beyond the reasons highlighted above. They however became interested in the trade in agricultural products and partake in the loots from slave raids, and slave trade which flourished until 1902.[131] An intercourse the British colonial government encouraged and discouraged at the same time.[132]

Consequently, the Hausa groups continued to tickle individually and collectively into the entire Gongola valley region to take advantage of the trade in agricultural produces like Gutta Parches, Gum Arabic, and non-sylvan products like cotton cloths from Kano and imported European goods. They bought and sold these items in Kiri area and in the RNC stations at Numan and Nafada before they were transported to Kano, then back to Yola with goods from the north.[133] These interactions, which were centred on commerce, the present Hausa immigrants inside Kiri area however were able to maintain their status and role as their forebears had done when they entered the Lower Gongola River Valley Region before the nineteenth century. Thus, as map three (3) indicated, the

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[130] Adamu, 1978, op cit., p. 15

[131] See Abubakar, 1977, op cit., p. 145

[132] Rosedale, op cit.,

[133] Ibid, pp. 34 – 35

different language groups found inside Kiri area had varied migratory routes into Kiri area.

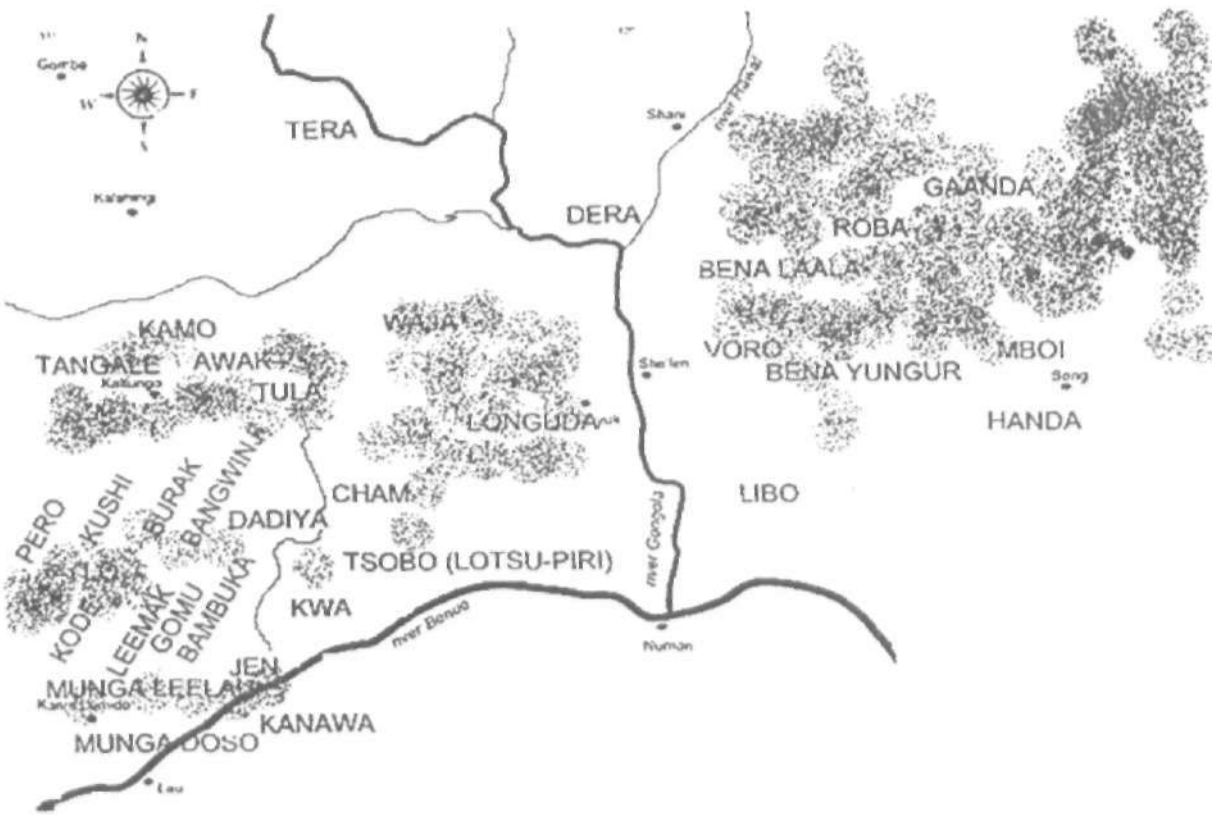


Fig. 2: Language Groups East and West of the Gongola River Valley Region

Source: Adelberger, J and Kleinwillinghofer, U. 'The Muri Mountains of North-Eastern Nigeria: an outline of the ethnographic and linguistic situation'. *The Nigerian Field*, 57 1992)

Settlement Patterns

Most of the earliest autochthons and immigrants into the Gongola valley region specifically, the Dera, the Lunguda, and the Fulbe Kitije'n and Hausa chose prominent mountainous sites to settle because of their strategic importance.[134] As such these sites attracted peoples but, it was not so in *Fombina* and of course the Gongola valley region. Thus, as Sa'ad Abubakar posited that, though these sites were sparsely populated, they were only used in times of danger like invasion as was the situation in the earliest to the nineteenth century in our study area.[135] Hence the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo range of hills, the Lunguda escarpment and the Lala Highlands all within the Gongola valley region before and after the nineteenth century where, more than any earliest settled places, attracted a good number of people and also served as sanctuaries for religious deities rather than centres for refuge in times of invasion as was the case with the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo hills in Kiri area.

Because of the abundant resources that abound in the land and soil in Kiri area, which supported the continuous flow of people who moved southward to either escape the clutches of powerful states like Borno or for personal fulfilments; the occasional fertile flat top-hills, plentiful streams, fertile valleys, etc. these geographical advantages more or less attracted a large number of people to Kiri area, and as a result, made the area populated because it provided good farm lands,[136] and the emergence of new cultures and

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[134]Mountain sites like the Dalla Hill in Kano and Turunku Hill in Zaria and other places in *Kasar* Hausa, the Gongol Basin served similar functions.

[135] Abubakar, op cit., p. 21

[136]Ibid

civilizations.[137] Lastly, these landforms served as quarantine zones especially, for the occasional contagious diseases like small pox and chicken pox, guinea worm infestation, blindness or leprosy.[138] As these tablelands became populated, new settlements and farm lands were sorted in the surrounding plains, that gave rise to plain settlements like the various villages in Kiri area; the Lunguda plain settlement of Guyuk. These landforms also, remained sites of politico-religious and economic centres for most of the ethnic groups in the Gongola valley region, as it was with the *Mami Gumaki* and *Tamno* mounds which became symbols of the duality of the Dera people in the earliest period inside Kiri area. Besides the choice of mountains, hills and tablelands as sanctuaries, some groups like the Dera and Lunguda chose fertile river banks where they established settlements. This explained why the Dera in Kiri area took to farming and fishing as their occupational specializations.

Apart the autochthons who emerged inside Kiri area, the Fulbe Kitije'n were the next largest Fulbe group to have entered and settled after the Mbororoe'n, who reached the Gongola valley region in the seventeenth century. Thus, when the Fulbe Kitije'n entered Kiri area, the fertile valley plains served as melting pot for various human activities. This resulted into frequent interactions between different Fulbe (i.e., the Kitije) and non-Fulbe groups like the Dera. This, notwithstanding the levels of integration, there were minimal interactions because of the nature of the Fulbe pattern of migration and transhumance activities into the Gongola valley region.[139] Migration, as explained by

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[137]Barkindo, B. M 'The Sultanate of Mandara to c. 1902'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, Bayero University Kano, 1980, pp. 38 – 39

[138] See Rosedale, op cit., p. 24 and Pongri, op cit., p 168

[139] Pongri, op cit., p. 169

Johnson H. Pongri is in several categories. These he emphasized are based on origin and destination, distance travelled and period of stay.[140] The Fulbe Mbororoe'n and Kitije'n, who were long distant migrants, had to cross ethnic boundaries before they emerged inside Kiri area. However, they form a distinct culture in terms of dress and language compared to the Dera, Lunguda or the Bena Lala and Yungur among who they settled. They however found it hard to fit into the sedentary life style of the non-Fulbe thus, this explained the reasons behind the Fulbe Kitije'n undue treatment when economic consideration were decided[141] in places like Kiri area. Therefore, the Fulbe Kitije'n found this situation distressful thus; they dispersed or migrated out of Kiri area into the Muri Mountain region where they established Muri Emirate.[142] In addition, because of their late arrival and the undue economic, social and political circumstance which they found themselves, especially inside Kiri area, they settled away from their host as a result they are seen as herdsmen while their hosts the agriculturists before colonial rule in Kiri area.

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[140] Ibid

[141] Pongri, op cit., p. 170

[142] Hamman, 2007, op cit., pp. 75 – 76

Conclusion

History, specifically the history of a people, has been dominated by the inter-relationship between geography and man. The result of these inter-relationships would be the inclusion or exclusion of certain meaningful contribution to human development, which only makes sense if understood and appreciated from the perspective of the unequivocal details of harmonious interaction between geography and man, as was the case examined in Kiri area. Hence, our understanding of the geographical features and human activities inside Kiri can hardly be over-emphasized, in view of the fact that the settlements that constituted Kiri area were not only founded on the bases of the original inhabitant's need for security but, the availability of surface water supply and fertile land for agricultural productions. Thus, they were able to harness these resources from the earliest times, when the different ethnic groups began to occupy Kiri area, until the colonial when various 'modern' economic activities were established.

These, decisively formed the magnetic force behind the diverse nature of Kiri society's uniqueness and measures of contributions to the pre-colonial and colonial economy which emerged in northern Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole. Therefore, it is our opinion here that the patterns of both geographical and human interactions as exhaustively examined in this chapter would be part of an important historical development, and it is on this that this study anchored its thrust of argument that colonialism impacted on the pre-colonial historical development in Kiri area and we hoped this would shade more light on the nature of Kiri area's pre-colonial economy.

CHAPTER TWO
THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF KIRI CHIEFDOM UP TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

The product of man's relationships with his environment in most African societies up to the twentieth century was the inevitable manifestation of various human endeavours, especially economic activities,[143] rather than the attention given to the greatness of people and states in studies whose, achievements of rulers are measured in terms of the profundity of their political system and the strength of their military, and the relations between people according to the nature of political relations.[144] Thus, in Kiri area, the nature and character of the pre-colonial economy may have found meaningful expressions in the way and manner its people created and dominated the various economic activities therein. These pre-colonial economic activities therefore, ranged between agriculture and commerce, whence the main catalysts or factor of production was land. In spite the use of land for settlement purposes, agricultural production and commercial activities during the periods before the twentieth century, land became the impetus behind every economic, political and social decisions of people particularly, the Dera within Kiri area.

The main aim in this chapter therefore, is to examine the nature of organization and function of the economies of pre-colonial Kiri society, with emphasis on how its people utilized land; a fundamental catalyst in the processes of human production, in

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[143]Hopkins, A. G *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, 1973, pp. 11 – 17

[144]Abubakar, S 'A Survey of the Economy of the Eastern Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate in the Nineteenth Century', in Usman, Y. B (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: the Sokoto Seminar Papers*, Zaria, 1979, p. 105

addition to how the people harnessed the available and necessary human resources which created an economic structure up to the twentieth century. This, we achieve by looking at the land tenure system, the nature of the structure of the economy and agricultural activities whereby, the *modus operandi* followed the basic principles of common communal ownership.

Political Organization:

Almost everywhere in *Fombina* especially the Gongola River Valley Region, peoples have lived in groups of different sizes, speaking different languages and having various customs and tradition. One of the customs and traditions that clearly emerged was the political organization or state-like systems and institutions that is, after the replacement of the kinship relationship by those in whom authority was placed to control large territorial units. In other words, the replacement of large numbers of small mutually independent clan-based polities by a much fewer number of larger units that possessed institutions of centralized character.[145] For instance, peoples like the Jukun, the Kanuri and to an extent the Dera, who C. K. Meek postulated that, their language and culture contained some form higher or lesser stratum of language and culture from peoples (originally of non-Negro stock); earlier assimilated or acculturated in the process of state formation.[146] Thus, Johnson H. Pongri highlighted in his thesis that the formation of chiefdoms in northern Adamawa and as was obtained in the Gongola Basin, was closely associated with mountain sites as centres of religious and political powers (unlike the

[145] For discussion of general problems of the development of political institutions in stateless societies, see Horton, R 'Stateless Societies in Histories of West Africa', in Ajayi and Crowder (ed.), *History of West Africa, vol. 1*, London, 1976, pp. 70 – 120

[146] Meek, C. K *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria, vol. 2*, New York, 1931, p. 312

birane in Hausa land). These mountain sites he continued were established out of conquests, natural increase in population through the influx of other groups and individuals from outside and through mutual agreement.[148]Furthermore, Sa'ad Abubakar posited that, mountain sites were however chosen in the *Fombina* region because majority of the inhabitants tend to settle where continuous availability of water for drinking and agriculture was assured.[149] The Gongola River Valley Region, with its wide fertile flood plains, became one of the sites where earlier peoples were known to have settled. However, the importance of mountains as earlier emphasized no doubt played very significant role in the formation of peoples within the Gongola valley. For instance, the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo Hill ranges inside Kiri area supported peoples because of the presence of fertile flat-top land, abundant supply of water, fuel and games.[150]Consequently, the Talbanga and Guwar-Jambo Hill ranges were where the ancient Kiri settlement (called *Gewat Kerini*) was located, and the ancient capital where specialized official roles among the Dera in Kiri area first emerged.These roles were however necessitated by economic strategies that demanded for wider activities hence, contacts between peoples and territories.

Evolution of Kiri Chiefdom

Varied States/Chiefdoms with different language groups were established within the Gongola River Valley Region up to the twentieth century. On important examples of

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[148]Pongri, J. H 'Political Development in Northern Adamawa, 1809 – 1960: a study of the historical development of inter-group relations'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A. B. U., Zaria, 1988, p. 172

[149]Abubakar, S *The Lamibe of Fombina: a political history of Adamawa, 1809 – 1901*, Zaria, 1977 (revised in 2008), p. 21

[150]During fieldwork, I observed ancient settlements sites and cairns which the Dera of Kiri accustomed to have been raised over the dead bodies of warriors who died in battle on these hill ranges (see plate one)

these States/Chiefdoms was Kiri Chiefdom. Thus, the evolution of Kiri chiefdom can be traced to its pre-Chiefdom periods when clear political and economic structures of the people (i.e., the Dera) were organized at the family level. The family, who for the normal ordering of their social life followed the patriarchal rules;[150] enclosed in mud huts known as *Gawi* (pl. *Gawi rap*) also determined the number of compounds or *Gabian Kadima* in which a patrilineal grouping is formed and known as *mumu*. The *mumu* emerged out of the collection of males genealogically related, thus, the *mumu* represented a large extended family which may have one or two branches. The head of the *mumu* (referred to as *Amnangin*) therefore, oversees the affairs of individual *Gawi* with its *Bung* (i.e., house head). Hence, the *Amnangin* commanded more authority on the *Gabian Kadima* in times of their need to cultivate lands, protect the *Gabian Kadima* from all form threats, etc.

To this end, the growth and development of a *Gawi* or *Gawi rap* into a *Gabian Kadima* which grew in size and number hence, transformed into a village or town known as *Gewit* brought with it more responsibilities on the *Bung* through to the *Amnangin*, and the *Amna*.[151] Consequently, with increase in population and demands for new *Gawi* usually built when older ones are over populated, available space were arranged hence, the responsibilities of the *Bung* in concert with the *Amnangin*. Thus, with the completion of a *Gawi*, which grows into a *Gabian Kadima*, the name of the first settled builder of the new *Gawi* was designated on such a *Gabian Kadima* and thereof became the founder of a *Gawi* and the *Bung*,[152] hence, to an *Amnangin* on an entirely new setting. The necessities

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[150] Meek, op cit., p. 316

[151] Baba Kerini, Unguwan Bokorok, Kiri, 30/06/2007, 65 years old

[152] Baba Kerini, op cit.,

of these resulted in the meaningful organization of ensured responsibilities for which an *Amnangin* represented his *Gabian Kadima* at meetings of different *Gabian Kadimas* where the collection of these *Gabian Kadima* form a village and also a leader or elder called *Amna* (Chief) with his council (i.e., from the other *Amnangin* of *Gabian Kadimas*) were selected to lead and ensured that the decisions of the *Amnangin* were implemented by the entire village members.[153] By this arrangement the evolution of Kiri Chiefdom was achieved by the twentieth century among the Dera people in the Gongola River Valley Region.

Economic Organization:

The fact that the various peoples of *Fombina*, had lived for centuries under varied scales of political organization before the establishment of emirates like Yola and Muri,[154] the Dera in Kiri area had since organized themselves into a chiefdom and whose main concern (like other peoples within the Gongola Basin who had organized a form of political unit), was secure the products needed to maintain their customary standard of living through agriculture.[155]

Land Tenure System

Thus, the dominant mode of land organization and control in Kiri chiefdom up until the twentieth century was the common communal ownership arrangement. This was a situation whereby the senior male or *Amnangin* of a *mumu* or lineage clan, on behalf of the extended or nuclear family acquired virgin land for any economic purpose as

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[153] Ibid

[154] See Sa'ad Abubakar, 'People of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800', in Obaro Ikime (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, 1980

[155] Hopkins, op cit., p. 54

agriculture. This was however regulated through a distribution network of lineage kinship of (i.e., the *Bungs*) under a communal structure,[156] with the *Amma* and his representatives the Welina (*Gabian Kadimas* heads), the various village heads who make up his council as the final authority on land issues. This arrangement consequently created the structure on which the pre-colonial land tenure system was organized.

The idea behind this arrangement which was common among heterogeneous and subsistence/commercial societies like Kiri, was because the terms of land tenure in societies of the Gongola Valley Region was centred on the ratio of the availability of land to population, which led to the ease with which farmlands for agricultural production were accessed.[157] This became economically and politically significant after the penetration and subsequent activities of the British colonial government, when land issues were handled in view of the needs of the whole community in Kiri area. Therefore, other land resources determined and regulated by the pre-colonial land tenure system was the *Gwalala* and its resources. These were organized and controlled under the authority of the *Amma* but, whose representative the *Kwarak* oversees all activities in it and by who. The utilization of the *Gwalala* therefore, was not extensive and restricted because, as a riverside settlement the people fish without infringing on any vested interests.[158]

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[156]Zeleza, P. T *A Modern Economic History of Africa: the nineteenth century , vol. 1*, Dakar, 2003, p. 117

[157]This line of argument was later illustrated by W. O. P Rosedale in his 1919 assessment report, where he pointed to the fact that the 4.2 acre per farmer for cultivation, about three and a half percent of farmlands were uncultivated. Thus, farmlands were abundantly available therefore; little or no restriction was placed in acquiring wasteland or virgin lands. Of course this may be attributed to the circumstances of time (i.e., the pre-colonial period). For further details, see NAK SNP10 275p/1919, 'Kanakuru District Assessment Report', by Rosedale, W. O. P., p. 23

[158]Rosedale, op cit., p. 23

However when fishes are caught, certain portion were presented as gift to the *Amna* as recognition of his position as the custodian of all earthly resources from *Piroguru*.[159]

Hunting, on the other hand, was also an important economic activity which occurred every dry season before the beginning of the rains, and after each village arranged with a neighbouring village to hold a game drive which was carried out on certain designated hunting grounds, especially surrounding bush lands (*daji*).[160] By this instance, it was an indication that every village viewed the communal nature of their ownership to lands for this purpose but, which were organized and controlled by representatives of village heads (i.e., the *Jarawa*). Therefore, as caretaker of all hunting grounds within Kiri area, the *Jarawa* organized young men on horses and mares who set fires on grasses in order to intercept escaping games.[161] Sanctions were however placed on any person who hunts in grounds before the hunt season, except of course in areas adjacent to farmlands. After games were however caught, especially large games, they were presented to the village head and the *Jarawa* while the little catches like rodents, guinea fowls, and hedgehog were kept by hunter who feast on them with family and neighbours or exchanged such for whatever item he desired.[162]

With respect to mineral deposits, no specific deposits are found in Kiri area but, as it was, iron bars were common and essential items of iron ore which are found. This

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[159] Temple, O and Temple, C. L (ed.), *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, (*Second Edition*), London, 1965, p. 50

[160]Rosedale, op cit., p. 16

[161]Micheal Yusuf, Unguwan Talum, Kiri. 11/11/2007, 55 years old

[162] Ibid

was because farming and hunting needed tools no matter how crude they are. Thus, in Kiri area, the Lala and Yungur to the north-east of Kiri area were famous for their iron works inside Kiri area.[163] The ores were gathered in the form of fine black sand by panning after heavy rains, then smelted and made into iron bars before imported into Kiri area by the same iron workers who doubled as iron bar merchants.[164] These group of people, beside been blacksmiths and iron bar merchants which may consist of immigrant Hausas as it was inside Kiri area, they also were organized into a cartel of blacksmiths.[165]

Despite the political changes that followed the pre-colonial period in northern Nigeria (i.e., changes which incorporated Kiri area into the colonial economy in the twentieth century), the land tenure system in Kiri area remained basically unchanged. This was because majority of the land areas were perceived common property bestowed on all but, kept in custody by the *Amna* or elders particularly, the *Welina*, the *Jarawa*, *Nagulak*, *Bulama* and the *Kwarak*.[166] These individual formed a class in a hierarchical manner and acted in such capacity that, when there was any need for farmland or residential purposes, the beneficiaries made their demands or intentions known through

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[163] Rosedale, op cit.,

[164] Abubakar, 1979, op cit., p. 108; this was supported by oral interviews obtained from Mallam Dan Sakwatto Garba a head blacksmith of Lababiri village in Kiri area, who also informed that his great-grand father was trained by a Lala smith and that was how he became a blacksmith.

[165] See Abubakar, 1977 (revised edition 2008) op cit., p. 22, Rosedale, op cit., and Mallam Dan Sakwatto Garba, Lababiri village, Kiri, 15/10/2009, 65 years old

[166] Clarkson Kondeni, Unguwan Jambo, Kiri. 02/07/2007, 59 years old

this hierarchy, who in turn reported all such matters to the *Amma* in Council and where he stands as the paramount ruler of his village.[167]

Structure of the Economy

This was basically centred on agriculture, which was well above subsistence level. It also became the determinant factor on which its auxiliaries or ancillaries from the local industries produced tools and implements, such as hoes, knives, cutlasses, mats, calabashes, fish nets, canoes, pottery, etc., by the twentieth century.[168] As a result, the basis upon which the structures of the pre-colonial economy in Kiri area was built. Therefore, the nature of agriculture which the annual rain-soaked soil determined, eventually decided almost all forms of occupational specialization among people. In Kiri area even though the rains determined the nature of agricultural activities, other determinant factors played important roles. For instance, in the eventual occurrence of a natural disaster such as drought, certain religious obligations and ceremonies were offered and performed. This was because the orbits of the seasonal cycles of rain and dry seasons were tied to the fertility of the soil thus, any natural or human calamities were perceived as punishment from the gods. Hence, agricultural productions were significantly measured by the levels of inputs and outputs which were accordingly tied to the outlook of the structure of the economy.[169]

Though these scenarios determined the extent to which the pre-colonial economy was structured in Kiri chiefdom, the levels of pre-colonial economic activities were also

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[167]Clarkson, op cit.,

[168]Abubakar, 1980, p. 41; pp. 183 – 184

[169]See Meek, C. K., *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria, vol. 2*, New York, 1950, p. 313; Ikime, ibid, p. 184

measured,[170] as was economic activities like hunting, fishing, pottery and carving of mats, and calabashes which pulled the abundant labour force made available during the dry season. In spite of these, the Fulbe pastoral economy that was attained by the Fulbes inside Kiri chiefdom was as a result of their possession of cattle, long before they emerged inside Kiri area.[171] This was further wrapped round the structure of the pre-colonial economy. Though agricultural production depended on the auxiliaries and ancillaries from the local industries, they were produced through a combination of series of primitive and complex technique that revolved around the shifting/rotational methods of food and cash crop cultivation[172] on mostly major and minor farmlands.

Although the general pre-colonial agricultural production in the Lower Gongola River Valley Region was largely subsistence, and to a considerable degree commercialized due to circumstances of specialization and need to exchange,[173] the structure of Kiri chiefdoms' pre-colonial economy was supported by pool of labour force that was customarily drawn from family units and employed during land preparation before cultivation to harvesting of crops. The reasons for the family been a repository of labour was because of the simple fact that, almost every family possessed at least a farmland. But, where shortage of labour existed, the *corvee* system was used in order to

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[170]Abubakar, op cit., p. 184

[171]The Dera and Lunguda were particularly known to also possess cattle (i.e., the hump less cattle called Muturu) and herded them in the manner the Fulbes (i.e. the Kitije'n) drove theirs. The Dera, however, keep their cattle for meat and rituals or ceremonies rather than for diary production.

[172]Abubakar, op cit.,

[173]Ibid

supplement labour when necessary.[174] This system of labour as upheld among the Dera in Kiri chiefdom before colonial rule was later changed into a situation where the 'family client-labour pool' or the *gaiya* system became the repository for labour during colonial rule. Thus, both systems formed the only significant repository of even though they were applied in two different historical eras (i.e., the pre-colonial and colonial eras), however, contributed to maintain the pre-economic structures of Kiri chiefdom. Therefore, the importance of labour in Kiri chiefdom as has been illustrated above goes to show that, the structure of Kiri chiefdoms' pre-colonial economy up until the twentieth century, was the result of the circumstances the whole community found itself and couldn't deny such historical fact.

Pre-colonial trade and commerce, in Kiri chiefdom and northern Nigeria cannot be denied the leisure of inexistence. This fact is reflected perhaps in the demographic nature of the different occupational specialization of language groups in Kiri chiefdom. That is, in terms of what they could offer in exchange.[175] The relationship that was established and maintained was therefore, achieved through the presence of numerous trade routes.[176] Three levels of trade and commerce were said to have existed within and outside Kiri chiefdom up to the twentieth century. These were the local, the regional and to a minimal extent long distance trade that brought meaningful commercial activities. Within these levels of trade, varieties of agricultural goods such as processed foodstuff, dairy products and items from the local auxiliary and ancillary industries provided for the

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[174]This development in rare cases led to a form of social unit which embraced people attached to a family unit as a result of this relationship that is allowed to prevail in the society.

[175]Abubakar, op cit., 1980, p. 185

[176]Ibid

exchange. While the different trade routes and commodities traded evolved into intricate interactions between peoples and territories of ecological divides, in Kiri area, these interactions however, had impacted greatly on the people's livelihood by the twentieth century. Hence, a situation that culminated into the establishment of a meaningful and purposeful economic structure whereby, it was altered as a result of the entrenchment of colonial rule from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

Agriculture

Agriculture, the most vital pre-occupation of peoples in pre-colonial Kiri society, was equally on the utilization of both land and labour as derived in the abundant food and cash crop surpluses which were channelled into exchange trade. Thus, the presence of wide river valleys and its extensive undulated fertile lands, and the combined ingenuities of an effective agricultural system that incorporated both pastoral and farm practices of the Fulbe and non-Fulbe communities in Kiri chiefdom, also had its own advantages and disadvantages as was in case of the profusion of diseases, and the uncomfortable humid condition that had adverse effect on both humans and animals.[177] However, in the context of agricultural history in Africa, Nigeria and particularly northern Nigeria and hence, Kiri area, it has been argued that, our perception of agriculture has suffered from over-broad generalization, imprecise comparisons, unwarranted evolutionism, and un-substantiated assertions.[178] Thus, pre-colonial agriculture in most African societies has been described as 'shifting', and economies characterized as 'subsistence' despite persuasive critiques of

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[177]Hamman, M 'The Rise and fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hammaruwa) c. 1821 – 1903', Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1983, pp. 50 – 51

[178]Richard, P 'Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use'. *African Studies Review*, **26**: 24, 1983

these concepts.[179] In view of this, major revision of current historiography, available data clearly suggested that agriculture in most societies in African even without the plough, was more efficient than that of early modern Europe.[180] Therefore, our conception of agriculture in relation to its practices in Kiri Chiefdom, was that scenario where comparatively elaborate and often highly skilled agricultural techniques were employed by the people that, provided both their own food and the surplus which maintained the aristocrats, merchants and artisans, and the petty officials of the villages and hamlets into which the Chiefdom was divided for the purpose of administration.[181]

The extensive undulated fertile plains therefore acquired for agricultural production before the nineteenth century in Kiri area, followed the commonest method of extensive and intensive general cultivation of crops whereby the crops were rotated and inter-planted. Crops commonly cultivated might include grains, (i.e., guinea-corn and millets) and vegetables like Okra which were the chief and special crops,[182] grown no more than sufficient for personal consumption and exchanges when the need arose. The development of the rotational/intercropping methods in our study emerged after the desiccation of the Lake Chad,[183] while the cultivation of crops, though varied in terms of

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[179]Zeleza, op cit., p. 6

[180]Thornton, J 'Pre-colonial African Industry and the Atlantic Trade, 1500 – 1800'. *African Economic History*, 19: 7 – 8, 1990 – 91b

[181]For further explanation of this instances see, Perham, M (ed.) *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, London, 1945, pp. 119 – 137

[182] Concrete evidence of the type of crops grown in our study area before the 19th century was not available. But the major staple may have been varieties of guinea corn, millet, maize, and root crops. Cotton was also an important crop long before the 19th century. See Abubakar, 1979, op cit., p. 106

[183]Kolawole, A. 'Cultivation of the Floor Plains of Lake Chad: a response to environmental hazard in eastern Borno'. *Geographical Journal*, **154**: 243 – 250, 1988

seasons, the ownership of farmed land was however the same.[184] For example, 1 man and 1 woman may farm approximately 4 acres in all, and wherein all the chief and special crops were included. The yields, in this regard also varied. For instance, yields of 140 bundles on average were produced.[185] Farmed areas were therefore categorized into 'major' and 'minor' farmed areas. The former, according to my informants was devoted to cultivation of staples and cash crops, and also doubled as the horti-sylvian farm. These categories of farmed areas were mostly situated distance away from the main village, and were the ones subjected to being rotated and left to fallow for between 2 to 4 years.[186] The minor farmed areas on the other hand, were small land spaces or garden plots of less than 1 acre usually located around compounds or close to the village, from where 'special' crops like the Okra, pepper, garden eggs and the edible amaranths, etc. These 'garden plots' were managed by the women folks. The maintenance system adopted in order to maintain the fertility of farm soils, especially as practiced in Kiri area up to the twentieth century was through the application of derived manure from animal dump and household refuse.[187]

From the fore-gone examination of the nature of agriculture in Kiri Chiefdom before the twentieth century, the traditional extensive and intensive subsistence/commercial system of cultivation was common and which included the use of farm tools like the spur and spur-less hoes, cutlasses which up until this day are mostly

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[184] See section on 'Land Tenure System' on pp. 41 – 44

[185] Information obtained during group interview with farmers inside Kiri town and Gundo village, August 2006

[186] Ibid

[187] Ibid

used within the guinea savannah region of northern Nigeria. The agricultural calendar therefore starts during the latter part of the dry season when farmed areas were prepared before the rains proper commenced in June, and when the sowing of seedlings, especially the early *njigari* followed by late crops like *gero*. Weeding also commenced during this period and by which time the early crops were ready for harvest (i.e., between July and September) before the harvest of the numerous late crops in November. This circle repeats all over again and it was on this basis that the pre-colonial agriculture in Kiri area as a whole was centred.[188] Hence, farmers became completely integrated into the subsistence based pre-colonial agriculture,[189] and this enhanced the relevance of animal husbandry as practiced in Kiri chiefdom up to the twentieth century.

The Fulbe Pastoral Economy

The Fulbe pastoral economy, a subsume of pastoralism which has been seen as a poor cousin of arable farming, or at worst as the instigator of environmental degradation,[190] its economic pattern in view of this discourse is however mistaken for relics of the 'natural economy' of pastoralism, when they are in fact products of specific

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[188]These circumstances were expressed by farmers referred in footnote 185. They also emphasized the fact that, agriculture has been part of them ever since they can remember with little or no changes, until the late 1950s when modern western agricultural techniques began to emerge inside Kiri area. Further investigation during fieldwork confirmed this because, all forms of colonial agricultural infrastructures dated within this period

[189]Abubakar, (1979) op cit., p. 107

[190] This line of discourse is common among historians, and modern governments and development agencies who are keen to sedentarise pastoralists, also accused pastoralism of suffering from an irrational 'cattle complex', overgrazing, and endemic wanderlust. For further detailed discussion of this debates, see Herskovits, M. J 'The Cattle Complex in East Africa'. *American Anthropologist*, 28:230 – 72, 361 – 80, 494 – 528, 633 – 664, 1926; Murdock, G. P *Africa, Its People and their Culture History*, New York, 1959; Lomax, A and Arensberg, C. M 'A World Wide Evolutionary Classification of Culture by Subsistence Systems'. *Current Anthropology*, 18:659 – 701, 1977 and Lamprey, H. F 'Pastoralism Yesterday and Today: the overgrazing problem', in Bourliere, F (ed.), *Ecosystems of the World, 13 Tropical Savannas*, Amsterdam, 1983

historical processes, especially colonial capitalism and ill-considered post-colonial development strategies.[191] In this study we subscribed to the two major systems of animal husbandry and their economic patterns: mixed farming, which combined crop farming and raising livestock, and transhumance, which involved a regular, annual trek within a definite orbit of transhumance within which varied items were produced and exchanged by the Fulbes involved in these systems. These two systems, moreover, were the commonest before the twentieth century in most African societies. Thus, as Professor Sa'ad Abubakar defined their mode of economic pattern, especially among Fulbe groups in northern Nigeria, hence, Kiri area was a situation whereby they controlled the domestication of animals, particularly cattle and dispensed the cultivation or even the necessary collection of plants or plant foods, or through a deliberate interference with the natural vegetation of a region.[192] He further opined that, majority of Fulbe groups in *Fombina* before the eighteenth century has been pastoralists (i.e., transhumance) in the strict sense of his definition, and as result, cattle husbandry and it various economic patterns became the cherished Fulbe economic activity among the Fulbe Mbororoe'n and Kitije'n in Kiri area.

With this situation among the Fulbe Mbororoe'n and Kitije'n in Kiri area, and the agriculturists' nature of non-Fulbe groups like the Dera and Lunguda, the Fulbe Mbororoe'n and Kitije'n were gradually transformed into either settled or semi-settled

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[191]Hedlund, H 'Contradictions in the Peripheralization of a Pastoral Society: the Massai'. *Review of African Political Economy*, **15**/16: 15 – 34, 1979; Watts, M 'Drought, Environment and Food Security: some reflections on peasants, pastoralists and commoditization in dry land West Africa', in Glantz, M. H (ed.), *Drought and Hunger in Africa: denying famine a future*, Cambridge, 1987; Homewood, K and Rodgers, W. A 'Pastoralism, Conservation and the Overgrazing Controversy', in Anderson, D and Grove, R, eds., *Conservation in Africa: people, policies and practices*, Cambridge, 1987; Timberlake, L *Africa in Crisis: the causes, the cures of environmental bankruptcy*, London, 1988

[192]Abubakar, op cit., p. 107

Fulbes,[193] after they adopted the non-Fulbe groups' agriculturists practices and raising livestock. This ultimately became responsible for the scope nature of the Fulbe patterns of economic activities in Kiri area up to the twentieth century. The novel pattern of economic activities that emerged resulted in a form of occupational specialization among the Fulbes in Kiri area. For instance, while the ownership of cattle was within the premise of the entire Fulbe group (i.e., in both male and female control), there was dual role responsibilities placed on Fulbe women who combined cultivation of crops and running the household economy (i.e., dispensed dairy products),[194] while the men tethered and herded cattle. Thus, the Fulbe Kitije'n in Kiri area who were associated with this pattern of animal husbandry and Fulbe economy, obtained considerable wealth and socio-cultural benefits in an articulated agro-pastoral society like Kiri. That is, through the exchanges of their dairy products like milk called *nunu* or *kindirmo*, cheese-butter (i.e., *mai-shanu*) which were absent before the seventeenth century, for foodstuffs like grains from the non-Fulbes in Kiri area by the twentieth century.[195] Nonetheless, as cattle Fulbe settled and semi-settled drovers, the Fulbe Kitije'n inputs in the economic structures of Kiri chiefdom added little or nothing in the transactions or material growth of the non-Fulbe groups because, up to the twentieth century, the distinction between the Fulbe pastoral economy and agriculture in predominantly non-Fulbe societies was blurred by the vivid combination of these economies,[196] except during instances when identity and

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[193]Abubakar, 1977, op cit., p. 35

[194]Zeleza, op cit., p. 110

[195]Ibid

[196]See Abubakar, 1980, op cit.,

interdependency matters arose to demand that the non-Fulbe groups pay tithes and tributes from Fulbe groups.[197]

The Fulbe pastoral economy, an important pre-colonial economic activity amongst the Fulbe Kitije'n in Kiri area, two important factors were responsible and determined its scope and nature. These were the availability of cattle, and the duration and intensity of the wet and dry season that characterized the nature of vegetation covers. The other was the infestation of tsetse fly caused by the vagaries of the climate condition, peculiar to the Gongola River Valley Region, hence, the economy.[198]

Apart these circumstances of the Fulbe pastoral economy in pre-colonial Kiri society, other animals like donkeys or mares, horses, goats and sheep also featured as both domesticated and beasts of burdened. The Fulbe and non-Fulbe groups in Kiri area however, by the twentieth century were known to have bred these animals. Donkeys or mares for instance were attributed as symbols of economic value during transhumance of the Fulbes but, part of the essential items in the long distant trades as they hauled humans, goods like farm produce and personal belongings. Therefore, the antiquity of these animals in Kiri area was not known but, they were known to have roamed or were introduced into Kiri area long before the twentieth century.

Hunting and Fishing

Fishing Kiri area up to the twentieth century took the form of an economic activity centred round the *Gwalala*, ponds and stream during the dry season (i.e., between the months of November and February), when these season became bee-hives of fishing

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[197]Abubakar, 1977, op cit., pp. 39 – 42

[198]Hamman, 1983, op cit., p. 57

activities because of the abundance of fishes.[199] The use of rudimentary techniques and tools such as woods for building canoes and paddles, grasses and nets with very limited scope had developed, until improved canoes, nets and techniques emerged among fishermen in Kiri area between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, the locally manufactured nets which were of two different types, and the most used were, the generally rectangular shaped nets called *Lem*, designed to suit specific gender and purposes. For instance, the *Lem* mostly used by women measured well over 20 yards and it was mostly held by the four edges of the net and dragged from a canoe on the river or through the shallow edges of the river (i.e., the *Gwalala*), to catch fishes.[200] While the nets used by men were also rectangular, they were extensively wide and oval shaped and measured 40 yards such that, when thrown over the waters from a floating canoe it was enabled to catch plot of fishes.[201]

Fishing therefore, was an important economic activity that provided considerable opportunity for peoples of riverine areas such as the Dera and immigrant groups who entered the Gongola River Valley Region to fish consequently the Kiri area. Actual fishing season was known to start at the end of every rainy season, when the *Men-Wara* festival was used to signal this important economic activity.[202] In attendance during this festival was the entire village, the *Amna* and the *Kwarak* (i.e. *Sarkin Ruwa*) in attendance as hosts. The fishing session and festival may last seven days and during which time;

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[199]Mal. Muhammadu Karyawa, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri, 10/07/2006, 68 years old

[200] Madam Esther Joshua, Lababiri village, Kiri, 02/07/2006, 45 years old

[201]Ibid

[202]For details of this festival, see Oko, A. 'The Men-Wara-Shani Festival of the Kanakuru'. *Annals of Borno* 4: 1987

fishes caught were portioned according sizes. The supposedly large sizes were presented to the *Amna* and the lesser in size were either feasted upon by neither the catcher nor his or her family; little or nor were sold.[203]

Beside the Dera, Lunguda, *Burawa* and *Hausawa*, other language groups or communities that emerged and also engaged in fishing within Kiri area were the *Kakanda* and *Kebbawa* fishermen, who like the Dera were ancient riverine dwellers to enter Kiri area from the Niger River Region because of their skills as fishermen and fish mongers who however, rarely settled in Kiri area. These were known to organize themselves each, under a *Kwarak* or *Sarkin taru* who was appointed by the *Amna*. According to information gathered during fieldwork, the *Kakanda* and *Kebbawa* fishermen and fish mongers introduced the smoked and dried methods of preserved fish called *banda*. Although the *banda* technique of preserved fish was equally practiced in the Lake Chad Region, nothing was known of the Kanuri fisher on the Lake Chad transfer of this technique. However, Hausa fish traders were no strangers to Kiri area thus; it might be possible they would have introduced this technique as ways to preserve their catches from Borno into Kiri area and beyond because, these fishermen and mongers were known to carried their stocks to as far as the Lower Benue into Tiv territories.[204]

As for the Dera, Lunguda and Bura in Kiri area who before the entrance of the Kakanda and Kebbawa or Hausa and Kanuri, do not dry and smoke their fishes because they rarely trade their stocks in the local distance trade which would take them beyond the confluence of the Gongola and Hawal Rivers to the north or beyond the Benue River

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[203] Karyawa, op cit.,

[204] Ibid

to the south but, preferred to exchanged their catch locally. This situation continued until the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, by the start of the twentieth century, the fishing class was ranked the most prosperous groups on the Benue and Gongola Rivers.[205]

Hunting (i.e., on land and rivers), for semi-aquatic mammals like Crocodile, Hippopotami and Manatee formed was part of the aquatic stocks and activities in the *Gwalala*, their hunt though not considered as fishing but, primarily aquatic animals caught in water and land.[206] Their importance in the pre-colonial economy of Kiri Chiefdom lied on the fact that they played very significant roles in the culture and economic growth of the people because of the values attached to the various parts of the semi-aquatic animals. For example, the hides and tooth of a Crocodile, the tusk of the Hippopotami served defensive weapons and valuable ornaments that formed the Royal Regalia.[207] Thus, the entire fishing economy as one of the important economic activities in Kiri before the twentieth century, also accounted for the ways and manners language groups harnessed these same resources for meaningful means of production and livelihood during colonial rule in Kiri area.

Craft Production:

Besides the pre-colonial economies illustrated above, the other important pre-colonial economies that emerged and developed were in the production of auxiliaries and ancillaries from metal works, pottery making, calabash carvings, and carpentry, cloth making, etc. These pre-colonial economic activities nevertheless, were an indication that

[205]See Temple, op cit., (1965) p. 420; NAK SNP 10-527 (1913), 'Taxation (rent over) fishing areas'; NAK SNP 10/6-392p (1918), 'Land and Fishing Rights – Custom of Renting between individual Natives'

[206]Karyawa. op cit..

[207]Karyawa, ibid, Baikie, W. B *Narratives of an Exploring Voyage up the River Kwora and Benue*, London, p. 188

the pre-colonial economy inside Kiri chiefdom was beyond the supposedly subsistence level. As a result, it created a meaningful symbiotic relationship between different language groups in the Gongola Basin hence, Kiri area up to the twentieth century.

Mining and Metal Work

The craft of mining and metal work though, not an occupational specialization widely practiced by the Dera in Kiri chiefdom before the twentieth century. It was a specialization that attracted specialized labour because of the multiple functions they performed among societies in north-eastern Nigerian areas.[208] Nevertheless, mining and metal work was an important pre-colonial economic activity among the Bena Lala and Yungur who were one of the closest neighbours to Kiri area, from where ores was gathered in the form of fine black sand after panned during heavy rains. These were then smelted and made into iron bars and supplied to the blacksmiths.[209] The mining of iron ore in the Bena country though, involved the use of the crudest methods discovered by the people. The Lala, who were one of the specialists in the art of smelting in the Gongola Basin, imported this trade into Kiri area long before the coming of Europeans.[210] Although despised because of their arts in Kiri chiefdom before the twentieth century, they produced the essential implements used by the agriculturists groups, hunters, and Fulbe groups for farming, game hunts and battles. Other groups like the Hausa and Bura were also known to smite iron bars thus, as Labando and Yakubu narrated, iron bars also

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[208]See van Beek, W. E. A. *Iron, Brass and Burial: the Kapsiki blacksmith and his many crafts*. Netherlands, 1983, p. 284

[209]Abubakar, 1980, op cit.,

[210]dan Sakwatto, op cit.,

served as medium of exchange (i.e., currencies) as was the famous *taje* among the people of the Lower Benue Basin by the nineteenth century.[211]

The other metallic elements which formed part of the blacksmiths' array of raw materials during the pre-colonial period in Kiri area were brass, gold, silver, and copper which were fashioned into necklaces, bracelets, wares and tin wares. The raw materials for these items were however imported through the long distant trade as bars or dusts from the mid and Lower Benue River Regions, *Kasar* Hausa, and the Kanuri Kingdom in the south-western corners of the Lake Chad.[212] In addition to been imported in their raw forms, already made items of these metallic elements were brought into Kiri area. For example, swords made from iron bars were found, dagger hilts, horse trappings, silver bowls, jugs, dishes, anklets, bangles, necklaces and rings were known to have reached areas beyond Kiri areas through the long distant trade routes.[213] Consequently, blacksmithing, according to Garba dan Sakwatto (the present *Sarkin Makeri*) and as told by his grandfather was practiced in Kiri area as far back as the early eighteenth century and from then on, it established an economic activity centred on the needs of the society and, like most pre-colonial societies in northern Nigeria, mining and metal work was an industry that attracted the labour of specialists who organised themselves into guilds with the *Sarkin Makeri* as the head up to the twentieth century.

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[211]Kirk-Greene, A. H. M 'The Major Currencies in Nigerian History'. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 2: 1, 142 – 144, Dec. 1960; information obtained during group interview from Labando (60 years old) and Yakubu Mamuru (45 years old), Unguwan Talum, 16/07/2007

[212]See, Alagoa, E. J and Ade-Ajayi, J. F in Ajayi and Crowder (ed.) *History of West Africa, vol.1* London, 1971, pp. 291 – 298

[213]Johnson, H. A. S. The Fulani Empire of Sokoto: Chapter Fifteen 'Trade and the Economy', http://www.amanaonline.com/Sokoto/sokoto_15.htm, 12/30/2007, p. 3

Pottery Making

Pottery making, being the first synthetic material to be discovered by man, and its significance as part of the handicraft industry and trade during the pre-colonial period in and outside Kiri area, lied in the fact that the end product (i.e., the clay pot shaped in different forms or sizes), was practiced and overseen by ranks of specialist and guilds who achieved this through three main traditional methods of pottery making as obtained across sub-Saharan Africa.[214] These methods or techniques involved the moulds technique when the body of a pottery were fashioned out of another body of a pot; the coil technique from which vessels are formed by creating a circular base upon one coil after another and smoothened by hand; the pinch method, which lumps of clays are continuously pulled outward and upward to shape and thin the lumps.[215] Of these three methods, the mould technique was well known among peoples of the north-eastern parts of Nigeria. The origin of this technique was not known but, according to M. Cardew the technique can be traced to "Near Eastern" regions of Africa where the "technique of beaten metalwork in copper, brass and silver"[216] may have started. The technique of pottery making as practiced among the Dera in Kiri area generally followed the mould technique in addition to the potters' simplicity and elegance of form to convey the beauty of the pot. Because, as Cardew further explained, that, peoples of the Nigerian area decorated pots 'with fine textures, few marks that emphasized shapes as nature does with fruits or flowers . . . .'[217] Beside the Dera, among the Lunguda and Yungur particularly,

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[214]Leoni, D and Prichett, J 'Traditional Hausa Pottery in Zaria City', *Savanna*, 7 (1), 1978, p. 4

[215] Ibid

[216] Cardew, M: Pioneer Pottery, 1973, p. 92 as quoted in Leoni and Prichett, op cit., p. 6

[217] Cardew, M 'Nigerian Traditional Pottery', *Nigeria*, 39, 199, 189 – 201, 1952

women were the pot makers. While among the Tangale and Waja, men were involved in pot making especially for storage and some utensils for cooking or corollaries to agriculture and symbols for religious ceremonies or festivals,[218] particularly among Dera women potters.[219]

The making of pots therefore, since the earliest times up to the twentieth century, was exclusively women's hobby because potteries were normally for cooking hence, a hearthside activity of women in Kiri area. While the availability of high quality clay for pottery making was no problem in Kiri area (i.e., in terms of nearness and extraction methods), it was equally interwoven within the culture and religion of the people inside Kiri chiefdom.[220] Therefore pottery production amongst these groups, involved usually the collection of clays at the end of the rainy season. These enabled potters identify clays with the right thermal shock, resistance and proper plasticity for fabrication. Thus, after the identification of the right clay which was often in clay pools after they are washed down from higher ground and collected on site, thereafter, the clay was screened with baskets and fine loin cloths and piled in calabashes, while the residues are thrown away.

The rest procedure was continued at home where the clay is stored in a weathered old pen with the required measure of grog from grinded pot shreds, then an inner hole made to allow for water to be poured inside.[221] The potter kneads the lump mass gradually into the appropriate plastic state and covered with damp fresh grasses. The kneading process was further done by treading on the moist-mass before formed into the

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[218]Rosedale, op cit., pp. 16 – 20; this instance was also narrated by Mallama Lukudare Mabi of Unguwan Sabo Pegi, Kiri, 22/11/2006, 87 years old

[219]Information obtained during fieldwork from 10 – 14 October, 2006 in Kiri town

[220]Mallam Lukudare Mabi, op cit.,

[221]*Ibid*

required article.[222] This procedure however ends one coil placed on another to build a pot which was finished after the pot was scraped sanded to remove any surface irregularities with smooth stone or gourd, and decorated several roulettes before fired. The firing process therefore, commenced early in the day or late in the evening when wood, cow dung, twigs or dry grass, corn sterns, or locust bean pods were used.[223] The fired pot was therefore the decisive hurdle in pottery production among potters especially, women because the successes of firing depended on their communal efforts besides the weather,[224] as obtained in Kiri area. After the fired processes were completed, the potter added individual touches to the different sizes and shapes of pots crafted. For example, the surface of a pot was coated with grinded paste of shred pots residues, mixed with red coloured ink made from the red stocks of sorghum (i.e. the *njigari*), until the impervious strength of the pots increased. This exercise may take at least a day or two before the pots are allowed to dry, and then taken to the market or kept as cooking wares, and aesthetic.[225] Failure to complete these procedures the potter was sanctioned by the guild members.[226] Pottery therefore, as an occupational specialization during the pre-colonial periods, was also an integrated socio-economic and socio-cultural phenomenon in the lives of the different language groups inside Kiri chiefdom, particularly the Dera, the Yungur, and the Tangale and Waje, and the *Lungudawa.*

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[222]Igwio, B. N op cit., pp. 36 – 37; there were traditional or ritual and religious procedures carried out during this processes but, were not revealed to the researcher. This was however due to inconsistencies in the untimely period during fieldwork

[223]Mallam Lukudare Mabi, op cit.,

[224]Igwilo, op cit., p. 42

[225]Ibid

[226]Ibid

Carving and Carpentry

The pre-colonial carving and carpentry industries became an important component of the pre-colonial economy in Kiri chiefdom, particularly among the Dera where they provided a wide range of domestic utensils, tools and instruments. Worthy of note were calabashes, mortar and piston, wooden hoe handles, canoes and paddles, and wooden beds. While the uses of these items during the pre-colonial period ranged between the preservation of foodstuffs and solemnization of social contracts like marriages.[227]

The craft of calabash, canoe and wooden bed manufacture in Kiri chiefdom therefore, involved specialized forms of handicraft production and transaction which were controlled by a guild of women and men carvers.[228] For instance, calabash making went with specific designs and names associated with particular calabashes. The *ashi* calabash for example; carved from gourd and cut half sized of hollowed interior was designed with abstract or intricate lines on the outer surface. It served as a meal bowl or placed as a decorative item in the room of a newly married wife.[229] The *jido*, a calabash shaped in a plate–like form was also designed with abstract lines and reptiles, birds and fishes. The *jido* was however used for decorative and storage purposes, its storage role been particularly vital.[230] The *dadadala*, a large bowl-like calabash was designed with simple three struck of lines or without lines at all on the inside and the outside. This calabash was used to sift grains.

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[227]Labando, op cit.,

[228]Mallama Kwanero Samila, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri. 02/11/2006, 62 years old

[229]Mallama Worin Pukuma, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri. 02/11/2006 58 years old

[230] Ibid

Lastly, the *klakla* a carved gourd like the *jido* was specifically made to decorate the home or included in a bridal shower of a new bride.[231] These calabashes were all carved with designs of individual uniqueness and made for specific purposes, which were generally made from the gourd; a spherically shaped and fleshy fruit commonly found in bushes or cultivated and harvested by both men and women. The first point of contact with the master craft men and women was the home or market places where they carved and sold as dried-uncut or cut without any design (see plate 2, Appendix A) and within the preserve of women.

Carpentry as a handicraft industry, took the form of canoe and bed making. This industry however became an important pre-colonial economic enterprise that thrived in Kiri area up to the twentieth century. Canoe making therefore, a handicraft limited to riverine communities was an uncompromised,[232] considering our period under study. Thus, the manufacture of canoes and their component parts like the paddle was reserved for men who fail large tree trunks (i.e. the baoboa tree) of suitable quality from the bush, before the process of carving the trunk of wood into a canoes and paddles. As reported by Temple, canoes makers exported their trades annually to other riverine communities as woodcutters and canoe men.[233] The handicraft industry and the circumstance in which it developed was an indication that, some form of economic interrelationship was established between communities within the Gongola River Basin and beyond. As a

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[231]Rosedale, op cit., p. 42

[232]Abba, A History of Yola, 1809 – 1914, Zaria, 2003, p. 18; Ekundare, R. O *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860 – 1960*, New York, 1973, p. 42

[233]Temple, op cit., p. 49; See also Abba, op cit.,

result, fishermen and their ideas were disseminated through the river routes, making the canoe an invaluable asset that led to a successful fish industry.

The craft of wooden bed before colonialism in Kiri chiefdom was an important sector of the handicraft industry, which employed the expertise of specialists who manufacture in wooden bed from the *tamarindus indica* or *tsamiya* tree, and foams made out of the *burbanan* or *andropogon gayanus* grass and calico. The finished bed was exchanged with either grains or luxurious items like carpets and the *daura* cloth from Brono and Kano respectively.[234] Through the wooden bed did not receive the attention canoe making and calabash carving did, the relevance of beds in Kiri society during the pre-colonial period cannot be over-emphasized because, wooden beds formed an important item in the material culture of the different language groups within Kiri area. Thus, the production of these items established the fact that, the pre-colonial economies of Kiri and its environs developed over centuries until the twentieth century.

Cloth Making

Cloth making in Kiri area up to the twentieth century was a limited economic activity, because of the lack of the technology involved in textile industry. Though this industry thrived in areas where the cotton plant and threads were found (i.e., Kano, the Jukun territories and Tiv land), the manufacture of textiles however became a wide-spread activity in Kiri area after the long distance trade reached and developed within the Gongola River Valley Region by the mid-eighteenth century. However, before this period, the Dera in Kiri area were known to have used barks as cloths or remained

[234] Karyawa, op cit.,

naked.[235] Rosedale however, after his assessment of the Dera emphasized that though some form of cloth culture had developed by the late nineteenth century; the loin cloth and short blue kilt with white borders worn by men and young women.[236] An indication that, probably the textile industry had developed in Kiri area improved or brought in from both Tiv land and *Kasar* Hausa. But by the late nineteenth century, the cloth industry in Kiri area had developed because of the emergence of the simply loom, cloth dyers from Kano and merchants. Thus, the production of cloth was taken over by both men and women cloth weavers who not only employed spinning, weaving and dyeing of cloths, they equally engaged in the trade of cloths which became a household item among people in Kiri and its environs.[237] The value cloth therefore in Kiri area became measured by the number of cloths one possessed, quantity used as remittance to tax payment, tributes and dowry where rolls of loin-cloths are presented to a bride during marriage.[238]

In our final analysis, the different handicraft industries and their products discussed became the foundation on which the different people in Kiri area accepted the various levels of the pre-colonial economy that grew and developed, before it was distorted and replaced after colonial rule was entrenched. Therefore, in our subsequent chapter we shall examine how colonialism affected these pre-colonial handicraft industries with the view to see how Kiri, as a society was either transformed or left in the dilemma of the colonial exigencies.

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[235] Kondeni, op cit.,

[236]Rosedale, op cit., p. 15; see also Ekundare, op cit., Abubakar, S 'Relations between Borno and Fombina before 1901', in Usman and Alkali (ed.), op cit., p. 220; Abba, op cit., p. 17; Abubakar, 2008, op cit., p. 23 and Temple, op cit., p. 215

[237]Rosedale, op cit.,

[238]Temple, op cit., p. 215

Trade and Commerce in Kiri Chiefdom:

Trade and commerce especially, in agricultural and non-agricultural products up to the twentieth century in Kiri chiefdom, combined to form an important aspect of the pre-colonial economy. Though paucity of evidences marred our near understanding of these economic activities, we were however able to have glimpses of these activities from commentaries in official colonial reports, ethno-anthropological studies and the few contemporary studies. Thus, pre-colonial trade and commerce in the Gongola River Valley Region hence, Kiri chiefdom in particular, similar to what was obtained in *Kasar* Hausa, Borno and the Lower Benue Basin. Three levels of trade and commerce were nonetheless identified during our period under consideration. These included the local, regional and long distant trades.[239]

In these levels, the exchange of goods grew because trade was determined more by the basic facts of geography and the gradual improvement in communication networks,[240] as was the case with the intricate land routes and waterways like the *Gwalala*. These networks of routes however, had had long histories of linking people and communities across the Gongola Basin that impacted greatly on the Dera in Kiri area.

Trade Routes

The Bauchi-Yola land route from the north-west of the Gongola River, according to Rosedale was one of important trade routes that proceeded via Gombe region and entered Komo an ancient settlement of predominantly Hausa traders which was located few miles west of Dera territory on the River Gongola. This route, though a seasonal footpath, followed the southward flow of the river into Numan on the banks of the Benue

[239]Hamman, 1983, op cit., p. 72

[240]Johnson, 2007, op cit., p. 3

River. It however diverted eastward through Yungur territory to connect the Yola route via Namtari. This trade route was always excellent during the dry season but, very marshy during the rains.[241] Thus, by the fifteenth century when most trade routes in Hausa land and Borno region had emerged into fairly closed networks of land routes, the Bauchi to Yola land route and vice versa not only served the Gongola valley region and the Benue river regions with traders and goods, it also served the rest of West Africa.[242] During this period, other land routes connected the Bauchi to Yola and Yola to Bauchi trade route. Of these connecting trade routes was the Kiri-Banjiram-Shelleng-Guyuk-Gombe route before it reached Bauchi hence, *Kasar* Hausa; the Kiri-Numan-Namtari-Yola routes.

Worthy of note among these land routes was the land route from Yola to Nafada and Kano, which branches off the Bauchi-Yola land route near Lanu and Debba Habe another Hausa colony of traders situated north of Dera territory.[243] This route however, connects Kiri area via the Kiri-Shelleng-Shani-Biu land route which, like the Bauchi to Yola land route was an important footpath along the north-western axis of the Gongola and the Hawal Rivers. This route moreover, continued towards north-east to link the Kano and Borno land routes. Two important land routes that formed the major trade routes to enter our study area by the twentieth century.[244] Furthermore, it was these trade routes tracks of many traders and cattle drovers were known to have passed but, hardly a trade route that significantly added to the material trade of Kiri area because, Shelleng

[241] Rosedale, op cit., p. 25

[242] Johnson, op cit.,

[243] Rosedale, op cit.,

[244] Ibid, p. 27

was one of the biggest market that attracted traders on the banks of the *Gwalala*. This market however dawdled in importance due the difficulties traders and cattle drovers encountered when they want to cross to smaller markets on the right banks of the Gongola River.[245] The other important land route and access through which traders reached Numan southwards of Kiri area was the Gongola waterways that flowed into the Benue and adjoined foot tracks which were mostly used by Hausa traders and middlemen who entered Kiri area after they most have bought grains and sylvan products, and exchanged with European products.

Regional Trade

The regional trade, as a pre-colonial economic system of activities, did not suffer or differ from the nature of the local trade system. This was because of the numerous land routes (i.e., footpaths) and waterways (i.e., the *Gwalala* which transverse many major towns and villages), and the volume of commodities which circulated the system to reach across different ecological regions especially, beyond the Gongola valley region. Thus, the land routes beside been an extension of the local land routes that linked the different regional trade routes towards the north and south particularly, the Bauchi to Yola and vice versa through the Gombe region before it processed to Kano and other parts of Hausa land and Borno, also connected the lower Benue basin to as far as the Jukun territory. On these routes, the donkey and carriers of the various commodities of these trade routes were the visible vehicles apart from slaves who also served as carriers and commodities of trade. While on the waterways, canoes or *abara* moved up and down the river with occasional stops in river ports like Shelleng and Kiri.

[245] Rosedale, op cit., p. 26

In addition to these, the barter system was the commonest form of transaction and a standardized currency (the cowry, the *taje*, *leppi* or rolls of loin cloth, etc.) were accepted and used as medium of exchange. But of importance here, were the commodities of trade, how trade and traders were organized. For instance, the dominant traders on these routes were Hausa and Kanuri traders from the north-eastern and north-western regions of *Kasar* Hausa and Kanuri territory. They mostly organized themselves in big groups called *Ayari*, with a *Madugu* as the head of a particular *Ayari* (otherwise called caravan). A caravan therefore, beside the *Madugu* was accompanied by a guide who was a regular traveller on the agreed route to follow. Moreover, the caravan also travels with carriers who may not necessarily be from the region within which the caravan entered. The need for this arrangement was for nothing less than for security because, most of the commodities involved in this trade routes were costly items. Thus armed escorts were always regular features of an *Ayari* as they moved from one region into another.[246] The major articles for trade on these trade routes were as those available in the Gongola valley region before the nineteenth century. These articles ranged between the varieties of agricultural goods, cotton cloths (i.e., the *daura* from Kano), fish from the Lake Chad region, salt and *natron*, ivory and slaves, and other valuable items such as carpet from North Africa, leather from Kano and Katsina, etc.

As a matter of fact, the regional trade and routes became lucrative and frequently travelled. Hence, its contribution to pre-colonial Kiri chiefdoms' economy cannot be over-emphasized because it extensively led to the entrance and settlement of immigrant groups, which also resulted in the change in the demography of settlements like Kiri

[246] See Abubakar, 2008, op cit., p. 114 and Lovejoy, P. E *Caravan of Kola: the Hausa kola trade, 1700 – 1900*, Zaria, 1980, pp. 101 – 106

chiefdom and new dimension to trade, when inhabitants rather than produce for subsistence purposes, cultivated crops and manufactured goods for exchanges. That was why the entrance and settlements of immigrant groups like the *Kakanda* and *Kebbawa* fishermen organized themselves into groups and so on.[247] Apart the presence of the *Kakanda, Kebbawa* and *Nupawa* in Kiri as fishermen and fish traders, the Lala and Yungur entered as blacksmiths and miners, and potters who traded their skills and products in Kiri to obtain grains and fishes. Similarly exchanges of skills and goods emerged between the Lower Benue Region (i.e. from the Jukun of Kwararafa, Batta and Bachama people), from where cotton cloths, salt and agricultural products were exchanged with peoples of Kiri area and regions towards the north.[248] Therefore, the varied nature of commodities in particular exchanged however; was an indication the regional trade system played an important role. This system also provided the easiest means through which cultures and ideas were spread quickly between regions.[249] Hence, the Hausa culture and language had wide influences on the different language groups in societies like Kiri chiefdom. The development therefore, of the regional trade before the twentieth century was only possible based on the intricate network of land routes and waterways. As a result, settlements and markets were established that attracted people as well as traders from different regions within the Nigerian area.

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[247]Abubakar, 2008, op cit., p. 115

[248]See Hamman, op cit., pp. 76 -- 80

[249]Abubakar, 1980, op cit., p. 220; Alagoa and Ade-Ajayi, op cit., p. 229

Long Distant Trade (*Fatauci*)

The substantial evidences of the long distance trade system into Kiri area undoubtedly, were the results of numerous studies on the economic histories of states and societies in the West African region, northern Nigeria and consequently the Sokoto Caliphate.[250] These studies obtained valuable proof and gave us insight into the intricate nature of the long distant trade system from the earliest times. Thus, like every region or area touched by the demand and supply of the long distant trade, the Gongola River Valley Region hence, Kiri area were caught up in the web. The factors responsible included the numerous links of connected routes that served as channels of communication, and the article of trade that were put for offer hence, attracted the attention of distant and near neighbours.[251]

The Bauchi-Yola and Yola-Shelleng-Gombe-Kano trade routes, which connected the north with the Gongola River Valley Region and the Lower Benue Region, their importance cannot be over-emphasized because of the roles they played up to the twentieth century. Nevertheless, these routes emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when increased long distant trade activities began.[252] The first visible signs of links through the long distant trade routes with Kiri area however, cannot be ascertained but, evidences indicated a that earlier contacts with peoples of the Lower Benue Basin peoples of the Upper Benue had been established in the twelfth century.[253] Commodities that entered this trade system and finally reached Kiri area were more or less those as in

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[250] For detailed studies see Adamu, op cit

[251] Abubakar, op cit., p. 109

[252] See, Zeleza, (Introduction), op cit., pp. 14 – 16

[253] For details, see Usman and Alkali (ed.), op cit. pp. 217 – 221; Abubakar, 1980, op cit.,

the local and regional trade system. However, there were instances these goods commanded prominence because of their intrinsic quality and demand that met the luxurious desires of the aristocrats. For instance, the commonest and valuable commodities on these trade routes were grains, iron bits, ivory, and slaves which were exported towards the north. While imports from the north included, military equipment from Hausa land and Borno, consumables such as sewn and untailored cloths (e.g. the calico), silk materials, paper, mineral salts like the *natron* or potash and camphor, rings, anklets and bracelets, etc.

These items, though met the needs of aristocrats, they also satisfied the desires of the lower class especially, in Kiri area up to the twentieth century. These commodities also attracted considerable high prices even though they were in small quantities. Also, their transportation over long distances were influenced or affected by dangers of the routes. Moreover, there were indications that most commodities involved in the long distant trade system had regional preferences. For example, salt was demanded from the Jukun territories, luxurious items from Hausa land and Borno.[254] This trade system, although in the hands of men, few women also participated not as *Madugus* but as cooks, companions or prostitutes and porters.[255] The dominant group who monopolized the long distant commerce were the Hausa and Kanuri, leaving the distribution and marketing of the goods in the hands of the indigenous traders.[256] While the Hausa language, beside the Dera dialect was the language of commerce.[257]

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[254] Kondeni, op cit.,

[255] See Lovejoy, op cit.,

[256] Abubakar, op cit., p. 83

[257] Kondeni, op cit.,

The average *Ayari* on the long distant trade route though, organized in large groups with a *Madugu* as the head of a caravan train (*Ayari*),[258] were as A. G. Hopkins and P. E. Lovejoy posited, resembled an army convoy,[259] in spite of the fact that during the colonial period the *Ayari* was conspicuously side-lined after the introduction of the compulsion engine driven vehicles.

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[258]Abubakar, op cit., p. 114

[259]Hopkins, op cit., p. 67

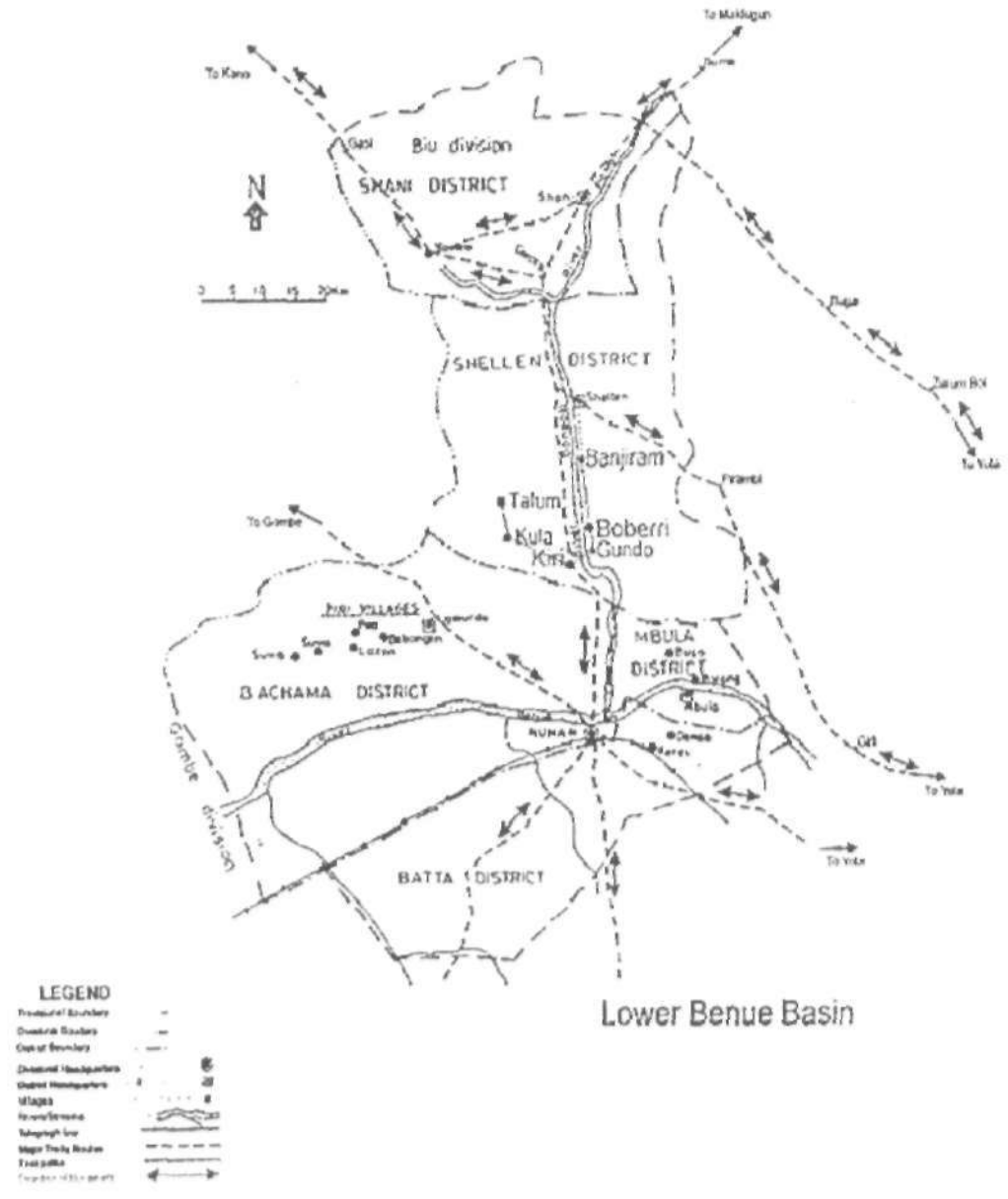


Fig. 3: Major Trade Routes within the Gongola and Benue River Valley Regions

Source: Abubakar, S. (1977) *Lamibe of Fombina*, Zaria,

Mode and Medium of Exchanges

The question whether practical and extensive trade was affected in Kiri chiefdom before colonial thus, increased the effectiveness of the various mode and medium of exchanges depended on the evidences to this regard. However, the dominant mode and medium of exchanges, that is, the barter system and the use of commodity or foreign currencies such as grains, fowls, goats, loin cloth (the *leppi*), and *taje* (iron bars); the cowries, and minimal amounts of European currencies like the British Pound, the Theresa Marie Dollar and the Dutch Mark. Although these latter currencies were rear, just as the traditions of origin of the Dera narrated of internal and external trade in Kiri area, detailed evidences on how certain vital commodities were acquired in the past has given further insight into the nature of trade and commerce before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate hegemony in the eighteenth century. Therefore, barter system which was used essentially until the late eighteenth century, did not hinder the smooth exchanges of goods by the apparent lack of a monetary system. Rather, by the nineteenth century, iron bars and strip or rolls of cloth began to appear as few of the major currencies in the Gongola River Valley Region. Consequently, these items facilitated the exchanges of goods especially, scarce European goods.

According to W. O. P. Rosedale, the barter system of exchange became a confused and uncomfortable manner of transaction especially, between the indigenous people and early European merchants. Nevertheless, the early European traders insisted and demanded that their goods be exchanged for the agricultural commodities because, it was the 'best' means of exchange than the use of European currencies.[260] Nevertheless,

[260]Rosedale, Ibid

by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a local banking system developed whereby, leading individuals in the community collected and stored the *taje*, *leppi* and *daura*, and hoes as stores of value.[261] These varied items adopted as currencies however remained the dominant and accepted medium of exchange through which trade and the rudiments of commerce were established until the twentieth century.[262] This situation was only made possible in Kiri area because traders regarded the use of foreign currencies as articles of trade with suspicion.[263] As a result, the *leppi*, *daura*, grains and other commodity currencies found their way back as medium of exchange but, by the later part of the twentieth century, they were discriminated against as unworthy mediums for exchange by the Colonial State.[264]

Commenting on one of the frequently used local currencies the *taje*, among language groups in the Upper and Lower Benue Basin which included the Gongola Valley Region from the eighteenth up to the twentieth centuries, W. B. Baikie explained that, '...far from being of recent introduction, they (the *taje*) were most probably of indigenous origin...'.[265] Thus, given the time and context Baikie observations most have been an indication that, the *taje*, the *leppi* and the *daura* obviously were widely used and, it is our opinion here that the locally adopted and accepted commodity currencies gained popularity to the extent that, they usurp the introduced European currencies. These circumstances became acceptable in the wider aspect of trade and commerce between

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[261] Kondeni, op cit

[262] For details, see Kirk-Greene, 1960, op cit., Ekundare, op cit., pp. 187 – 192

[263] Kirk-Greene, ibid, p. 147; Ekundare, ibid, p. 187

[264] See Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[265] Baikie, op cit., (Appendix B), p. 416

inhabitants inside Kiri area especially, Hausa traders and early European merchants. Therefore, the existence and uses of these currencies up to the mid-twentieth century can be said to have contributed greatly to the socio-economic integration and growth of peoples within Kiri area. Consequently, this created the atmosphere for meaningful pre-colonial economy.

Trade and Market System in Kiri Chiefdom

The fact that both the modes and mediums of exchanges determined the levels of transactions in the various markets inside Kiri area nevertheless, created a symbiotic relationship,[266] and despite misinterpretation of the nature of trade, commerce and currencies.[267] Therefore, the market system in most societies in Africa had always been a greater fixture of life among peoples, as was in pre-colonial Kiri area. Although the physical presence of markets may have actually started since the earliest time, the organized market fixtures in Kiri area was established in the mid-nineteenth century as avenue for the exchange of goods particularly, agricultural produce within specific periods and networks that formed the core of the spatial organization of a rural societies.[268] The markets or *kasuwoyi* therefore, were connected by the annual flows of commodities and traders (i.e., producers and sellers) who shaped the system, and in which the local economy functioned.[269] The Kiri market hence, emerged as a result of the nature of volume of goods supplied. This was based on the fact that, the seasonal

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[266]Curtin, P. D *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, 1984

[267]Ibid

[268]Gana, J. A "The Locational Pattern, and Functions of Periodic Markets in Zaria Division, Nigeria", *Savanna*, 5:2, 1976, p. 163

[269]Ibid

availability of agricultural produce in the earlier parts of twentieth century *Fombina* communities, were produced as required,[270] because farming was never asserted by authority to produce but for mere subsistence.[271] Even though 'it was customary to plan for disasters when crops were made available every year than the community could consume'.[272] Consequently, the surplus crops produced were traded to other villages that lacked food. This may have given rise to the periodic impulse for markets, rather than randomly fixed moments to make available the surplus crops in a market,[273] hence the system of fixed market days in Kiri area which emerged in the eighteenth century. Thus, as R. O. Ekundare illustrated, the days were determined also by distances, number of participants (i.e., villages and traders), and the nature of goods favourably offered in a market,[274] this been the situation that led to the emergence of the pre-colonial market in Kiri area.

The Kiri market, besides other surrounding markets such as the Wuro Yanka, Bakta, Gundo, Boberre, Talum, Farin Daso, Wuro Ladde and Kem markets had varied days. The Kiri market however gained its prominence after Hausa traders and the early European merchants turned it into a Zango and a trading station, and an important land route area to buy and transport agricultural products.[275] It became one of the vital markets in Kiri area and specialized in the sale of all goods (particularly agricultural), and before

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[270] Abubakar, 2008, op cit., p. 106

[271] Ibid, p. 107

[272] Hopkins, op it., p. 54

[273] For details of this phenomenon in most pre-colonial African societies, see Hopkins, ibid, p. 55

[274] Ekundare, op cit., p. 50

[275] Kondeni, op cit.,

it was strengthened after the collaboration between Hausa and European merchants; markets like the Gundo and Boberre also sold grains and the *rana kasowa* of these markets come up on Wednesdays and Thursdays with two weeks interval.[276] While Talun and Kem markets had no fixed *rana kasowa*, their *ranakun kasowa* were mostly held after every harvest when most farm produce are brought to the markets and sold.[277] The Wuro Yanka, Bakta, Farin Daso and Wuro Ladde markets, though all settlements established by Fulbe and Hausa immigrants after the Jihad, these settlements mostly differed from the autochthonous once like Gundo and Boberre, Talun and Kem where the Fulbe and Hausa immigrants were not cattle owned. Thus, the large majority of inhabitants in the former settlements who were Fulbe'n depended upon the non-Fulbe autochthonous and Hausa traders for their food supply.

This not only encouraged trade in foodstuff and the exchange of dairy products but, also the growth of a regular market system by the twentieth century. Moreover, these markets by the mid-twentieth century had developed intricate market systems based on the principle of necessities to supply local agricultural produce and host to numerous buyers and sellers from surrounding settlements. Hence, the market in Kiri area before the twentieth century played significant roles that promoted trade and commerce, particularly within the regional and long distant trade systems which were influenced and affected by internal and external developments peculiar in Kiri chiefdom. Therefore, the major internal factors which affected trade and the market system inside Kiri chiefdom were the abundance of agricultural produce and the intricacies of the nature of diplomatic

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[276] Seaman Gundo, Gundo village, Kiri. 30/06/2006, 55 years old

[277] Kondeni, op cit.,

relationships established which Kiri chiefdom took advantage of until the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Our discussion of the pre-colonial economy in Kiri chiefdom up to the twentieth century revealed that Kiri area, although recognized as a cross road between the Caliphate to the north-east and the Benue River Basin to the south, it was also an important route mostly plied by Hausa caravans and Fulbe drovers who contributed immensely to its unique and diverse pattern of pre-colonial economy up to the twentieth century. An economy that was centred on the subsistent and commercial production of agricultural goods because of how land especially was organized and control that created an entire structure of an economy peculiar to Kiri chiefdom. Furthermore, the subsistent/commercial based pre-colonial economy that was integrated formed an economic pattern pushed by the impetus of surpluses appropriated from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The interaction that emerged therefore created a symbiotic relationship in the pre-colonial economy that developed in Kiri area. This allowed for regular appropriation through trade that further opened or expanded certain mode of production and disposal that equally provided the early European merchants and colonialists with an economic foundation that helped sustain the 'new' political system which they carved but, which had some destructive effects that changed the local economy in Kiri chiefdom to serve the needs of the British Colonial Government. It is therefore, the thrust of this thesis to position side-by-side the different scenarios of the pre-colonial economy in Kiri chiefdom with the colonial economy, in order to analyse the consequences of the relationship that existed as they impacted on agriculture during the colonial period.

CHAPTER THREE
ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL RULE

Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt is made at evaluating how colonialism was enthroned in relation to how it also facilitated the entrenchment of British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, with particular reference to Kiri chiefdom. This historical development began with the initiative made by rulers, politicians, and civil servants of the colonial powers who put pressure on their government to acquire colonies for strategic, diplomatic nationalistic and economic reasons.[278] These reasons led to the subjugation, suppression or oppression of the acquired colonies, hence the capture of the Eastern Emirate of Yola and the establishment of colonial rule by the first decade of the twentieth century. Consequently, this development sent rippled effects on the non-emirate and yet un-conquered areas where the instituted indirect rule system further strengthened the British hold on areas later considered British 'spheres of influence'.

British Colonial Presence in Yola and Neighbouring Territories by 1900

European presence in Northern Nigeria and consequently the Gongola River Valley Region, hence, Kiri area has been severally argued to be economically motivated, as a result of the early presence of European merchants and commercial enterprises

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[278]Alahira, H. A. 'Merchant Capital and British Expansion into the Hinterland of Northern Nigeria by 1900 A.D'. *ZAHIR Journal of the Department of History*, **2**:1, June, 2002, p. 152. Pedler, F. *The Lion and the Unicorn in Africa: the United Africa Company, 1787 – 1931*, London, 1974; Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London, 1972 (Reprinted 1990); Barraclough, G. *An Introduction to Contemporary History*, Middlesex, 1967 (Reprinted 1976); Bukharin, N. *Imperialism and World Economy*, London, 1972 and Watts, M. *Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, Berkeley, 1983, pp. 149 – 186

before 2 September 1901.[279] This encounter intensified after the 'travels and discoveries . . .' of Dr. H. Barth, who 'extensively' exploited the Southern Sudan hence, his accounts of the fascinated and enthralled discoveries that opened the floodgates for other European explorers and merchants. Besides this expedition which was financed by Her Majesty's Government, the Royal Niger Company (RNC) equally financed expeditions and investigations in the nineteenth century. Worthy of note among these sponsored expeditions was the one into the upper reaches of the River Benue to as far as Yola; led by William Wallace, an agent of the RNC in 1883, after which he claimed to have secured the Lamido's permission to trade in Yola wherein he got a piece of land to erect a factory.[280] Another account of early European expedition towards the Yola was an investigation party led by officials of the RNC. This party was tasked to introduce and promote the production of rubber among the Kentu people in Lau territory, and persuade on them.[281] In view of these activities and their aftermath, the RNC's political responsibilities rather than its commercial however came to an end in 1899.

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[279]This date and year marked the British Colonial Government's absolute subjugation, oppression and exploitation of Northern Nigeria, and the beginning that opened the floodgates for British patrols, pacification and assessments of the rest of the north-eastern region, particularly the chiefdom of Kiri and the Gongola River Valley as a whole.

[280]Njeuma, M. Z. *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa)*, Yaounde, 1978, p. 155; Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 'Expansion on the Benue, 1830 – 1900: a review of the exploration and commercial history of the River Benue, with special reference to the administration of the Royal Niger Company'. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1:3, 1958, P. 235

[281]For full details of earlier European enterprising, exploitative and missionary activities within the Niger/Benue Basins, the Upper Benue and Upper/Lower Gongola River Valley Region, see Schauenburg, E (ed.), *Reisen in Central Afrika von Mungo Park bis auf Barth und Vogel*, 1859 and *Schilderung der Reisen und Entdeckungen des Dr. Edouard Vogel in Central Afrika*, edited by Wagner, H., 1860 for Vogel's account. *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the River Kwora and Benue*, by Baikie, W. B., 1856 for Baikie; Flegel, E first expedition (1879) in the *Royal Geographical Society* in the 1880 lecture; Ashcroft's expedition diary in the *Church Missionary Society's Intelligencer*. For Flegel's subsequent travels in Adamawa, see his *The Niger/Benue: brief on Africa*, 1890. See also his *Lose Blatter aus dem Tagebuche meines Haussa-Freundes und Reisegefahrten*, 1885. Eugen Zintgraff's *Nord-Kamerun*, 1895; *Up the Niger* by Captain A. F Mockler-Ferryman, 1892; *Durch-Kamerun von Sud nach Nord* by C. Morgan, 1893; von Uechtritz's expedition to Adamawa, 1893 by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene in *Journal of*

These developments occurred at a time when the Benue River Basin was at a delicate position after the various decisive agreements in Europe led to the British claim over Adamawa based on the numerous treaties which the RNC signed with the Sultan in Sokoto between 1885 to 1890,[282] as well as the Anglo-French Convention of 5 August, 1899 which led to the Say-Barua line that divided French and British spheres of influence to the north and south of the line.[283] The impact of these claims and counter-claims was the intense expedition into Adamawa territories that resulted in the conquest of Yola by 1903 with the aid of the British 2nd Northern Nigeria Regiment (NNR). This had rippling effects on the various non-emirate peoples especially, in the Gongola River Valley Region where the subsequent challenges to British colonial officials was to arrest the repeated raids on trade caravans along trade routes and, stop the slavery activities of the Lamidos in Yola and non-emirate chiefs. The chiefs, according to Sa'ad Abubakar however, responded with mixed feelings because they lived in fear hence, the coming of the British brought freedom and on the other hand, they saw the fall of Yola as an

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Historical Society of Nigeria, 1:3, 1959, pp. 86 – 98. *A Travers l'Afrique Central du Congo au Niger, 1892 – 93* by C. Maistre, and lastly for Mizon's accounts of his expedition is hard to find. The best sources are *Nos Africains* by H. Alis, 1894. While for accounts of the Royal Niger Company, see A. H. M. Kirk-Greene *Adamawa Past and Present*, London, 1958, chapter IV.

[282]This delicate position was the result of the decisive agreements reached between 1815 to 1893 i.e., the General Act of the Berlin Conference in particular, and the Act of Navigation for the Niger and its affluent to which the Free Navigation Article of 1815 Congress of Vienna, the Anglo-German Agreement of 1885 defined the spheres of British influence in the Gulf of Guinea and its supplementary agreement, which extended this spheres from the Rio del Rey river up to Yola; the Anglo-French Agreement of 1890 and the Anglo-German Agreement of 1893, both of which brought in the question of Lake Chad and the goals of the many post-Scramble expedition.

[283]Pongri, J. H 'Political Development in Northern Adamawa, 1809 – 1960: a study of the historical development of inter-group relations'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1988, p. 413

opportunity to raid caravans that passed their territories especially, along the Bauchi to Yola and, Yola through Nafada in Gombe region to Kano in Hausa land.[284]

The outcome of all these, created a situation whereby the series of expeditions sent into Adamawa territory particularly, the Gongola River Valley Region caused untold droughts which led to hunger, and migration that left a lot of settlements and their inhabitants relished in the fear of unwarranted patrols and pacification.[285] Consequently, after almost a decade of military expeditions the colonial government finally created for itself administrative structures in the form of provinces, division, and native authorities as was the case with the Yola/Adamawa Province and the 'Independent Pagan District', later called Numan Division in which the Kanakuru/Shelleng District where Kiri chiefdom was also a district.[286]

British Attack and Capture of Yola from 1901 to 1904

The attack, capture and surrender of Yola began from 2nd November 1901.[287] By 1903, the first phase of British occupation of Yola was completed.[288] Meanwhile, it was on 1 January, 1900 that Lord Lugard upon assumption of office as the top colonial administrator, he declared Northern Nigeria a Protectorate but, before this the Royal Niger Company (RNC) was relieved of its political authority, a development that allowed him retain commercial authority. From this period the British were faced with the awesome task to establish British colonial rule in the Eastern Caliphate. These tasks

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[284]Abubakar, S *The Lamibe of Fomina*, Zaria, 1977, (Revised 2008), p. 151 – 152

[285]See Kirk-Greene, 1958, op cit., p. 92; Watts, op cit., pp. 274 – 276

[286]Kirk-Greene, ibid, pp. 99 – 105; 166 – 179

[287]Abubakar, op cit., p. 146

[288] Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 56 – 65

however led to hostilities between the British colonial government and Yola Emirate. One reason of these hostilities was Lamido Zubairu's un-welcome attitude towards the RNC and British colonial interests. Therefore, in July and August 1901 after Lamido Zubairu was accused by Lord Lugard for been 'more and more impossible',[289] signalled the first 'opened' British hostilities towards Yola on 3 August, 1901. As a result, William Wallace wrote to Chamberlin the Secretary of State about Lamido Zubairu's hostile attitude towards the RNC agents that,

> *'Yola defies the government and recently sent a messenger through The Niger Company's agent . . . He has ordered the RNC to vacate their (sic) stations but, it is to allow them to trade on a hulk if they chose. They have had to haul their flag down and pay the emir 5% on all produce bought. The emir is bitterly opposed to the opening of the trade routes to Brono and will do all in his power to keep them closed'.*[290]

Hardly did Wallace receive a reply; he sent another telegram in which McClintock re-emphasized the dethronement of the Emir of Yola.[291]

These developments gave the British the reasons and impetus to accelerate their pursuit to attack and capture Yola. Thus, on 21 August 1901, William Wallace informed Colonel Morland (Commandant of the West Africa Frontier Force) at Jebba that the Secretary of State had agreed and approved the first military expedition to quail unrest in Yola Emirate.[292] By this resolve, Lord Lugard was influenced by the fact that the Benue River, although served as a means of transportation for the people also provided the

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[289]Abubakar, op cit.,

[290]Nejuma, op cit., p. 223 and fn. 3

[291]Ibid, p. 227

[292] Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 56

British the best means to reach Yola, preferably in September when the water levels must have increased thus, the only period larger steamers could operate so far up stream. Therefore, if the high waters of 1901 had been missed, it would mean to wait for another year which he was not ready to do.[293] The Yola Expedition was therefore fitted out in the rainy season of 26 August 1901 and Wallace, Lugard's deputy with 13 Officers, 2 medical personnel, 7 British NCOs, 365 rank and file, four 75mm guns, and four Maxim guns, and Colonel Morland as Commandant sailed on board the *Liberty* and *Nkissi* steamers. Between 1 and 2 of September, the expedition reached and anchored off at Yola, and the Lamido Zubairu refused to parley with the conciliatory offers put forward. Thereafter, the attack was ordered.[294] As described by Kirk-Greene and Abubakar, the attack began after the British troops ferried ashore and Yola saw ships patrolled the surrounding areas of the town which Yola cavalry and infantry charged towards the British. This move initiated by Yola was however beaten back by Maxim guns which made the Yola troops withdraw into the town in order to re-group. Soon after, the British troop opened fire on the Lamido's palace where the *Yan bindiga* (rifle men); deserters from Rabih defended the palace.[295]

However, the more experienced British troops stormed the town through twisted streets to overpower the *Yan bindiga* stationed at the *Kofar Magaji*, until the palace was reached and the last assault from rifle fire between the British and Yola troops finally led to the destruction of the palace and a mosque, and two cannons which had wrought havoc

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[293] Johnson, H. A. S. The Fulani Empire of Sokoto: **Chapter Twenty-Two**. 'A Year of Disaster', http://www.amanaonline.com/Sokoto/sokoto 22. Htm, 12/30/2007, p. 3

[294] For details, see Kirk-Greene, op cit., Abubakar, op cit., pp. 145 – 146; Johnson, op cit., pp. 3 – 5

[295] Kirk-Greene, ibid, p. 57 and Abubakar, ibid, p. 146

among the British troops were seized. Yola was hence occupied, and Lamido Zubairu fled through the western gate of the palace.[296] By the evening of the same day, the remaining defenders had surrendered.[297] Causalities on both sides ranged from Major McClintock; 37 men injured, two killed on the British side, while the Yola troop lost about 150. Among the weapons captured were the Mizon's two 9-pounder gun, 105 fused shells, 60 French rifles with cartridges, and a ton of gun powder.[298] By the end of this siege, the British reported that the fight was fierce and the event indicated that the courage and stubborn determination of the Yola troops was no match for the superior weaponry and drill of the British troops. Soon after these, Yola surrendered and Dr. Cargill was made the first temporary Resident of Yola and a detachment of 100 strong men from the 'F' Company of the Second Northern Nigerian Regiment was stationed on a hill to the north-west of Yola under the command of Captain Baker, while Deputy Superintendent of Police, Godwin was in charge of the Police.[299] The High Commissioner afterwards recalled Bobbo Ahmadu the former Lamido's brother to be installed the new Lamido, and his first duty was organize labour to construct a resident and flood of river because position fact that, pointed out that, 'McClintock threat Adamawa however continued especially from non-emirate areas like Kiri, where trade routes became closed thus threatened commercial activities of the Royal Niger Company

[296]Abubakar, ibid

[297]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 58

[298]Ibid

[299] NAK Yolaprof J.1, Yola: Later Adamawa Province Collected History, 1905 – 1931, by Strumpell, J. H. While Dr. Cargill's Residency lasted for six months and relieved by Captain Ruxton, before G. N. Barclay was appointed in April of 1902

and army barrack for the Second Northern Nigerian Regiment, who were used to pacify recalcitrant 'pagan tribes' not yet subdued.

Wallace returned to Lokoja where he was appointed Acting High Commissioner, and at the end of September published the following notice in the Northern Nigerian Gazetteer, that:

> *I, William Wallace Acting High Commissioner for the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria . . . do hereby appoint Captain F. A. Ruxton to be Acting Assistant Resident for the Yola portion of the Upper Benue and in such portion to exercise and discharge all the judicial powers and duties of a Resident. Provided, always that the said Captain F. A. Ruxton shall have no jurisdiction to hear and determine any case which may involve a sentence of death, penal servitude, deportation, imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, corporal punishment exceeding twelve stroked, or a fine exceeding £50 without pervious authority in writing or by telegram from me.*[300]

Thus, by the end of 1904, the first phase of British occupation of Yola was over but, military patrols continued for a good part of the decade of colonial rule before 'effective' subjugation of non-emirate areas on the Gongola River Valley Region was achieved.[301]

Implications of the fall of Yola for Kiri Area

By 1911 when the British had established some form of control over Yola and non-emirate areas. The unfriendly and brutal force used as measures to subjugate Fulbe authority in Yola from 2 September to 3 November 1901, had far reaching implications for non-emirate areas like Kiri chiefdom. These implications ranged from the different, but, consistent military expeditions to British consolidation of colonial rule. The first military post and garrison established in the Gongola River Valley Region was at

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[300]Kirk-Greene, *op cit.*,

[301]Pongri, op cit., p. 424

Wamdeo situated north-east of Kiri area,[302] from where the first military patrol was sent into Kiri area to deal with any recalcitrant groups or bandits responsible for attacks on trade routes. Therefore, between 17 and 21 August 1901, the Second Northern Nigeria Regiment (2nd NNR) with Lieutenant G. W. Moran as commander, Lieutenant Croft, 15 rank and files, and one Maxim gun left Lokoja from Ibi on the "*S.W. Blackswan*" to explore the Gongola River Valley Region under the guise 'Gongola Exploration Expedition'. They however, reached Numan on 25 August from where they journeyed up the *Gwalala* to reach Kombo on 9 September 1903,[303] after they had thoroughly explored the river and inhabitants without any meaningful encounter with inhabitants of settlements they came across; like Kiri.[304]

This exploration expedition party had the task to investigate the navigability of the *Gwalala* and the cultures of the different language groups. During this, Lieutenant Moran reported that the river was navigable to steamers, barges and little draught boats or canoes (the *abara*) up the 23 miles from Numan to Kiri.[305] He added also that, from the mouth of the River to as far as Kiri area, most of the inhabitants were "pagans" of a most truculent disposition, fierce and unkempt who came to the banks of the river fully armed with their bows and arrows when strangers passed by their settlements; although they never made attempts to molest strangers except when provoked. He further revealed that through reliable information, the 'natives' loathed and looted Hausa caravans to the

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[302] Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[303]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Navigation of the River Gongola, 1903' by Lieutenant G.W. Mora

[304]Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[305]Lieut. Mora, op cit.,

extent they (Hausa traders) were murdered.[306] Though Lieutenant Moran's report revealed the nature of inter-group relations within Kiri area, it nevertheless points to the fact that majority of the settlements in Kiri area had beside the autochthonous colonies of Hausa traders based at Kombo, Gasi and Kiri villages,[307] who had considerably restrained influences on the "pagans", through whom he obtained reliable economic information about the people.[308] On 16 September 1903, Lieutenant Moran led another expedition tagged the "Gongola Exploration Expedition" which marked the end of exploration expedition into Kiri area. What then were the achievements of this expedition?

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[306]Ibid

[307]The other three language groups are the Lunguda, Yungur and the Flbe Kitije'n

[308]Lieut. Mora, op cit.,

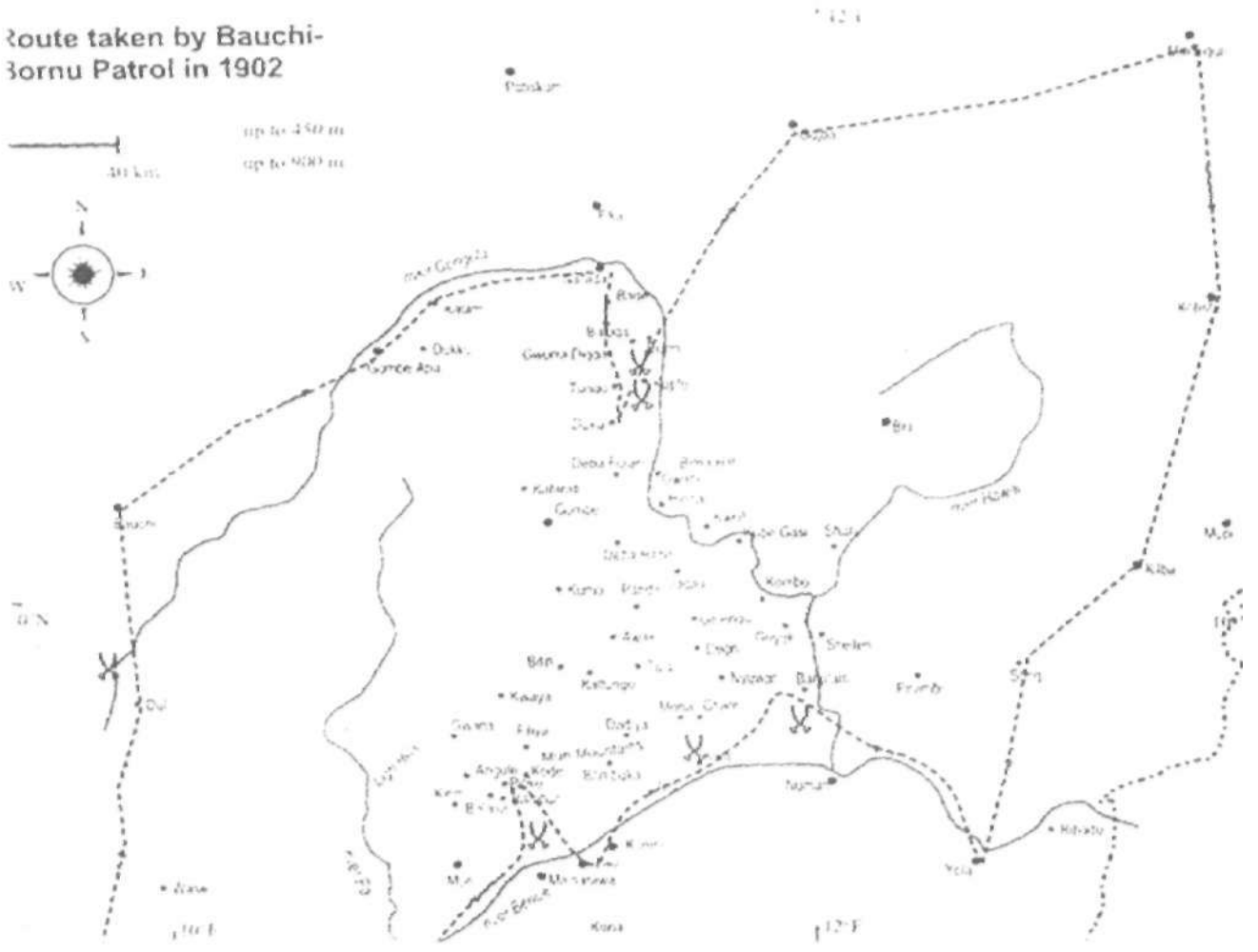


Fig. 4: Route Taken by Bauchi – Borno Patrol in 1902

Source: Adelberger, J. 'Maxims and Mountaineers-the colonial subjugation of the peoples of the Muri Mountains and adjacent regions in northern Nigeria', afrikanistik-online.de/archive/2009/1910

It is our opinion that the expedition exposed the *Gwalala* and its' environs where the highly rich potentials, in terms of abundant yields of agricultural products were readily available to be explored and exploited. Thus, this expedition might be side to be among the colonial reports on the potentials of the land and peoples in Kiri area. Therefore, in 1904 when the British began its attempts to promote its colonial agenda to re-open closed trade routes in Kiri area (that is, after numerous correspondences between the Colonial Headquarters at Zungeru and the Resident at Yola), troops were dispatched from Yola, Gujba and Bauchi garrisons. This was after E. J Lugard amplified in his report on expeditions into Kiri area, that:

> *Report on his exploration of the Gongola supports the view that, peoples of the area merited severe punishment, and until those involved murder and plunder of traders have received the required sanction; the Gongola must remain closed ....*[309]

To this report, Major Cubitt who commanded the expedition replied he actually consented and suggested the use of the Gujba and Bauchi troops. These troops together with the Resident Yola and the O.C Troop, the Political Officer Mr, Grower marched to meet at Kupto before their march down the River Gongola from the north to Banjiram, as a result would be able to cover large tracks of areas surrounding Banjiram, while the Yola troop was to march the 50 miles towards the northwest to meet the Bauchi and Gujba contingents,[310] because these routes passed through the Yungur territory whose people were not yet subdued.[311] In addition, according to G. N. Barclay this was also the shortest

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[309]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Telegram to Major T. A Cubitt; Acting Commandant 29/1/1904', by Lugard R. J

[310]Lugard, op cit.,

[311]The Yungur country however consisted of small and large settlements that bordered the Gongola River Valley to the east

and the direct route for caravans from Yola to Kano and vice versa, which also passed Kiri territory.[312] It was also these routes he insisted that were of utmost importance, and imperative to subdue the Yungur in order to secure the trade routes before they are re-opened and made safe.[313] While the O.C. Troop concurred, he also demanded for 100 carriers, 20 bags of guinea corn flour and a tentative departure date. These supplies were delivered with the departure date fixed for 28 March 1904.[314] In the same vain, the High Commissioner through the Resident Yola reminded Mr. W. F. Gower of his strict instruction that, 'His Excellency's instructions are for the opening up of the Gongola routes,... and not extended to tribes inland from the river that have no control over or are likely to interfere with the safety of the routes'.[315]

By this instruction, another expedition was sent strictly to re-open and secure only trade routes without any interference 'with tribes five miles inland'.[316] The expedition however, reached and explored its targeted areas on 13 April and returned to Yola via the *Gwalala* Valley Region. How these expeditions were stirred and accomplished can be deduced from the fact that forces of arms were responsible as instruments of direct confrontation against the people because, active rather than passive resistances were used by the different language groups against the expedition parties, when they entered their territories. This, most of the expedition parties considered aggressive hence, they

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[312]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Telegram to Captain E. M Baker, (O. C Troop), Yola; 17 March 1904', by Barclay, G. N

[313]Ibid

[314]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Telegram to the Resident Yola'

[315]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Telegram to Resident W. F. Gower, 26/3/1904', by Barclay, G. N

[316]A full text of the composition of the 'Gongola Exploration Expedition' from Zungeru, dated 31 March 1904 as reprinted and attached as Appendix I

employed the Maxim against the so-called hostile people who either stood and defended their villages and livelihood from strangers or apparently retire to the rocky hills, as was the situation with the Lala who seek refuge in the numerous caves of the Lala Plateau. While the Dera in Kiri area succumbed to the Maxim and promised not to intercept any caravan or traders that passed through the trade routes.

By 11 May 1904, these expeditions had ceased and the trade routes safe for caravans to pass.[317] It was also in 1904 that the great famine stared in the Gongola River Valley Region.[318] As a result, G. N. Barclay stressed that any further expeditions into the Gongola River Valley Region was unnecessary because, it only aggravated the effects of the famine which had hit Kiri area in 1905. Therefore, any more British colonial military presence in the region would inflict greater deprivation amongst the people.[319] Notwithstanding this, by August, another instruction was given to G. N. Barclay to embark on another military patrol, which stretched from the south of the Gongola Valley Region and the Confluence of rivers Gongola/Hawal. He was also instructed in process to either capture or disperses "a gang of freebooters" who recklessly raided caravans, and deprived them of their lives and property especially, of people and in Kiri area[320] (See map of routes taken by a British patrol in 1905).

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[317]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Telegram to the Resident, G. N. Barclay, 11 May 1904', by O. C Troop

[318] Watts, M op cit., p. 279

[319]Watts, op cit.,

[320]NAK Yolaprof E.5, 'Letter to the O.C. Troop Yola, 9 September 1904', by Barclay, G.A

The Alexander-Gosling Expedition of 1905,[321] whose task was to skirt the Adamawa territories in order to demonstrate that there was a link between African coasts from the Mediterrean to the Atlantic coasts through a wonderful system of waterways.[322] This expedition was however short-lived because the year had witnessed the ravages of the 'great famine'. This troubled Alexander-Gosling expedition because the news that came out from the Gongola River Valley Region was unpleasant. Nevertheless, the expedition went ahead and to achieve its objectives.[323] Beside the above developments, relative peace and growth of trade especial, in agriculture produce, occurred and market. As a result of this the inhabitants in Kiri area became confident of their safe movement that brought about gradual increase in trade. Hence, by 1909 no less than 609 traders had passed through Kiri area, from Kano to Yola and Yola to Kano.[324] This development continued to increase the presence of traders until it hit 2000[325]

The fore-gone examination of different expeditions into the Gongola River Valley Region, points to the fact that nothing might have changed immensely either in terms of the decreased trade transaction, nor increased markets or the provision of law and order. Instead, the outcome was that the people resisted attempts at forceful subjugation as well as all the colonial policies devised by the British to rule. Therefore, the British like the Fulbe jihadists, were seen as invaders and when they later tried to impose Fulbe rulers on

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[321]See, A. Boyd, 'From the Niger to the Nile', in which Alexander Boyd documented their last Journey of Expedition, 1912

[322]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 91

[323]Ibid, p. 92

[324]NAK Yolaprof vol.1, D.I, 'Monthly Report: Gongola District, March 1909', by Vereker, S.H.P

[325]NAK Yolaprof vol.1, D.1, 'Quarterly Report for December 1910: Gongola Division, no. 4, of Yola Province', by Vereker, S.H.P

them, the Fulbe were seen as collaborated with the British and this intensified the hatred against the Fulbe.

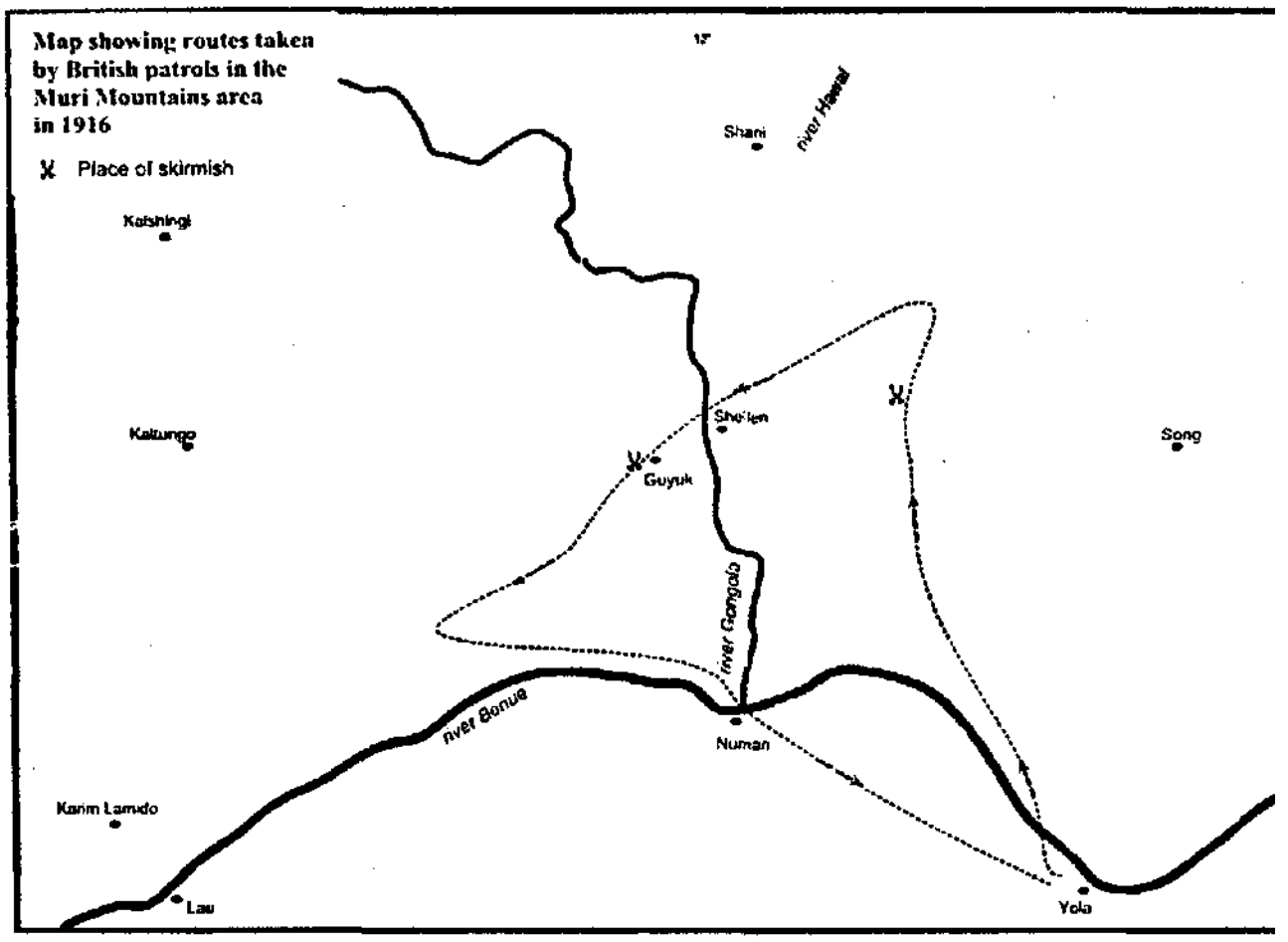


Fig. 5: British Military Patrol in 1916

Source: Adelberger, J. op cit

Consolidation of British Colonial Rule in Kiri Area, 1900 to 1913

As was with most patterns of British colonial penetration, conquest and consolidation of most societies in Northern Nigeria and Nigeria in general, the economic viabilities of these societies were also considerations. Thus Kiri area was no exception in the history of colonialism in Northern Nigeria. Though a settlement situated within a fertile undulating valley plains with blocks of hills surrounding it, the inhabitants lived as a communally independent society which was hardly or rarely conquered by its immediate neighbours, until in 1850 when Buba Yero led a Jihadists campaign into Kiri.[326] After this encounter, Kiri area however remained relatively peaceful and independent until the later 1890s, when the first European merchants entered for 'strictly' commercial purposes but, of course, we can dismiss that this was an opportunity to exploit the economic potentials of the area.

For instance, evidences indicated that the earliest European commercial penetration and exploration up the Gongola River was embarked upon by the RNC, in 1895.[327] This early activity subsequently opened the ground for British colonial occupation, after the British relieved the Company from its 'political responsibilities'. As a result of this, passive as well as active resistance were used by the different non-Fulbe autochthons to respond to British take-over and enthronement of colonial rule,[328] as

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[326]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 24

[327]Major Arnold by 1895, in a barge was the first British commercial agent to sail up the *Gwalala* until September 1897. Mr. Hewby followed in 1898 on his way to Nafada; a trade station that belonged to the RNC with a native agent called Buba Difa stationed there. For details, see, Kirk-Greene, op cit., p.45; Rosedale, op cit., p.12

[328]These early days span the periods between, 1905 to 1910 when almost all the different 'disconnected groups' within the Gongola River Valley Region, hence Kiri were formed into native Authorities

compared to the manner the British completely occupied emirate territories to non-emirate areas like Kiri chiefdom.[329]

The penetration of British-sponsored military exploration-expedition to 'open up closed trade routes' in Kiri area were however swift and ruthless,[330] nonetheless, this continued with the British colonial administrations' imposition of colonial taxes, Fulbe chiefs, forced labour, and so on, which the people resisted. The resistance was so serious that the various patrols virtually visited most of the villages in this region several times before they were brought under effective colonial control.[331] Consequently, the manner of British military expedition gradually brought peoples in the Gongola Region under British colonial rule. With these development finally completed by 1910, the institutionalization of meaningful colonial rule or native administration was set in motion and properly felt all around Kiri area from 1913 to 1955.[332]

The Development of Indirect Rule or Native Administration

When the British hoisted the Union Jack at Lokoja in January 1900,[333] British colonial agents knew very little about the people and communities in Northern Nigeria. The level of ignorance notwithstanding which was considered by British colonial agents to be suitable for the region. The system adopted was the 'Indirect Rule', which was a synthesis of the Islamic doctrine of the nineteenth century emirate administration and

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[329]Backwell, H. F (ed.) *The Occupation of Hausaland, 1900 – 1904*, London, 1927, p. 78

[330]Pongri, op cit., pp. 421 – 422

[331]See, correspondence between the High Commissioner and Resident Yola and O.C. Troop 'Gongola Exploration Expedition' (Attached in Appendix), also Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 64

[332] Kondeni, C Unguwan Jambo, Kiri. 22/11/2006, 56 years old; Kirk-Greene, ibid, pp. 177 - 179

[333]Already the Union Jack had been flying for fifteen years in Southern Nigeria after a Protectorate was declared over it in 1884/1885 and forty years over Lagos.

direct colonial intervention. Thus, from 1900 to 1913 when the system was introduced, it was however hindered by the poverty of a miniscule grant in aid only sufficient to support a diminutive cadre of political officers, few European bureaucrats (no significant standing army) and a few private European entrepreneurs left to execute the practical policies of indirect rule.[334] In 1903, the Northern Protectorate had about twenty million people, administered by fifty two European officers. Therefore, H. R. Palmer, the first Resident of Katsina Province virtually administered the Province alone, with only a few clerks to assist. In 1906, there was only one British officer for about 2,900 square miles of territory to administer, with virtually no assistant or subordinate staff (e.g., artisans, clerks, police and technician). Thus, in order to satisfy the colonial demands of political stability and fiscal self-reliance, indirect rue emerged not as a matter of practical necessity, but because the elaborate and well established emirate bureaucracy fitted very well into colonial administrative arrangements. A sort of alliance thus was forged with the ruling lineages in the emirates and guarantees were given for the sanctity of Islam by tight control on missionary activities and priority given to merchant monopolies, whose pursuit of commodity production and exchange provided the basis for colonial taxation for peasant producers.[335]

Under the Indirect Rule system, the emirs' powers were expected to be preserved and extended in order for the British to rule through these traditional rules and the numerous institutions established before colonialism. This was to give the impression that

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[334]Pongri, op cit., and Watts, M 'Peasantry, Merchant Capital and International Firms: Colonial Capitalism in Northern Nigeria'. Paper Presented at African Studies and Social Science Research Council Conference, Dakar, Dec., 2 – 4, 1980, p. 20

[335]Pongri op cit.,

the emirs and subsequently chiefs, were in charge of their territories. As we shall see later, the Indirect Rule system was however not even a diarchy made up of the British and the emirs or chiefs. The latter were only the colonial official's assistants or foremen given letters of appointment thus, made them salaried officials of the colonial government.[336] Included in their terms of appointment was the condition that they must obey the orders of the British colonial government, and any failure to comply, would entail their being stripped of their offices. Also, they had no power to appoint their own officials nor raise taxes, and spend the Native Authority revenues without the sanction of the Governor. They were specifically instructed that in judicial and 'all other matters', especially over land hence, it was their 'duty to follow the orders of the Residents'.[337]

Province, Division and District Organization and Re-Organization, 1902 to 1955

After the Colonial State had imposed its authority over Northern Nigeria, and consequently Kiri chiefdom, they organized the colonized areas into Provinces, Divisions and Districts. As a result, Yola Province was created in 1904 which was later changed to Adamawa Province. This change nonetheless also affected the pre-colonial vessel states under the emir in Yola and non-emirate chiefdoms that were independent of Yola's authority within the re-named 'Adamawa Province'. Moreover, these re-organizations spanned the period from 1902 to 1955 and in which, each province were appointed Residents to who the emirs and chiefs were answerable to. The new colonial

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[336]Pointing out the limitations of the powers of the emirs and chiefs, P. Girouard had this to say: "I have observed a tendency in some directions to impress emirs with the idea that they are sovereign rulers over independent states. I most strongly insist such action is not unwise and might prove disastrous. I have impressed upon emirs that they are my *Wakils* in their emirates, but they must be guided by the words of the Residents who speak for me" . . . This is an extract from the Political Memoranda edited by Kirk-Greene of the principles of native administration, p. 75

[337]Tibenderana, P. K 'The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910 – 1946'. *Journal of African History*, 3:24, 1983, p. 519

administrative boundaries thus created were however, arbitrary and artificial with little or no concern for the political contour of the Sokoto Caliphate or the different non-Caliphate chiefdoms. It was within this framework that the British claimed their authority over northern Nigeria, in accordance with the principles of the 'Indirect Rule System' as expounded by Sir Frederick Lugard from 1900 to 1906, and C. L. Temple the first Resident in Bauchi Province and later Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria from 1914 to 1917[338]

The Provinces were further divided into divisions, and these divisions re-divided into 'homologous' districts made up of villages wards over which the various assigned colonial political officers served as either Residents, Divisional Officers, District Officers presided as colonial administrators. While the emirs and chiefs, though the lesser official within the colonial administrative hierarchy, were expected to maintain law and order, arrest criminals, prevent crimes, collect taxes and sundry duties as directed by the colonial administration.

Therefore, Yola/Adamawa Emirate which by 1926 became known as Adamawa Province and split into five (5) divisions, include within its boundary the South Benue with headquarters at Yola; North Benue with headquarters in Song; Emirate 'Pagan' Division with headquarters in Pella; Gongola Division with headquarters at Numan and Chukkol Division with headquarters at Chukkol. Meanwhile, in 1908 to 1909 when Yola Province was re-organized the Gongola Division where most of the non-emirate chiefdoms were was re-organized to include Lala, Yungur and Shelleng Districts formerly separate districts with headquarters at Gundo and Shelleng respectively. In

[338]Lugard, F. D *Political Memoranda*, 1913 – 1918, London, 1918, pp. 296 – 318 and Temple, C. L *Native Races and their Rulers*, Cape Town, 1918, pp. 29 – 79

1910. Gundo and Shelleng were moved to Pirambi and Song Governorate in Yola Emirate was included in the Gongola Division. Thus, from 1911 to 1912, this Division was reshuffled twice and was finally re-named Numan Division. Hence, by 1921 and the 'great reshuffle' of 1926, Lala district was added to Numan Division; Numan Division consequently took on its more or less 'new' shape with Kiri, Shelleng, Bata, Bachama and Mbula Districts forming its divisional area until 1955. Shelleng area, which by 1924 had emerged as a 'responsible' unit under its chief Mijibone became a division until 1926 with its own native treasury till 1951.[339]

With such a repeated re-shuffle of 'the administrative cards', as A. H. M. Kirk-Greene pointed out 'was bound to have an unsettling influence on the Independent non-Muslim areas such as Numan Division'.[340] As a result, the administration of the Division was effected through the mutually independent chiefs of Shelleng, Bachama, Bata and Mbula each of who was directly responsible to the Divisional Officer. Thus, in 1936 the Bachama, Bata and Mbula chiefs combined their resources in a loose federation where each retained its local autonomy, while the Lunguda originally under Shelleng district remained subservient to Shelleng. By 1951 therefore, a single native authority was constituted for the whole Division called the Council of the Numan Federation. This council consisted of four chiefs, the 'President' of the Lunguda Council, and eight other members. The office of President of the Numan Federation rotated monthly among the chiefs. An Outer or Advisory Council with official and elected members was constituted

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[339] Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 177 – 178

[340] Ibid, p. 178

in 1952, when the Numan Federation Native Authority was re-modelled to include the village heads of Kiri, Guyuk and Lunguda . . .[341]

The aftermath of these organization and re-organization of Province, Divisions, and Districts besides the re-shuffled colonial administrative structures, equally created the avenue through which ruler-ship tussles were settled. For example, in 1942 the *Amnaship* in Kiri reverted to a Dera from a Fulbe kingship.[342] In relation to this was the situation where the socio-economic circumstances of the Dera was affected to have a long lasting effects on the entire inhabitants in Kiri chiefdom as a whole.

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[341] Ibid, pp. 178 – 179

[342] Rosedale, op cit., p. 185

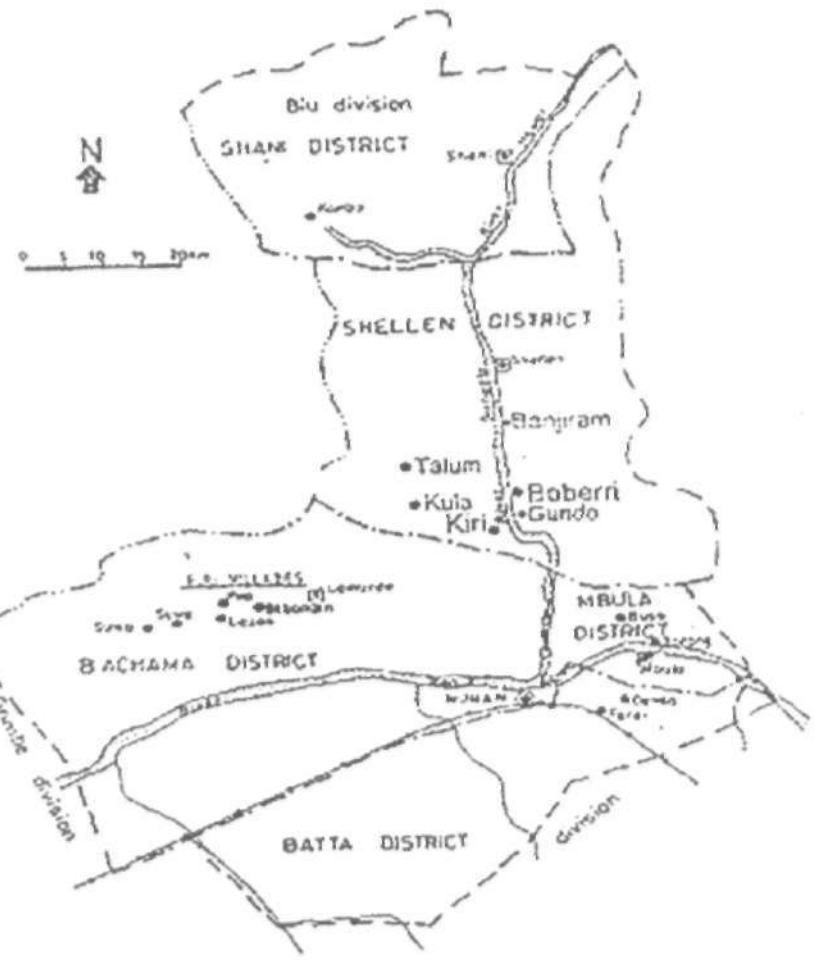


Fig. 6: Outline Map of Numan Division

Source: NAK Yolaprof ACC. 68, 'Resident Adamawa Memo No. 127/22 of 13 January, 1933

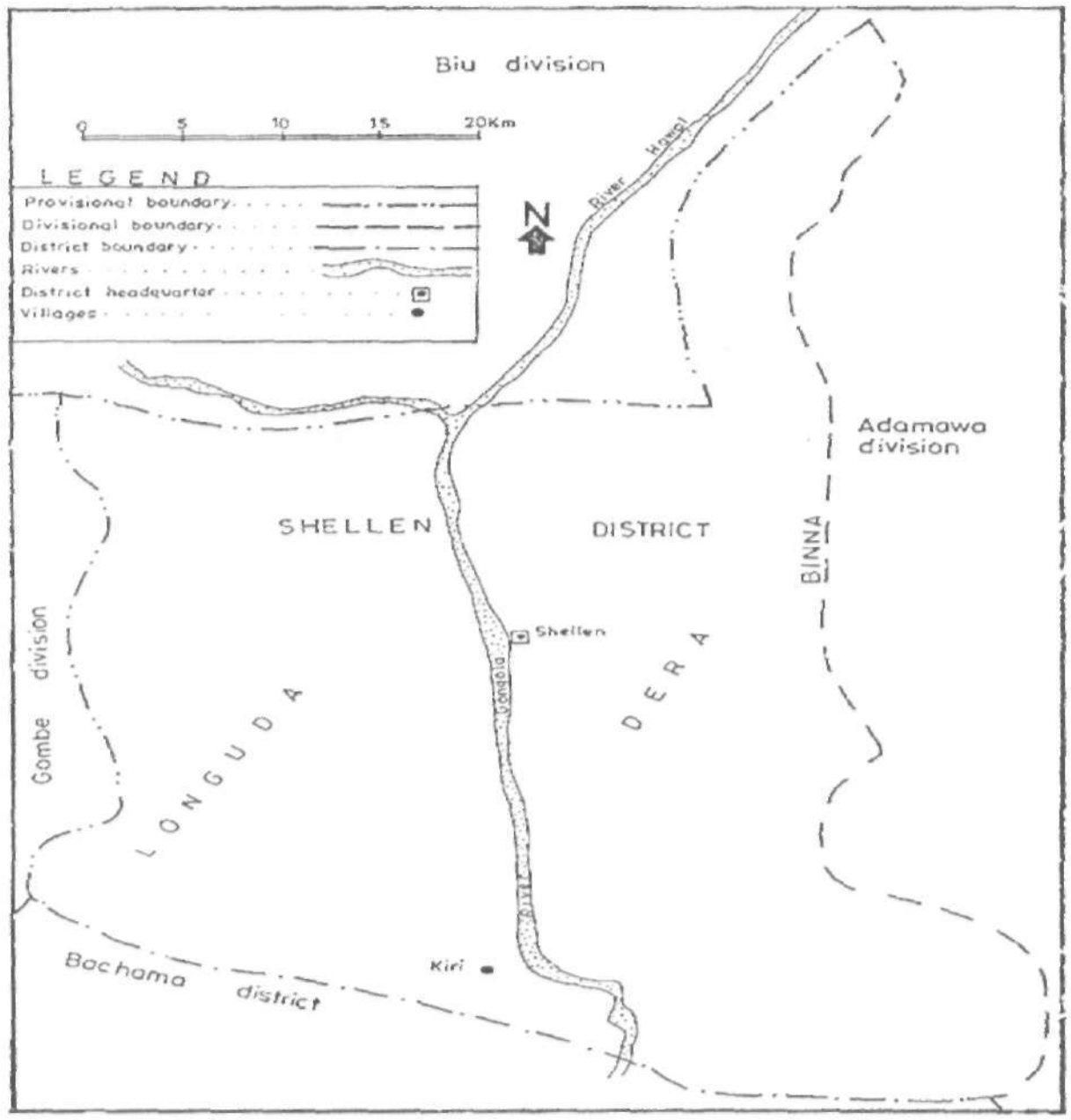


Fig. 8: Outline Map of Shelleng Division

Source: NAK Yolaprof Memo and Papers, Provincial Re-Organization, 1926

Conclusion

By the close of the nineteenth century when imperialists and merchant capital instigated the drive for outlets where European manufactured goods were to exported, and sources of raw materials for the expanded industries in Europe were to be sourced. The political necessities played an important role in order that, both the capital and resources (i.e., raw materials) would be controlled. Thus, varied institutions and structures were put in place. These institutions and structures were devised to actualize the challenges hitherto faced. The British, who particularly took interest in Nigeria hence, northern Nigeria acquired colonies in this area. The acquisition of colonies therefore, from the early twentieth century became a phenomenal event to change the political and economic circumstances of peoples in places like Kiri area, where different language groups occupied.

The changes that ensued however, led to the creation of colonial institutions and structures that were employed to alter the social, political, economic and cultural interactions of the people. The consequent integration of colonized people; typical of the changes institutionalized the definition of boundaries styled Colony, Protectorates, Provinces, Divisions and Districts, which were used as instruments to further entrenched the colonization of areas like Kiri district by the middle of the twentieth century. By this design, the various colonial institutions resulted in the effective destruction of all manners of pre-colonial structures.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE COLONIAL ECONOMY AND POLICIES, c. 1900 - 1945

Introduction

In this chapter, as in chapter three, attempts would be made to examine how the colonial economy and the different colonial policies, driven by the search for cheap human and material resources exploited these resources in order to feed the expanded industries in Europe and the Americas, which were backed by imperialists' capital and political powers.[343] The imperialist class and their collaborators therefore, used forced labour, taxes, colonial land and agriculture policies, and the socio-cultural circumstances of peoples in societies like Kiri chiefdom on an unequal term. The implications of these unequal dialectics resulted in the direct political and economic control of resources, such that the profits were repatriated to London, Paris or Berlin.[344] Thus, the assumption that the different colonial laws and policies impacted either positively or negatively on the socio-economic relations of inhabitants in Kiri areas, led to an entire society been incorporated into a colonial economic production, rather than the technical growth of the colonized peoples.[345]

It is within this framework that this thesis would attempt the examination of the establishment of colonialism and the colonial economy in these two chapters. This would help us see, and possibly expound some of the views regarding the nature of the colonial economic history of Kiri area during the colonial period.

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[343]Akpakpan, E. B. 'The Colonial Economy, 1860-1960', in *A Compendium*, *vol.1*, 2005, p. 119; also see Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London, 1972 (Reprinted 1990)

[344]Rodney, ibid

[345]Alahira, H. A. 'The Role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: a case study of the Jos Plateau, 1900 – 1960'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2001, p. 148

The Colonial Policies

With the consolidation of colonial rule finally achieved in Kiri area by 1913, and the beginning of the introduction of the colonial economy; though an economic system the British Colonial Government realized was to serve their imperial interests in Kiri area, was by its nature and character structured on the principal objective to, as M. Hamman reiterated were reflect the strategies of imperialism to harness the human and material resources of the territory where it was entrenched, in order to meet the needs of the metropolis in terms of primary commodities and transfer of surpluses to centres of industrial capitalism in Europe and North America, and to create an expanded market for metropolitan manufactures.[346] The economic value therefore, of most colonized societies to imperial interests as highlighted by Lord Lugard confirmed that:

> "*The tropics produce in abundance a class of raw materials and foodstuffs, which cannot be grown in the temperate zones, and are so vital to the needs of civilized man that they have in every truth become essential to civilisation. It was the realisation of this fact, which led the nations of Europe to compete for the control of the African tropics.*"[347]

The mechanisms for the realisation of these facts were located in the nature and characteristics of land in relation to agriculture, mining, the fiscal, industrial and transportation policies whose ultimate effects was the destruction or distortion of the self-sustained and re-generated pre-colonial economy of societies such as was found in Kiri area. These societies, in view of the different policies, were transformed from their pre-

[346]Hamman, M 'The Consolidation of Under-Development in Colonial Nigeria, 1900 – 1960', *Zahir: Journal of the Department of History*, 1:1, June, 2001, p. 148

[347]Lugard, F. D *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London, 1965, p. 43 as quoted in Hamman op cit.,

colonial economic status of practically but, crude technology applied subsistent/commercial production to a colonial type 'export-oriented' economy centred on agricultural productions.

Therefore, the thrust of this chapter to examine how the different British colonial policies influenced, and impacted on the economic activities of inhabitants in Kiri area during the colonial period.

Land and Agriculture Polices

The British colonial policy towards land in northern Nigeria especially, in Kiri area where pre-colonial land tenure as with most societies in the Nigerian area, was one of the crucial elements that defined the type and extent economic opportunities were available to societies like Kiri chiefdom during colonial rule. Therefore, when the British conquered northern Nigeria by 1903, and declared its territories the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the title deeds of land also changed whereby it was vested in the Colonial State by 'right of conquest' under the Public Lands Proclamation of 1902. The justification for this was in the fact that, the Fulbe jihadists and non-Fulbe jihadists had earlier assumed the title to all the lands they conquered; evidences of signed treaties acquired from emirs and chiefs by the Royal Niger Company (RNC), which were later transferred to the British. With the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the whole Protectorate became the property of the Queen, and administered by her representatives, in which also majority of the lands were declared Public Lands.[348]

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[348]Orr, C. W. J. *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1911, pp. 224 – 245; see also Adeleye, R. A *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*, 1804 – 1906, 1977, Appendix IV

To this end, by this 1902 Public Lands Proclamation and the various clauses attached to it, it became illegal for European enterprises or individuals acquire any Public Lands without the consent of the High Commissioner, who held these lands under administrative order. Except of course, in situations where the colonial government acquired such land, interfered with private entitlement, transfer or sale of such lands between individuals. While all revenues accrued from lands, either sold or rented to European enterprises or individuals were to be remitted as public revenues. Thus, by this law, it was intended to safeguard and not alienate inhabitants in the Protectorate from their lands by private individuals or entrepreneurs from outside as the case may be. However, controversies soon ensued between the British colonial government, the emirs and chiefs because the latter insisted that majority of the lands were claimed by the British from the RNC (a private enterprise which was supported by Her Majesty's Government), who obtained these signed treaties through dubious means. These lands, by and large, were no more than three miles in width, an indication that the Colonial State's control over most lands was limited.[349]

In one of its judicial prowess to further upheld claims over lands, the British with the aid of H. C. Gollam (Chief Justice of the Protectorate), interpreted this situation under the British legal system to insist that British claims as interpreted and subsumed denied the chiefs and emirs the right to exercise control over all lands, and that British control over these lands was tenuous. In defence of this ruling, the chiefs and Emirs refused British claims to their lands on the grounds that the RNC initially acquired most of the

[349]The dubious nature of the treaties as brought out in colonial records validated all arguments of land policies during colonial period in Nigeria.

lands through fraudulent means. Therefore, their understanding of the signed treaties was that such lands were leased and not sold nor surrendered to the RNC.[350]

This circumstance led Lord Lugard to relinquish most of the lands to their original owners. As a result, series of laws were promulgated by the Colonial State to extend its definition of land ownership. For instance, the Colonial State withheld some portion of the Public Lands as 'Crown Lands' through the Crown Land Proclamation Act No.16 of 1902. This law was however divided into three categories: Crown, Public, and Native Land Laws.[351] The idea had been that, lands, especially the Public and Native Lands were to be deliberately and conveniently administered by the colonial government, who recognized the nature of traditional land tenure systems has been centred on agricultural production, and under the supervision of native chiefs. This was only allowed because colonial machineries and officials by the early 1900s were not sufficient to take complete control but, which they did later. As a result of this, land issues were not interfered with, especially by traditional rulers. Hence, if, for any reason a European wished to acquire a portion of Crown Land or Public Land, a lease was expected to be issued especially for Crown Lands. While Public Lands the colonial government only issued lease if it thought the request meet its goals. Thereafter, it acquired the land and paid compensations before it leased out such land to the applicant(s).[352] On the contrary, certain land issues were left under emirs and chiefs because of the rights of use and actual ownership. This was strongly contested in Kiri area by peasant farmers until the Second World War, when

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[350]Alahira, op cit., p. 162

[351]Ibid, p. 46

[352] Orr, op cit., pp. 244 – 245

land assumed its economic value and the colonial government made sure it sufficiently controlled the potential lands for agricultural productions, in order to regulate the use of land, so that its rules and regulation on land matters favoured any attempt by British colonial capitalists' expansion and exploitation.[353]

The general policy on land therefore, by 1910 was only feasible based on the fact that, land ownership in whatever form was recognized through the ultimate powers of the Colonial State. For instance, in places like Kiri area, the *Amna* in collaboration with the colonial administrators agreed to disagree on the administration of lands classified 'Public' and 'Native' because colonial machineries (i.e., expertise skill) were limited. Thus, land rights to all applicants were administered by the Native Authority while the colonial officials such as the District Officer (DO) acted as supervisors.[354] In due course, the colonial government revised the laws to reflect the land tenure system of the people, even though in actual fact, it only reflected those customs that commensurate with the British interests,[355] which strengthened land appropriation and utilization under colonial rule.[356] With these developments, land acquisition by European merchants, missionaries and individuals for agriculture attracted annual rents. This in turn affected peasant farmers' accessibility to agricultural lands which ultimately discouraged large-scale food crop production thus, low prices on food crops and a situation whereby the peasant farmers barely able to afford the all-important rent for extensive agricultural production

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[353]Orr, op cit., pp. 47 – 48

[354]Ibid, p. 48

[355]Ibid, p. 49

[356]Kirk-Greene, A. H. M *Lugard's Political Memoranda*, 1913 – 1918, 1920, p. 399

in order to meet the demands of the colonial export-oriented economy especially, commercial agriculture production.[357]

Another British colonial policy that did fore-close the colonial economy in Kiri area and the entire Northern Protectorate was the colonial policy towards agriculture. This policy became institutionalized on the grounds that agriculture an indispensable human activity in most African societies, its formulation and implementation was hinged on the economic needs of the Colonial State as principle to promote agricultural production for raw materials to feed the expanded industries in Europe and North America, and in turn generated revenues to run the colonial system.[358] The taxes instituted therefore, on agricultural production by the Colonial State in the first decade of the twentieth century, were from the reformed modes of the Caliphate tax system whose pre-colonial effects on agricultural input was clearly inconsistent with the average farmers' output. Although the same still applied during colonial rule, their effect on peasant farmers in places like Kiri area were nonetheless indifferent. For instance, as Rosedale gave a vivid summary of the effect of taxes on agriculture in 1919 that, where 1 man and 1 woman farmed 4 acres of farmland: Gross Yield of 140 bundles at 4d each - £2.6.8 (i.e., 4,900 lbs.) Less Personal Consumption of 40 bundles at 4d each - .13.4 (i.e., 1,400 lbs.) gives a Net Profit of 100 bundles at 4d each - £1.13.4 (i.e., 3,500 lbs.) based on 10% tax on profits: 10 bundles at 4d each – 3s.4d (i.e., 350 lbs.).[359]

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[357]Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[358]Adamu, A. 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria'. Unpublished MA thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1992, p. 54

[359] NAK SNP10 275p/1919, 'Kanakuru District Assessment Report 1919', by Rosedale, W. O. P., op cit., p. 31

However, the rate of 3s.4d per male and female were sometimes lowered or increased depending on the fertility of the soil of a village, distance from markets and the state of progress reached by the inhabitants. Thus, in this instance Kiri chiefdom was able to pay the full rate.[360] By this brief summary of the nature of tax regimes on agriculture I places like Kiri chiefdom, went a long way to increase the burden of tax on agriculture on the people in terms of disparity in the 10% tax profit on villages classified 'well able' and 'backward'.[361]

A second dimension to British colonial policy with regard to agriculture was the absence of large agricultural plantations owned by European entrepreneurs. This policy however, was not the result of the free choice of the British; rather it was one that was dictated by the force of circumstances, (i.e., the climate) which discouraged the establishment of commercial plantations in Northern Nigeria. This more or less helped eliminate many of the difficulties that appeared in places like Kenya and South Africa, where the better agricultural lands were occupied by white settlers and forced the natives to vacate their own lands. Although the interests of the British in Nigeria were mainly to promote trade, they achieved this through a number of intermediate steps. The first was to promote law and order which led to the opening of trade routes thus, communication with the outside world. When this has been accomplished, two factors became responsible for the substantial expansion in agricultural production that took place. The first was the stimulus that was created after the provision of institutional and physical infrastructure. The second was the conscious effort made by the British to challenge certain aggressive

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[360] Rosedale op cit., p. 32

[361] Ibid

colonial policies of other imperial powers on agricultural production. That is, their protectionists tendencies whereby the insufficient supplies of agricultural raw materials and the drastic fall in productions which were seen as been loses on the British side.[362] In view of these worrisome developments, cartels were created and saddled with the task to source for alternative areas of potential agricultural supplies of raw materials. The search light therefore was fixed on Northern Nigeria and consequently Adamawa Province was chosen because it was considered as a 'granary' of agricultural produce like grains and sylvan products thus, the bin for cash crop production.[363]

As such, financial and technical incentives were used to promote further agricultural expansion. Therefore, in 1948 the Agriculture Department was established in Adamawa Province and mandated to encourage the spread of mixed farming with the aim of developing the trade in ghee or clarified butter, and to foster the cultivation of cotton and groundnut as export crops among peasant farmers in places like Kiri area. These were however preliminary steps to distribute free seedling from 1906 to 1908, introduce innovative farming techniques such as, the use of cattle drawn ploughs and mechanical tractors which were both introduced through colonial agricultural extension officers. Whereas campaigns were carried out to clear areas infested with tsetse flies which started in 1925 in Kiri area. Beside these, agricultural bazaars/shows were introduced as annual events in the farming calendar. All these were made available to average peasant farmer in Kiri area. Thus, attempts by the colonial government to turn Kiri area into a vast area

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[362]Statistics put these loses at up to two million Pound Sterling. A position the British colonial government viewed as unacceptable. For details, see Adamu, op cit., Tukur, M. M 'The Imposition of British Colonial Domination of the Sokoto Caliphate', 2 vols. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1979 and Hogendorn, J. S 'The Origin of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, London, 1966, pp. 46 – 60

[363]Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 1 – 4

for the production of cheap agricultural raw materials like cotton and groundnut during the colonial period.[364]

In the final analysis, the land and agriculture colonial policies had far reaching implications on peasant farmers in Kiri area, particularly farmers who were alienated from their lands, even though the various land laws and agriculture policy guaranteed equal demands and participation, i.e. either for subsistence or commercial agricultural productions. In addition, the impact of these policies led to increased redundant labour forces who sold their labour for wages in mostly colonial experimental farms that were established, and where their remunerations were usually below their means to even pay the least tax thus, a lot of adult male and female were made insecure in terms of providing for their livelihood in places like Kiri district. Furthermore, these colonial policies led to the des-integration of the communal labour system (*gaiya*), which was the most effective means to mobilize labour during farm work in Kiri district before colonial rule. Therefore, Kiri district became; like most rural societies in colonial Nigeria linked to the international capitalists economy that destroyed the various indigenous pre-colonial economic activities of the people, or allowed them to tag along until they were so submerged as to become a colonial legacy which till this day left Kiri area one of the rural communities with very little to show, apart the hydroelectric monument yet to be tapped.

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[364]NAK Yolaprof A4, vol. iv, 'Report for March 1904', by Barclay, G. N as illustrated in Abba, A *History of Yola, 1809 – 1914*, Zaria, 2003, p. 135

Colonial Labour Policy

The main thrust of the colonial labour policy was basically to free the expected abundant cheap labour trapped in the various *rumde* or *gandu* of the ruling class in pre-colonial Sokoto Caliphate. This was envisaged would turn into wage labour to stir the wheels of the colonial economy.[365] To achieve this, the British made numerous declarations. Among these declarations was the No. 5 Proclamation Act of 31 March 1901, which basically annulled all forms of pre-colonial legal status of slavery whereby the acquisition and disposal of slaves was illegal. This Act was first instituted in Southern Nigeria in view of the law that abolished the transatlantic slave trade whereby, human cargos as commodities were shipped across the Atlantic to Europe and the Americas as labour forces to work in European owned plantations. Although the law that abolished the transatlantic slave trade also was applicable to all forms of internal slavery within the Nigerian area, slave trade as perceived and practiced by the ruling class in most slave owned societies in northern Nigerian area before colonial rule, was basically for domestic purposes where the acquired slaves were used as farm hands or servant in the households of slave owners. Hence, when Proclamation No. 9 of November 1901 was declared but, delayed until 1 January 1902,[366] this proclamation was expected to dismantle the *rumdes* and *gandus*, and free domesticated slaves.

However, this proclamation attracted a lot of criticisms, especially from beneficiaries of the internal slave trade and slavery. They opposed it vehemently because,

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[365]Adamu, A. 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: a study of food production and distribution in Zaria metropolis, c. 1902 – 1960'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2001, p. 49

[366]Colonial Annual Report for Northern Nigeria, 1901, No. 377, p. 25; also, Lugard *Political Memoranda*, Memo 6

most of the expected freed slaves were neither forcefully engaged to do menial tasks. Except of course as and when a slave defaults in his or her duties, or worst still the slave was sold to another master. But as intended by the Colonial State after it termed all forms of slavery in colonial northern Nigeria illegal, its main aim was to pull labour to execute colonial projects with little or no compensations. This scenario was stressed by M. M. Tukur when he insisted that, any arguments that colonial projects were executed through the use of 'freed' labour force; under the supervised eyes of colonial officials for the benefits of indigenous peoples was a false impression.[367] Rather, the freed labour or wage labourers were allowed the choice to wilfully make their labour available for certain amount, which was paid in cash or the labourers were left to decide what other ways they wish their labour was compensated. Thus, the table below of labourers' wages per day as expected to be paid unskilled and semi-skilled labourers from 1900 to 1960 indicated the following:

Table 3: Labourers' Wages per Day from 1900 to 1960

	1900	1930s	1940	1960
Unskilled Labour	6d – 10d per day	1s – 0d – 1s 6d per day	7d – 2s 6d per day	3s 0d – 6s 2d per day
Semi-Skilled Labour	Nil	Nil	11d – 4s – $4^{1/2}$d per day	3s1d – 8s6d per day

Source: Ekundare, R. O. An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860 – 1960, London, 1973, p. 363

[367]Tukur, op cit., p. 612

Nevertheless, colonial officials still encouraged and depended on forced labour. This, they justified based on the believe that, the use of labour forces rather than forced labour was a normal custom in pre-colonial Nigerian societies, where the mobilization of labour for communal work was within the expressed authority of the head of a household and chiefs (as was in Kiri chiefdom) to build defensive walls for the village, clear foot paths, prepare farmland and fought wars of conquests and expansions.[368] Thus, forced labour among the Dera in pre-colonial in Kiri chiefdom was not practiced because circumstances which might warrant the enslavement of another were inculcated in the customs of the Dera. Therefore, by 2 January 1902 when the law to free slaves was institutionalized especially, in colonized areas in northern Nigeria, hence Kiri district, all the available 'freed' labour intended for colonial projects were mobilized by the Native Authorities through individual households to contribute compulsorily, irrespective of family demands.

The impact of this situation on inhabitants in Kiri district was drastic because, as one of the essential impetus that triggered British subjugation of peoples in most African societies, labour lies at the centre of all forms colonial economic activities especially, agricultural production of cash crops like cotton and groundnut. The demand therefore, for labour, shifted to men-only labour that were favourably remunerated compared to how labour was measured among all adults during pre-colonial times when, all labours

[368] See, Adamu, 2001, op cit., p. 50 as quoted from Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, 1920, pp. 238 – 242

inputs were neither remunerated but, expressed in terms of obligated goodwill gestures to everyone that contributed to the good of the family and society as a whole.

Colonial Tax Policy

While the colonial labour policy made it possible for abundant labour forces to be released and available for conversion into wage labour as a profitable venture, the colonial labour policy was however backed by the intrigues of the British colonial tax policy. The colonial tax policy, though necessitated raising funds to finance the exploitation of the conquered colonies, it involved the assessment, levying and collection of a certain sum of money on some fundamental aspects of people's lives. It actually involved taxing all people (male and female) of determined age, and what they possessed in economic terms. For example, not only that people were directed to pay for themselves and other members of the family, they also paid for their cattle, farms, economic trees and so on.[369] The system of taxation varied from one locality to the other during the early period of colonial rule in Nigeria. Thus, in Yola where colonial rule was established by 1901, 'up to February 1902 Acting Resident Ruxton was not sure whether he could implement the provision of "Political Memo No. 22 paragraph 9" and introduce "direct or indirect taxation as a *quid pro quo* for benefits conferred" on the "natives" by the British'.[370] 'However, by June 1902 Resident Barclay prematurely reported that he did not "see any difficulty in making each pagan village not under the emir pay an annual

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[369]Gwadabe, M. M. Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: the case of Kumbotso District, 1903 – 1953'. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation, A.B.U Zaria, 2008, p. 219

[370]NAK Yolaprof A1, 'Yola Report No. 5 for February 1902', by Ruxton, F. H as quoted in Tukur, op cit.,

tribute in grain or other produce", adding that" the same should be levied on all Fulani farms which are numerous and extensive"'.[371]

By these uncertainties as regard British colonial policy statements in Yola Province, Lugard, according to Tukur warned that the intended taxes on 'pagan' areas such as Kiri district should not take the form of a poll tax.[372] Nevertheless, in whatever forms the colonial tax policies were formulated, they subordinated and destroyed the pre-colonial economy in Kiri district. Therefore, the different colonial tax policies employed by the Colonial State served three primary aims: The first provided the funds needed in order to maintain the various colonial administrative structures and instruments, which were designed to assess the collection of taxes in both 'native and non-native areas'. The second, the colonial tax policies laid considerable emphasis on tax returns from all economic activities that were regard profitable and less profitable (this strategy no doubt encouraged a significant proportion of the population who engaged less profitable economic activities).[373] Third, these tax policies directly undermined the entire economy that left places like Kiri district vulnerable to the antics of the colonialism.[374]

The combination of these tactics became exploitative, oppressive and coercive in nature.[375] The commonest colonial tax policy in non-emirate areas therefore, became the "general tax" or "poll tax" which indices consisted of degrading tax regimes on adult

[371]NAK Yolaprof A1, 'Yola Provincial Report No. 8 for June 1902', by Barclay, G. N as quoted in Tukur, op cit.,

[372]Tukur, op cit., p. 539

[373] See Temple, C. L *Native Races and their Rulers*, Cape Town, 1918, p. 201; Lugard, F. D *Political Memoranda*: issued 1906, memo No. 5 Taxation, paragraph 4 and 6; Perham, M *Lugard the Year of Authority, 1900 – 1945*, London, 1960, p. 166

[374] See Rodney, op cit., and Onimode, B *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1983

[375]See Onimode, op cit., pp. 103 – 122; Tukur, op cit., pp. 531 – 584

males and females who cultivated crops for profits and personal consumption, maintained livestock (i.e., sheep and goats) and industrial produce, whence in Kiri district the only real industry was produce buying and peddling cloths, and local industrial production of goods like pots and spades.[376] The estimated profits on these items were put at £130 and taxed at 10% of the net annual income in Kiri by 1919.[377] The Pastoral Tax other than the '*Jangali'* which was mostly imposed among non-emirate people, assessed their mares, horses, donkeys, sheep and goats at between 2/- to -/1d. While the *jangali,* otherwise included in the 'general tax' but, assessed among Fulbe pastoralists who grazed cattle within Kiri area. Its assessment was however, an inconsistent exercise because of the Fulbe's transhumance nature. By and large, the 'general tax' became the most important colonial tax in Kiri that yielded the largest tax revenue.[378]

Therefore, one unique feature of the 'general tax' was its applicability. For instance, all adults male and female were taxed 2/- to 1/- respectively. This capitation was however based on their earnings,[379] whereby income deficits were off-set from conscription to work on colonial farm centres, colonial projects to construct roads, residential quarters or rest houses for colonial officials, and voluntary recruitments to work in the Jos and Bauchi tin mines, and enrolment into the colonial armed forces.[380] By 1913 after the poll tax of 1903 to 1910 on non-emirate area like Kiri district were revised

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[376]Rosedale, op cit., p. 34

[377]Ibid

[378]Ibid, p. 36

[379]Ibid

[380]NAK Yolaprof D.2, 'Report for Quarter ending, 31st Dec. 1912', Edgar, F

because of their inconsistencies, M. M. Tukur emphasized that certain factors were responsible. These factors he enumerated include,

> *'the size of a person's house, and the number of rooms, and the size of his household were taken into consideration. In cases where a man (or woman) was a craft man or (craft woman), say a carver, a dyer a tanner or a butcher, in addition to being a farmer, his estimated income from these other sources was also taken in account. Often, a man was taxed separately for himself, his household, his farm and his income from other sources but paid all in a single sum'.*[381]

The other sources of income taxed on non-emirate areas like Kiri district were hawking, hunting, brewing and fishing on which one fourth capitations on profit was assessed, especially on women who before colonial rule were list taxed that is, if tributes could be considered as tax in pre-colonial Kiri society. However, after the imposition of colonial rule the tax assessment on this population accounted for a considerable return of the total annual net profits on general tax in Kiri district, as the table illustrated of selected areas by 1919.

Table 4: Summary of the Total General Tax of Selected District Groups

District Groups	General Crops	Village Livestock	Industrials	Total
Shelleng	446. 2. 9.	48. 0. 3.	9. 0. 0.	503. 3. 0
Kiri	173. 7. 6	19. 3. 6.	4. 0. 0	196. 11. 0

[381]See Tukur, op cit., pp. 565 – 566; Abba, op cit., p. 124

Lunguda	261. 13. 3	18. 18. 6.	---	260. 11. 9
Shani	682. 0. 6	76. 3. 9	---	758. 4. 3
Total	£1563. 4. 0	£162. 6. 0	£13. 0. 0	£1738. 10. 0

Source: Rosedale, op cit., p. 35

Most tax rates in Kiri district therefore, though met the expected full rates;[382] they more or less were intended to destroy the indigenous economy. Thus, the imposition and assessment of taxation as argued by the Colonial State were rational and lighter than pre-colonial taxes,[383] because they regularly reformed with the ulterior motive to tightened tax assessment on the huge revenue derived from places like Kiri district. Our summation therefore, is that, the colonial tax policies encouraged unequal assessment between adult males and females; profits from agricultural production and other economic activities were excessively and minimal taxed. All these had lasting effects on inhabitants in Kiri district during colonial rule. The colonial tax policy, perhaps given its obnoxious nature was made possible because of the introduction of certain mediums of exchanges. These mediums included foreign currencies in the form paper monies and coins. The implication of this was as a result of the colonial tax policies that thrived in Kiri district, and generated activities valued in terms of remunerations born out of the search for foreign currencies to off-set tax assessment.

The Introduction of British Colonial Currencies

The continued destruction of the pre-colonial economy during colonial rule in Kiri district was further achieved when paper monies and coin were 'forcefully' introduced. These brought to end one phase of the processes that led to the entrenchment

[382]Ibid, p. 32

[383]Tukur, op cit., p. 627

of the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria. The introduction of colonial currencies however, continued after the colonial tax policy was entrenched, in view of the fact that numerous indigenous currencies were already in circulation amongst people in Kiri area.[384] With the successful elimination of the different indigenous commodity currencies, the way was finally paved for the currencies introduced by the British colonial government to assume their colonial legal status as tenders for transaction between inhabitants in Kiri district and European merchants, specifically between the Hausa traders who were involved in the long distant trade into Kiri area, and their acceptance for tax payment. For example, the Maria Theresa Dollar, the Pound Sterling and German Mark were the common and accepted mediums of exchanges.

The wholesome introduction and acceptance of these currencies however, involved frustrating processes of elimination which took at least ten years.[385] This was partly caused by the measure of acceptance during the pre-colonial economy in Kiri area. Despite all the inherent odds during the introduction of British colonial currencies, the European trading firms who operated in Kiri area deliberately created a situation that slowed the processes because, local inhabitants favoured the situation where agricultural and local industrial goods were exchanged in a manner where European goods were overvalued.[386] Alarmed by these developments, the British colonial government through its representative, the High Commissioner Lord Lugard, complained bitterly that,

> *'A factor which greatly militates against my effort(s) to promote the circulation of coinage which should promote*

[384]Kirk-Greene, 'The Major Currencies in Nigerian History', Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, 2:1, 1960, pp. 132 – 150

[385]Abba, op cit., p. 130

[386]NAK Yolaprof, 'Quarterly Report No.7431/1912', by Sharper, W. S

> *and facilitate trade and would vary greatly assist the administration in the collection of taxes and duties is the refusal of the sole European firm (The Royal Niger Company), which has many larger connection in the country to purchase their produce, except with barter goods and their unwillingness to accept cash when tendered by natives (or anything but produce) for their goods....*'[387]

In spite the above complaints, the local industrial activities also suffered but they were significantly useful because the material goods or produce like loin cloth (the *leppi*), iron bars (the *taje*), and grain, hoe, sheep and goats used as currencies retained their values because of their high demands and preferences. In as much as the British colonial currencies were imposed, the colonial tax policy was also strengthened to make available labour forces into wage labour for the colonial government and merchant enterprises.[388] The impact of these situations in the long run affected the local economy which led to all economic activities being incorporated into the international capitalist economy.

As a result, high value on cash crops replaced values already identified with food crops. Hence, the involvement of people in Kiri district in the production, processing and marketing of food crops and to the production, processes and market of cash crops. This also saw the former irrelevant because, they attracted lesser patronage from the colonial economic equation during colonial rule in Kiri district.

Colonial Transport Policy

This policy was engineered by the fact that colonialism and its inherent needs steamed the impetus for the movement of goods especially, agriculture and European imported goods. Thus, R. I. Wolfe stressed that transportation played an important role as

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[387]Kirk-Greene, A. H. M *Adamawa Past and Present*, London, 1958, pp. 134 – 135

[388]Abba, op cit., p. 131

the facilitator of growth and the consolidation of the decline of nations.[389] Therefore, transportation as employed during the colonial periods in Kiri area was significant to its economic organizations and though not properly developed, it nonetheless supplied the area with such essentials of life like consumables, construction materials and evacuation of agricultural produce.[390]

The benefits envisaged, therefore, by the colonial government became a reality in the development of transportation and communication networks, as seen in the construction of roads, railways and dragging of river waterways. Thus, as reflected in almost every annual reports on Adamawa Province, which Kiri district might have benefitted, highlighted that, 'there is every prospect of good development and progress, if by road, railways and waterways construction we can nullify the blighting effect of distance'.[391] By this objects the reports emphasized the desire that the colonial economy will be achieved because of the evacuation and movement of agriculture products, manufactured imported goods from England and the movement of people in and out of Kiri area during the colonial period would lead to growth and development. Furthermore, another report wherein laid the crux of the colonial transportation policy, stated that,

> *'communications are civilization: the need to develop road communications if Adamawa Province is not to remain backward has long been realized, but the cost and difficulties of mating a good road system for the whole province have been beyond the resources and capacity of local administrations...,*

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[389]Wolfe, R. I 'Transportation and Politics: the example of Canada". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 52:2, June 1962, p. 176

[390]Ominun, F. G. I 'The Role of Transportation in Nation Building: the case for the Nigerian Railways'. *Nigerian Magazine*, No.137, 1981, p. 3

[391]Kirk-Greene, 1958, op cit., p. 144

when completed will transform road communications to and within the Provinces'.[392]

The above scenario however spoke for itself because the colonial transportation policy as a device, which boosted agriculture production and transported raw materials transverse Kiri area where roads constructed and the Gongola River waterway served as important route for transportation. Thus, as Alan McPhee pointed out, the implication of transport to the colonial economic system amongst people who paid their taxes out of surpluses, the Colonial State made sure that it provided adequate transport in order that agricultural raw materials reached the various markets at the convenient time and remunerated adequately.[393]

To this end, in conjunction with Kiri Native Authority, the task to provide the requisite labour force to build extensive system of feeder roads for the evacuation of agriculture produce was carried out.[394] In view of this development, McPhee is judged right in terms of his transportation hypothesis, especially to facilitate wage labourers the ability to earn and spend their monies on European imported goods brought through constructed roads. Thus Abdulkdir Adamu in his submission argued that the provision of transport and the development of the colonial economy did not follow the simple pattern envisaged by Alan McPhee, nor bring prosperity to colonized areas like Kiri district where complete neglect of roads (i.e. metallic roads) was a constant hindrance and complaints because, the reform and improvement of the colonial transport policy was neglected and in its place the regular enforcement of tax laws and propaganda to enforce

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[392]Ibid, pp. 114 – 115

[393]NAK SNP 17/c.111, vol. 3, 'Report for 1926', as quoted in Adamu, 2001, p. 51

[394]Adamu, op cit., p. 52

peasant farmer into the production of agricultural raw materials for industries in Europe and the Americas.[395]

It is therefore, our opinion that, although the requisite labour was used to construct colonial roads in territories where potential colonial economic needs were satisfied. In Kiri district, the provision of roads was not of priority to the colonial government because, pre-colonial road networks were considered sufficient enough to meet the evacuation of cash crops produced within Kiri district during colonial rule.

[395] Adamu, op cit.,

Conclusion

From our discussion of the colonial policies in this chapter, the area referred to as Kiri area began more or less as a rendezvous to both Fulbe herdsmen and Hausa caravans who earlier plied the various routes that cress-cross Kiri area before the twentieth century. It also became the area occupied by different language groups apart the Hausas and Fulbe. For example, the Dera (otherwise called Kanakuru), Lunguda, Yungur and Lala formed the earlier groups that occupied Kiri area, while the Bura, Hausa, and Fulbe'n were overflows from regions outside the Gongola River Valley Region. These different language groups however, combined to emerge as a human diverse group that reflected in the patterns of economic activities they engaged especially agriculture.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the circumstances of these groups in what became Kiri district however changed. That is in terms of political and economics. The manifested changes thus, began as a result of certain levels of initiation and integration on an unequal degree of interactions that altered the relationships between the different tribal groups in the entire Gongola River Valley Region. The processes of change were nonetheless triggered by colonialism, which generated surpluses through the colonial policies that were instituted. Their inherent tendencies as examined in this thesis resulted in the effective destruction of the indigenous pre- colonial economy hence; the society was transformed into that, which served the needs of the British in the colonial periods.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES, c. 1945 – 1960

Introduction

In this chapter, we shall examine the nature and extent of the colonial economic policies on agricultural development under colonial rule in northern Nigeria and how this impacted on agricultural activities in Kiri district from 1945 to about 1960. This chapter, however, will also examine the production of food and cash crops vie-sa-vie its subsistence and commercial relevance, in view of the numerous attempts made to introduce modern innovations in agricultural production under colonial rule. The effects of these developments led to the emergence of petty class of peasant farmers whose relations with the British was charged by the attacks on every spheres of the colonial economy, especially the use of propaganda and coercion by the Native Authority with the intent to produce for export.

How all these impacted peasant farmers in Kiri district after colonial plans and ideas were employed, incurred maximum profits from the abundant agricultural produce from Kiri district through the different colonial policies especially, the agricultural policy that was instituted in northern Nigeria. This policy more or less, had drastic consequences on inhabitants to as far as the household, which was the base of the subsistent/commercial production of the entire society.

Food and Cash Crop Production

Until recently, sources of food crop production have been silent. However, studies have emerged to illuminate the contributions of the food crop productions as an important

sector of rural economies.[396] These studies, though emphasized the essential roles women played in food productions from pre-colonial to colonial periods, we still can deduce from their evidences that food crop production was significant in the growth of most societies in Africa. In our attempt to examine the relevance of this sector to the colonial economy in Kiri district, we depended on oral testimonies collated during fieldwork beside the numerous detailed information gleaned from colonial records and tertiary sources, which revealed the contributions of food crop production laid on the shoulders of the over 9,141 adult females in Kiri district.[397] Thus, our understanding of food crop production during colonial rule in Kiri district shall be based on similar figures and the various economic activities of the people.

In pre-colonial Kiri area as illustrated earlier, subsistent and commercial agricultural production were the main economic pre-occupation of the different language groups, particularly the Dera. Thus, the agricultural produce cultivated ranged between grains, root crops and sylvan products. These produce were considered 'the chief and practical crops' that were basically cultivated for local consumption and exchange, this was possible because of the nature and methods of farming practices. The methods consisted of the rotational and shifting cultivation or the fallow system in which local

[396]It was the ground breaking study of Ester Boserups' '*Women's Role in Economic Development*', published in 1970 that opened the flood gates to our understanding of the magnitudes the pre-colonial and colonial food crop production contributed to the economic history of peoples in societies like Kiri. Few of these studies include: Goody J. and Buckley J., 'Inheritance and Women's Labour in Africa' in *Africa*, 43:2 1973. Burkh, J. *The Village Women in Ghana*, Uppsala, 1979; Hay, M. J. 'Women as Owners, Occupants and Managers of Property in Colonial Western Kenya' in May, M. J and Wright, M. (ed.) *African Women and the Land: Historical Perspectives*, Boston, 1982. Stichters, S (ed.) *African Women South of the Sahara*, London, 1984; Cloud, K. 'Sex Role in Food Production and Distribution System in the Sahel' in Greavey, L. E. (ed.) *Women, Farmers in Africa*, Syracuse, 1986 and Davison , J. (ed.) *Agriculture, Women and Land; the African Experience*, Boulder, 1988

[397]See NAK SNP10 275p/1919, 'Kanakuru District Assessment Report', by Rosedale, W. O. P and Re-Assessment of the Kanakuru District Report, 1912 – 1913'. These reports as reported contained population figures of the earliest 1900s that spanned a nine years period

implements like hoes and cutlasses. The 'chief and practical' crops therefore, were cultivated as a result of these systems and implements used. The crops in the category of the 'chief and practical' crops included grains like guinea-corn, millet, and maize; while the common vegetables ranged between *zugale* and *yakuwa* which were favoured among the people. Other crops by the way were pepper and onions.[398] While the typical root crop was the sweet cassava variety called *kukum* (D.) or *rogo* (H.). This crop, though one of the indigenous crops in Kiri area, it's also valued as a drought plant and, the same time used to fence farmlands and homesteads.

Furthermore, there were cotton varieties (i.e., of the *Gossypium hirsutum punctatum spp.*), which were mostly grown and consumed locally and part of the 'special' crop cultivated in small garden plots but, which later on because of its relevance in the pre-colonial agricultural economy especially, in the cloth industry it became an important component of the colonial agricultural economy during colonial rule.[399] Thus, with the introduction of colonial rule, the cultivation of these crops reverted to full commercial status that colonial officials envisaged would not be cultivated on farm lands not less than one (1) acre and not more than two (2) acres.[400] It was the combination of these circumstances that the pool of the labour force was channelled during colonial rule, which further led to the division of crops regarded as men's and women's crops in Kiri

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[398]These crops are term practical because, among the different languages groups in Kiri they remained however till this day within the spheres of women's cultivation and economy, which are mostly used in the household to prepare vegetable broth *miya* which formed one of the delicacies in Kiri

[399]See Temple, C. L and Temple, O. *Notes on the Tribes, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria,* Cape Town, 1965, p. 50

[400]The configuration or measurement of a typical farmland of a family unit also was determined by the nature of type of family. That is, where either the man or husband, nor father of the family from a paternal lineage and wife or wives of an exogenous linkage, and their children and dependents form a family unit. This family unit therefore formed the social unit of interaction or cohabitation, to add up as the extended family which is next to a clan.

area, whereby the cultivation of cotton compared to grains and vegetables laid in the abilities of both sexes to partake in agricultural production during colonial period, in order to meet the demands of the nature of the subsistence and commercial production of crops, a situation that equally defined the nature of the overall food crop production in Kiri district. Hitherto, according to ethnographic studies, the combined efforts of both adult males and females during agricultural production in most traditional African societies differ because of variances in cultures. But the fact still remains that a common denominator predominant in terms of the roles of women, which supersedes the contributions of men in food crop production in traditional African societies.[401]

The concept thus illustrated above raised some problems: who exercised the authority over actual production and distribution. This was the common situation in Kiri area to which Hannatu A. Alahira captured in her analysis, when she posited that it was not strictly on the problem of actual production but, rather on who exercised authority over what is produced, consumed and marketed.[402] Therefore, among the different language groups in Kiri area, where the underlying common denominator between men women roles or abilities in terms of actual food production, relied on the combined labour strength of the whole family who ultimately determined what was produced, consumed and disposed.[403] For instance, guinea corn and other crops that were cultivated as the staples, were authorized for production and controlled after the husband, wife or wives agreed, based on the understanding that they both partake in the harvest and

[401]Hammoud, D and Hablow, A. 'Women: their familial roles in traditional societies'. *Anthropology*, 57, 1975, p. 33

[402]Alahira, H. A. 'The Role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: a case study of the Jos Plateau, 1900 – 1960', Unpublished Ph. D thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2001, p. 235

[403]Yenini, Lomani. Anguwan Talum-Kiri. 15/10/2006, 50 years old

transportation of the crops from their separate farms or garden plots.[404] Consequent contribution and peculiar mode of relationship, where the value attached to crops within the household 'rested' on their demands and socio-cultural relevance.[405] Furthermore, besides the value attached to food crop productions in the household during the colonial period, the 'chief and practical crops' however attracted low patronage which resulted in their outright relegation as non-commercially viable crops. Crops like cotton and groundnuts became the commercially viable crops while, farmers still maintained the cultivation of staples like guinea-corn but, their internal and export potentials and cultural values fluctuated. As a result, food crop production in Kiri area witnessed a price fixing regime that was initiated and imposed by colonial officials. This led to a forceful or deceptive attempt to shift peasant farmers' pre-colonial subsistence production to fully colonial mechanized commercial production, which critically affected food crop production.

In Kiri area, where the cultivation of crops like the 'Allen' cotton variety was started before the 26c and 26j varieties were introduced as cash crops from the mid-nineteenth century, the colonial state through its agriculture officers used propaganda and financial incentives to impose on peasant farmers the idea of what to cultivate. Hence, to control the prices of these crops to the detriment of the traditional 'staple and chief' crops, which by the middle of the twentieth century their value and demands for grains

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[404]Land rights constituted a complex situation before and during colonial rule in Kiri, which affects farming. But, where rights to occupy land for cultivation of the 'chief and practical' crops are concern, they are determined by the initial entailments of the cultivator to the land which was equally determined by the chief or village authorities or the senior male member of the household. Allocation of lands usually favoured men than women who only obtain lands either as landed land or outright purchase, as this created problems in the nature of the household agriculture economy in it and also it's bearing on other aspects of all concern.

[405]Yenini, op cit.,

like guinea-corn had depreciated.[406] This was caused by the push and pull effects of immigration, which brought about urbanization to towns like Numan 40 miles south of Kiri and Shelleng situated about 15 miles north of Kiri.[407] These developments, however, increased the burden of inhabitants in Kiri area especially women, who roles in food crop production and general agricultural activities were very significant but, which they loathed. This circumstance, although considered a change from the 'hardship' of the pre-colonial times of insecurity in terms agricultural production, which the different tribal groups in Kiri district understood and assimilated, its overall implications left both women and men peasant farmers fettered and enslaved to serve the interest of colonialism, where they are left as fewer contributors because of their un-divided participation in the overall British colonial economy. As such, their liberation depended and existed to serve capitalist interests.[408] Thus, any solution posited to balance this situation cannot go beyond the disentanglement of the peoples mind from a mirage and a wild goose chase of shadows.[409]

Modern Innovations, Experiments and Techniques in Agriculture:

The introduction of modern ideas into agricultural production during British colonial administration in Northern Nigeria cannot be over-emphasized. This was because the general and reckless exploitation of land and human resources by the British in northern Nigeria was totally centred on the development structures that out rightly

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[406]Mangvwat, M. Y. 'The Colonial Economy and Society of Nigeria, 1900 – 1960'. *FASS/NISER* Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference, vol. 1, Zaria, 11 to 15 November, 1985, p.609

[407]Angomma Kondeni. Unguwan Jambo, Kiri. 09/07/2007. 61 years old

[408]Alahira, op cit., p. 238

[409]Ibid, p. 239

exploited and repatriated the abundant benefits accrued from all forms of economic pre-occupation of the people especially, in crop productions inside Kiri area. Where, its overall economic contributions were diverted to harness other economic and political demands of the Colonial State. As was the situation during the two World Wars when the Development Plans Acts channelled human and material resources of colonized areas to execute the British war plans, and so on. The effects of these circumstances on most colonized societies like Kiri district were both negative and positive.[410] More so, Kiri area was exploited and placed in a precarious condition whereby the pre-colonial economic atmosphere was far better than the colonial economic experiences. This condition was attained through the different colonial policies that were introduced.

For instance, the colonial policy towards agriculture had its main objective to produce primary export commodities i.e., food and raw materials for the metropolis through the peasantry 'vent for surplus' approach or the incentives arguments.[411] The aim therefore, of these approaches from the British shifted gear towards the absolute co-ordination of the land use policies in order to pursue three (3) objectives for agricultural development and growth in colonized areas. These objects emphasized that:

(i.) Advance social integration by making agriculture a sustainable way of life, which would promote social and economic growth;

(ii.) The economic use of land and labour. That is, where appropriate selection of crops and farming systems will yield the maximum return in the world market. This

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[410]Kirk-Greene, A. H. M *Adamawa Past and Present*, London, 1958, p. 70

[411] See Hogendon, J. S *Nigeria Groundnut Exports: origin and early development*, Zaria, 1978, p. 61 & 72; Helleiner, G. K *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Illinois, 1966, p. 12

particular objective however, led to irreconcilable interests between the production of cash crops and the production of food crops, production which became neglected;

(iii.) Preservation and improvement of all natural resources, especially agricultural lands against degradation to be achieved through the use of proper farming techniques and acceptable land tenure systems.[412]

As a whole, these objectives, through strategies well-coordinated, accomplished the introduction of new crops, new farming methods like the colonial mixed farming method; credit facilities; the use of chemical fertilizers, establishment of research and experimental farm centres and promotion of agricultural shows. As such, these strategies were placed under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry, Fisheries, and Research with co-operation and assistance from the Native Authority Systems (N.A.S), the District Officers (Dos) or District Head (DHs) and representatives from other Departments of the Colonial Government. These departments include the legal and political departments.[413] The strategic dimension employed as earlier stated, were the deliberate and decisive shifts to achieve the fiscal and labour policies formulated to favour cash crop production.[414]

Introduction and Adoption of Modern Crops

Upon establishment and assumption of colonial rule in Adamawa Province by 1903, and the subsequent consolidation of colonial rule in Kiri area in 1913, the splits and

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[412]Arewa House Archives, A1, 'Colonial Agricultural Policy, January 1945'. See also, Adesimi, A. A. 'The Prospects and Potentials of Groundnut Cultivation as a means of Enhancing Economic Opportunities in Rural Economy of Northern Nigeria'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973, pp. 21 – 25

[413]Ekundare, R. O *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860 – 1960*, London, 1973, p. 156; Helleiner, op cit., p. 5

[414]Ekundare, Ibid, p. 159

re-organization of colonial administrative structures also affected pre-colonial boundaries and their demography. These re-arrangements lasted until 1926 when Kiri district in Shelleng Division was created and became one of the colonial hubs of agricultural productions.[415] More so, this led to significantly unsettled colonial policies that had overwhelming impact on the economic pre-occupation of peoples in Kiri district especially, as it affected their agricultural production after new crops were introduced and adopted.[416]

The Colonial State therefore, began the introduction of new crops through the Department of Agriculture which employed intensive propaganda campaign that saw the introduction and adoption of cotton and groundnut as two of the lucrative export crops to the detriment of staples like the guinea-corn. The introduction and adoption of cotton groundnut as export cash crops was however, voluntarily accepted in Kiri area due largely to the Native Authority intensified propaganda campaign that reached Kiri area where the peasant farmers were not given options to cultivate alternative crops.[417] Meanwhile, the food and sylvan crops like the guinea-corn, Shea nuts gum Arabic and Gutta parch needed no further introduction or promotion because, they were long cultivated and tatted for collection since the arrival of early European merchants. These crops nevertheless remained in the background as alternative export crops for both local and international consumption. While cotton and groundnut, and sylvan crops became the most important colonial agricultural policy responsibilities in Adamawa Province,[418] a

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[415]Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 177 – 178

[416]Ibid, p. 178

[417]Clarkson Kondeni. Unguwan Jambo, Kiri. October 2006, 58 years old

[418]Abba, A *History of Yola, 1804 – 1914*, Zaria, 2003, pp. 132 – 133

situation that led to the cultivation of cotton and groundnut as among the major export crops from Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1960, which Adamawa Province contributed almost one third.[419] See table five below for this expression of the expansion of cotton lint and groundnut export from Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1937.

Table 5: Expansion of the Major Exports of Northern Nigeria, 1900-1937

Year	Cotton Lint 1000 cwt	Groundnut 1000 tons
1900	0.2	0.6
1902	0.1	0.3
1903	3.0	0.5
1904	10.0	0.8
1905	12.0	0.8
1907	37.0	2.0
1908	20.0	2.0
1913	114.0	19.0
1915	113.0	9.0
1920	100.0	5.0
1921	114.0	51.0
1925	113.0	127.0
1927	100.0	91.0
1929	117.0	147.0
1931	70.0	160.0
1932	24.0	188.0
1933	88.0	205.0
1937	192.0	326.0

Source: Adesimi, op cit., p. 22 as complied from (i) Nigeria Trade Reports, (ii) Statistical Abstracts of the British Empire (iii) Perham, M. (ed.) *The Natives Economics of Nigeria*, London, 1945, pp. 8 – 9 (iv) Ekundare, op cit., pp. 332 – 333

The first attempt therefore, to introduce improved crops into Kiri area can be traced to the periods of the famines of 1904 and 1905 in the Gongola River Valley Region.[420] Commenting on the famine in 10 October 1904 as a move by Resident G. N.

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[419]See Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[420]The famines of these two years prevailed among the inhabitants of the Gongola River Valley Region after the incessant locust infestation which started in 1899, caused great distress and destruction. As a result, most inhabitants of the Gongola River Valley suffered untold hardship. For instance, 20 per cent of the different language groups in this region were estimated to have died, while children sold in large numbers to travellers (Hausa traders and slave-traders) who venture into this region in exchange for food. Stories however abound of migration of peoples outside the valley areas towards the east and south-east of the region and towards the Benue River Basin where they establish new settlements. Traditions among

Barclay to find solution to the famine, he reiterated the fact that the effects of the famine which may not be over for a long time,[421] was a prediction he foresaw to last till 1907. But, when J. M. Fremantle wrote to Assistant Resident, Gongola District that, the first and only plan and solution to bring relief to most victims of the famine was to encourage the planting of rice,[422] which the colonial government hoped would lead to high demands for rice and increased its cultivation. To this end, colonial officials in the district intimated G. N Barclay to also consider the introduction and promotion of crops like the Pigeon pea for cultivation among the people.[423] In a reply, the Assistant Resident S. H. P. Vereker for the Gongola District stated that Pigeon pea seeds would be accepted, and it should probably be welcomed as a change or an addition to farm seedlings.[424] Apparently, during these famine periods, crops long cultivated in Kiri area were equally mentioned and suggested as crops to be cultivated in large quantities. By these arrangements the numerous colonial officials believed they will be able to encourage the

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inhabitants of Kiri area, particularly Bobberre village spoke of a group of their kinsmen who migrated to establish Barre, a settlement on the banks of the Benue River to Namari few miles to Yola. There were also tales of corpses that choked the mouth of the Gongola River on the Benue River. As a result, Banjiram and Shelleng (settlements on the east and west of the Gongola River, and north of Kiri area) had their population reduced from 12,000 for Shelleng to under a thousand in Banjiram. See Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 65 – 66

[421]NAK Yolaprof D.2, 'Private Letter to His Excellency, 10 October 1904', by Barclay, G. N

[422] Rice being one of the favoured food crops among the British colonial officials because of its softness when cooked, see Staudinger, P In the Heart of the Hausa States (translated by Johanna E. Moody), vol. 2, Ohio University Centre for International Studies Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series No. 56, Athens, Ohio, 1999

[423]NAK Yolaprof D.1, vol. 1, 'Remarks to Assistant Resident Gongola District Quarterly Report September 1907', Recurrent Report Numan Area 1907 – 1910, by Fremantle, J. M

[424]NAK Yolaprof D.1, vol. 1, 'Reply to Acting Resident Yola's Letter, no. 784, 4 October 1907', Recurrent Report Numan Area, 1907 1910, Vereker, S. H. P

desire to cultivate these crops among the people in Kiri area for money in order to meet their tax payments.[425]

Thus, by the end of 1909, the above scenario had shifted to a situation whereby farmers were introduced to specific varieties of crops for cultivation through the village heads and hamlet heads to cultivate in large quantities and sold to European trading companies like the Royal Niger Company (RNC) and John Holt, who by this period had opened trade stations at Numan, Shelleng and Nafada towns, all along the Benue and Gongola Rivers. These companies and the colonial government introduced an incentive system whereby part payment in cash to farmers (who had hitherto only engaged in a lucrative exchanges between European merchants and Hausa middlemen who entered Kiri area to buy agricultural produce), to sell their goods to these companies who served as agents of the Colonial State. They were in most instances paid with European goods of equivalent value or later paid.[426] This payment system became persuasive and subtle until 1912, when Governor Heskett-Bell enthusiastically used administrative processes to enforce the cultivation of cotton.[427] This task continued under the Colonial Governments in northern Nigeria and the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A) supervision till the period when cotton production became commercialized from 1911 to 1912. The participation of the B.C.G.A in the introduction of cotton, and its adoption as an improved crop in Kiri district, failed to yield the expected result because it was strongly

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[425]NAK Yolaprof D.1, vol. 1, 'Quarterly Report on Gongola Division, 17 June 1909', Recurrent Report Numan Area, 1907 – 1909, by Vereker, S. H. P

[426]NAK Yolaprof D.1, 'Quarterly Report on Gongola Division no.4, September 1909', by Vereker, S. H. P

[427]Also from 1912 to 1913 Assistant Resident F. Edgar reported that he distributed large quantity of seed cotton gotten from the B.C.G.A. For details see NAK Yolaprof SNP10 293p/1913, 'Re-Assessment of the Kanakuru District', by Edgar, F., p. 5

opposed by the people. The efforts of the Colonial Government, nonetheless, went a long way to show the enthusiasm for commercial agriculture production in colonized areas like Kiri district and which turned the rich "dark cotton soil" of the area into a vast agricultural reserve for the cultivation of raw materials like cotton.

Furthermore, in Kiri area, the introduction and adoption of cotton turned out to be a better alternative to guinea-corn, because the *striga* plant which appeared to be the most limiting factor against its increased yields, increased the tendency for the peasant farmer in Kiri area to stop guinea-corn cultivation. But, as reported, the introduction of improved varieties of guinea-corn to substitute the *njigari* or *kwire*, proved no less different. In its place though, groundnut was encouraged for cultivation as an exports crop, which was later taken into confidence by farmers. It was not until 1953 to1955 when the tsetse fly clearing scheme was completed in Kiri area,[428] that the process of the introduction of modern improved crops continued, and this saw the emergence of few elite farmers especially, ex-soldiers from the Second World War who beside their acceptance of cotton and groundnut, also adopted the colonial mixed farming method introduced in Kiri area.[429] Though these few elite farmers involved themselves in large-scale agriculture production of cotton and groundnuts, their involvement was based on the fact that gender participation in the cultivation of these crops in Kiri was as a result of the increased involvement of women, whose contribution was estimated at between 70 to 80 per cent of the total farm work in north-eastern Nigeria by the 1960s.[430] This, though, did not steal

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[428]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 190

[429]Mal. Seaman Gundo, Gundo Village Kiri. September, 2007. 57 years old

[430]Boserup, op cit., p. 16

the efforts of the men, who actively determined the pace of production. This also affirmed the ethnographic debates earlier highlighted. The women in this case who accounted for the 80 per cent were wives who as per excellence played the major roles in the cultivation of crops.

In the end, the view that the introduction and adoption of crops in Kiri area was necessitated by the causes of a natural disaster and external demands, was taken by colonial government as an opportunity to promote its colonial policy towards agricultural production, and this consequently led to a slight alteration in the class structure and social relations in Kiri district, which later changed the colonial economic pre-occupation of inhabitants inside Kiri area.[431]

The Colonial Mixed Farming Scheme

In her efforts to introduce modern agricultural innovations, experiments and techniques that initiated commercialized agricultural production after the economic depression of the 1930s, and the effects of the Second World War. The colonial government, through the Colonial Agricultural Department introduced the colonial mixed farming scheme after a considerable period of trial. The scheme was however, intended as a practical system of improved cultivation where crop farming and stock raising was combined and introduced into the farm economy. The object been to increase the amount of manure and at the same time to provide animal power for ploughing and other farm work, whereby the acreage farmed by one household can be greatly increased. The development of this system, first, depended on the practical means to adapt the traditional farming methods of peoples where the system was introduced, secondly, provided

[431]S. Gundo, op cit.,

improved conditions for stock (i.e., reduced the high mortality of cattle from epidemic diseases), and finally provide cultivators with a means of acquiring new equipment and training. To this end, it must be remembered that the northern cultivator like the Dera had hitherto been entirely divorced from the care of cattle, which was exclusively in Fulbe hands.[432] Besides the exclusive handling of cattle by the Fulbe, other groups were known to have practiced mixed farming. In West Africa, the Serer employed mixed farming as their principal system of production.[433] They penned their cattle in the fields soon to be cultivated. The pens were integrated with the Acacia albida tree which sheds its leaves just before the rains begin. Thus, the cattle and the tree provided manure and humus which enabled the Serer to use the land more intensively than their neighbours and therefore to have denser patterns of settlement.[434]

It was also quite widespread and of considerable antiquity in Southern Africa,[435] in East Africa, mixed farming has been reported to be practiced.[436] It was also practiced in Ethiopia.[437] In northern Africa, many Tunisian and Egyptian agricultural peasants also combined crop cultivation with livestock rearing.[438] In the northern Sudan moreover, tens

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[432]Perham, op cit., p. 170

[433]See Hopkins, A. G *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, 1973, p. 34

[434] Curtin, P. D *Economic Change in Pre-Colonial Africa: Senegambia in the era of the slave trade, 2 Vols:* Madison, 1975, p. 28

[435]See Garlake, P. S 'Pastoralism and Zimbabwe'. *Journal of African History*, 5:19, 1978, p. 486; Omer-Cooper, J. D *The Zulu Aftermath: a nineteenth century in Bantu Africa*, London, 1978, p. 11 & 14; Crush, J. *The Struggle for Swazi Labour*, Kingston, and Montreal, 1987, pp. 17 – 18

[436]See Muriuki, G 'The Kikuyu in the Pre-Colonial Period' in Ogot, B. A (ed.), *Kenya Before 1900*, Nairobi, 1986, p. 107; Kjekshus, H *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, London, 1977, pp. 51 – 68

[437] Pankhurst, R. *Economic History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1968, pp. 209 – 213

[438]Valensi, L *Tunisian Peasants in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 148 – 152 and Ayrout, H. H *The Egyptian Peasant*, London, 1963, chapter 4

of thousands of cattle were put in use as bulls to operate the Saqiyas, for breeding, and as a capital asset. It is because cattle were so central to the economy . . . to export large numbers of Sudanese cattle to provide animal motive power for Egypt's industrial and agricultural development in the 1830s that nearly destroyed the riverine economy of the northern Sudan.[439] The need for this insight therefore, is to understand that impetus behind the introduction and adoption of this scheme in Adamawa province was not the unavailability of cattle and land or labour but, as a result of the Colonial State to actualize its policies. Hence, after enough information were available about the nature of extensive fertile lands and traditional farming methods, and the presence of cattle which were relied upon to replace the hoe for the plough,[440] efforts were made by colonial officials to educate cattle owners and peasant farmers of the advantages of mixed farming, especially in northern Nigeria so that the average cattle owner whose interest was in the number of herds he had than the value of cattle as bullock.[441] As a result, the mixed farming technique was started in Kiri area with as little as 213 mixed farmers by the early 1950.[442]

The presence of mixed farmers in Kiri therefore, was because of her agricultural potentials. Hence, in order to make good use of the potentials, especially the fertile land mixed farming, the Agriculture Department and the Native Authorities embarked on the clearing of about 60 acres of land around Kiri area where after investigation, it was revealed that 22 permanent *foci* of G. *tachnoides* were present. These infested areas

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[439]Bjorkelo, A *Prelude to the Madhiyya: peasants and traders in the Shendi region, 1821 – 1885*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 77

[440]Provincial Annual Report: Northern Nigeria, 1953, p. 10

[441]Ibid, p. 8

[442]Buchanan, K. M and Pugh, J. C *Land and People in Nigeria*, London, 1955, p. 124

contained some of the best farm lands,[443] but heavily covered with the *acacia sieberiana (faran kaya)* and *mimosa asperata (kai-daji)* plants. Thus, de-infestation of the area, which according to the colonial officials was the first priority before the introduction of mixed farming in Kiri area. Consequently, this exercise remained one of the most important colonial projects in Adamawa Province until 1957 when the view among colonial officials was to improve the wealth of inhabitants in Kiri area.[444] Therefore, the acceptance of mixed farming encouraged agricultural production to the extent that large and well-kept mixed farms of cotton, guinea-corn, wheat and groundnuts were seen in Kiri area. For example, an early mixed farmer recalled a mixed farm that was established in Talum village where cotton and wheat were grown. This farm, he further narrated was popularly called the 'Broad land Farm' in which over a hundred people were employed.[445]

The growth of the colonial Mixed Farming Scheme in Kiri area was however cut short by 1955, because of the mixed farmers' inability to properly manage the heavy 'dark cotton soil' with cattle and ploughs. But, this situation was corrected through new improved methods that were demonstrated, and afterwards, it was found that a farmer equipped with two working bullocks, a plough and a cultivator, a single household with two male workers could maintain from 8 to 10 acres in cultivation. The tops and stalks of the crops, together with some accessible bush grazing, would suffice as a maintenance ration for the cattle, while, during their working periods, supplies of guinea-corn, bran,

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[443]*Provincial Annual Report: Northern Nigeria, 1955, pp. 9 – 10*

[444]Ibid, p. 9

[445]Kondeni, op cit.,

cottonseed, etc., could be provided off the farm. Thus, a pair of bullocks, when properly but simply penned, provided 5 tons of manure per annum, which is adequate for rotational manuring of $2^{1/2}$ acres every year, since amounts which are negligible by European standards produce great increase in yield from tropical soils.[446] This was an indication that the soil could be ploughed but, only with the right technique and type of cattle.[447] Hence, the overall picture of the Colonial Mixed Farming Scheme in Kiri area as a modern innovation for agricultural production, led to expansion, improvement and optimism for cash crop production. Two specific trends appeared over the period the Colonial Mixed Farming Scheme was introduced: the first was an indication that mixed farmers' willingly accepted cattle and plough as part of their farming practice. Secondly, they held the hope for an increased and improved agricultural production because; they were willing and had the ability to afford cattle, and ploughs with loans from the Native Authority Treasury even if costs are high.[448] As such, bullocks were provided for prices ranging from £1 10s to £2 10s. While locally made light wooden ploughs were supplied for less than £1.[449] Besides acquiring loans to purchase cattle and plough, mixed farmers in Kiri area also sort loans from private firms and individuals because, by the late 1950s, the Native Authority provided loans for the purchase of ploughs only, while cattle were provided by the farmers themselves.[450]

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[446]Perham, op cit., p. 171

[447]NAK MOA, 7006 /T, Annual Report: Adamawa Province, 1 April 1955 to 31 March 1956, p. 16

[448]Annual Report: MOA Northern Region of Nigeria, 1957 – 58, p. 8

[449]Perham, op cit.,

[450]Annual Report, MOA Northern Region of Nigeria, 1958 – 59, p. 12

The use of bull-driven plough as a component of the mixed farming system however had certain setbacks. The setback was the tendency to alter gender division of labour relations where more than half of the bull-driven plough were owned and operated by men.[451] This situation, however, did not deter the colonial authorities who believed that mixed farming will not drastically affect peasant agriculture production in areas where the social customs and habits of the local inhabitants uphold mutually productive gender division of labour relationships, particularly in farm role activities as obtained in Kiri area. Their optimism was from the expected benefits that may be accrued to the appropriate use of these implements for agricultural production.

Though, adverse environmental consequences like soil erosion were experience, mixed farming, as a technique brought about the desire and concern to preserve the soil.[452] Therefore, in Kiri area, mixed farmers were able to effectively combine the bull-driven plough method and the hoe based farming methods effectively. That is, there was the bush-fallow method which was used to improve the fertility of the soil. These practices, led to the provision and use of other farm implements like the cart and tractor. Thus, barely a decade after mixed farming was introduced and accepted in Kiri area, it was acclaimed a success simply because the implement used became part and parcel of the mixed farmer's daily routine. Moreover, the successes of mixed farming as illustrated in a report by the British Colonial Government, declared that, with the introduction of mixed farming large agricultural yields are secured and the farmers had more ample food

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[451]Zeleza, P. T *A Modern Economic History of Africa,* Dakar, 2003, p. 93

[452]Ibid, p. 94

and large quantities of economic crops for sales.[453] The introduction of mixed farming, however, did not leave the generally anticipated contributions Fulbe nomads had on the system. A stock-rising scheme was introduced and encouraged in which over three quarters of a million head of cattle were recorded.[454] This was made possible because of the improved networks of inoculation camps established and trade points or the already established stop stations called *Zango* by 1944. The scheme was however mired by the Fulbe culture of transhumance.[455] As a matter of fact, it was this scheme that further gave Kiri area its status as a very important trade point in the early 1960s.[456]

The Kofare Farm Centre (K.F.C.)

The Kofare Farm Centre (K.F.C), like the Riyom Agricultural Centre (R.A.C.) on the Jos Plateau, was established after the failure of the Bole Experimental Farm (B.E.F.) in 1945. It however commenced its experiments and trials on 2,000 acres of bush land *daji*, which was situated 5 miles from Jimeta and few yards off the road from Yola to Numan town, toward the east of the Gongola River Valley area.[457] The Kofare Farm Centre more so became the nerve centre of the British Colonial Government agricultural experiments and trials for the whole of the Adamawa Province. The objectives of the farm included trials of arable crops, tests with chemical fertilizers and Farm Yard Manures (FYM). Moreover, it was mandated to investigate the potentials associated with

[453]Arewa House, op cit.,

[454]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 111; Buchanan and Pugh, op cit., p. 120

[455]Zeleza, op cit., p. 93

[456]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 112

[457]Annual Report, Adamawa Province, 1955 – 1956, op cit., Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 110

local cattle, and experiment on the viabilities of long term fallow systems.[458] These objectives only began after a Colonial Agriculture Officer (C.A.O) was posted to Adamawa Province between the late 1940s and early 1950s, to be assisted by a *Wakilin gona* who was expected to be a native of the area where agricultural activities were started. In addition, these individuals were to be assisted by one messenger. The Agriculture Officers and their assistants performed the duties of surveying districts in order to learn about the principles and practices of the peoples' soil conservation systems, the supervision of crop cultivation, especially of vegetables, fruit trees, budding and transplanting, and the introduction of new methods of general agricultural practices adapted from the Samaru Agriculture School (SAS).[459]

Meanwhile, the Kofare Farm Centre, during its early existence was pre-occupied with experiments on cattle and crop production only until 1951. By the end of 1955 though, the Farm Centre had also attempted numerous experiments on crops imported. These crops included carrots, cabbages, cauliflower and the French beans brought in from the Riyom Farm in Jos. It also experimented with nursery trials of fruit plants where budding and transplanting methods were organized and practiced for increased production in order to distribute to areas like Kiri district.[460] Thus, between the early and late 1950s, over 1,000 rough citrus budded trees of lemon and oranges, and mangoes were ready for distribution and transplant among farmers. Another 1,000 guava seedlings were distributed. The methods of budding and transplant of fruit trees introduced by the

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[458]Kirk-Greene, op cit., pp. 110 – 111

[459]NAK MOA 70006/T, No. 66/45, DOA Adamawa Annual Report, Adamawa Native Administration Agricultural Section 1946

[460]See Annual Report, 1953 – 54, op cit.; Annual Report 1954 – 55 op cit., and Annual Report 1955 – 56, op cit.,

Agricultural Department became possible because they were seen as alternative export cash crops in view of their rarity high demand in major towns. To this end, a nursery station was established in Numan Division by the Kofare Farm Centre in an effort to increase the incidence of budding and transplanting but, the annual high floods of the Benue River continued to thwart the efforts of the Agriculture Officials to distribute citrus plants into places like Kiri areas.[461]

Nevertheless, the Kofare Farm Centre became the first ground the Ferguson Tractors and equipment were tried and proven to be very useful machines for agricultural production especially, farmland preparation, transportation of harvested crop, and it was discovered that they contributed to augment the shortage of labour, that engulfed Kiri area between 1945 to about 1955.[462] Some scientific experiments were carried out to test the effectiveness of chemical fertilizers on the K.F.C. For instance, the effect of the super phosphate, phosphorus and sulphur chemical fertilizers were carried out and they were found to be significant better in terms of yields. The insignificant results however, indicated it was because of the traces of deficient elements in the soil.[463] To correct this deficiencies, soils from Kofare area and Samaru experimental farm collected, compared with chemical fertilizers and Farm Yard Manure (FYM). Though discrepancies were reported, the trial results returned 'heavy rates of artificial traced elements as the causes of differences in crop yields between Samaru and Kofare farm soils.[464]

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[461]Annual Reports, 1953 – 54, 1954 – 55, 1955 – 56, op cit.,

[462]Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

[463]Annual Report: 1953 – 54, op cit.,

[464]Ibid

In addition to these experiments, other experiments were carried out with different grasses as hays to be fed to livestock. Their results were impressive.[465] In addition, attempts were made to improve poultry production. Thus, from 1953 to 1955 four R. L. Rocks; two each from Samaru and Riyom were received and cross-bred with local fowls to be distributed among peasant farmers who were interested in rearing fowls in Kiri district.[466] This effort was however defeated because of virulence diseases that ravaged the Province.[467] The Kofare Farm Centre (K.F.C.) although, initially established to improve the overall agriculture potentials of Adamawa Province, its objectives as stated earlier failed, especially in Kiri district as a result of the lack of Agricultural Officers. However, the general colonial policy towards agriculture remained significantly behind the force used to exploit cheap agricultural raw materials to improve the overall colonial economy, despite all odds as they may affect the colonized people, the contribution of the Kafare Farm Centre as a colonial policy instrument cannot be under-estimated. Even though it initiated modern methods of agricultural productions, in Kiri district, the Colonial State through the Native Authority only instituted a scenario where they stamped their colonial economic policy plans, to the detriment of colonized peoples in areas like Kiri district by 1960.

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[465]Annual Report, 1955 – 56, op cit.,

[466]Annual Report, 1953 – 54, op cit., Annual Report, 1954 – 55, op cit.,

[467]Kirk-Greene, op cit., p. 11

Colonial Agricultural Shows[468]

The 1945 memoranda statement on the British colonial policy towards agriculture, which provided the broad basis on which the policy's background and principles were laid for Agricultural Shows and Bazaars in Adamawa Province between 1952 to about 1957,[469] like all colonial economic policies, the colonial agriculture policy was centred on the belief that, the ability of a territory to provide a satisfactory standard of living for its people depended principally upon its inhabitants prosperity in terms of agricultural production.[470] Therefore, to adequately provide for the envisaged prosperity in food and raw materials supply, that may be internationally exchanged and revenues acquired to supplement services for better living standard, the first agriculture show was organized and staged between 1952 and about 1957.

The first Agricultural Show (A.S), which was held in Adamawa Province, was at Jada on 11 February 1952. The show had on display pavilions for mixed farmers' bullocks and demonstrations were carried out to exhibit how farmers can handle bull-driven ploughs. Besides these displays and demonstrations, there were entertainments that included horse races and traditional dances. Though, the first show ever to be organized by the Agricultural Department in Adamawa Province, it didn't meet the expectation of the Provincial government. Two weeks after the Jada Show, another agricultural show was organized in Mubi.[471] On 14 August 1952, a field day show was

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[468] See Table Six of areas where these shows were organized from 1954 to 1974

[469] Arewa House, op cit.,

[470] Ibid

[471] NAK MOA 7006/T, NO. 66/149, DOA Annual Report, Adamawa Province, Northern Region Agricultural Department, 1951

held at the Kofare Farm Centre where farm cattle or bulls, experimental and trial results of varieties of crops and farm equipment were displayed side by side with local varieties of crops, farm tools and cattle. Furthermore, the display and demonstration of the Ferguson tractor and its implements were also carried out.[472] The start of these Agricultural Shows, however, brought about excellent opportunities that allowed the British Colonial Government through the Agricultural Department and the Native Authority to promote its policies towards agricultural production, whereby district heads, village heads and farmers were encouraged to attend, while the financial obligations were off-set by the Native Authority Treasury.

The third Agricultural Show which was staged in Kiri area on 17 February 1952 was organized by the D.O (Agriculture) after he received directives from the Agriculture Department, Northern Region.[473] Although reports of attendance and number of agricultural items on display were impressive, the show did not run as smoothly as the Jada Agricultural Show. The reasons were because of staff shortages and organization constraints beside the heat of a very hot day which hindered the show.[474] This situation led to the first unsuccessful Agricultural Show (A.S) in Adamawa Province. Not deterred by the failure of the Kiri show, two years later, another Agricultural Show was organized in Kiri district on 18 March 1954 with assistance from the Agriculture Production Officer, Yola and the Senior Agriculture Officer.[475] During this A.S., 'victory' ploughs

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[472]Annual Report, 1951, op cit.,

[473] NAK MOA 7006/T, 66/205, DOA Annual Report, Adamawa Province, Northern Region Agricultural Department, 1953 – 54

[474]Ibid

[475]Ibid

and a sugar crusher from the Kofare Farm Centre were placed for demonstration, in view of the fact that the Colonial Mixed Farming Scheme had gained prominence in Kiri district by this time.[476] On display also were budded seedlings and how seeds were dressed before planting.[477] The different items displayed in the previous agricultural show in Kiri area were once more exhibited during the 1954 show. These items included the *kwire* or *njigari*, *gero*, seed cotton, groundnuts (*geda*), fish and fish nets. A colourful dance fair entertained the people and this went with the display of processed foodstuffs like groundnut cakes called *karago*, the locust beans paste called *da'dawa*, *kurinje* or *kuka*. In addition, the local brew called *burkutu* or *peto* was also displayed and served to visitors. Along with these displays livestock like ducks, goats, sheep and dried fish, i.e., *busheshen kifi*, pepper and dairy products were equally showcased.[478] Furthermore, local herbs of medicinal potencies were displayed and sold during the show.

The Kiri Agricultural Show has since ceased to hold. Although, it was believed to have exposed peasant farmers to certain modern innovations, experimental results and techniques in agricultural production, the 'Allen' cotton varieties and the 26c, and 26j varieties from the Samaru Agriculture School came to be of great success in Kiri area among many farmers who took advantage of them, along with the advantages provided by the Colonial Mixed Farming Scheme whereby the plough was instituted as a symbol for propaganda in order to promote agriculture production. This situation led to the saying that, an 'ignorant man and his wife, with a hoe are a total inadequate foundation

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[476] NAK MOA, 7010, 'Monthly Report, March 1956', by Harrison D. S

[477] Ibid

[478] Baba Kirien, Unguwan Bokorok, Kiri. October 2006, 62 years old

for an enlightened society . . .,' whose potentials for agricultural production was only encouraged because of the ample presences of fertile lands but, whence agricultural production still subsistence.[479]

As a result of these, the British appeared genuinely interested in the social welfare of its colonized people,[480] but the truth of the matter was that the various colonial officials and departments such as, the Agriculture Department were only interested or forced to undertake local colonial development programs because they foresaw these efforts would be achieved through agricultural shows or the provision of agricultural extension services, in order to avoid any unforeseen natural or man-made disasters. To achieve these, the British provided practical farming techniques or systems with equipment considered standard or modern. With this actualized, they introduced and embarked on the promotion of different Agricultural Shows.

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[479] Provincial Annual Report Northern Region of Nigeria, 1953, p. 10

[480] Ibid

Table 6: Location of Agricultural Shoes in Numan Division 1954 to 1974

Year	Place	District
1954	Kiri	Shellem
1955	Kiri	Shellem
1956	Numan	Bachama
1957	Numan	Bachama
1958	Guyuk	Longuda
1959	Demsa	Bata
1960	Borrong	Mbula
1961	Shellen	Shellem
1962	Numan	Bachama
1963	Guyuk	Longuda
1964	Demsa	Bata
1965	Borrong	Mbula
1966	Shellem	Shellem
1967	Numan	Bachama
1968	Banjiram	Longuda
1969	Demsa	Bata
1970	Borrong	Mbula
1971	Shellem	Shellem
1972	Numan	Bachama
1973	Guyuk	Longuda
1974	Demsa	Bata

Source: a. Numan Local Authority Agriculture Office, 1970

b. Mirchaulum, op cit.,

Conclusion

Our examination of claims and efforts by the British Colonial Government, to significantly transform agricultural production during colonial rule through the introduction of 'new' ideas for agricultural development in Kiri area, dates as far back as the late nineteenth century. Consequently, literature on agricultural integration from this period to when colonial rule was entrenched revealed the fact that several evidences point to a situation where the Colonial State was basically concerned with achieving their own selfish interest, to promote the colonial economy. This was through increased percentages of participants during agricultural production, as a result of pulling the labour force from either individual, or the nuclear family and the gaiya system. These labour forces were, hence, channelled into the various individual and family farms as labourers. The majority of these labourers were women whose contributions in food crop production that was equally concentrated on the subsistence/commercial agriculture that concerned itself in production of food crops and processed cash crops, through varieties of farm activities that ranged between farmland preparation to harvest and storage. The access to agricultural innovations as illustrated earlier, however, pushed the marginal increase in productivity, a situation caused by inadequate access to these innovations because credit facilities and the political conditions of the times left our arguments unresolved.

Hence, the relations of these claims of colonial contribution to agriculture in Kiri area must be seen from the perspective of the periods. That is, the scope of the colonial period when British colonial rule had already entrenched itself and upset the primary objectives of such a society, where it was able to produce enough and sufficient food for the household and community at large even had surplus to exchange with other

communities. Thus, the changes or implications of these modern innovations, experiments and techniques cannot be under-estimated because they considerably shifted agricultural production from subsistence to commercial, only in order to meet the raw material needs of the imperialists markets that only divided the whole population, who became individualistic rather than complement their original patterns of agricultural production, an effect of their involvement and contribution in agricultural activities during colonial rule in Kiri and the whole Gongola River Valley Region.

CHAPTER SIX
THE ECONOMICS OF EXPORT CASH CROP PRODUCTION AND TRADE, C.1900 TO 1960

Introduction

In our discussion of the nature of British colonial rule and economic policy in northern Nigeria, and hence Kiri area as illustrated in chapter three and four, where we indicated that the immediate concerns of the British was the provision of institutional and physical infrastructures that first introduced a cash economy to facilitate economic transactions, that eradicated the inconveniences of the barter system and use of commodity currencies. Secondly, provide a modern system of transportation, such as, railways, 'wheeled traffic' roads to replace the expensive human carriage, and dredge able waterways that helped to link most riverine people with their agricultural potentials, and lastly formulate and implement reformed agricultural programs that removed great deals of the excessive tax burdens on agriculture. Thus, from 1902 to 1957 these objects no doubt stimulated agricultural expansions through the Colonial States' interest in commercial agricultural production,[481] which extended into Kiri area.

Arising from the above, this chapter shall examine the economics of the commercial productions and supply of cotton for both the local and international markets, with particular reference to how Kiri area contributed to the colonial economy. That is, after cotton was introduced for commercial cultivation. In addition, we shall discuss the roles of the various colonial instruments like, the market board that span over a decade with the above objects in perspective in view of the fact that cotton production was doped

[481]Adesimi, A. A 'The Prospects and Potentials of Groundnut Cultivation as a Means of Enhancing Economic Opportunities in Rural Economy of Northern Nigeria', Unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973, pp. 99 – 100

the most popular cash crops from Kiri until the late 1970s.[482] Therefore, our main reason to examine cotton production as the main cash crop, after the Colonial State in collaboration with the B.C.G.A found out after investigations the viability of cotton production in Kiri district, which led to the general conclusion that Kiri area and northern Nigeria as a whole were in a position to be the important source of raw cotton supply to Lancashire,[483] compared to the quality of cotton from the Americas.

Thus, the favourable economic and physical conditions for cotton production in Kiri area was the nature of its soil and population which when combined, created both a suitable and capable atmosphere,[484] as was the case during colonial rule in Kiri area. This brings us to examine the historical background of commercial cotton production in Northern Nigeria, hence, Kiri area until 1957.

Historical Background to Commercial Cotton Production in Kiri District

The historical background to the commercial production of cotton in Kiri area can be traced to the emergence of cotton seed, as a viable crop for commercial production after the cotton crisis in America. This crisis began after the outbreak of the cotton weevil infestation in the late nineteenth century.[485] European Merchants' interests to source for cotton elsewhere, thereafter, led them to establish the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.) in 1902 and 1904 when it got the Royal license. From then on,

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[482]See Mirchaullum, P. T 'Cotton Production in Northern Nigeria: development, problems and prospects'. Unpublished Ph. D thesis, London University, 1973

[483]Birtwistle, C. A *Cotton Growing in Nigeria,* Manchester, 1908; Percival, J *Notes on the Cultivation and Harvesting of Cotton in Nigeria,* Manchester, 1906 and Cowley, E. J *The Development of the Cotton Growing Industry in Nigeria, with Special Reference to the Work of the British Cotton Growing Association, Empire Cotton Growers Region*, 43, 1966, 169-195

[484]As Percival, J stressed, it is a fallacy to imagine that grades equalled to the 'good' middling America cannot be widely grown in any of the Protectorates. Percival, J. op cit., p. 3

[485]Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 17

the B.C.G.A. began its expansion with the aim of promoting the commercial production of cotton and its trade, in order to assist the development of new found sources for cotton cultivation like colonial Nigeria.[486] To harness this source and resource at their disposal, the British colonial government and the B.C.G.A posited that the time was right to encourage natives to turn their attention to the cultivation of exportable crops like cotton to Britain, even though the history of cotton cultivation in the Nigerian area was an ancient culture of production and consumption,[487] especially in northern Nigeria consequently, the Gongola River Valley Region hence, Kiri area where 'cotton cultivation kept pace with the rapid progress of the demands of the empire'.[488]

Beside the demand and supply which was met as a result of cotton cultivation in northern Nigeria, it was further intensified after the expansion of the railroad from 1911 to 1912 when it reached Kano. Colonial Officials, the B.C.G.A and European merchant firms like the RNC reported the potentials of cotton production for cash.[489] These developments spread and affected Kiri area in relation to its climate, relief and soil, are the pre-requisite that greatly influenced cotton production.[490] This encouraged the Colonial State in 1907 to recognise Kiri area as a centre for the cultivation and exchange

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[486]In order to accomplish this interest, a wholly owned subsidiary company was registered in Nigeria under the name of British Cotton Growing Association (Nig. Ltd.) on 31 October 1909, to take over the business previously performed by the branch organization. For details, see, Cowley, E. J., op cit., p. 169

[487]See Anjorin, P. O 'Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria during the Colonial Era' in Akinjogbin and Osoba (ed.), *Tropics on Nigerian Economic and Social History,* Ile-Ife, 1980, pp. 115 – 127

[488]Percival, op cit.,

[489]Lamb, P. H 'Past, Present and Future of Cotton Growing in Nigeria' in *Empire Cotton-Growing Review,* 1925 See also, 'Growing Cotton in Nigeria' in *Nigerian Marketing Boards Journal,* March 1952

[490]See for details, Klinkenberg, K 'The Soils of the Lau-Kaltungo Area'. *Samaru Soil Survey Bulletin,* 36, pp. 1 – 62

of cotton, and other agricultural produce,[491] because after the Baro to Kano railroad reached Kano in 1912, an optimistic desire was created in the British and among peasant farmers to cultivate cotton in Kiri area. Although the railroad only reached Bauchi in the north-eastern region, this did not deter colonial officials. Though, W. S Sharpe, Resident Yola allays his own fear in 1912 when he said, 'the consequence of this development will bring about increased supply of cotton',[492] especially from places like Kiri area.

Though the cotton plant was an early plant species in Kiria area, it was however introduced. For example, the Asian varieties: the *Gossypium herbaceum* and the *Gossypium arboretum* whose origin were traced to Asia, entered Kiri area via Hausa land in the early eighteenth century to exist as house whole plants.[493] While the *Gossypium hirstutum*, otherwise called the "American Allen Long–Staple variety" from America, emerged inside Kiri area via Senegal on the Western Sudan during the colonial period, to successful displace the Asian varieties and grow best before 1951. Thus, in 1951 the improved 26c and 26j cotton varieties were introduced for commercial production,[494] which output encouraged its cultivation thus the heightened cultivation among farmers in Kiri area. The B.C.G.A hitherto encouraged farmers to grow cotton alongside food crops as they see fit,[495] and emphasized financial rewards to any farmer who was particular

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[491]NAK Yolaprof D.2, 'Monthly Report for November 1907. Gongola District', by Vereker, S. H. P

[492]NAK Yolaprof Y.2, 'Comments on the Kanakuru Assessment Report, 1912', by Sharpe, W. S

[493]Blench, R. M 'A History of Agriculture in North-Eastern Nigeria' in Barretaeu, D., et al (ed.) Homme et le Milieu Vegetal dans le Basin du le Tchad, Paris, 2000

[494]See Choyce, M. A. 'A Review of Cotton Development in Nigeria'. *Samaru Agriculture Newsletter*, 10, 1988, p. 44 – 56 and Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 21

[495]Mirchaullum, ibid, p. 20

about cotton production for export.[496] Nevertheless, this was basically to entrench the colonial economic policy. Therefore, successes in commercial production of cotton during colonial rule in northern, and Kiri area became a crucial situation that saw commercial cotton production through certain production procedures.

Production:

With the rapid spread of the success story of the Gombe Cotton growers' season report of 1949/50,[497] cotton as an export cash crop in Kiri area flamed like wild fire. The case of Kiri area was as a result of the successes of the Regional Information Division of the Colonial Agriculture Department extensive propaganda campaign, among who inculcated the colonial mixed farming system into their farming activities. This contributed greatly, and led to a period of rapid cotton production and expansion in Kiri area from the early 1950s,[498] when technical support in the form of ginneries were located in strategic areas of cotton cultivation by the B.C.G.A who primarily determined the production and expansion of cotton cultivation as a cash crop. The Gombe, Lamurde, Kumo and Biu ginneries or as they were referred to: 'the Gombe-Biu-Lamurde triangle of ginneries'[499] became the decisive link to inaccessible cotton producing areas like Kiri where the extension of railway transportation did not reach.

It was not until 1914 when the first recorded bales of cotton lint was made that, an improved motor road system and the plausible development in preferential land tax rate

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[496]Ekundare, R. O. *Economic History of Nigeria*, 1860 – 1960, New York, 1973, pp. 156 – 174 & 279 – 293; McPhee, A *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, London, 1926, p. 264

[497]Leonard, H. B. 'The Development of Cotton Production in Northern Nigeria, 1949 – 52'. *Empire Cotton Growers' Review*, 31, 1954, pp. 12 – 26

[498]Mirchaullum, op cit, pp. 89, 95 and 101

[499]Ibid, p. 162

was instituted, to allow peasant farmers increased their acreage of cotton production.[500] While the increased acreage of cotton production was one of the prime factors in the high volume of cotton production in places like Kiri area, it was also right to say that other factors contributed immensely. These factors included political decisions, socio-economic considerations and techniques of production. This study therefore, examined the latter because it critically influenced cotton production. That is in view of the nature of farm size, farm practices, and labour. In addition, explain the different processes involved to marketing cotton for export, especially the role of the Cotton Marketing Board in northern Nigeria as they led to the peasant farmers' discussion to take up cotton production in Kiri area.

Techniques÷ While cotton cultivation was for long a familiar culture among farmers in Kiri area, the place of this crop in agricultural production for cash was recent. This was after the new cotton varieties were introduced after their experimental trials began in 1912. Therefore, the various seed cotton varieties and methods of cultivation introduced in Kiri area, the different language groups also responded to it favourably based on their understanding of the recommended methods for cotton cultivation, which preference for a well-drained fertile 'dark cotton soil' and consistent weeding for about two to three times before harvest; application of fertilizer (i.e. ½ cwt. of Super Phosphate, plus 2 cwt. of Ammonium Sulphate, and the application of at least six sprays of insecticides.[501] The ridges must also be close–tied in order to conserve essential moisture.

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[500]Although exotic seeds of cotton were shipped into Northern Nigeria and distributed to farmers in 1902, the first shipment of eight bags of cotton was made on 13 December, 1902. See also Angorin, A. O., op cit., p. 123

[501]Mirchaullum, op cit., pp. 103 – 104

The fertility of the soil was further improved when the land was drained because of its waterlogged nature that caused poor yields. By these methods, and if well applied the average peasant farmer was expected to have yields as high as 2,000 lbs. of seed cotton per acre (i.e. 2,340kg/ha).[502] But where the farmer's yield decreased, the problem stems from the deleterious effects of late sowing.[503] These production techniques and their consequent output in terms of increase or decrease, matter a lot, particularly in relation to the cultivation processes that included the farm size.

Farm Size÷ In Kiri area, though, farmlands are compacted in terms of size. The compact nature of farm size was later extended after it was included into the Gombe Cotton Growing Region, where cotton cultivation for export started from the 1951-52 farming season. Kiri area therefore, assumed the role of one of the closest and first cotton producing areas and market before Banjiram market in Adamawa Province. These markets were known to have accounted for an average output of about 3,000 tons, and about the 45.7 per cent of the Provinces' annual production in the total northern Nigeria's' quota into export crops by the mid-twentieth century.[504] The significance of these figures was the demonstration of the fact that, few people produced a significant proportion of the annual cotton purchased from Kiri area. This was a situation that was encouraged by the nature of cotton farm sizes, which was put at 2.7 acre per farmer (see Appendix for more detail),[505] which were not different from farmland allocation methods in northern Nigeria. However, there were instances when the average cotton farm size in

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[502]Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 10

[503]Ruston, D. F 'Effects of Delay in Sowing Cotton', *Empire Cotton Growers Review*, **39**, 1962, pp. 10 – 13

[504]See Table 5

[505]Federal Office of Statistics, Agricultural Sample Survey, *Bulletin 3*, 1961 and Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 22

Kiri area reached as low as 0.25 acres (0.8ha) of cotton under cultivation.[506] To which the cotton farmer attached great deal of concern to location as the table below indicated of cotton farm in Kiri district where, about 57 per cent of cotton farm lands were known to be below 5 acres (2 ha) and large cotton farm lands above 5 acres known to be rare during the colonial period, especially in Kiri area where about 228 persons occupied 91 kilometres per square which was not a constraint. The only constraint however, was labour that led to scarcity of farm hands during cotton cultivation.[507]

Table 7: *Cotton Farm Size in* Kiri District

Farm Size	Kiri District	
Acres	No.	%
Less than 1	1	0.25
1 – 2	13	20.0
3 – 4	23	35.4
5 – 7	13	20.0
8 – 10	11	16.9
Over 10	4	6.2
	65	100.0

Source: Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 227

Another constraint that determined the size of cotton farm in Kiri area was the issues of lands inheritance. This constraint contributed to determine strips of land where the only identifiable ownership to land was either demarcation with stones because written deeds were not used during our period under consideration. However, representatives of the *Amna* or the *Welina* (*Mai Anguwoyi*), who were responsible for land allocation as authorized by the Colonial State. Hence, sale of farmland was not allowed because it encouraged contiguous issues of ownership. The normal and

[506]Fieldwork, 2007 and Michaullum, op cit., p.226; Federal Office of Statistics, op ci,

[507]Fieldwork, op cit.,

commonest thing was either to surrender such land to the *Welina* or leased to a person or family without a farm land.[508] This was a development that made expansion of farmland a bit difficult even though land and labour were available. The availability of land and labour as it was with cotton production in Kiri area, and as it relates to farm size, had its own draw backs whereby the same farm size for the cultivation of cotton was also used to grow food crops. The labour need of these farms therefore, required sufficient labour supply and time, which the average farmer hardly affords. The implications of these circumstances affected production and exerted pressure on cotton production and probably shortage of farmlands, in terms of yields that affected family incomes in order to meet their daily needs.

Cultivation Processes÷ To further understand the role farm size played in cotton production during the later 1950s, it is pertinent understand the extent of the involvement of labour and estimated requirement of food crop in an average household.[509] In Kiri area, the preparation for cotton cultivation began in May but, situation where the farmland was new, the process of land preparation may last a day or more because an entire day might be spent clearing and burning unwanted plants, which was the first step. The end of this activity may also be the beginning of the farming season for the cultivation of cotton, which was mostly carried out by both men and women who prepared the ridges and weed the farm before harvest.[510] Hence, the principal methods of land preparation for cotton cultivation starts with the use of hoes, and in some instances,

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[508]Baba Kirien. *Unguwan Bakoroki, Kiri. October 2006, 62 years old*

[509]*Ibid*

[510]Nana Asmau. Unguwan Talum, Kiri. 08/05/2007, 59 years old

the bull-drawn ploughs or the tractor. More so, it was important to note that ridge making with hoe was by far one of the important component methods of tilling the soil,[511] which as explained in previous chapters starts earlier before bull-drawn plough was used as a result of the introduction of the mixed farming system.[512] Thus, as the use of the bullocks became an efficient task in farmland preparation, i.e., two healthy bulls ploughing up to 2 acres (0.2 ha) in a day,[513] cotton farmers were then able to cultivate much of their fields in good time.[514]

As such, the importance of the bullocks and plough was reflected on the amount of work they achieved. Thus, the average cotton farmer may spend as much as £2.105 to cultivate a farmland. The implications of these on the cultivation processes can be deduced from the fact that before colonial rule, the cultivation processes in Kiri was crude in nature compared to when modern innovations were introduced during colonial rule and food crops like the guinea-corn became an important field crops whose yield increased by acreage side by side with cotton. But emphasis was placed on cotton because of its value as cash crop, and the introduction of new cultivation processes that concentrated on cotton production. As a result, a high percentage of cotton farmers either cultivated their farms continuously or allowed them to fallow for least two years. By these developments, the increased output realized became acceptable, and then were sold to agents in the various cotton markets before being transported to the port from where they were shipped to England for the international market.

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[511]Baba Kirien, op cit.,

[512]Fieldwork, 2007

[513]Ibid

[514]Abubakar Jada. Unguwan Jambo, Kiri. October 2006, 66 years old

Cotton Marketing:

The provision or establishment of a marketing system for Cotton by the British Colonial Government was one of the principal factors that further encouraged cotton cultivation in Kiri area. This development was further given impetus after improved means of transportation like metallic roads, railroads and dredged waterways were provided by the Colonial State in order to move cotton in the form of cotton lint to the various designated market points.[515] Thus, the procedure involved in the movement of cotton from Kiri area was in two levels. The first was the initial access to European merchants through their numerous Licenced Buying Agents (L.B.A) stationed in cotton markets. The idea been that the price concession for European firms were different and which were tagged for cotton lint. In addition, the second level was the creation of avenues where cotton farmers and Licensed Buying Agents and, Cotton Supervisors (C.S) from the Colonial Agricultural Department determined how cotton lint were bought and sold according to the tagged prices in a cotton market.[516]

Early Cotton Marketing Arrangements in Kiri District

The earlier cotton buying arrangement in Kiri district was started by the early European merchant firms who basically shipped cotton to Europe after they were bought from farmers. This aspect of the arrangement also formed about ⅓ of cotton weight. Thus, the shipment of cotton by the early European merchant firms became uneconomic; as a result they established ginneries. The B.C.G.A became the first corporate body to set up ginneries within the 'Gombe-Biu-Lamurde triangle of ginneries'. With this, they put

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[515]Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 144

[516]Ibid., p. 150

in place a marketing policy whereby it was possible for them to establish more buying stations and ginneries within the cotton grown areas, which were mostly located between 20 to 30 miles in radius. For instance, cotton buying centres like Kumo and Lamurde were the closest to Kiri area.[517] In addition to established of buying centres and ginneries, the B.C.G.A fixed minimum prices for cotton but, subjected the price regime to day by day variation as the international cotton market dictated.[518] More important though was the guarantee that, the B.C.G.A. bought all the cotton, a situation that gave cotton farmers an incentive to grow more.

The incentive to grow more was not solely determined by farmers' access to ginneries and assured sale, but rather, the provision of metallic roads that linked cotton producing areas and buying centres like Kiri area. For example, Banjiram one of the earlier buying centres on the banks of the Gongola River was also an early trade route along the Bauchi to Yola that linked Guyuk and Kiri; two very important towns that became significant cotton producing areas and buying centres by 1957. By this time though, instances were recorded of buying agents who had to trek (depending on the season of the year), or use donkeys to reach remote buying station inside Kiri area.[519] These buying centres and ginneries however, became beehives for cotton producers who were less organized.[520] Despite all these, the exchanges of cotton continued between the early European firms, the B.C.G.A who took responsibility for ginning before cotton lint were exported through the dry season roads that linked the Gombe-Biu-Lamurde

[517] Mirchaullum, op cit.,

[518] Ibid, p. 145

[519]Turner, R. 'The Economic Aspects of the Cotton Industry of Northern Nigeria'. Empire Journal of Export Agriculture, 16, pp. 178 – 186

[520]Mirchaullum op cit., p. 145

ginneries and the Benue River, hence, the southern coast of Nigeria before shipment to ports in Liverpool and Lancashire to meet the competitive buying nature of cotton until the Second World War.[521] With the commencement of the Second World War, shipment rates and prices were fixed and overseen by the Ministry of Supply in Britain and the West African Produce Marketing Board (W.A.P.M.B).[522] This arrangement had considerably impact on the early marketing of cotton in places like Kiri area but, after the war shortages of raw cotton in Britain became a cause of concern. Therefore, this led to the establishment of the Raw Cotton Commission (R.C.C) with the mandate to supply raw cotton to spinners through the B.C.G.A, the sole appointed buying agent of the R.C.C from the whole of northern Nigeria. Thus, by 1949 when political changes occurred in Nigeria, individual commodities Marketing Boards emerged with the sole responsibility to purchase cotton and this encouraged increased cotton production.[523]

It was conditions like this that led in 1954 to establish the first Northern Nigeria Marketing Board, with the mandate to not only take charge of cotton export but, all other exportable crops. That is, after favourable arrangements for the purchase of cotton were made before they were evacuated to the port of shipment. This promoted the development and rehabilitation of ginneries and the allocation of funds, in order to promote the welfare and prosperity of the producer and the area of production.[524] Based on these mandates, we can conclude that the objectives of the Board and its functions or mandates were

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[521]Harmer, E. G 'Grading and Marketing of Cotton in Northern Nigeria', *West Africa Cotton Research Conference, Samaru*, pp. 178 – 180

[522]Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 146

[523]Ibid, pp. 146 – 147

[524]Annual Report, Northern Nigeria Marketing Board, 1964/1965

mainly directional and lacked effective organization and representation of cotton producers, who faced the unequal buying situation of cash crops like cotton.[525]

Cotton Producer Market

The cotton producer market during our period study formed the central part of the cotton marketing system in Kiri district and northern Nigeria as a whole by 1960. It is within this framework that cotton growers, licensed buying agents and cotton supervisors came in contact with each other.[526] The market starts immediately the harvesting season opened, and when cotton began to flow into the market. The first such market was opened in Shelleng, Banjiram, Bobinni, and Kiri in Shelleng Division. These markets; the largest markets by the mid-1900s, turned out considerable tonnage of cotton between 1953 to1955 and the combined output of their tonnage ranged from 143.6 tons and 143.9 tons from the Banjiram market; 99.3 tons to 115.71 tons between 1953 to 1955 from the Bobbini market, and 169.3 ton to 72.26 tons from the Shelleng market during the 1953 to 1955 cotton seasons. While the Kiri market was not different, its tonnage output during the same seasons was put at 37.39 ton of seed cotton. Thus, by 1956, the total tonnage of seed cotton from these markets was over 865 tons; increases that continued until the demise of cotton production in Northern Nigeria.

The nature of these cotton producer markets especially within Kiri area was in the form of a simple stall constructed with local woven grass mat called *zana*, and with three poles of sticks that formed the frames to represent the stall. These stalls had to be erected every year because of the nature of the materials, although attempts were always made to

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[525]Mirchallum, op cit., p. 19

[526]Ibid, p. 150

increase the number of markets, but, such attempts failed because of lack of money.[527] Hence, a cotton producer market may contain more than one stall to a Licensed Buying Agents, who represented the interests of the Colonial Government and the different European merchant firms. Consequently, an average of 2 LBAs were known to be stationed in different cotton producer markets.[528] These arrangements continued due largely to the importance of these areas as cotton producers by 1953. The above development, especially in relation to the processes involved in buying seed cotton. Two factors became responsible: First, was the size and output levels of the markets because of their productive capacity of the area, and the number of licensed buying agents that operated in these markets.[529] As a result, the farmers were known to sample different markets without sanctions. This also increased their mobility to other markets farther away from the usual cultivation area,[530] despite the fact that producer prices of seed cotton were fixed and farmers often take the liberty to sample other buying centres within their reach because of complaints of buying agents who tightened their scales in order, to 'unbalance' the weight measurement of their scales. Thus, most farmers became very sensitive to the grades often given to them.[531]

Therefore, most farmers were faced with problem of poor grading and the likely chance of feeling they had been cheated, as a result their urge to take their produce to the

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[527]Mirchanllum, op cit., p. 155

[528]Ibid, p. 255

[529]*Ibid*, pp. 155 – 156

[530]Ibid, p. 156

[531]Ibid

next station or buying centre.[532] Thus, while at the buying centres the cotton farmer displayed his or her grade type for proper inspection by a cotton inspector. Inspection was done by eye, as this was the only practicable means of inspection and grading, which must conform to the current sample grades before the appropriate grade is issued to the farmer.[533] The grades were identified by slips of marked numbers and colours, as most farmers were illiterates. If graded cotton was very poor, the cotton inspector had the right to reject the packed cotton or asked the farmer to re-package for another inspection.[534] After presentation and grading, the cotton farmer took the packed cotton to a buying courtyard where licensed agents sat with their cashier who weighed them and paid the farmer.[535] The purchased cotton was then taken to the appropriate grade compartment where they were manually bagged into the approved weight of 100 lbs., sewn and forwarded to the ginnery.[536] Once in the ginnery, the buying agent claimed part payment from the Marketing Board and the final payment was made at the end of the buying season. While the ginneries accept the cotton on behalf of the Board, they were then exported to Lancashire, Liverpool or Manchester.[537]

In conclusion, the implications of the processes described in cotton markets during our period of study in Kiri area were overwhelming, in the sense that during the

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[532]Alkali, M. "Cotton Production in Northern Nigeria" Empire Cotton Grower Review, no. 34, pp. 112 – 114

[533]Mirchaullum, op cit., p. 158

[534]Ibid

[535]Ibid

[536]Ibid, p. 159

[537]Ibid, p. 160

earlier cotton market arrangement where only European merchant firms and the B.C.G.A, and middlemen were involved in sourcing, packaging and export, cotton farmers in Kiri area were limited because of the monopolistic nature of different participants, particularly the Marketing Board and its local agents. This circumstance was further hindered by the demands of peasant farmers who wanted equal transaction, and the constant intervention of the Northern Nigeria Marketing Board. By 1954, preferential treatments were given to local cotton farmers, on the grounds that these cotton farmers' roles were inevitable in the export-oriented colonial economy. This was as a result of the fact that, the production of cash crop was also the avenue through which the average peasant farmer was provided compensation to infrastructures provided by the Colonial State. The participation of farmers in Kiri area in the production of export crops, demonstrated their relatively reduced relevance because they lacked access to credit facilities in order to develop their capabilities and potentials as cotton farmers, a situation they accepted but, created imbalances between their labour input and productivity.

The Colonial Trade System in Kiri District

With the exploration expedition of the Gongola River Valley Region, especially the various trade routes which were made safe for movement of people and goods, the British Colonial Government's next task was to restore permanent law and order for economic and political activities to take shape. The primary instruments the colonial government used to actualize their "Dual Mandate." This led to the resources of colonies been harnessed and deployed for the 'betterment' of colonized peoples, as well as the metropolis.[538] To this end, emphasis was placed on economic motives and the means to

[538]See Hancock, W. K *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, vol. 2*, London, 1940 and McPhee, A *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, Aberdeen, 1926

cultivate and introduce modern innovations, markets for colonial goods, roads and railways, and bridges that were largely relied upon to further link and open agricultural areas for extraction of cheap raw materials and human resources.[539] What were then the structure and character of the colonial trade system during colonial rule in Northern Nigeria and particularly Kiri area?

The colonial trade system, though one of the instruments that drove colonialism, also stimulated the export trade. Hence, the colonial trade system in Kiri area was tied to an export-oriented one where it substantially increased cash crop production and less of the production of food crops. For instance, it was reported that within two decades of the introduction of cotton and groundnut as export crops, their acceptance and production increased among farmers,[540] especially in Kiri area where the farming practices and fertility of the soil and climate were conducive. As a result, substantial revenue was generated both for the colonial government and the average peasant farmer. However, these conditions created problems or drawbacks. For example, a lot of the people were denied access to financial facilities which was vital in terms of bulk purchases of agricultural production to be sold. With this development, the emergence of modern financial institutions like banks, which were mainly British owned, showed clearly discriminatory tendencies, especially against women farmers who grew 80 to 90 per cent of the food and cash crops but, only allowed 1% of the credit facilities available for agriculture.[541]

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[539]Herbert, S *Capital Investments in Africa*, London, 1938, p. 390

[540]Onimode, B *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria*, London, 1983, pp. 43 - 47; Curtin, P *The Image of Africa*, Madison, 1964

[541]See Adewuyi, S. 'Mainstreaming and Keeping Women Afloat in National Development' *Nigerian Journal of Gender and Development*, vol. 1, nos.1 and 2, 2002, p. 29

These conditions which the colonial trade system induced, and fostered an external-oriented economy was an imbroglio inhabitants in Kiri area had to contend with because, their earlier encounter with European merchants by the late nineteenth century, set the procedures for the colonial trade system that provided either a conducive or non-conducive atmosphere for trade and commerce between the different language groups and European merchants in Kiri area during the colonial period.

Indigenous versus European Traders/Merchants

The analysis made so far revealed that, with the entrenchment of a systematic colonial trade system based on colonial tenets that consequently led to an interaction between indigenous traders and European merchants, a situation that encouraged an export-oriented type of economy which was dominated by indigenous professional traders. Meanwhile, women's involvement in trade especially in Kiri area, did not go beyond their immediate locality, because they were often shackled by domestic chores and therefore lacked the time, capital and skills or biological convenience for active involvement.[542] Though trade was actively a vital economy in Kiri area, it was also organized during colonial rule.

Nonetheless, majority of the inhabitants in Kiri district were involved in local retail of various agricultural products and related commodities like the k*arago*, hoes, shoes, calabashes and cutlasses and so on. While individuals like Clement Njoku and Alhaji Umar Ibrahim were few of the prominent early indigenous traders in Kiri area. Clement Njoku, obviously Igbo by tribe, came to Kiri in the early 1920s as a trader, but later became involved in the sale of European imported provision goods like beverages,

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[542]Hopkins, A. G *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, 1973, p. 56

palm oil, alcoholic spirits, stationeries, and toiletries. His encounter with European merchants, however, started in the south-eastern part of Nigeria, where he paddled canoes between Igbo land and the hinterlands, and the coast, transporting palm oil and imported European goods like clothes, enamel plates, toiletries and alcoholic spirits. It was through these transactions that he was able to explore further inland, until he decided to settle in Kiri as a retailer in European imported goods.[543] Although Clement Njoku is late now, his children still maintain the trade. On the other hand, Alhaji Umar Ibrahim originally from Kano, was among the earliest Hausa traders and a cleric who transverse between Kano and Numan via Nafada with mostly agricultural commodities like groundnut, guinea-corn, hides and also European imported goods. He became a prominent trader in Kiri after the Second World War and till this day, his children and relatives, apprentices are among the indigenous traders whose forebears opened the way and established a tradition novel among the Dera, Lungudа and Yungur language groups in Kiri area.

Though the early indigenous traders were mostly men, there were prominent women trades also who were said to have begun as traders in Kiri area, are also predominantly Christians. There were more or less Muslim women who despite being in *purdah*, were also involved in retail trade, wherein they sold proceeded foodstuffs like groundnut cake called *karago*, groundnut oil, pepper, dried okra, *kuka,* locust bean paste called *da'dawa* and dairy products such as cheese butter, *mumi* and of course European imported goods. Renowned among these women was Hajiya Binta who began her trading career as a groundnut seller before she ventured into the cotton trade. She was remembered for being tenacious when she sets her mind to do things, this accounted for

[543]Cy Njoku. Bakin Kasuwa. Kiri. September 2006, 48 years old

her success in cotton trade. Her presence and the story of her achievements are still sung among her kinsmen and women. They referred to her as Hajiya Binta *"uwar mu ne da ta kawo mana aziki,"* meaning Hajiya Binta "our mother, who brought us prosperity".[544] Thus, the presence and active participation of women in trade, in Kiri was an indication of how women manipulated their diverse cultural and economic background, and the colonial situation to advance their interests as traders against great odds that included sexist opinion of the colonial officials and of the European merchants, which resulted in their fortunes being marginalized in the twentieth century.[545] A challenge most women traders in Kiri area had to contend with, therefore, their disadvantaged position but, the status of their men folks particularly, indigenous businessmen who had access to British or European merchants, gained grounds, making them act as middlemen. Hitherto, in Kiri area, the Hausa, the Ibo and to a large extent the different indigenous language groups actively participated and dominated trade in markets within Kiri area and the entire Gongola River Valley Region during colonial rule.

With the emergence of expatriate firms, such as, John Holt the United African Company U.A.C. between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their relationship with indigenous traders however gained relevance and grew.[546] They however first entered into trade with peoples of the Bight of Benin in the fifteenth century before they penetrated beyond the Niger and Benue Valley, after the Lander Brothers revealed

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[544]Madam Rejoice Ibrahim. Unguwan Kambari. Kiri. October 2006, 60 years old

[545]White, E. F 'Creole Women Traders in the 19th Century'. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14, 1981 pp. 626 – 642

[546]Clarkson Kondeni. Unguwan Jambo. Kiri. July 2007, 59 years old

opportunities for trade. This further sparked the interests for trade in the minds of European merchants, whose initial emphasis was to only penetrate inland for exploration before exploitation.[547] This desire and the Landers Brother's discovered led to the first attempt to send an unofficial expedition in 1832 into the Guinea littoral, and its aim as pointed out to the sponsors (i.e. merchants and philanthropists), was beneficial in terms of the commercial intercourse it may have via the Benue River,[548] into the Upper Benue and beyond. Thus, in 1832 to 1833, an expedition led by MacGregor Laird penetrated as far as Degboh, 104 miles above the Niger/Benue Confluence. Although a commercial expedition, it however failed,[549] but nevertheless broke another ground in its attempt to reach the hinterland beyond the coast. Its exploits ended in the disastrous expedition of 1841-1850 that also opened another chapter in expeditions to locate the headwaters of the Benue from the north. This particular expedition was sponsored by the British Colonial Government without the merchant and humanitarian classes, who were still licking their wounds from the 1841 failed expedition. The 1850 expedition, although considered one of 'the greatest expeditions into the Nigerian areas',[550] its discoveries engineered the British to commission a single vessel, the '*Pleiad*' that cost the Colonial State £5,000 (Five Thousand Pound Sterling). The successes of the *'Pleiad'* however impressed on the influential political and mercantile classes who saw the only way to develop trade on the

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[547]See Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 'Expansion on the Benue, 1830 – 1900'. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1:3, 1958

[548]Ibid, p. 217

[549]Ibid, p.218; numerous narrations existed on these earlier expeditions. The best perhaps was Captain W. Allen and Thomson, T. R. H. *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger River in 1841*, London, 1848; see also, Parliamentary Papers 1843, XLVIII; Kirk-Greene, op cit., fn. 3, p. 218

[550]Kirk-Greene, op cit.,

Benue Basin and its environs, was to establish permanent and well stocked factory hulks on the shores of the Benue River, to be replenished by steamers stocked with European manufactured goods.[551] The 'factory hulk' method, as employed by the RNC in 1883, was erected at Ibi and Yola, from where other similar trade stations were created. For example, the U.A.C. filed application for a temporary trading plot at Kiri by the early nineteenth century.[552]

After effortless attempts to establish trade stations within our study area, European merchants in collaboration with the British Colonial Government established commercial relationship with peoples in Kiri area. Mr. Hewby was remembered as coming up the *Gwalala*in 1895 on a barge in which he reached Kiri area before he journeyed to Shelleng before his final stop at Nafada trading station. Subsequent attempts to obtain and control trade stations, and goods continued until the British Colonial Government took responsibilities for administration in 1900; a new era in trade relations which was opened between European merchants and indigenous traders particularly, in Kiri area. This however, resulted in a form of an unequal exchange throughout the colonial period. which got even worse especially in Kiri area where most stalls owned by men, particularly Hausa, Igbo and other ethnic groups, who traded in items manufactured in Europe. This was because the relationship established between indigenous traders and European merchants was unequal in that, the position of the former was forced by the

[551]See McPhee, op cit., p.70 for description of this method of trading

[552]NAK Yolaprof 1376, 'Application by the U.A.C Ltd., for Temporary Trading Plot at Kiri, Numan Division'.

circumstances that befall the society because of the undue emphasis on the concept of a 'protected market' economy which meant an inefficient metropolitan producer and trader being able to find a guaranteed market in the colony, where his 'associates' had political control.[553]

[553]Rodney, W How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, London, 1972, pp. 168 – 175

Conclusion

In view of the importance given to export cash crop production in Northern Nigeria by the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, and its expansion into most parts of Northern Nigeria especially the Eastern Provinces. Corporate bodies and the colonial state promoted their concerns for more peasant farmers whose disposition for cultivation of cash crop may not cease to demand for opportunities provided by the colonial state in order to benefit and most importantly feed them metropolis with the much needed raw materials. Thus, as indicated in this chapter, the cultivation of export cash crops involved all that was available to expand the production of cash crops.

A circumstance which left Kiri entangled in the drive to be recognized as one of the most suitable area for cotton production but, limited colonial resources were directed towards the growth of cotton production to an appreciable level. Therefore, colonial government infrastructures like roads, ginneries were harnessed and their legacies as modernity can be argued because up till this day, the past glory of Kiri as a rich industrious area is a shadow of itself whereby she not only remained rural but, still grappled with abandoned colonial structures that constantly cast gloom reflection on colonial rule in Kiri between 1900 to 1960.

With the colonization of Nigeria by the British colonial Government and our understanding of its colonial economy intrigues on the peoples of the Gongola River Valley Region particularly Kiri where commerce and trade expeditions were organized by early European merchants and later the British colonial Government who executed their plans through military patrols in order to 're-open' trade routes for meaning trade,

with the desire to implement the colonial trade system largely resulted to a trade imperialism that, led to steep rise and fall in colonial economic relations within the British colonial sphere of influence between 1900 to 1960. Therefore, in this chapter the emphasis has been to illustrate the historical antecedence that informed the development of colonial interest in trade from the late 19th century to the 20th century, when inhabitants of Kiri adopted within their own abilities and opportunities that widened their resolve to participate in trade, especially retail trade which steadily deteriorated their economic conditions, a situation that became the legacies of colonial rule by 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence.

General Conclusion

This study captured and examined how a colonized society thrived under British colonial rule that established a process, which contributed to the development of a colonial economy whose goal was to change the economy of whatever society it entrenched itself. Kiri district being originally a pre-colonial economy where a relatively balanced economic, political, social and cultural growth and development had been in place was terribly affected by the economic changes brought in by the colonial government. The introduction led to absolute disruption of these developments. These changes were aided by the various colonial policies and actions of the British colonial government. Thus, this study captured the impact of colonial policies on the most important economic sector in Kiri area, which was agriculture and how the colonial administrative structures, and machineries succeeded only to transform Kiri area into a hub for commercial agricultural production, a situation that equally led to the production of agricultural products that were centred on the export of agricultural produce to the detriment of the production of food crops whose outcome only benefitted the colonial government and its co-players in the scheme of extracting the abundant agricultural resources that lay within their reach.

On the whole, the experience of extraction as it occurred in Kiri area picked up momentum from the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, to the last decade of the same period. Moreover, these developments not only altered the pre-colonial agricultural structures in Kiri area, but also transformed the basic social relations and organization in agricultural production and distribution. This study therefore, submit that this was the of a grand design introduced earlier by the British, and this stagnated the

growth and development of Kiri area, even though the entire Gongola Valley Region witnessed increased colonial activities.

By way of conclusion, this research has demonstrated that colonialism, in view of its selfish tendencies, affected Kiri area both positively and negatively, especially in the area of agricultural economy. This made Kiri accessible to modern agricultural technologies to the detriment of the endeavour, and also opened up Kiri area to massive unequal exchanges of agricultural products, whose overall consequences created a situation where commercialization of certain economic crops like cotton became the best alternative to improve the living conditions of colonized people. This development led to a transformation or a redirection in the provision of food crop production in Kiri area from quantity agricultural production to quality agricultural production as a means of achieving improved standard of living. This consequently created imbalances in the fabrics of economic, social, political and culture in Kiri area before colonial rule.

Our submission is, that though the conventional assumption that colonialism through its administrative structures and machineries, transformed 'all' societies in northern Nigeria from subsistence to commercial was true but, this transformation was felt mostly in the urban centres, while rural areas like Kiri remained isolated from the so-called transformation. Instead, these rural areas became the beehives of human activities in terms of agricultural production, and after colonialism, they returned to their original status, being further reduced to a mere mirror of the negative side of colonial legacies of deprivation and neglect.

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Informants

Cy Njoku. Bakin Kasuwa. Kiri. September 2006, 48 years old

Group interviews with both Bura and Dera headman. April – May, 2007

Kerini, Baba. Unguwan Bokorok, Kiri. 30th June, 2006. 79 years old

Kondeni, Clarkson Unguwan Jambo. Kiri. 30th June 2006. 59 years old

Madam Esther Joshua, Lababiri village, Kiri, 02/07/2006, 45 years old

Madam Rejoice Ibrahim. Unguwan Kambari. Kiri. October 2006, 60 years old

Mal. Mohammadu Kariyawa, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri. 1st July, 2007. 67 years old

Mal. Muhammadu Karyawa, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri, 10/07/2006, 68 years old

Mallam Dan Sakwatto Garba, Lababiri village, Kiri, 15/10/2009, 65 years old

Mallama Kwanero Samila, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri 02/11/2006, 62 years old

Mallama Lukudare Mabi of Unguwan Sabo Pegi, Kiri 22/11/2006, 87 years old

Mallama Worin Pukuma, Unguwan Kambari, Kiri 02/11/2006 58 years old

Seaman Gundo, Gundo village, 29th June 2007, 69 years old

Appendix A

(Reprinted Copy)

GONGOLA EXPEDITION

No. D3
351/04

Zungeru, 31st March, 1904.

To The Officer Commanding,

LOKOJA

The GONGOLA EXPEDITION will be composed as under:

BAUTCHI garrison 1 officer 1 Br. N.C.O. 60 R & F 2/N.N.R.

GUJIBA garrison 1 officer 1 Br. N.C.O. 60 R & F 2/N.N.R
and 1 maxim

YOLA garrison 1 officer 1 Br. N.C.O. 75 R & F 2/N.N.R
and 1 maxim

KANO garrison 1 Br. Detachment No. 1
Battery and 1 maxim Gun.

The M/M Gun from KANO will proceed to BAUTCHI at an early date.

The troops from BAUTCHI and GUJIBA will arrange to met a. KUPTO on 20th May and will march down the GONGOLA RIVER to GOMBO 40 miles S. of KUPTO

The troops from YOLA will leave YOLA on 15th May and march up the GONGOLA RIVER to GOMBO 60 miles from mouth of river.

Soft nosed

Ammunition. Each company will carry 100 rounds in pouches and 200 in reserve from their own station supply. M/m ammunition from KANO 40 shrapnel, 15 Double common, 12 case and 5 star.

The subject of the expedition is to thoroughly open up the GONGOLA waterway for safe transit of steamers and for traders for pacifying the people and arranging wooding stations. All opposition will be thoroughly broken down and the banks of the river visited for 5 miles on each side.

On receipt of this will you please wire me the name of the officer who will be in command after the whole force has met, and who will be in command from KUPTO till they meet, and orders will be issued direct from this office to Officers Commanding BAUTCHI and GUJIBA and to the R.A. N.C.O at KANO. You should issue orders yourself to Officer Commanding Y ola. Any further communication on this subject you may wish to make to Officers Commanding BAUTCHI and GUJIBA should be sent through this office, which has greater facilities for rapid communication than are afforded to you.

At the conclusion of the expedition, which should last about two months, the KANO M/M Gun will return to LOKOJA. Kindly inform Officer Commanding NO.1 Battery, who is at liberty to send an officer to BAUTCHI to take charge of the gun, if he so desires.

Copies of Lieut. Moran's report, itinerary and map will be sent direct to Officer Commanding BAUTCHI and GUJIBA, and through you to Officer Comman- YOLA. This will be forwarded by next .... ??

The P. M. O is being requested to make arrangement for a Medical Officer to accompany the KUPTO and YOLA columns.

It is proper that a Resident may be able to accompany the expedition.

By order

(Signed) E. ASTLEY CUBITT Major

Brigade Major

Appendix B

ESTIMATED ACREAGE UNDER PRINCIPAL CROPS, SOLE AND MIXTURES, BY PROVINCE, 1957-58

(thousand acres)

PROVINCE	All Crops	Guinea Corn	Millet	Beans	Ground-nuts	Cotton	Yams	Maize	Cassava	Acha	Benni seed	Bambara Nut	Rice	Soya Beans	Others (a)
Total Acreage of Crops and Mixtures															
Northern Nigeria	27,627	7,875	7,403	2,159	2,477	1,178	916	873	532	269	267	196	155	317	379
Kano	6,589	1,908	2,124	1,329	1,029	59	—	—	104	—	—	2	8	—	25
Katsina	3,227	983	918	738	294	271	—	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sokoto	2,526	404	1,150	291	135	316	—	9	116	—	—	—	73	—	23
Borno	2,015	832	979	658	438	29	—	2	38	—	20	36	12	—	1
Bauchi	3,126	946	990	765	235	98	—	19	22	—	5	47	4	—	—
Plateau	1,042	255	247	192	26	7	41	24	9	160	—	22	1	—	38
Zaria	1,594	465	78	97	80	159	30	80	3	88	—	3	3	—	30
Niger	1,961	718	400	499	34	93	81	67	39	17	—	6	3	—	20
Adamawa	1,142	669	31	389	169	12	46	99	7	—	9	6	3	—	4
Benue	2,512	547	393	282	26	35	427	144	139	4	202	77	46	117	149
Kabba	931	27	58	183	4	70	189	360	55	—	26	3	2	—	64
Ilorin	621	162	36	76	17	29	122	126	43	—	—	2	3	—	11
Acreage of Sole Crops															
Northern Nigeria	7,258	2,103	1,758	95	1,246	632	377	285	297	211	173	89	108	46	301
Kano	902	191	303	2	291	24	—	—	70	—	—	1	8	—	12
Katsina	290	100	4	2	121	46	—	1	36	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sokoto	1,219	46	662	13	186	314	—	1	38	—	—	—	35	—	1
Borno	1,461	473	531	19	337	21	—	1	17	—	—	28	11	—	1
Bauchi	512	155	63	3	199	17	—	—	22	—	5	47	1	—	0
Plateau	380	76	37	9	9	0	54	2	8	110	—	1	1	—	28
Zaria	432	364	25	5	47	45	9	2	3	84	—	3	1	—	26
Niger	323	146	36	2	8	64	31	—	12	17	—	0	3	—	4
Adamawa	533	364	10	0	94	11	14	20	6	—	7	3	2	—	2
Ilorin	562	439	23	1	4	9	125	5	48	—	135	2	39	46	4
Kabba	373	20	53	27	1	49	79	212	38	—	26	—	2	—	24
Benue	183	49	11	12	9	16	89	41	29	—	—	2	2	—	2

Note. Due to large sampling and non-sampling errors these data should be used with a great caution. See General Notes.
(a) See Table B1

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Agricultural Sample Survey, Bulletin 3, 1961.

ESTIMATED PRODUCTION OF PRINCIPAL CROPS BY PROVINCE, 1957-58

(thousand tons)

PROVINCE	Guinea Corn	Millet	Beans	Ground-nuts	Cotton	Yams	Maize	Cassava	Acha	Benni seed	Bambara nuts	Rice	Soya Beans
Northern Nigeria	2,126	1,783	368	748	137	2,2[illegible]	319	1,501	31	28	49	71	17
Kano	427	471	87	293	5	[illegible]	—	276	—	—	0	5	—
Katsina	160	259	68	93	31	[illegible]	0	54	—	—	—	—	—
Sokoto	104	286	35	30	31	—	2	305	—	—	—	45	—
Borno	231	233	48	162	4	—	2	59	—	1	9	5	—
Bauchi	300	285	59	76	10	—	16	60	—	0	12	5	—
Plateau	49	39	14	3	0	17[illegible]	0	24	11	—	4	1	—
Zaria	136	19	14	24	32	[illegible]	28	13	13	—	1	1	—
Niger	208	30	26	10	11	[illegible]	15	98	4	—	0	2	—
Adamawa	281	7	9	51	4	[illegible]6	25	37	—	1	1	1	—
Benue	141	138	9	[illegible] 5	5	[illegible]24	46	263	0	12	19	16	17
Kabba	[illegible]6	21	4	0	3	754	151	250	—	4	1	0	—
Ilorin	47	3	12	[illegible] 2	1	434	27	109	—	—	0	1	—

Notes. Due to large sampling and non-sampling errors these data should be used with a great caution. See General Notes.
0 = Less than 500 tons but not zero.

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Agricultural Sample Survey, Bulletin 3, 1961.

Appendix C



Sir,

I beg to forward you a petition, and a report dated the ...

... by the Company's Agent at ...

Chief of Joanna has sent into us, to say that the Chief of ... who styles himself King of the Accanoo, has ordered us ... to kill all traders passing through his country, to Kiri, or to collect Gun or Cutch ...

... says he has refused to obey, & in consequence of which Lazarde ... of his men, & taken four of his Lotoes..

... is informed by the chief, whose name the Governor's Secretary ... year, driving him away, & installing another man in his place. Lazarde however returned immediately with the soldiers left, burnt the Gun ... & has rebuilt it, & it is said ... to punish the calling the traders, ... this year the same, as to all ...

I shall be glad to know whether there is any probability of the

(Concluding part missing)