# COLONIAL ECONOMY OF IBI AND WUKARI DIVISIONS, 1900-1960

BY

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## DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled, "Colonial Economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions, 1900-1960", has been written by me in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University,Zaria. The information derived from the sources consulted has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of the dissertation was previously presented for another degreeor diploma at any Institution of learning.

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Signature Date

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled, "Colonial Economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions, 1900-1960", by Kpendwa Daudu YARO has been read and recommended for examination for the award of Master of Arts degreeinHistory in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

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## ABREVIATIONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| £ | - | - | - | The Symbol for Pound, British Currency |
| A.B.U. | - | - | - | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria |
| A.D.O. | - | - | - | Assistant Divisional Officer |
| BC | - | - | - | Before Christ |
| C | - | - | - | Celsius |
| C.A.C | - | - | - | Central African Company |
| C.F.A.O. | - | - | - | Compagnie Francaise d'Afrique Occidentale |
| C.M.S. | - | - | - | Christian Missionary Society |
| CEDDERT and Training | - | - | - | Centre for Democratic Development Research |
| Co. Ltd. | - | - | - | Company Limited |
| D.O. | - | - | - | Divisional Officer |
| E | - | - | - | East |
| F | - | - | - | Feranhait |
| Ft. | - | - | - | Feet |
| J.H.S.N. | - | - | - | Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria |
| K.I.L. | - | - | - | Kashim Ibrahim Library |
| M.A. | - | - | - | Master of Arts |
| MAKPROF. | - | - | - | Makurdi (Benue) Province |
| N | - | - | - | North |
| N.A. | - | - | - | Native Authority (Administration) |
| N.A.C | - | - | - | National African Company |
| N.A.K. | - | - | - | National Archives, Kaduna |
| N.H.R.S. | - | - | - | Northern History Research Scheme |
| NaCl | - | - | - | Sodium Chloride (Table Salt) |
| Ph.D. | - | - | - | Doctor of Philosophy |
| R.N.C. | - | - | - | Royal Niger Company |
| R.N.C.F. | | - | - | Royal Niger Constabulary Force |
| S.N.P. | - | - | - | Secretariat of the Northern Provinces |
| U.A.C | - | - | - | United African Company |
| U.S.A. | - | - | - | United States of America |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| UDT | - | - | - | Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory |
| Vol. | - | - | - | Volume |
| W.A.C | - | - | - | West African Company |
| W.A.F.F. | | - | - | West African Frontier Force |

## A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

| Word | Languge | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| *Abakwa* | Jukun | Meaning to sow clothes or dress. |
| *Abakwariga* | Jukun | Sewn dress. |
| *Age* | Jukun | A wooden dish used in measurement. |
| *Aka* | Jukun | Jukun name for manilas currency. |
| *Aku* | Jukun | The title for the head of government of Wukari State. |
| *Akya* | Jukun | A traditional wrapper used as a traditional dress by the rulers. |
| *Algalema* | Hausa | The name for *akika*. |
| *Alkali* | Hausa | A Judge |
| *Bakyan Ladan* | Jukun | This term is used by Wukari Jukun to mean those who have crossed the Ladan. Ladan is a stream behind the Aku's Palace in Wukari, located south of it. These groups migrated south-east of Wukari by crossing the Ladan in the pre-colonial time, probably in the 19$^{th}$ century. |
| *Burukutu* | Hausa | Local beer, the same as *shin* in Jukun |
| *Dara* | Jukun | Farm |
| *Dara Vyou* | Jukun | Farming for an in-law. |
| *Dogarai* | Hausa | Native Police |
| *Dogonriga* | Hausa | Long gown |
| *Fadama* | Hausa | A Hausa word for marshy or swampy land which was good for cultivating rice. |
| *Farin rama* | Hausa | A Hausa word for a tall vegetable plant cultivated in gardens whose leaves were used as food and its bark as fibres in making robes, mats, hats and clothes. |
| *Gabaruwa* | Hausa | A tree whose seed was used for tanning during the dry season |
| *Gar* | Chamba | The political title for Chamba chief. |
| *Gayya* | Hausa | The same as *Kuku* in Jukun. |
| *Ibia* | Tiv | The name for akika. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Iskan hunturu* | Hausa | A Hausa word for harmattan wind, a dry air-mass blowing from the north during the dry season. |
| *Jangali* | Hausa | Cattle tax |
| *Kaba* palm | Hausa | A plant whose fibres were used as straws in weaving. |
| *Kantai/akika* | Jukun | Local currencies used in pre-colonial time. |
| *Karan dafi* | Hausa | Stems of red corn used in tanning skin. |
| *Karfe/karfi* | Hausa | Iron |
| *Kenton* | Jukun | It implies stubbornness. This word is used by the Jukunised Chamba of Takum and Donga to describe the Ichen group as stubborn people. This was how they were presented to the British colonialists by the Chamba and it appears in most colonial records as Kentu. |
| *Kororoor bah* | Jukun | A cup-shaped receptacles woven from palm fronds used in measuring salt. |
| *Kuku* | Jukun | A cooperative labour organised for farming consisting of close relations, friends, neighbours and people of the same age group. This is called *gayya* in Hausa. |
| *Kurdin kassa* | Hausa | Land tax |
| *Kwe* | Kuteb | Hill or mountain |
| *Kyanto* | Jukun | It means crossed-over. It is used to refer to the Ichen people by the Jukun in Wukari. It was derived from the event of crossing the Ladan stream by the Ichen group. |
| *Ma* | Jukun | The term used for salt in Jukun. |
| *Ma Akwana* | Jukun | Akwana salt. |
| *Mbarikam* | Kuteb | The Kuteb name for Takum hill. |
| *Mbe'seme/Mbe'fe* | Kuteb | Groups that had closely related with the Kuteb. |
| *Naman Kurmi* | Hausa | Forest beast |
| *Ndetirikwen* | Kuteb | The people of the mountain. This is the term the Kuteb associate themselves with as people who dwelled on mountains top. |
| *Nikin* | Jukun | You can move on. |
| *Nyambua* | Tiv | Cow's head |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Riga* | Hausa | A gown or shirt or any other worn material |
| *Rikwen* | Kuteb | The name generally given to the collection of isolated hills which the Kuteb inhabited after their migration from Kwararafa. They are also called 'Takum Hills'. |
| *Sarakin/sarkin* | Hausa | King of. |
| *Shin* | Jukun | Local beer made from guinea corn and/or millet. |
| *Tozali* | Hausa | Galena |
| *Tukurdi* | Hausa | Hausa cloth |
| *Ukwe* | Kuteb | The political tile of Kuteb chief. |
| *Yandoka* | Hausa | The uniformed N.A. Police. |

## ABSTRACT

This study analyses the impact of the Colonial Economy on Ibi and Wukari Divisions during the period 1900 to 1960. It examines the history of change in the economies and societies that make up Ibi and Wukari Divisions. Thus, it focuses on the socio-economic impact of the various British colonial economic policies on the area of study and how they undermined the process of growth and consequent development in the local economy by turning industrial and agricultural production to fend for the capitalist need for raw materials and markets for European products. The work argues that this particular development in the history of the states and societies in the Middle Benue Basin, south of the Benue River, such as Wukari State, Takum and Donga Chiefdoms, was central to the state of socio-economic challenge that bedevilled the area. The socio-economic backwardness of the area is the springboard of the social disturbances that have engulfed this region, which other works have attempted to offer explanation. However, no substantive economic explanation has been given to explain this social development in the area. In fact, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, no historical piece has emerged to assess the reality of the colonial history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions to explain the state of development in the area. Motivated by this reason, this study begins by providing the economic and geo-political condition of the area before the advent of British colonialism and further displays the role of the pre-colonial economy in state building and development. It views the connection between agriculture, industry and trade in the pre-colonial economy as fundamental to especially, Kwararafa Confederacy and Wukari State, which were able to wield political power over other states in the Middle Benue valley through the benefits from these sectors of the economy. The position of this work is that the domination of the local economy by British colonial tools of exploitation, that is, colonial economic policies, as well as the activities of the colonial trading companies, crippled the industries and redirected agricultural production and trade towards capitalist mode of production. Therefore, the pre-existing economy, which depended largely on salt mining and textile production, was forced, under the domination of an imperial power, to produce export crops, exerting pressure on land. Land, the basic unit of production, was commoditised. It became conspicuous and very important in the colonial economy and attracted the attention of the people. This marked the beginning of the land question in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. Thus, at the end of British colonial domination, not only that the local economy was disarticulated but also the industrial turned peasantry were impoverished leading to a state of socio-economic challenge in the area of study. To get this argument clear, the work makes use of qualitative and quantitative value judgement as the method of analysis. Oral sources from people who were directly or indirectly affected by the colonial economy form the major source of evidence in the research. The research also uncovers a good number of archival records to understand the philosophy behind the policies of the British colonialists in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. Other secondary works on the subjects of colonialism, imperialism and colonial economy were consulted to get the substance of their arguments. Those which discuss the socio-economic history of the area of study are also consulted.

## NOTES ON SOURCES

Various types of sources were used for the reconstruction of the colonial economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions in the period 1900-1960. The sources are classified into Primary and Secondary sources.

### 1. Primary Sources

The primary sources used in this research are part of the historical process under study. In the main, they comprise of the official and personal accounts written by individuals as well as oral testimonies covering both the colonial and pre-colonial periods.

#### (i) Archival records

Given the nature of this study, archival records were extensively used. They clearly state the position of the colonial State on various matters relating to the development of the colony. They contain the basic policies of the colonial State as applied in the area of study. They exist in the form of annual records, assessment reports, publications by the various ministries, such as of information, commerce, industry, among others.

Among the archival records, the Provincial Annual Reports are the most comprehensive and chronological in that they were written annually and cover such topics as regard the administration, boundary, area, population, staff, trade and economy, medical and sanitary, public works, among others. They were written by local administrators, like District Officers and Touring Officers, compiled annually by the Resident. They were books of reference for information and guidance for the colonialists. Therefore, they are characterised by inconsistencies in various sections and an outright attempt to cover up information which might incur wrath of superiors. One of the inconsistencies is relating to the real history of Jukun. Most of the colonial officers that served in Ibi and Wukari

Divisions had divergent views on the real history of the Jukun. They are also empirical and do not show actual and historical relations of the forces and events they were recording.

The assessment and reassessment reports are files compiled in the process of assessing various villages, Districts, Divisions and Provinces for the purposes of tax levy and collection. The assessment reports include SNP10/611p/1913, Assessment Report- Ugondo Tiv by C.F. Gordon and MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1, Assessment Report, Wukari District by Captain A.E. Churcher, 1913. These assessment reports consist of the local history of the people, geography, population, land acreages, types of crops cultivated, number and ownership of livestock, poultry, details on rivers and tree crops in the area of study. The reassessments were undertaken as a result of protest by taxpayers due to the high rate of taxation and other obnoxious colonial policies. Most of the reassessment reports consulted in this study include SNP10/283p/1918/Muri Province, Ibi Division, Ibi District: Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd, 1919, SNP10/510p/1917/Muri Province: Donga District, Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd and SNP10/245p/1918, Wukari District Reassessment. All were written in response to protest against colonial policies in the area of study, particularly the Marigan Karfe's movement in Donga District, Ibi Division, in 1916.

In general, colonial records, by their nature, tend to promote colonial historiography by justifying the activities of the colonialists in the area of study. Thus, they enhanced exploitation as they provided the required information on the local economy of the area and prescribed ways for the establishment of effective colonial administrative structures that would get the job done. They depended largely on local interpreters for their information, hence, language barrier led them to derogatory nomenclature such as Munchi or Munshi for Tiv, Kento or Kentu for Ichen, among others. More seriously, most times they do not picture the real history of the people.

### (ii) Oral Sources

The oral sources used in this research include oral testimonies, oral tradition and oral accounts. These sources were obtained from participants in the event under study and participants in the various industries and other economic activities in the area of study. They provided first-hand information on the history of the people, their traditions of origin, economic activities and socio-political systems. Mr. Jibrin Amfani, a resident of Wukari, was a former colonial administrator. He worked as a clerk in Benue Province from about 1950 to 1966. His information on the history of the Jukun is fundamentally enriching to this research. His experience in the colonial administration tends to make him to support colonial historiography. He is of the view that the coming of the colonialists brought socio-economic development to the area. However, he seems not to have really understood the impact of colonial policies on the local economy and how they transform the society to a dependent one.

Some of the informants appear to be biased in relating to the real historical events that took place. This may be informed by political or other interests. The social disturbance and struggle over land in the area must have also informed their worldviews. They seem to agree with those collected by the colonialists, especially those by the British colonial Anthropologist, C. K. Meek, in the 1920s and later amplified by H.R. Palmer. Nevertheless, there is a degree of consistency in these sources in relation to the historical origin of the Jukun and other groups in the area of study. Almost all the groups agree to have migrated from Kwararafa apart from Tiv and Chamba.

## 2. SECONDARY SOURCES

These include secondary works on the subject of discussion and on the area of study. They are mainly library works such as published and unpublished literature. They exist in the form of PhD theses, M.A Dissertations, B.A. Projects, published articles in books and journals, unpublished articles like Departmental seminar series, text books, among others. Among these sources there are important ones, which made use of primary sources to reconstruct the pre-colonial history of the area of study. One of these is M. Hamman's PhD Thesis, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa), c.1812-1903", Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1986. Though this work does not cover the colonial period, it is very important for understanding the pre-colonial societies in the area. His use of oral sources is quite impressive. He used oral sources and other sources to establish the nature of production in the area. He also demonstrates how the local economy led to the establishment of state systems, such as the defunct Kwararafa Confederacy and Wukari State. The challenges these States faced during the colonial period is the subject the present research work has discussed.

Generally, a majority of the secondary sources discuss the subject of colonialism. They provide insight to the study and analysis of the impact of colonial domination on the colonised. With regards to the area of study, the works of G.M. Ika, "Kuteb-Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State, c. 1850-1960", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1982 and that of E.L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900 to 1993", M.A. Thesis, University of Jos, 1995, tend to argue that the advent of the British colonialists seemingly brought considerable peace to Takum chiefdom. This argument tends

to justify the advent of colonialism in the area but this research has addressed this standpoint.

# CHAPTER ONE

# BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

## 1.0 Introduction

This study focuses on the colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions during the period 1900 to 1960. It analyses the nature, operation and the general impact of the colonial economy. It also examines the transformations occasioned by colonialism and, of course, the colonial agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors of the economy. Thus, the study analyses the impact of the colonial economy on socio-economic life of the people in the area of study during the period 1900-1960.

This chapter, therefore, provides the general background to the study by stating the research problem, describing the scope and limitations of the study and pointing out the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter also discusses the justification for, theoretical framework and methodology of the study. It further reviews some relevant literature that contribute in one way or the other to the study. All this is done to provide insight into issues discussed in the research.

## 1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

The problem this study examines is basically the issue of economic backwardness of the area that was called Ibi Division and later Wukari Division occasioned by British colonial domination during the period 1900-1960. It is apparent that most of the works which discuss the impact of the British colonial enterprise on the area give little attention to the economy, the mover of historical processes and the basis for historical developments. Influenced by their worldviews and interests, they emphasise the socio-political impact of British colonial policies without much linkage to the economy. Thus, the colonial policies

they have analysed are mostly social and political which they employ to explain the nature of inter-group relations in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The problem these works have not addressed is how these policies impacted on the pre-existing economy and how this, in turn, influenced the nature of inter-group relations. They have not analysed how these policies transformed the pre-existing economy from a diversified and complex one to, not only an export crop but almost, a single crop producing economy. How this development undiversified the pre-existing economy, commoditised land and agricultural production as well as impoverished the peasantry who were the producers of agricultural products, have not been examined.[1] Therefore, the emanating pressure on land and struggle over same, as well as its creation of ethnic identity problem in Ibi and Wukari Divisions, is a research problem that has not been addressed.

The conclusion is that the colonial economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions is a valid research problem. Therefore, this present research examines the colonial economy and analyses its impact on the historical developments of the area. The important contribution the work attempts to make to the history of the area is the argument that British colonial economic policies created a poor peasantry from a local industrial economy who came to depend on export crop production for livelihood, a situation that created poverty and tension on land, which characterise the area today.

[1]Some of these works include G.M. Ika, "Kuteb-Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State c. 1850-1960", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1982. E.L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900 to 1993", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, Jos, 1995. M.S. Dansonka, "Inter-Group Relations in Wukari Area, 1900-1992: The Position of the Jukun and Chamba Peoples", M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2016.

**1.2 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

Ibi and Wukari Divisions existed in the same area but at different periods. Ibi Division was created in 1904 and lasted till 1926. Following some territorial reorganisations in 1926, it was renamed Wukari Division. The societies that formed the former were absorbed into the latter. The two Divisions refer to the same geographical area under study. Geographically, the area was approximately located between longitudes 9˚08´ and 11˚00´ East and latitudes 6˚30´ and 8˚38´ North. When it was Ibi Division, it was in Muri Province. It was located southwest of it and bounded by Tshendam Division (later in 1924, it was called Lowland Division, Plateau Province) in the northwest by Muri Division (formerly called Lau Division from 1904-1911) in the northeast, the German Kamerun (1904-1916), later Bamenda Division, in the southeast and south, respectively and Katsina Ala-Abinsi Division (1904-1918), later Munshi Province, in the southwest and west, respectively. Ibi was both the Divisional and Provincial headquarters.[2]

However, with the nomenclatural change of 1926, accompanied by some British colonial administrative and territorial changes, the emerging Wukari Division became one of the five Divisions in the newly created Benue Province.[3]It was bounded on the north and north-west by the Lowland Division of the Plateau Province and Awe District of Lafia Division, Benue Province, respectively. On the northeast and east, it was bounded by Muri Division of Adamawa Province; on the south-east by Bamenda Division of the Cameroons; on the west and southwest, by Tiv Division of Benue Province.[4]

[2] J.M. Fremantle, "Gazetteer of Muri Provinces", in Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *Gazetteers Of The Northern Provinces Of Nigeria: The Eastern Kingdoms*, Vol. II, London, 1972, p.4.
[3] NAK: SNP17/23593/ Benue Province, Annual Report, by E.s. Pembleton Esquire, Resident, Benue Province, 1934.
[4] See maps I and II.

The choice of the period of study, 1900-1960, is not arbitrary. The year 1900 has been chosen as convenient for starting this research because it marked the beginning of the British colonial occupation of the area. In January 1900, F.L. Lugard declared the territory, formerly under the assumed control of the Royal Niger Company, as under the political control of the British colonialists. Thus, the whole of Northern Nigeria was declared a British territory. In April, that same year, Williams Wallace, former representative of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue, came to announce the presence of the British colonial authority in Wukari.[5] It then became the territory of the British colonialists. Hence, the year 1900 is suitable for starting this study because it gives us real understanding of the dynamics that shaped the colonial history and the operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

The year 1960 is the terminal point of this research. In general, 1960 was the year Nigeria ceased to become the colony of the British. It marked the end of direct colonial political control in Nigeria. Nigeria then became a politically independent state. Hence, the operation of colonial economy ceased. What operated was the Nigerian economy controlled by the Nigerian Government with little external control (This is why it is called neo-colonial economy). But the controlled or closed economy that operated under the colonial authority did not exist in independent Nigeria. This is why the study of the colonial economy of any part of Nigeria cannot exceed the year 1960. Most importantly, the period 1900-1960 is a distinct historical epoch called the colonial period. The year 1960, therefore, is justified as the terminating date for the study of the colonial economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

[5]E.A. Keat and S.S. Richardson, *Law in Africa, No. 18, The Native and Customary Courts of Nigeria,* London University Press, cited in D. Adamu, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict,* Taeget Publishers, Jos, 2002, p.25.

This research cannot be said to be void of limitations and challenges. One of the limitations is the problem of accessing some important archival records which would have provided important information on the topic of study, but they could not be found in the National Archives, Kaduna. For instance, pages of some important files were missing. This posed a great challenge to in-depth analysis. More so, the conflict that has bedevilled the area has posed great challenge to getting relevant oral sources on the field. This made field work challenging. However, a historical methodology was adopted in accessing other sources that were corroborated by the available oral resources obtained. Proper historical approach was used in the selection, interpretation and analysis of these sources.

### 1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this research is to examine the operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. The following characterise the objectives of the study:

(i) To examine the pre-colonial economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions which provide the general background to explaining the level of distortion done to the development process of the pre-colonial economy through its incorporation into the world capitalist economy.

(ii) To analyse the nature and processes of the incorporation of the pre-capitalist economy into the world capital market which included the penetration of capital into the area in the 19$^{th}$ century through commercial relations and its domination of production processes in the colonial period that facilitated the dependency and underdevelopment of the area of study.

(iii) To analyse the nature and operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions, taking into cognizance the role played by the colonial state, European Trading Companies, Native Authority and the peasants.

(iv) To examine the general impact of the colonial economic policies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

**1.4 Justification for the Study**

The subject of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions is a neglected theme. Scholars have not paid attention to analysing its nature and impact on the society. However, this does not mean there are no works on the pre-colonial and colonial history of the area but that they emphasize mostly the pre-colonial economy and those on the colonial period discuss mostly the impact of colonial policies on socio-political activities of the people, especially on inter-group relations. For example, M. Hamman[6] and others[7] have done impressive studies on the pre-colonial socio-economic history of the Middle Benue Basin.

There are works that discuss the socio-political history of some of the polities in the area of study but their emphasis is on the impact of colonial policies on inter-group relations.[8] The work of J.M. Fremantle[9] gives a general overview of the colonial history of the area of study up to 1922 without details on the economy. It is glaring that the significance of the

[6] His works include M. Hamman, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin before the Jihad, c.1500- 1812", *History Research in ABU,* Vol. 8, 1985. M. Hamman, "European Rivalry in the Middle Benue Basin and its Impact on the Emirate of Muri, 1880-1815",*Historical Research at ABU,* Vol. 8, 1984. M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa), c.1812-1903", PhD Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1989.

[7] G.D. Dogo, "Trade and Settlement in the Middle Benue Basin: 1850-1960", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1982; C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom; An Anthropological Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Negro University Press, New York, 1969.

[8] G.M. Ika, "Kuteb-Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State c. 1850-1960", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1982. E. L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900 to 1993", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, Jos, 1995.

[9] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.3.

economy in shaping historical developments in the area of study during the colonial era has not been examined.

Therefore, this work examines the colonial economy and its impact on the economic life of the people and society in the area to help us better understand the dynamics of change that have occurred overtime in the area. Existing literature on this area have employed some theoretical frameworks which have become increasingly clear that the applications of such alone are inadequate in trying to get a thorough understanding of the historical process. Hence, this research will provide another theoretical framework, that is, the historical materialism, in explaining the nature of social relations in the area.

The contribution of this area to the development of the world capitalist economy is either underestimated or neglected by the existing works on the colonial history of the area. It seems that there is a great gap to be filled in the knowledge of the history of the polities and societies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions, especially its colonial history, which the present research has done.

Therefore, this study has provided us with an explanation of the economic history of the area of study. It has also thrown light on the nature of economic transformation under colonial domination that shaped the life of the people in the polities and society of the area overtime. The research does not only contribute to historical knowledge but has bridged the gap of knowledge in the economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions. Indeed, it serves as a source for historical studies in economic history and as a point of reference by other scholars and researchers who will be interested in studying a subject like this or any other related to it.

**1.5 Theoretical Framework**

The theories that are adopted in this research are Historical and Dialectical Materialism and Underdevelopment and Dependency theories. They inform the selection, examination, evaluation, arrangement and analysis of historical sources in the research. Historical/Dialectical Materialism was propounded by Karl Marx in *The German Ideology.*[10] As a materialist conception of history, the theory gives primacy to material conditions, especially economic factors, for the explanation of socio-economic and political life of a society.

According to Karl Marx, economic needsare man's most fundamental needs. Unless man is able to meet these needs he cannot exist in the first place. Just as economic need is the primary need of man so is his economic activity. It is by man's productive activity that he is able to obtain the economic means, which he needs to sustain life. In the process of meeting his economic needs, he unconsciously enters into social relations of production with others.[11] As these relations bring him into contact with others, certain ideologies and socio-political structures will be developed to sustain the existing production relations. The ideologies and socio-political structures are the super-structures that are based on the existing production relations since they are developed to sustain the production relations. They also constitute the productive forces.[12]

As production relations become complex, new productive forces will be developed to meet the growing needs. The new forces will contend with the former forces in a dialectical form, which will lead to a conflict. The conflict will lead to the emergence of a new system or

[10]K. Marx and F. Engels,*The German Ideology,* Marx-Engels Institute, Moscow, 1932.Also see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The CommunistManifesto*,London, 1848.
[11]*Ibid*, p. xix.
[12]See A. Margaret, *Historical Materialism,* Vol. I, Longman, London, 1973, p. 5.

mode of production, which is the new form of production relations and productive forces that outlaw the old system or mode of production. The new system or mode of production informs the nature of the society. Thus, a new mode results in a new society. Karl Marx distinguishes six modes of production that have existed in the development of societies. These include the communal, slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist and communist modes or systems.[13]

The premise of this theory is that societies emerge out of the above historical processes. It posits that the base of these historical and socio-economic developments is the economic base. This is because, it is the base from which historical developments in the society take off. In essence, the socio-political activities of the society are shaped and sustained by the economic activities. Thus, the economic system of the society forms the infrastructure or base on which the social and political systems of the society are built.[14]

Though the theory emphasizes the primacy of the economic base, it also encourages us to take account of the interactions of the different elements of the society, especially the economic structure, social structure, the political structure and the belief system in understanding and explaining changes in the society. All these structures are interdependent and interact in complex ways. But the economic factor is the most decisive and largely determines the character of other structures, that is, the super-structure. The relationship between the economic base and the super-structure determines the general character, pattern and movement of historical developments in the society.[15]

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[13] *Ibid*, p.7.
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] C. Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa*, Longman Group Ltd, London, 1981, p.13.

The theory, therefore, helps in understanding the historical developments that led to the emergence of the pre-colonial societies and economy in the area of study. It also helps in explaining the change in economic production in the area that was occasioned by capitalist production at the advent of colonial domination. The economic condition in Europe that made the British colonialists to come and dominate other societies, particularly Wukari Division, is understood through this theory. By taking cognizance of the economic factors, it improves the researcher's understanding and explanation of the socio-political developments in the area of study. It also helps the researcher to analyse the social and political systems, especially the colonial state and how they influenced the operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

In analysing the impact of the colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions, the research has adopted the Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory (UDT). This theory was developed by scholars from the Third World to debunk the classical theory of development[16] on the question of development in Africa. It was first propounded by Gunder A. Frank of the West Indies and developed by Walter Rodney, T. Dos Santos, *et ceterar*. According to the proponents of this theory, the basic causes of the perpetual state of dependency and underdevelopment of the Third World countries were the recreation of capitalist relations of production in these countries and the unequal and the exploitative

[16] Classical Theory of Development propounded by Adams Smith and developed by R.X. Buxton, H. Mint, David Ricardo, amongst others, has been used by Hopkins and Heilleiner to study the economic history of West Africa and Nigeria, respectively. This theory emphasises the place of market in economic development and growth. It posits that the market forces of demand and supply open up the markets and usher in the stages of economic growth and development. However, their explanations of the experience of Africa and Nigeria in the colonial context did not demonstrate the real experience of Africans in the colonial epoch because they argue that colonial activities opened up African markets and accelerated economic activities in the region. This theory is limited because it sees development only in market terms and measures it in structural terms. Development is a holistic historical process that engulfs the social, economic and political aspects of the society and cannot only be measured in market terms. Besides, the market economy created in Africa was a controlled one unlike the one obtained in industrial Europe.

relationship between them and the centres of world capitalism since the rise of the capitalist system. The theory holds that the underdeveloped countries of today were like the present advanced countries in the earlier stages of their development; thereby stressing that underdevelopment is a product of the capitalist system. Thus, there is a historical linkage between capitalism and underdevelopment.

This theory equips the researcher with the ability to analyse the processes of economic backwardness and underdevelopment in the area of study. It helps the researcher to deal with the reality of the devastation done to the socio-economic development of the area by the colonial economy. The theory has helped in analysing the impact of the colonial economy on the economic development of Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

**1.6Literature Review**

The history of colonial economy in Nigeria is not a new path to tread in the economic history of Nigeria. There are ample works on the colonial economic history of Benue Province in particular. However, these literature on Benue Province and Benue area, for example, concentrate more on the economy of the Tiv, Idoma and Igede in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. They have left out Wukari Division and the Jukun people in the colonial economic history of Benue Province. Those that discuss the colonial history of Wukari Division concentrate more on the social aspect. This is the gap the present research is to cover. However, some works on the colonial economy of Nigeria and Benue Province are reviewed here.

One of the prominent works on the economic history of West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular is that of A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*. This work is very relevant to the present research because it successfully captures the great majority of

African modes of production. It combines clarity, originality, detail, brevity of data and theory. However, given its scope, it is unable to delve into the economy of the people in our area of study.

Jan Hogendorn's compact work, *Nigerian Groundnut Export- Origin and Early Development,* is another relevant work reviewed here. The author shows the entrepreneurial skills of Hausa farmers without external influence. However, he contradicts himself by saying that the intervention of the colonial state in the provision of infrastructures stimulated export crop production without considering the welfare of the farmers that produced the export crops. His conclusion does not picture the real experience of African farmers in the colonial era. Besides, the work concentrates only on a single crop.

More related to our topic of research is the work of G.K. Helleiner, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Development in Nigeria.* The author generally follows Adams Smith's classical theory of the international trade: the Vent-for-Surplus Theory, which was popularised by Hla Mint. She argued that cultivable land was surplus in Nigeria and that colonial forces propelled the assumed 'lazy' Africans to produce cash export crops, which benefited them. That foreign firm persuaded the farmers to bring out their potentials. This implies the peasant farmers lacked initiative for development. It is clear that she is promoting colonial interest and colonial historiography. She did not look at the fact that the activities of the international firms underdeveloped the farmers and there was nothing done to improve their standard of living. This present research contends with the author's standpoint and debunks her view.

Z. A. Bonat's "Theoretical and Methodological Considerations in the Study of Development: Conceptualizing the Economic Impact of Colonialism- An Essay in

Historiography"[17] is another work that is reviewed. The literature is an intellectual piece that provides the theoretical understanding of the economic impact of colonialism. The author appears to have had a very good understanding of the phenomenon of colonialism and also had a good grasp of the concepts of development and underdevelopment. He painstakingly analyses the various theoretical and methodological conceptualizations on the impact of colonial domination on the colonized and provides a more scientific argument to counter the views of the bourgeois/ imperialist historiographers in relation to African colonial economic history. The authorinfluencesthe application of the theory of Under-development and Dependency in this research.

"The Consolidation of Under-development in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1960"[18] is an article written by M. Hamman. It is very central to this study. Employing materialist approach, the author traces the origin of Nigeria's economic backwardness beyond colonial domination to the rise of capitalism in the 15th century. He argues that the phenomenon of Nigeria's under-development was consolidated since the imposition of the imperialist colonial domination in the 20th century. The author argues that the slave trade, the so-called legitimate trade and colonialism are the processes that incorporated Nigeria's economy into the world capitalist system and further produced the mechanisms that made the economy of Nigeria dependent on the capitalist economy. Here, he displays proper understanding of the theory of Underdevelopment and Dependency.

The author raises fundamental issues concerning the present state of the economy of Africa and Nigeria. He argues that the dependence of Nigerian economy on the capitalists has

[17] Z.A. Bonat, "Theoretical and Methodological Considerations in the Study of Development: Conceptualizing the Economic Impact of Colonialism- An Essay in Historiography", *History Research in Ahmadu Bello University*, Vol. 6, 1986.
[18] M. Hamman, "The Consolidation of Under-development in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1960", in *Zaria Historical Research (ZAHIR), Vol.1,* 2001.

made it a mono-cultural economy which is undiversified and an export crop producing economy. This gloomy picture was not much affected by Nigeria's political independence, which did not involve any immediate and major restructuring of the colonial economic edifice. He asserts that the effect of this structural continuity in the post-independence period is dramatically demonstrated on the one hand by Nigeria's relapse into another form of primary export production based on petroleum and an even greater dependence on foreign markets and on the other by massive consumption of foreign manufactures which continuously deplete her foreign reserves.

The author's position is objective. It has influenced the present researcher in understanding the dynamics that have informed the economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions overtime, especially from 1900 to 1960. However, his work is macro and general. The present work is specific and micro.

Taking a look at Benue Province and the Benue area, the works of the Bohannans, M.O. Odey and D.C. Dorward are germane to this research. However, the limitation of these works is the definition of their scope and the exclusion of other groups that made up the Benue area/ Benue Province. The Bohannans' *Tiv Economy,*[19]is an important piece on the economic history of the Tiv. The work pictured the pre-colonial production and distribution among the Tiv. It also looked at their contributions to the colonial economy. It therefore, provides us with relevant information on the Tiv. However, its scope and subject hovers around the Tiv only.

D.C. Dorward's work, "An Unknown Nigerian Export: TivBenniseed Production, 1900-1960", is a work that we cannot put aside with the wave of the hand in considering the

[19]P. Bohannan, and Laura Bohannan, *Tiv Economy,* Northwestern University Press, USA, 1968.

export crop production in Benue Province. His information on the nature of production of the benniseed crop in the Benue region is incisive. However, he seems to recognise the crop as "Tiv crop". This standpoint is not in line with the oral information we got in our area of study. Other groups were also involved in the production of this crop. In defining his scope, he failed to understand that there were Tiv in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. The majority of benniseed came from the Tiv population because the Tiv were agrarian population in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. The present research therefore, corrects Dorward's view by asserting that benniseed was not only Tiv crop but a crop imposed on the people of Benue Province by the British colonialists to produce as an export crop.

M.O. Odey in his work, *Food Crop Production, Hunger, and Rural Poverty in the Nigeria's Benue Area,* while trying to correct Dorward's definition of "Tiv Crop", fell into the problem of scope definition. He defines the Benue Area as Benue Province but ended up excluding Ibi and Wukari Divisions in his analysis. He discussed the Tiv, Idoma and Igede in his work without mentioning other groups like the Jukun as those in Benue Province. He assumes Wukari Division was part of Muri Province throughout the colonial period. He seems not to be conversant with the colonial history of the Benue Area. Hence, his beautiful scholarly analysis on the impact of colonial agricultural production in the Benue Area or Province leaves Ibi and Wukari Divisions out of the scheme of things. Thus, the gap created by this literature on the economic history of Ibi and Wukari Divisions is covered by this present research.

To understand the pre-colonial history of the area of study the work of M. Hamman entitled, "The Rise and Fall of Muri Emirate (Hamaruwa) c.1812-1903"[20] is of immense importance.

[20] M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa)…..*op.cit*.

The author examines the establishment, evolution and collapse of the emirate of Muri, which was also called 'Hamaruwa'. The work is a socio-economic analysis of the historical processes that informed the emergence and collapse of Muri Emirate. It comprehensively examines the historical geography of the Middle Benueas well as the state of the economy and the societies in the area. The examination of the state of the societies and the economy throws light on the socio-economic and political conditions of the area before the establishment of Muri emirate.

This work provides relevant information on the state of the economy and society of the area of study before colonial domination. The author posits that most parts of Ibi and Wukari Divisions came under the domination of Muri. He argues that though not under absolute political control of Muri, Wukari, Donga and part of the Kentu Mandated areas were vassals to Muri Emirate. Ibi was under the direct control of Muri. His work gives details of the pre-colonial economic activities which include industrial, agricultural, commercial and mining activities in the area. The author also provides the present researcher with the knowledge of the history of migration of some of the groups in the area, such as Jukun and Chamba.

Though the author discusses the role of European activities, especially the European Trading companies and the subsequent colonial subjugation of Muri Emirate, which include thearea of study, the nature and form of colonial penetration and domination, are not discussed. The focus of his work is not on the nature and operation of the colonial economy. This is one of the gaps that is filled in this study.

Another relevant literature by the same author is entitled, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin before the Jihad, c. 1500-1812"[21]. The article pictures the Middle

[21] M. Hamman, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin"……. *op.cit*.

Benue Basin as an area characterised by both physical and human diversity.This is because it was a coherent historical unit of common historical experience. The author provides two types of socio-economic formations in the Middle Benue Basin by the second decade of the 19$^{th}$century. One was the decentralised and communal society in which the control of the means of production was vested in the community as a whole, with members having equal access to them. Second was the highly centralised and stratified Jukun States of Kwararafa, Kona and subsequently Wukari, in which the tributary mode of production predominated and the control of the means of production was theoretically vested in the State as embodied by the kings who depended largely on tribute, slave labour and exactions on petty commodity producers for their sustenance.

In general, the work gives us an overview of the economy of the area before the revolutionary years of the 19$^{th}$ century. In essence, it has made us to understand the pre-colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions. However, south-eastern part of the area of study, that is, the Kentu Mandated Area, is not covered in his work. The work covers pre-colonial period only.

Another important work that has been considered is G. M. Ika's Thesis, "Kuteb-Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State from c.1850-1960"[22]. Although the work is meant to cover only Takum area, in the course of his discussion, he refers to some general phenomena that relate to the area of study which comprise Wukari, Donga, Takum and the Kentu Mandated Districts. In the course of his analysis the author attempts discussing the nature of colonial conquest and administration in the area which facilitated the hegemony of the Jukun over the other groups in the area.

[22] G.M. Ika, *op.cit*.

On the issue of the promotion of Jukun hegemony in the area of study, E. L. Hassan in his thesis, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900 to 1993"[23] also agrees with Ika's argument. Their works are more of a social history than economic history while the present work looks at the economic dimension of the pre-colonial and colonial history of the peoples and societies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

In E.L. Hassan's "The Kwararafa Confederacy: An Example of a Pre-Colonial African Kingdom"[24] is a short article that brings to fore arguments forwarded by scholars on the establishment of Kwararafa and the origin of the Jukun. His argument is that Kwararafa was a Confederacy is convincingly historical. We have collaborated this with other works. In his attempt to further challenge Jukun hegemony, he seems to disassociate the Jukun from being the first to establish the political system in Kwararafa. This permeates his argument in this article. Consequently, little is said of Kwararafa's economy. Thus, this research debunks Hassan's claim that the Jukun were not the first rulers of Kwararafa and fills its gap on the pre-colonial economy of the State.

S. Abubakar, "Pre-Colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun", Inaugural Lecture Series, No. 3, University of Maiduguri, 1986, is another literature that needs to be reviewed in this study. One of our oral respondents, Mallam Jibrin Amfani, the spokesman in the Traditional Council of Wukari, confessed that S. Abubakar's work appears to be a more precise historical piece on the history of the Jukun. This article does not only give us a clear picture of the political and administrative structure of the Jukun, it shows the

[23] E. L. Hassan, *op.cit*.
[24] E.L. Hassan, "The Kwararafa Confederacy: An Example of a Pre-Colonial African Kingdom", Victor Ukaogo and Dalhatu Sangari Usman (eds.), *Wukari Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University, Wukari, September, 2012.

relevance of the economy in the administration of the Wukari State. However, limited by its scope, it does not go beyond the pre-colonial period. It does not discuss the condition of Wukari State and the Jukun in the colonial period. This is why the present research work fills this gap.

E. L. Hassan's article, "African Response to European Colonialism: The Case of Takum in Taraba State, Nigeria",[25]is also central to this study. In the article, he examines the nature and form of colonial domination of Takum District. He also stresses the role of the pre-colonial activities of the European Trading Companies in the later domination of the area by the British colonialists at the beginning of the 20th century. The author posits that Ibi Station was the major point from where the agent of colonialism, the Royal Niger Company and later the colonialists launched their marauding attacks on the people and societies of Muri Emirate as well as the area of study.This work is of immense importance to this study because it helps in analysing the nature of colonial domination of the area of study.

However, the present researcher's area of contention with the author is his over glorification of the advent of the British colonialists in the area. We see his analysis of the people's response to the penetration of the colonialists as uncritical. He argues that the Kuteb people in Takum District did not resist the British colonialists because they saw them as "saviour" from the "warring" Chamba group. He asserts that the colonialists restored peace in the area. This is one of the issues this present study contends with. It sees this standpoint as promoting colonial historiography and justifying British colonial domination of the area which is not logical when viewed from the economic perspective.

[25] E. L. Hassan, "African Response to European Colonialism: The Case of Takum in Taraba State, Nigeria" in J. Mangvwat and T. Wuam (eds.), *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa*, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, 2012.

The work of E.I. Akombo, "Jukun-Tiv Relations since 1850: A Case Study of Inter-group Relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 2005, is germane to this study. The author examines the history of the relationship between the Tiv and Jukun in the Wukari area of the former Wukari District as it was in Ibi Division. This gives us a clear picture of the Jukun-Tiv relations overtime. However, his work is a social history as he has demonstrated in his interpretation of British colonial sources. He does not look at the impact of the British colonial tax, labour and agricultural policies on social relations. He has not shown the connection between the colonial Ring Fence Policy he has emphasised and other colonial policies in determining the course of relationship in the Wukari area. The present study has attempted to fill this gap. His work spans a long historical period, lumping many historical epochs together, but the study at hand specifically examines the colonial history with a special focus on the economy. In a way, it is a re-interpretation of colonial developments in Wukari Division raised in the work of Akombo, Hassan and Ika.

In trying to understand the operation of the colonial trading companies in the area of study, the works of M. Hamman, "The European Rivalry in the Middle Benue Basin and Its Impact on Emirate of Muri, 1880-1895", *History Research in ABU,* Vol.8, 1984, and A.M. Modibbo, *History of the Activities of Royal Niger Company in Northern Nigeria and other Essays: A Political Economy Perspective,* Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 2016, are very relevant. M. Hamman's work discusses the intrigues of the British companies on the Benue and how the imperial activities of these companies led to consequent loss of independence by the existing States in the Middle Benue Basin. However, the work does not proceed to examine the role of the British companies especially the Niger Company in the exploitation of the peasants in the colonial period. Modibbo complements Hamman's

discussion by analysing the role of the British companies in the British colonial state. But, his analysis of the impact of the companies is not on Ibi and Wukari Divisions. However, it is of immense relevance to this study.

The works that are close to the area of study and have been reviewed in this study are those of T.D. Chongo, "The Role of Women in Local Salt Production in Awe, 1920-1990", M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, ABU Zaria, 2014, and J.O. Agi, "The Development and Impact of British Colonial Rule in the Lowland Division of Plateau Province in Central Nigeria, 1902-1948", PhD Thesis, Department of History, ABU Zaria, 2004. Chongo's work is an appraisal of the role of women in the economic development of Awe, with special reference to the salt mining industry. His theoretical understanding and application of the materialist model in historical study is apt. In discussing the relevance of the salt industry in the pre-colonial economy of Kwararafa, he provides the present research with a clear understanding of how Awe salt industry was instrumental to the State. He equally argues that the obnoxious British colonial economic measures deteriorated the operation of this industry. Awe (Chiki) District was once included in Wukari Division from 1926 to 1934 as an independent District. Hence, Chongo's work is relevant just that it is a gender study unlike the present study.

J.O. Agi's work examines the impact of colonialism on the people of Low Land Division. He looks at the socio-economic and political impact of British colonial rule in the Low Land (Tshendam) Division, which was in Muri Province between 1904 and 1924. His tool of analysis has been used to assess the impact of colonial domination in our area of study. His discussion on the impact of the responses of the people to colonial policies, especially the Montol Resistance in 1916, is clear. It has helped us to understand and explain the

Mairiga Revolt in Donga District, Ibi Division, of 1916. However, the present research is more specific, concentrating on the colonial economy. More so, the two works study the area north of the Benue but this present research concentrates on the southern portion.

### 1.7 Research Methodology

This research has adopted the historical method in analysing the nature, operation and impact of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions during the period 1900-1960. The historical method involves the use of historical source materials which includes oral sources, archival records, published and unpublished articles in books and journals, Master's dissertations, Doctoral thesis and undergraduate projects. The researchhas also used inter-disciplinary approach. It borrows some explanations from the social sciences, especially Economics, to analyse historical sources, such as the statistical data from the archival sources. Hence, the historical method is all-encompassing, and therefore, effective for studying the colonial economy in the area of study from 1900 to 1960.Oral sources were obtained from oral interviews and group discussions. This was done to retrieve relevant information from both men and women of various occupations and disciplines as well as different groups who participated in the events under study or have important information on the issues to be discussed in the research. The instrument used for the selection of people to interview is Random Sampling. People are interviewed across all disciplines and occupation and across all ages, specifically those above thirty (30) years who may have important information that will be relevant to the study.

Archival records were also retrieved from the National Archives, Kaduna. They include colonial administrative records and correspondences which exist in the form of colonial

reports: quarterly, monthly and annual assessments reports; correspondences; biographies; and missionary records.

Library materials were also used. They include all secondary sources accessed from public and private libraries. This category of sources includes both published and unpublished works. The published literature exists in the form of books and articles in books, journals and magazines. Within the body of unpublished works are memoirs, undergraduate projects by students, papers presented at seminars and conferences, Master's dissertationand doctoral theses. They were obtained from the Kashim Ibrahim Library, the Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS), the undergraduate History Library in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Centre for Democratic Development Research and Training (CEDDERT), Zaria; Arewa House, Kaduna; Library of the Federal University, Wukari. The information from these sources may not be related directly to the subject and area of study but provides very useful information on certain issues in the study. These included the concepts of colonial economy, among others.

**1.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided the background to the study of the colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions, 1900-1960. It identifies the perspective that has been adopted in the study and also discusses the problem the study attempts to provide explanations for. It discusses the scope and limitations, as well as the justification for the study. The chapter reviews some relevant works on the subject and area of study, bringing out their contributions and the gaps they have left. The methodology that has been used in the study is also identified.

# CHAPTER TWO

# LAND AND PEOPLE OF THE AREAON THE EVE OF BRITISH COLONISATION

## 2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the nature ofland and the peopling of the area of study before the advent of the British colonialists. Land includes all the geographical land mass and features. The general characteristics of the geographical features and how they influenced human activities in the area is also discussed. Hence, the location, boundaries, climate, rainfall, relief, vegetation and the water system or drainage pattern of the area of study is examined in this chapter. In essence, the chapter provides the understanding of the environment and how it influenced the movement of people into the area, inter-group relations and most importantly, the economic activities of the people in the pre-colonial era.

The chapter also discusses the advent of people in the area of study. It identifies the major groups that moved into the Middle Benue Basin before the year 1900. These groups include the Jukun, Abakwariga, Kuteb, Ichen, Tiv and Chamba. The nature of land relief in the area made movement of people from one place to another easier, especially on the plains of the Benue. Thus, this chapter looks at the wave and directions of these movements and the area they are settled.

## 2.1 Geographical Background

### 2.1.1 Location and Boundaries

By spatial location, Ibi and Wukari Divisions were located on the same space. As has been stated earlier, all the areas in Ibi Division were incorporated into Wukari Division in 1926 when the latter was created to replace the former on administrative and economic grounds.

Thus, the area was approximately located between longitudes 9˚08′ and 11˚00′ East and latitudes 6˚30′ and 8˚38′ North.[26]

The only difference one finds is in the size of the Divisions and names of the political units that bounded them. Ibi Division was located at the centre of Muri Province. Ibi was both a Provincial and Divisional headquarters. The Division was bounded by Tshendam Division, later called Lowland Division in Plateau Province in 1924, in the northwest; Muri Division, formerly called Lau Division from 1904-1911, in the northeast; the German Kamerun, 1904-1916, later Bamenda Division, in the southeast and south; and Katsina Ala-Abinsi Division, 1904-1918, later Abinsi Division, 1918-1926, Munshi Province, in the southwest and west.[27]

However, following the formation of Wukari Division to replace Ibi Division in 1926, the nomenclatures of the existing boundarieschanged.[28]In the year 1934, after boundary readjustment, the boundaries were clearly defined. Wukari Division was bounded on the north and north-west by the Lowland Division of Plateau Province and Awe District of Lafia Division, Benue Province. On the north-east and east, it was bounded by Muri Division of Adamawa Province; on the south-east by Bamenda Division of the Cameroons; on the west and south-west, by Tiv Division of Benue Province.This area constitutes the present-day Wukari, Ibi, Donga, Takum and Kurmi Local Government Areas of Taraba State, Nigeria; and parts of Katsina-Ala Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria.[29]

The boundaries of Ibi Division continued to be reorganised over time even up to when it was renamed Wukari Division. Hence, the map of 1914 is adopted for clear

[26]See maps II and III for clarity.
[27] See map I.
[28] NAK: SNP17/23593/ Benue Province, Annual Report, *op.cit.*
[29] See map III.

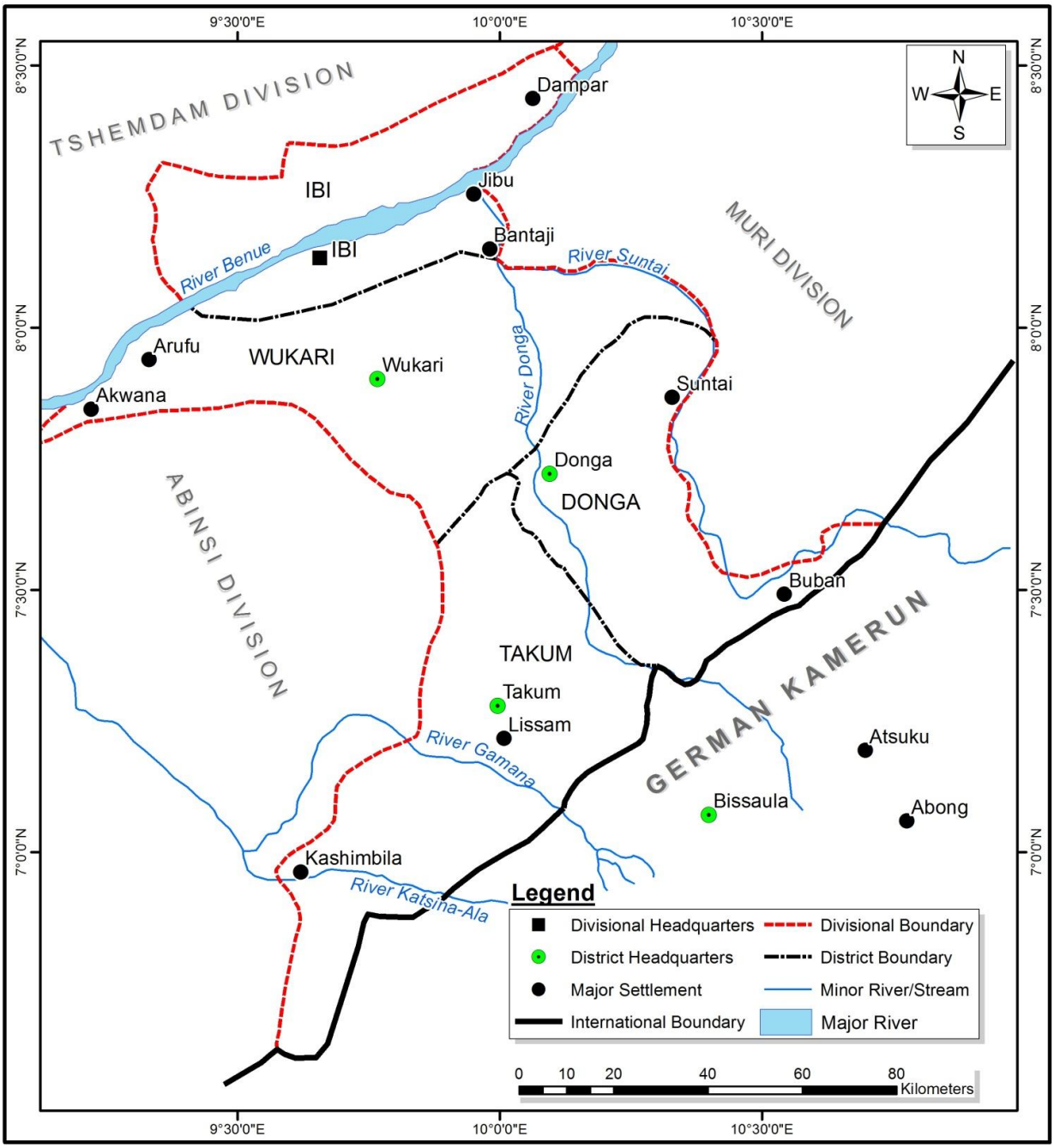
understanding.[30] For Wukari Division, territorial reorganisation was minimal. The total area of Wukari Division, after the Divisional boundary re-organization of 1952, was approximately 6,373 square miles (10,197 square kilometres)[31]. It was made up of four Districts, namely; Wukari District, Donga District, Takum District and the Kentu Mandated Area. Wukari District with the total area of 2,266 square miles (3,626 square kilometres) occupied the north-western parts of the Division. Its greater part lied to the south of the Benue River. The District was divided into four administrative areas namely, south-east, south-west, north-east and north-west sub-Districts.[32]

Takum District was in the south-west with the total area of 1,465 square miles (2,344 square kilometres).[33] Donga District lay at the centre to the north with 1,256 square miles (2,010 square kilometres) as total area.[34] To the west of Donga town and Donga River lay a strip of land of about 10miles (17 kilometres) virtually inhabited by Tiv and Nupawa, around Akate.[35] The Kentu Mandated Area was located in the south-east with the total area of 1,386 square miles (2,218 square kilometres).[36] This District was divided into Kentu, Tigon and Ndoro administrative Areas. The dominant groups in the area included the Jukun, Kuteb, Tiv, Ichen (Kentu), Tigon, Ndoro, Hausa (Abakwariga), among others.[37]

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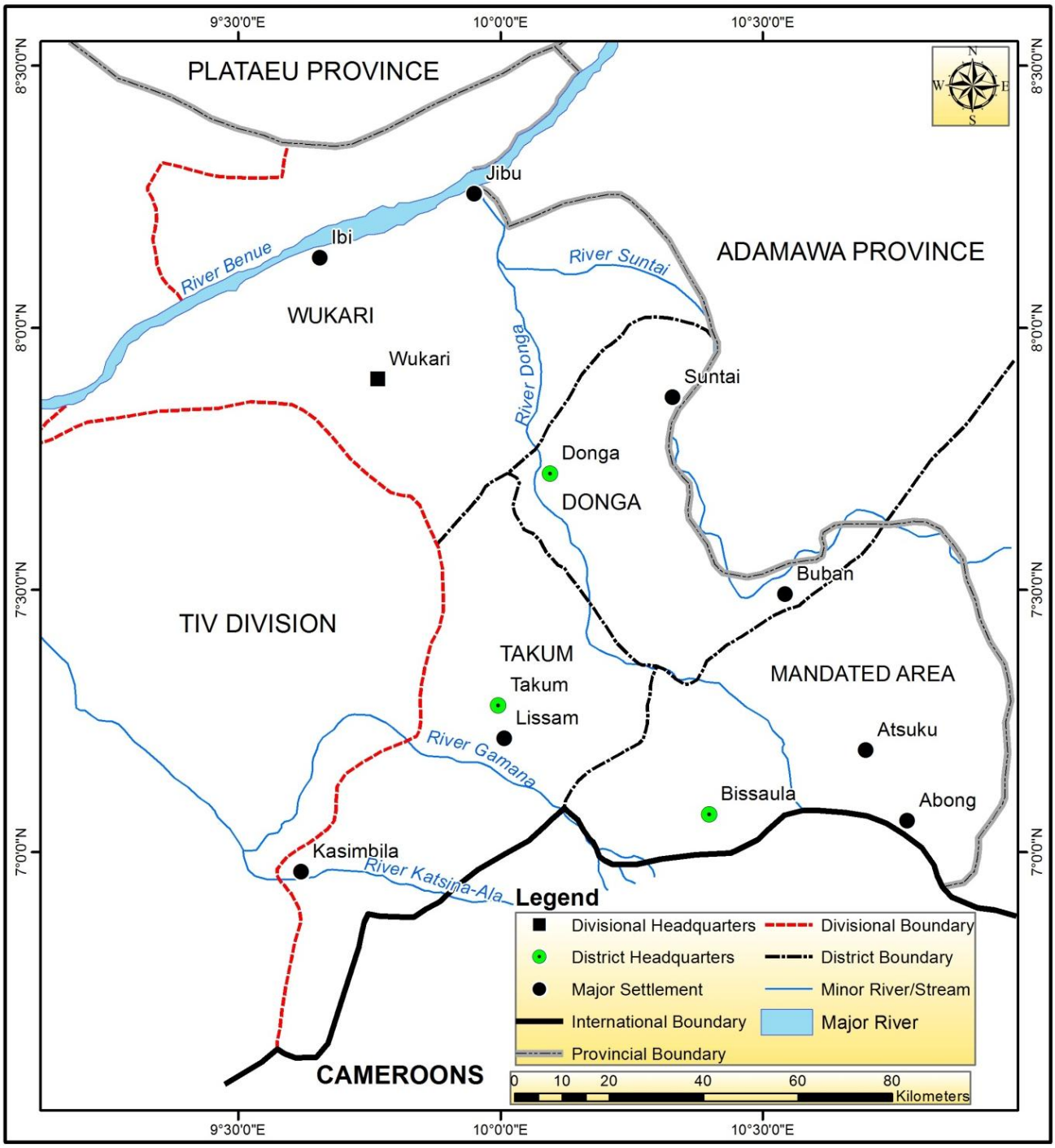
[30]We may not go into the details of why the changes came about and which communities were included or excluded and at what time. See Map 1.
[31] NAK: MAPROF/1462/1931-56, Areas of Provinces and Divisions, *op.cit*.
[32] NAK: MAKPROF/1480/ Wukari Administrative Organisation, 1933.
[33] NAK: MAPROF/1462/1931-56, *op.cit*.
[34]*Ibid*.
[35]NAK: SNP17/24678/ Intelligence Report on the Donga District of the Wukari Division- Benue Province, 1934.
[36]*Ibid*.
[37]This is derived from the information obtained in the various archival records, especially the Intelligence Reports

**MAP I: IBI DIVISION, MURI PROVINCE, 1914**



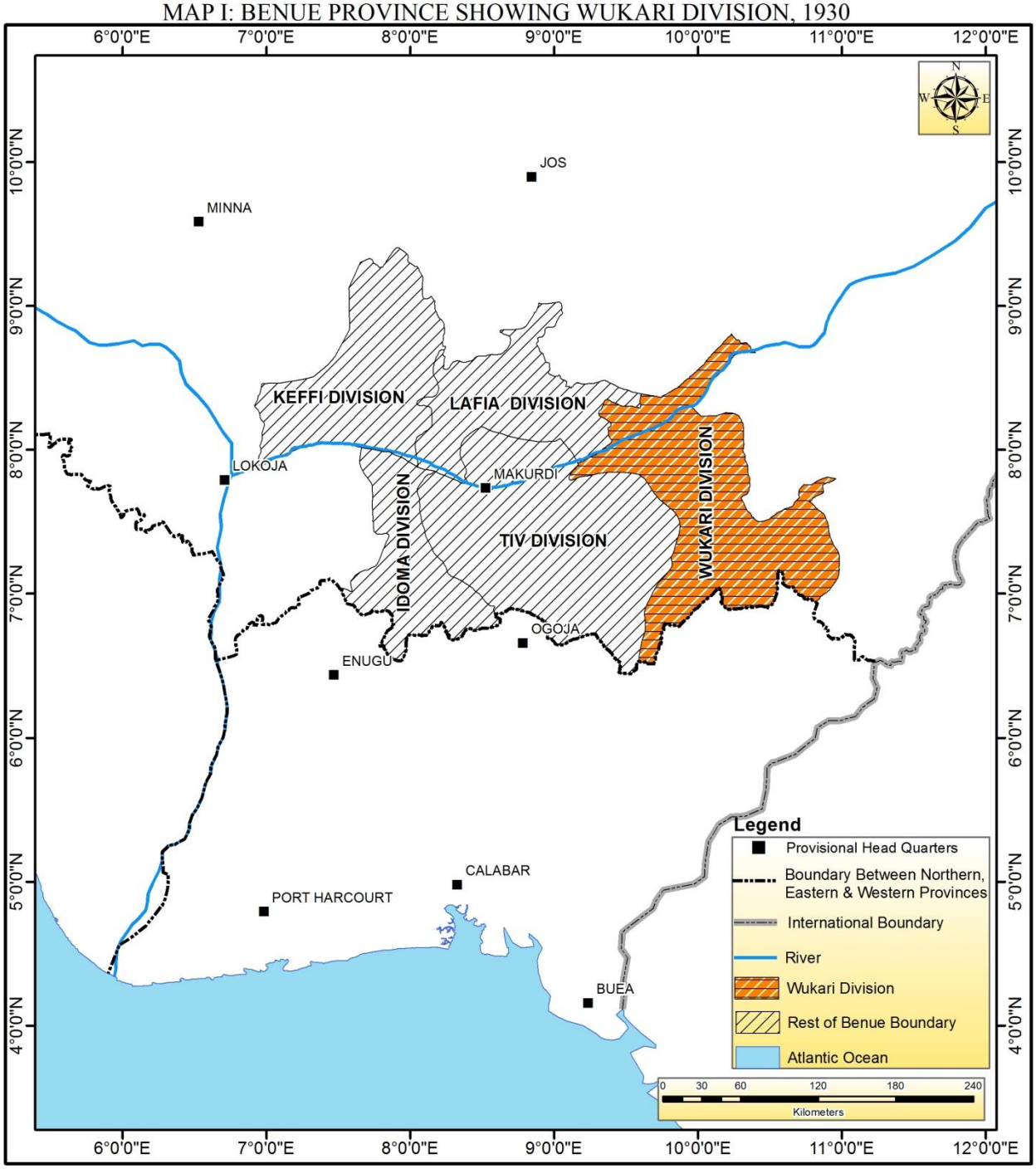

**Source:J. M. Fremantle, "Gazetteer of Muri Province", *op.cit.***

MAP II: WUKARI DIVISION SHOWING DISTRICTS




**Source: Adapted from the map of Benue Province, drawn and reproduced by Survey Department, Lagos, 1964.**

MAP I: BENUE PROVINCE SHOWING WUKARI DIVISION, 1930




**Source: Adapted from R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria,* Nok Publishers, Lagos, 1982, p.4.**

### 2.1.2 Climate

The climatic condition in Ibi and Wukari Divisions is characterised by long wet season lasting from March to November and a short dry season from November to December. The wet season is caused by the South-West TradeWind and the Atlantic Ocean. It begins early in March, in most parts of the area, especially in the rain forest regions of Kentu Mandated Area, TakumDistrict and the south-eastern parts of Donga District and lasts to late November and, in some years, early December. However, in Wukari District and the northern portion of DongaDistrict, the wet season mostly begins late March or early April and lasts to November. The air mass coming from the Atlantic Ocean is moisture-laden. It is the source of the main rains in the Division. It blows steadily, reaching its maximum force in July and August when there is low pressure belt in the northern hemisphere.[38]

From November to March, the main air-stream affecting the area of study is from the north and north-east which, because of its source and tracts, is a dry air-mass. It blows from a high pressure belt across the Sahara Desert which makes it dry and harsh. Thus, it is commonly referred to as the harmattan or *iskan hunturu* in Hausa. Since the wind is dry the climatic condition is generally dry and cold.[39]Ibi and Wukari Districts, which were later merged into Wukari District in 1926, lay on the southern plains of the Benue valley where the land is generally laying low and the soil texture is coarse.Therefore, the harmattan wind blows with dust especially in late December and early parts of January.[40]

The southern and the south-eastern highlands moderate the drying influence and dust that accompanies the harmattan wind in Donga and Takum Districts as well as Kentu Mandated

[38] E.L. Hassan. "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum…..",*op.cit*, p.24.
[39]*Ibid*.
[40] See NAK: SNP10/254p/1918, Wukari District, Muri Province, Reassessment and NAK: SNP10/283p/1918/Muri Province, Ibi Division, Ibi District: Reassessment Report by CE. Boyd.

Area. There could be cold and dryness but not as severe as in Wukari District. The harmattan wind precedes harvest. Most crops, especially red sorghum, do not need rain when they are producing their seeds. When the rainy season lasts longer than November it affectssorghum. Hence, the dry wind dries up the crops quickly for harvest.[41] Most industrial activities were done during the dry season. Salt and galena mining only took place in this season. Activities in the cottage industries, such as textile production, were heightened during this period.[42]

The mean annual temperature of the Savannah region of Wukari District, including former Ibi District; and the northern part of Donga District is about 28°C, with the maximum temperature increasing from February to April prior to the rainy season.[43] The temperature and humidity in the southern portion of Wukari and Donga Districts as well as the whole of Takum District and Kentu Mandated Area is considerably moderate, suitable for agricultural production in the rainy season. However, throughout the year, temperature could rise to above 80°F.[44] The lowest is in December and January. The relative humidity reaches a peak of over 90% in September and its lowest is about 10% in January.[45]

### 2.1.3 Rainfall

It has been shown that the South-West Trades Winds are responsible for the main rains in Ibi and Wukari Divisions but it is the convergence of the northerly and the South-West Trade Winds that brings rain.The rainy season begins either in March or April and ends in

[41] Oral interview with Mallam Kunama Dankano, 82 years, farmer, on 26th December, 2015, at his residence in Ndessin, Donga Local Government Area, Taraba State.
[42] Oral interview with HRH, Mr. Paul Adi Agbu, 75 years, District Head of Akwana, on 15th December, 2015, at his residence in Wukari.
[43] See M. Hamman's description of the geography of the Middle Benue Region in M. Hamman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869, Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri,* Arewa House, Kaduna, 2007.
[44] E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, p. 25.
[45] M. Haman, *op.cit*, p. 23.

October or November.[46] But much of the downpour occurs in June and July with a break of few days in August, while the heavier down pour descends in September and sometimes October. The average annual rainfall for Wukari District and the northern portion of Donga District is about 40 inches (1.016 metre).[47]Takum District, southern parts of Wukari and Donga Districts and the Kentu Mandated Area could be said to enjoy sufficient rainfall with an annual average of 70 inches (1.75 metre).[48]Apart from conventional rainfall this region also experiences relief rainfall which occurs as a result of the highlands that are prevalent here.

The period before the onset of the rain is characterized by intense agricultural activities of clearing the fields in preparation for the planting season that is followed with the onset of the rains. Generally, the area experiences very high temperature at this period and low temperature with the onset of the rains. The lowest minimum temperature is experienced during the dry season when the north-easterly dry harmattan winds blew. This is also the harvesting period, thus, the low temperature makes farm work less strenuous. The highest temperature occurs in April and May, just before the rains set in and the lowest was experienced in December.

### 2.1.4 Relief

The area of study is characterised by lowlands and highlands. The southern part is characterised by various mountain ridges which include Donga, Suntai and Takum isolated mountains and the high-peaked south-eastern mountain ridges that merge with the mountain

[46] L. Gohcheng, *Certificate in Physical and Human Geography*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1971, pp. 3-14.
[47] NAK: SNP17/25238/…*op.cit*, p. 7; and A. D. Barau "The Economy of Rice Processing Industry in Wukari", Unpublished M.sc Thesis, Department of Agricultural Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1979, p.32.
[48] E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, p. 25.

ridges of the Cameroon Province, that is, the Bamenda Mountains. The mountains south of Donga rise to over 2,600 ft. (793 metres) above sea level and those around Suntai rise to some 2,000 to 3,000 ft. (610 to 915 metres) above sea level.[49] Takum hills which are collectively called *Rikwen* in Kuteb,[50]peak to some 2,000 ft. (610 metres), especially the Markam (*Mbarikam*) which peaks at 2,395 ft. (730 metres).[51]

The south-eastern mountains are the highest. They form ridges running in north-east to south-west direction. The mountains run parallel but sometimes mergedtogether with little gap or pass in between them that would allow for movement across them. Prominent among these include Fali, Nukpo and *Evdonno* (Bibinu) mountains in Donga District which forma ridge and merge with the Bamenda mountain ridges.There are also mountains that occupy the southern and south-western fringes of the Division. Important is the Yukuben Mountain which appears to be the highest in southern portion of Takum District and the Division, respectively.[52] The south-eastern and the south-western highlands form a wide valley with fertile soil rich in agricultural production. The Kentu Mandated Area occupy a valley of about 30 miles (48 kilometres) broad which is formed by the south-eastern mountain ridge and the isolated mountains and hills of Dibiteng, Gayama, Kumbo, Manya, Nyivu and the "TakumHills".[53]

The highlands served as places for habitation. Most pre-colonial societies were established on these highlands which served as protection from the slave raiders.[54] They also used these highlands as important places for hunting.It was common with most groups that migrated

[49]*Ibid*, p. 14.
[50] See J.M. Fremantle, "The Gazeteer of Muri Province", *op.cit*, p. 1.
[51]*Ibid*.
[52]Oral interview with Mr. Joseph Bako, 52 years, Clergy man, at Mararraba- Donga, on 23rd December, 2015.
[53] See NAK: SNP17/24678/……. *op.cit*.
[54]Discussion with Mallam Yaro Daudu, 93 years, in his residence at Mararraba on 4th August, 2005.

into the area of these highlands in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuriesto take to one mountain or another as their placeof abode. This is very typical of the Kuteb. They refer tothemselves as *Ndetirikwen,*meaning "the people of the mountain"[55]. Ichen tradition maintains that the final dispersal of the group after their migration from Kwararafa occurred at Shimo, a mountain close to Gayama village, Donga District.[56]

The relief of the northern part of the area of study, particularly Wukari District, is made up of undulating highlands. From Wukari, the land falls away to the Benue in the north, the Donga River in the east and the Katsina-Ala River in the south and south-west, respectively. North of the Benue, is a stripof land with a maximum width of 14 miles (23 kilometres). Much of this area is swampy and infested by tsetse flies, but Dampar and Sarkin Kudu were important settlements here.[57]

The lowlands and plains are economically the most productive where they are not infested by tsetse flies and not swampy. This is because they contain the richest agricultural lands and serve as a retreat for the pastoralists during the dry season when pastures are scarce on the highlands. The plains are also the bases of the fishing folks like the Wurbo, the Jibu and the Jukun Kpwanu (Wanu or Banu). In addition, some of the flood plains of the Benue have been important sources for mineral salt found in the marshy (*fadama)* area.The plains of the Benue valley and its tributaries, like River Donga, are extensive and gently undulating. They fall gradually from over 1,000 ft. (300m) in the east and south, to between 400 and 600 ft. (120m and 180m) above sea level along the line of the Benue River.[58]

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[55]I.M. Innocent, *The Epitome of Peace: Life and Times of Ukwe Ali Ibrahim Kuffang Zarto II, 15th Ukwe Takum (1963-1996)*, Midland Press Ltd., Jos, 2002, p. 2.
[56] Oral interview with Mallam Kabea Jangaba Fhh, 83 years, farmer, at Mararraba, on 27th July, 2012.
[57] NAK: MAKPROF/1233/ Wukari Division: Annual Reports, No. 14, 1932.
[58]M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri...*", op.cit*, p.15.

The high temperature of the lowland areas, coupled with the high water table that supplements the rainfall enables most of the stable crops to flourish. This also explains the prolific growth of vegetation in the lowland which provides the atmosphere for tsetse fly breeding.[59] The plains and the lowlands are drained by the middle and lower reaches of southern tributaries of the Benue and the latter river itself whose channel cut across the plains in a north-east to south-west direction.[60]

### 2.1.5 Vegetation

Although the vegetation of Ibi and Wukari Divisions generally falls within the southern Guinea Zone, the northern section of the Divisions supports a Sudan-type of vegetation. The northern part of the Divisions is covered by the Benue Trough with its year round luxurious vegetation, particularly during the rainy season. The area is characterized by high temperatures as a result of evaporation in the Benue Valley for much of the year. Some of the common economic trees are the shea-butter tree, locust bean, baobab, acacia Arabic and tamarind. The leaves and fruits of these trees are widely used for food and medicinal purposes. Similarly, the fibres of some of the plants, for example, the *farin rama* and the *kaba* palm; their ashes, for example, those of the shea-butter tree; and their juices, for example, those of the *gabaruwa* and *karan dafi*, are used in hand craft industries like weaving, dyeing and tanning.[61] The vegetation played an important role in sustaining man in the area and also in the development of relevant technology for the exploitation of the natural resources found in the vegetation.

[59] *Ibid*, p.16.
[60] See Map II.
[61] M. Hamman, *op.cit*.

Apart from domestic animals like cattle, goats, sheep, poultry, horses and so on, there was also a variety of wild animals. Many of these animals were hunted for food, medicine and for items of regional and long-distance trade. This activity was so important in the economic life of the various communities that it gave rise not only to seasonal migrations but also became a determinant factor in the establishment of some settlements such as Akwana and Arufu.[62]

Owing to the heavy rainfall that lasts from March to early November, the south-western fringes of the Divisions is not covered by a true semi-equatorial forest vegetation but by a Savannah Mosaic in which the forest and the Savannah grass are short except along river valleys where thick forest swamps occur. Takum District is a woodland savannah consisting of scattered clusters of palm trees dotting the entire area. However, north of this area towards Wukari and Donga Districts, the woodland becomes sparse with trees and grass becoming shorter and the palm trees,mostly occurring singly, gradually disappear.[63]The valley of the south-eastern highlands is clothed with rich tropical vegetation and forest. The palm oil tree flourishes in this valley. The slopes of the hills are covered with orchard bush. There are mahogany trees. This vegetation is heavily timbered and possesses fertile soil.

The soil type is defined by the nature of the climate, geological formations, topographyand living organisms. In the tropical rainforest, leaching and weathering are intense and, as a result of this, the soils lack nutrient salt and silica, so that they are generally red in colour because of the dominance of the two oxides of aluminium and iron.[64] The nature of the soil in the valley of the south-eastern highlands is stony especially at the foothills of the

[62] See J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit,* p. 3. This information is corroborated by the one obtained from a group discussion with HRH, Paul Adi Agbu, *op.cit,* Mr. Danladi Audu, 70 years, Artist and Mallam Tsokwa Agbu, 71 years, Retired Soldier, at Wukari on 15th December, 2015.
[63] See E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, pp. 25-26.
[64] *Ibid*, p.27.

highlands. It is in the form of granite. The woodland of Takum and Donga Districts is made up of laterite soil which is rich for groundnut and benniseed production.A large part of Wukari District has alluvial and sandy soil. The alluvial soil is found mostly on the plains of the major river systems in the area. The northern part of Donga District has same soil type.[65]

### 2.1.6 Drainage

The area is drained by three major rivers, namely; the Benue, Donga and Katsina-Ala Rivers. River Benue drains the northern parts of the Divisions flowing from a north-eastern to south-western direction from Jibu, the confluence of River Donga and River Benue, through to Ibi, Tunga, Chinkai, Akwana and Arufu. At this point, the River is at its middle course where it grows to its fullest extent. There are no rapids in this stretch of the river, which has moderate slopes and not swift. At its middle course, there is large expanse of plains, which is made up of rich alluvial soil with its fauna and flora contents.

The Benue plains have deposits of minerals such as salt[66], galena (lead zinc) and silver. Hence, the flood plains host most of the industrial centres, such as Akwana, Arufu, Awe, Keana and Akiri. The plain is generally flat, therefore, the numerous rivers and streams which drain through the region into the Benue, flow very sluggishly and form enormous marshy hoops and flood plains in which salt brine springs are commonly found. Examples

[65] NAK: SNP10/ Assessment Report on Donga District of Muri Province, Ibi Division by Mr R.F.P. Orme, Assistant District Officer, Ibi, 1913.

[66] This is discussed by A.C. Unomah, "The Lowland Salt Industry", in Elizabeth Isichie, *Studies in the History of Plateau State of Nigeria,* Macmillan Press, London, 1982. He asserts that the sources of salt marshes are located in a continuous block of territory running parallel from Abinsi to Ibi stretch of the River Benue. So, that stretch of land, that is, the flood plains of the Middle Benue, may be described as a brine belt. Territorially, Unomah argues that from east to west, the belt continues for about 60 kilometres from the vicinity of Akiri to Keana in the north bank and about 40 kilometres as its widest point from north to south, still in the Lowlands of the Jos Plateau (p.151). Though we do not have the figure of the size of the area south of the Benue, it is considerably wide taking a good look at the maps.

of such rivers include Fitri, Arufu and Fiji which flow into the Benue from the south. Most of the saltings are located close to these rivers, west of Ibi and Wukari. This section of the Benue is also convenient for navigation, which extends to its lower part. The navigability of the Benue and its southern tributaries like the Donga and Katsina-Ala, as well as Suntai rivers, greatly facilitated the penetration of the area of study by European traders and trading firms in the second half of the 19th century, a penetration that ultimately led to the undermining and loss of sovereignty by the people and societies in the area.[67]

River Donga is the largest tributary of the Benue that drains the major parts of the Divisions. It takes its course from the Bamenda highlands. It flows through the Kentu Mandated Area from the south-east throughto Donga in a north-west direction; and from Donga to Jibu, where it joins the Benue. It has a considerable wide flood plain which is used for the production of food crops, such as rice.[68]This river and its major tributary, River Suntai, whose sources are Nukpo and *Evdono* (Bibinu) hills, are important sources for fishing. They also served as media through which agricultural products from the forest region in the south-east were exchanged with the industrial products from the north-eastern part of the Divisions. Thus, the canoe building industry which was developed among the Wurbo and the Jibu on the Benue depended largely on the mahogany trees in the forest zone of the Kentu Mandated Area. Hence, these rivers are used to movethe canoes constructed in the forest zone to the Benue where they were mostly used.The south-western portion of the

[67]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p.16.
[68] Rice became an important export food crop from Donga in the 1940s. Donga was the main producer of rice in the whole of Benue Province during this period.

Divisions is drained by the upper course of Katsina-Ala River and its tributary, River Gamana.[69]

The water course and drainage lines of the above mentioned rivers are characterised by a prolific growth of vegetation. A Derived Southern Guinea Savannah is predominant on the plains of the Benue. There are economically useful plants on the plains, for example, the bamboo whose fibres, midribs and roots are used for the production of bags, mats, brooms and brushes. Wine is also extracted from the plant. Chairs and beds are made from the stems in addition to using them for roofing, door-making, basketry and fencing. Economic trees like gum Arabic acacia, gum copal and sasswood abound in the Benue swamps. The croton plant whose oil is used as a drastic purgative is also found on the Benue plains. Another useful plant found in the lowlands is cam wood. It is used as dye stuff and as a cosmetic for reddening the body. It is found in Wukari District.[70]

## 2.2 Migrations and Settlements

### 2.2.1 Jukun:

The Jukun are one of the earliest occupants of the Benue valley. Their traditions of origin are unanimous on the issue of their having migrated into the Benue valley from an area to the far north-east of the Benue Valley, through the Fitri Region, Mandara and the Gongola Region.[71] It appears that there were two different waves of Jukun migrants from the Chad Basin to the Middle Benue Region where they established complex political systems from the beginning of the 15$^{th}$ century to the 19$^{th}$ century. The first and the larger group is said to

[69] See NAK: SNP17, 24898, Takum District, Intelligent Report on by M.C. Cole, Assistant District Officer, Wukari Division, 1936.

[70] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 18.

[71] G.D. Dogo. "Trade and Settlement in the Middle Benue Basin...",*op.cit*, p. 23.

have moved from the Chad Basin to Mandara, Marghi and Kilbaareas. Those in Kilba dispersed and some of them went south to Shani and the Benue Valley and others northward to Ribadu, Biyri and Fika. Thus, the southward migrants included the ruling class of Wukari and probably Kona.[72] When the Jukun arrived in the Benue Valley, they subjugated the riverine people there and through the process of social and cultural integration, anew composite community known as the Jukun emerged.[73]

Another school of thought debunks the north-east origin of the Jukun.Itargues that the Jukun migrated from a south-eastern route, through the Cameroun Mountains, to the Benue Valley. Popular among these are Greenberg[74], Shimuzu[75] and Ballard[76]. Basing their arguments on linguistic sources, they argue that there is no evidence to show any linguistic similarity between the Jukun language and the Nilo-Saharan mega-language group which most languages fromthe Chad Basin, such as Kanuri, belong and that the Jukun language belongs to the Kordofanian mega group. Therefore, according to this evidence, the Jukun-speakers of the Benue Valley migrated to the area through a south-eastern route rather than the popular north-east route.That the Jukun language, whose parental root has been identified as Proto-Jukunoid,belongs to the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo, which is a major family of the mega Niger-Kordofanian.[77]

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[72] The other Jukun group, which is said to have left the Chad basin slightly later than the first group, is reported to have come from the southeast corner of Lake Chad through Damaturu and Denya in Bornu to Kalam on the River Gongola. See M. Haman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad…* 2007, *op.cit*, pp. 10-11; G.D. Dogo, *op.cit*, p.23.

[73] M. Haman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad,…* 2007, *op.cit*, p. 11.

[74] J.H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification*, New Haven, U.S.A., 1955, p. 10.

[75] K. Shimuzu, "Comparative Jukunoid: A Preliminary Survey", PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1971, p. 59.

[76] J.A. Ballard. "The Historical Inferences from Linguistic Geography of the Nigeria Middle-Belt". *Africa*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, 1972.

[77] See E.L. Hassan. "The Kwararafa Confederacy: An Example of a Colonial African Kingdom". *Wukari Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University, Wukari, 2012.

However, these scholars did not establish the date when this occurred. Secondly, there is no evidence to prove that the Jukun migrated from the south or south-east, that is, through the Cameroon to the Benue Valley. There is no trace of Jukun culture or civilisation in Cameroun or the Central African area to demonstrate this. Instead, Jukun influence was more evident in the north than in the south, such as their military expeditions in Hausa States and Borno and their attempts at building large political systems such as Kwararafa, Kona, Wukari and Pindiga. Besides, there was a southward migration to Puje after the demise of Api instead of a northward movement.[78]

Another school of thought argues that instead of looking outward for the migration of the Jukun into the Nigerian area, one should better look inward. Thus, it attempts at relating the Jukun migration from Nok. The argument is that there is a close relationship between Nok culture and civilisation with that of the Jukun. Hence, the groups that call themselves Jukun must have migrated from Nok to the Benue valley.[79] This argument seems logical but since there is no ample evidence, the migration of the Jukun from the Chad Basin is still valid. This is because the Lake Chad had been a region of historical relevance in the Central Sudan. Most migrations have been related to this region because it housed different groups before the establishment of the Kanem-Borno Empire by the Kanuri.[80]

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[78] See C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom; An Anthropological Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Negro University Press, New York, 1969, for details on the migration of the Jukun. Other oral sources include interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani, 72 years, Retired Civil Servant, Mr. S.B. Manga, 73 years, Retired Civil Servant, at Wukari, among others.

[79] Discussion with Mr. El-Zulkibilu Dodo, 30 years, student, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University, Wukari. However, the present researcher could not lay hand on any document relating to this argument and there is no any oral tradition that supports this. However, this appears to be a new school of thought in the explanation of Jukun history in the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University, Wukari.

[80] See P. Lovejoy, "Bornu Salt Industry", p.1.

### 2.2.2 Abakwariga:

The etymology of the term 'Abakwariga' is as old as the early contact between the Hausa and the Jukun. Abakwariga is a bi-lingual term from both the Jukun and Hausa languages. The word *abakwa* in Jukun language literally means 'sewing', that is, to sow new clothes or any other dress,whereas *riga* is a Hausa word for gown or shirt or any other worn material. The two words now become 'Abakwariga' meaning 'sewn-dress' or 'sewn-clothes', like big gown or *dogonriga* in Hausa. Thus, the Jukun refer to Abakwariga as people that wear sewn-dress. Conversely, the Jukun traditional dress which is popularly known as *akya* is not a sewn-dress.[81] Hence, those that used the sewn-dress were referred to as Abakwariga by the Jukun. However, other groups in the Middle Benue valley,such as the Idoma, Igala and the Udam, call them 'Abakwa'.[82] The Tiv call them 'Mbakpa', which is the corruption of 'Abakwa'.[83]

The Abakwariga or Abakwa are descendants of Hasusa merchants that traded with the communities in the Middle Benue valley in the pre-colonial period. They migrated to Kwararafa in the early times probably during the 14th and 15th centuries when Kwararafa traded with the Hausa States. Some must have migrated to the area as salt miners, just as Gbor records that they came to Awe to mine salt[84] around the 18th and 19th centuries when salt production became elaborate in Awe.[85] Some groups must have migrated to Kwararafa in the service of the Aku as Mallams in the preparation of charms.[86] The majority of the

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[81] S. Abubakar, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800", p.76, cited in B.Z. Abubakar and G.F. Useini, "The Abakwariga and their Contributions in the Economic and Educational Development of some North-Eastern States of Nigeria", A Paper presented at the Summit on History of North-East Nigeria, Historical Society of Nigeria, Jalingo, September, 2012, p.4.
[82] J.W.T. Gbor, "Traditions of Tiv Origin and Migration with Special Emphasis on the Eastern Tiv Frontier to c.1900", B.A. (Hons) Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1974, p.40.
[83] *Ibid*, p.4.
[84] *Ibid*.
[85] See A.C. Unomah, "The Lowland Salt Industry", *op.cit*, p.3.
[86] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 57.

Abakwariga are said to have been captured as slaves during the expeditions of Kwararafa to Hausa States of Kano, Zazzau and Katsina and were brought to Kwararafa.[87]

**2.2.3 Kuteb:**

The traditions of origin of the Kuteb and their migratory trends into the area of study differ but they all point to Ussa Hills, that is, Takum hills described above, as the base of dispersal of this group. The traditions unanimously point, though with slight differences, to one Kuteb as the founder of the Kuteb nation. Kuteb is said to have given birth to five children, namely; Likam, Akente, Aribur, Lumbu and Ayigiben. Likam, the eldest son, took over the leadership of Kuteb and assigned hills to his younger ones at the time when there was population growth on Ussa Hill and there was need for expansion. Likam himself took over *Mbarikam* (Mbarkam) Hill. Thus, Kuteb progenies were responsible for establishing other Kuteb polities on the hills around Takum. However, they occasionally visited Ussa Hill for collective religious and social rites.[88]The Ayigiben group migrated far away into the Kentu (Ichen) area of Donga in search of game and lost contact with the other Kuteb brothers,then to the Cameroon before finally coming to settle at their present abode at the mountain around Achillo hills south of Takum. They had mixed so much with the Ichen, Mashi and other groups known to them as the *Mbe'seme* and *Mbe'fe*,that today, they hardly identify themselves as Kuteb. This area (Ayigeben) was later known as Southern Zompere District in colonial records.[89]

However, other sources trace the origin of the Kuteb outside the Ussa Hill. Some trace their origin from Egypt under the leadership of a man called Kuteb around 1000BC. It is said that

[87] C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 307.
[88] See E.L. Hassan. "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum…." *op.cit*, p. 33.
[89] *Ibid*.

"in the course of their migration to Northern Cameroun at the command of their leader they followed hill ranges for the purpose of protection from threats of war."[90] The route of migration was through the Central African region to the Bamenda highlands and finally to Ussa Hill in the Middle Benue Basin. The position of this tradition is that some Kuteb settlements are still found in the Cameroons.[91]

However, another tradition puts it that the Kuteb migrated from Kwararafa together with the Ichen (Kentu), Yikuben, Tigon, Nama, Ndoro and the Jibu[92], after the demise of the former in the 17th century.[93] That they left Kwararafa (Api) at the same time and moved together towards Wukari, probably under the leadership of Aku Katakpa, but at Chinkan- a settlement located between Puje and Wukari, the Kuteb, Ichen (Kentu) and Kpanzum (Ikpan) were permitted by the Aku to move away and found new settlements.[94] The Aku told them in Jukun language, *Nikin*, meaning "you people can move on."[95] Thus, those that migrated from here moved in a south-easterly direction towards River Donga, formerly called Ndama in colonial records, at a point on the west bank called Kyakyo.[96]

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[90] Mgbe, *Know the Story of Kutebs*, p.1, cited in E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, p. 33.
[91] E.L. Hassan, *Ibid*, p. 37.
[92] These groups occupied the south and south-eastern portions of Wukari Division. Oral interview with HRH, Mr. Daniel Kikong, Kwe Bikka Baba, 85 years, in his residence at Bikka Baba, on 19th November, 2017.
[93] E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, pp. 36-37.
[94] The request was made by these groups. But the reason for this breaking away is not given. However, this might be due to the need for land which resulted from the population explosion (Oral interview with Mallam Kabea Jangaba Fhh, 83 years, Farmer, Mararraba-Donga, 2012). The Aku here was Katakpa, since Chinkan lies between Puje and Wukari, maybe it was established during the reign of Katakpa. This was the time that Katakpa was still building the Wukari state. Our informants told us that the place of dispersal was Akwana because there are still material evidences in Akwana that attest to this (Group discussion with HRH Paul Adi Agbu, Mallam Tsokwa Agbu and Mr. Danladi Audu in Wukari, on 15th December, 2015). This proposition appears to be substantial because Akwana was an important industrial centre, which attracted the attention of most groups from Kwararafa. Katakpa went to Akwana to establish a centralised political system that would take care of the production and distribution of salt in the Wukari State. Some of the Kuteb, Ichen (Kentu) and Kpanzun would have gone with him. This group would probably be the ones referred to by our informants.
[95] It appears that the groups that parted here came to be referred to as *Nikin*. It is common among the Jukun that the Ichen (Kentu) got their name from this statement. The Ichen call themselves *Edkhwen* or *Edken* which sounds like *Nikin* because the word *Nikin* is pronounced as *Niken* in Jukun.
[96] NAK: SNP17/24678/ Intelligence Report on the Donga District of the Wukari Division- Benue Province, 1934.

Another source has it that this movement took place in the 19th century during the reign of Aku Angyu Tsokwa (C.1815-1848) under the leadership of four Jukun leaders: Tsoho, Tsokwa, Khimbi and Kuhwa,[97] who asked for the permission to move the aforementioned groups in search of land. Therefore, Tsoho led the Kuteb and the Yikube (Yikuben); Tsokwa led the Kentu, referred to as Icheku, to Bissaulla area in the Kentu Mandated Territory and Khimbi led the rest, probably the Kpanzu, to the Nwuhwa area; and Kuhwa led the Tigon, Nama, Ndoro, Jibu and Gbaya, to south-east of the area of study.[98] The Kuteb, Nyido and Yikuben migrated to *Kwe Ussa* (Ussa Hill) and the surrounding hills where they developed their socio-political systems.[99]

**2.2.4 Ichen (Kentu):**

Ichen, Kento or Kentu, group is said to have migrated from Kwararafa to the foothills of the Bamenda Highlands. A majority of them were in south-eastern part of the area of study together with the Tigon and Ndoro in the Kentu Mandated Area. They occupied the valley formed by the mountain ranges of Bamenda/ Mambilla Highlands and the isolated highlands of Kumbo, Nyivu, Gayama and Takum. Ichen were also pre-dominant in Donga District, located south and south-east of Donga town.

The dominant tradition maintains that the group left under their leader, Ichen and migrated south-east.[100] They are called by the Jukun as Kyanto which the colonialists documented as Kento or Kentu. This is because at the time of their migration from Wukari, they crossed a river south-east of the town and moved on towards the direction the Kuteb took. The river was called Ladan. Hence, when they crossed it, they were called *Bakyan Ladan*, meaning

[97] These leaders might be war lords because these groups dominated the military of Kwararafa.
[98] See E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, footnote 25, p.36.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] According to Mallam Kabea Jangaba Fhh, *op.cit*, the dispersal was caused by the Jihadists' attack. He said that the Jihadists came to Kwararafa and threw Quran which scattered the whole people.

"those that have crossed the Ladan"[101]. The word *Kyanto* in Jukun means crossed-over. Therefore, the name Kyanto was used by the Jukun to refer to those who crossed-over the Ladan. But the colonialists pronounced it as Kentu. The Jukunised Chamba must have told the colonialists that the Ichen people were called *Kento,* meaning "stubborn set of people" and the colonialists must have written it as Kentu, a corruption of the name of the Ichen people. This was derogatory, though.[102]

From Wukari some group migrated to the Takum Hills where they stayed with the Kuteb for some time. However, some migrated further east to Bissaulla area while the rest moved north-ward to River Donga where they crossed on a big log of wood that fell across the river. There is this popular myth among the people that the name of the tree is *tu ekhaan*. But the present research faults the validity of this myth. The height of the tree in real life cannot be more than thirty (30) meters. How can such a tree fall across a river of about three hundred (300) meters wide and could even serve as a bridge for people to cross over? Let us assume Donga River was not as wide as it is now, a century ago, such that a tree of about thirty (30) metres could fall across it. How can this be possible when Ladan stream we made reference to above that was crossed over a century ago is still below thirty (30) metres wide?

According to our discussion above, the people crossed Ladan stream, moved to the Markam, stayed for a considerable numbers of years before migrating to the point on River Donga where they crossed. This period of movement till now is more than a century. If the beds of rivers expand just this fast, Ladan should have! In the light of this, the present research argues that the river, which they crossed over on *tu ekhaan*,might be a smaller one,

[101]Oral interview with HRH, Mr. Agbu, *op.cit.*
[102] C.K. Meek, *op.cit.*

may be a tributary of River Donga, particularly River Tati, which is about twenty-five (25) metres wide. The crossing of Donga might not have been on *tu ekhaan*.

After crossing River Donga at Manya, they moved on to Nyivu Hill or Shimu (Shimo).[103] From here they migrated to the surrounding hills according to their clans, such as Behkhan, Buban, Evdohnno (Bibibnu), Benye (Benyi), Ndawha and Ndahwe. Later, they migrated to settle at the foothills of the various highlands especially in the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. Some did not cross the River but chose to remain on its bank. Others moved to Bissaula (Kentu Area), south-east of Takum.[104] Another source has it that some groups must have crossed Donga at the present Donga town, which is north of the above crossing point at Manya. This source lays claim on Ichen's ownership of Donga. The argument is that there is a good number of Ichen settlers in Donga town.[105]Besides, evidence show that the Chamba group under Nya, alias "Garkola", came to Gankwe in the early 19th century and conquered the people there who were the Ichen and established a government over them. It was from Gankwe that the Chamba group moved to Donga to establish a State there called Donga Chiefdom.[106]Thus, there might be the probability that there was another stream of migration from Wukari through Donga to the area the Ichen occupy today since there were people living in the area before the arrival of the Chamba who came to establish organised government and state system in Donga.

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[103] Shimu or Shimo is a Hill north-east of Nyivu and west of Gayama Hill and is located south of Donga town. This place is commonly referred to as the point of dispersal of the Ichen, especially those in Donga district. Thus, it is difficult to ascertain where the dispersal took place because colonial records are unanimous of Nyivu Hill as the base of Ichen dispersal after migrating to the north bank of Donga River from the Kuteb Hills but our oral informants point to Shimu as the dispersing point.

[104]Oral interview with Mallam Kabea Jangaba Fhh, *op.cit*.

[105]See I.M. Innocent, *The Epitome of Peace: Life and Times of Ukwe Ali Ibrahim Kuffang Zarto II, 15th Ukwe Takum, 1963-1996*, Midland Press Limited, Jos, 2002.

[106]See discussion on Chamba and the establishment of Donga Chiefdom.

**2.2.5 Tiv:**

Most writers point to Swem as the place of origin of the Tiv and trace their migrationtowards the Benue valley.[107] Gbor is of the opinion that they migrated from Congo far away from the heart of Africa and travelled from place to place until they reached Swem.[108] They originally lived on a hill in a vast swamp near a big river which may prove to be the Congo. They must have come to Swem from "some point probably lying in the land between the Congo, the Nile and Tchad".[109] They seemed to have migrated from Swem to the mountain ridges on the Nigerian-Cameroon borders. Gbor refers to their new abode as Ibinda Hill, located on northern section of the Obudu Plateau.[110] From Ibinda they dispersed to the Benue plains as a result of overpopulation and the desire to acquire farmlands.[111] The rest of the group is said to have been dispersed by the Chamba invasion in the early 19th century.[112]

The Ugondo Tiv started expanding eastward from the Nigerian-Cameroun border at a fairly early stage in the general emigration and eventually reached the Donga River. Here they were checked by the Chamba and eventually as a result of a quarrel with the Chamba, they were repulsed. Driven west after various wanderings, they settled on the west bank of River Donga along the present-day Wukari-Takum road. Some settled around south east of Donga around the present-day Ananum area. The South-Shitire Tiv were also checked by Chamba in their attempt to migrate into Donga Chiefdom.[113] This was similar in Wukari and Takum Chiefdoms. However, from all indications, the Tiv must have migrated to the Middle Benue

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[107] See T.A. Makar, *A History of the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Century: A History of Political Change*, Fourth Dimension Publisher, Ibadan, 1994; R. Abraham, *The Tiv People*, Heineman, Ibadan, 1970; J.W.T. Gbor, *op.cit*; G.D. Dogo, *op.cit*.
[108] J.W.T. Gbor, *op.cit*, pp.9-10.
[109] NAK: SNP10/611P/1913, Assessment Report-Ugondo by C.F. Gordon, 1913.
[110] J.W.T. Gbor, *op.cit*, p.38.
[111] The Iharev and Masev group were the first to migrate.
[112] J.W.T. Gbor, *op.cit*, p. 46.
[113] NAK: SNP17/12678/ *op.cit*.

Valley, especially into the State of Wukari before 1820. From this date they became important actors in the history of Wukari. It was also at this time they began to appear in considerable number in the western parts of Wukari area, especially in Akwana. This is because they became important in the economy and other political developments in the history of Wukari as from this period.[114]

**2.2.6 Chamba:**

Chamba was another important group that entered the MiddleBenue area in the 19th century. Chamba Dingyi was the group that first entered the area. They moved into the area from the north-east, around the headquarters of the Benue and Faro Rivers. This migration, which followed a general dispersal of the Chamba from the latter area as a result of famine and conflict with the Bata,was led by Damashi and Binyawa.[115]

The group under Damashi settled among the Mumuye and eventually established its dominance through conquest, with Binyeri as its base.[116] Binyawa established the chieftaincy of Dakka as a result of his campaigns against the Kwarami inhabitants of the area. Prior to these developments,however, there seemed to have been a Chamba community resident in Kona territory which eventually migrated and established the Chamba Chiefdomof Sugu in the Faro Valley.[117]

However, the Chamba migrated into the Middle Benue Valley in the 19th century which was as a result of their conflicts with the jihadists in Adamawa. The conflict between the

[114]See the discussion on Jukun-Tiv pre-colonial relations in E.I. Akombor, "Jukun-Tiv Relations Since 1850: A Case Study of Inter-Group Relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State", PhD. Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, June 2005. Also see M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa), c.1812-1903", PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1989, for details of this relation.

[115]M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall…..",*op.cit*. p.13.

[116] See S. Abubakar, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800" in Obaro Ikime (ed.) *Ground Work of Nigerian History,* Heinemann, Ibadan, 1980, p. 10. Also see M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 14.

[117] M. Hamman, *ibid*, p.8.

Chamba and the jihadists in Tibati is said to have taken place suddenly earlier or around 1830[118]. It forced them to flee the area to Gankwe village across the Suntai River, east of Donga, under the leadership of either Gyando who died on the way and was succeeded by his son Kumboshi or under Loya Garbosa.[119] Loya or Garbosa, the leader of the Chamba group which eventually founded both Donga and Suntai, migrated with oneMude, the founder of Kashimbila. The two leaders parted early on with Mude taking the southerly route to Kashimbila area and Loyaproceeding to Gankwe in a south-westerly direction by way of Gildu and the River Logara. Loya Garbosa was said to have drowned in River Logara and was succeeded by Nya, alias "Garkola", Gar Isa. He founded a town called Gankwe after conquering the surrounding Ichen (Kentu) people.[120]

In Gankwe, a quarrel ensued between Nya and Loya Garbosa's son called Shimbura alias "Garkiye" who was becoming more popular than the former. Consequently, Shimbura migrated with his followers to the Takum area where he built a walled town at Jenuwa, among the Kuteb(Zomper) and took up the title of Garkiye I.[121] He attempted building a State system here by subduing Jenuwa, Akente, Akyuma, Bika and Likam of Markam, all Kuteb communities and polities. However, this attempt failed when one of his officials called Gbankura, with the title of Gardanpua, revolted against him and solicited for the military support of Kumboshi, the said leader of Chamba Dakka, attacked Shimbura at Jenuwa but was defeated. This led to internal rivalry and intrigues in Jenuwa.

[118] *Ibid*, p.133.
[119] *Ibid*, C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 330.
[120] NAK: SNP17/24678/ Intelligence Report on the Donga District of the Wukari Division- Benue Province, 1935, p. 15.
[121] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p.134; Garbosa II, *Chambawa da Alarmuransu*, Arewa House, Kudana, 1954, p.17. NAK: SNP17/24678/ *op.cit*, p.15.

Therefore, Shimbura abandoned Jenuwa and migrated north-west to Arufu where he attacked and enslaved the Jidu tribe and stayed for fairly a long time before migrating north-east to Ganako (Gankera), west of Ibi, due to food scarcity.Here, Shimbura was exposed to economic and political developments in the 19th century. The location of Gankera on the bank of River Benue and between Ibi and Jibu, which were important commercial centres that linked the north and the south of the Benue with the Trans-Saharan trade system, provided the Chamba group with the knowledge of building a political system just like that which was established by the Jihad movement in Hausaland. It also helped them to establish diplomatic relations with Sokoto Caliphate through Bauchi Emirate which was already colonising the northern fringe of Wukari State around Awe under Emir Yakubu.[122]

When Nubunga Dozomga, the son of Shimbura, assumed the position of importance in Gankera, he assisted his father in most of this diplomatic relations which later earned him the economic andpolitical power to defeat Muri at Jibu in 1853[123]and also migrated to Donga, probably to punish those that were opposed tohis father at Gankwe.[124]But the most important factor for this migration to River Donga would probably be because of the fertile soil or because of the invitation by Nyonzuma as suggested by Meek.[125]However, Dozomga established Donga and in consequence there was conflict between him and Nyonzuma due to food shortage. Dozomga, assisted by his Bakundi allies[126]defeated Nyonzuma and his group. As a result of this, Nyonzuma's followers, dispersed.Some of them went to Jibu whilesome to Wuriyo, where they arrived in 1860 and stayed there for seven years during

[122] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, pp. 134-140.
[123]*Ibid*, p.139.
[124]*Ibid*. After the departure of Shimbura from Gankwe and following the death of Nya, succession disputes emerged between Kaa Nade, the sister of Nya, who wanted to install her husband as the new Gar. Thus, a group migrated under Nyonzuma of the Poba clan to the bank of River Donga about one and a half miles (2.4 kilometres) north of the present day Donga town. Nyonzuma took the title of Garbanyi as their chief.
[125] See C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p.332.
[126] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 141, for details.

which time Nyozuma died. After his death the group left Wuriyo around 1865, migrated to the bank of River Suntai and established the Chamba Chiefdom of Suntai in the Bakundi area in c.1873.[127] In the Middle Benue region, the Chamba established many settlements which included Donga, Suntai, Nyakwala and Rafin-kada. Other settlements include Pasoki, Tisa, Kungana, Kwassa, and Akate.[128]

### 2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the general characteristics of the geography of the area of study. The geographical location of Ibi and Wukari Divisions has been established. The various boundary reorganisations and the consequent change in names of colonial administrative units and borders is also examined in the chapter. The chapter also has explained that the vegetation of the area is of guinea savannah. But the southern part falls to the forest zone. This accounted for specialisations and dependence among the various groups in the area especially in economic activities. The movement of people into the area was influenced by these geographical features just as demonstrated in this chapter. The Benue plains did not only allow for easy movement of people but were rich in mineral deposits like salt. This was an important mineral famous in the commercial activities in the area. It is apparent that the immigrants immediately began to set up political structures that would organise the exploitation of these resources. This is the focus of the next chapter.

[127] See C.K. Meek, *op.cit*.
[128] M. S. Dansonka,

## CHAPTER THREE

## STATE AND ECONOMY BEFORE 1900

### 3.0 Introduction

The influx of various groups in the Middle Benue valley was followed by the establishment and development of political structures. Certain political systems emerged. They existed in forms of organised states, polities and small principalities. They included the Kwararafa Confederacy, Wukari Kingdom or State, Donga and Takum Chiefdoms, Kuteb principalities, Tiv Chieftancies and other smaller polities like Ichen (Kentu), Ndoro and Tigon societies organised at kinship levels. The first organised political structures to be established were Kwararafa Confederacy and the Wukari State.Others emerged in the 19th century. They included the Kingdoms of Donga, Suntai and Takum. Other non-centralisd forms of political systems that emerged after the demise of Kwararafa were the clan-based Kuteb polities established on the various Hills around Takum named after them. Another was the Ichen political system developed along clan lines on mountain tops west of the Mambilla and Bamenda Highlands. There was also the clan-based Chieftancies of the Tiv, which was developed as a result of their contact with Wukari State, notably with the Jukun around Akwana and the Abakwariga in Katsina-Ala.[129]

Having seen the relevance of mineral resources in state building, these political systems were developed to harness the economy of the region and to ensure State control of resources so that production and distribution could be more organised. These States came to organise production by imposing political control on industrial and commercial activities as

[129] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p.126.

well as providing State security for traders along trade routes, organising commercial relations and securing more areas of economic importance. State control and mobilisation of resources was to ensure abundant surplus to maintain those whose functions were not directly related to the production of material goods, such as the rulers and their retainers and the priestly orders.[130] Kwararafa, Wukari, Donga and Takum are examples of organised political systems in this area. They established organised political structures that organised State production and exchange. An examination of their organisations is done below.

### 3.1 State Systems and Resource Mobilisation

#### 3.1.1 Kwararafa Confederacy

Kwararafa was established in the Benue valley in the period that "can be dated back c.1400-1500".[131] Its establishment is attached to the Jukun immigrants to this region in the 14th or the 15th centuries.[132]The legendary Kwararafa was "an ancient kingdom or possibly an empire which is believed to have flourished in the Benue region"[133]as from the 16th century, just as suggested by Sa'adAbubakar.[134] He suggests that "prior to the 16th century" the founders of Kwararafa "the Jukun, lived not under a central authority but in small communities, each independent of the other, but, probably as from that century, a powerful military class emerged among them, possibly to counteract Borno's expansionist

[130]E.L. Hassan, *op.cit,* p. 52.
[131]*Ibid.*
[132] There is a lot of debate on the Jukun's establishment of Kwararafa. E.L. Hassan and Webster are of the view that if the period of the establishment is put at the 14th and the 15th centuries, then the Jukun would not have established it because that was the period they migrated to the area. However, their argument seems tenable but written records like Kano Chronicles are unanimous with associating the State to the Jukun who were not known as Jukun then until in the 16th century. See the details of this argument in E.L. Hassan, "The Kwararafa Confederacy: An Example of Pre-Colonial African Kingdom", *op.cit*, pp. 210-214.
[133]S. Abubakar, "Pre-colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun". .Inaugural Lecture Series, No. 38, Department of History, University of Maiduguri, 1986, p.1.
[134]See S. Abubakar, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin..." *op.cit,* p.170.

policy"[135]and to take control of the Trans-Saharan trade routes. It implies that this military group under war lords, most probably had organised the various independent communities in the Benue valley to carry out their military expeditions on Hausaland and Borno as recorded in Kano and Borno Chronicles. Hamman is of the view that the establishment of the State began in the 1400s, because c.1400-1500 is a median date consideringPalmer's 13thcentury and Jonny de Meulemeester's c.1450-1650 dates, when the city of Kwararafa, Biepi, was founded.[136]

Territorially, Kwararafa, at one time or another extended from the mouth of the Gongola River in the East to the Niger in the West and from the Cross River in the South to the borders of Borno and the Hausa states in the north. This empire embraced a number of ethnic groups since the 13th century until the second half of the 17th century when it broke up[137]. But Dogo locates the Jukun Kingdom of Kwararafa, as it existed at the end of the 18th century, in the parts of Benue Basin bounded by Abinsi to the west, Kona and Pindiga to the north and Donga to the south[138]. Nevertheless, at one time or another, the kingdom extended from the 12th meridian to the Niger, south to the Cross River and north to the borders of Borno and the varying limits of the Central Hausa States. At various times its suzerainty included Kano, Borno, the Arago Kingdom of Doma, the Ebira Kwotto Kingdom of Panda and the dominions of the Atta of Idah on the Lower Niger. In 1894, the French Lieutenant, Mizon, wrote that they had probably conquered the ocean and had certainly

[135]*Ibid*, p.170.With the foundation of a new capital, Ngazargamo, in c.1484, the Sefuwa or Saifawa began active military activities in the Central Borno area and beyond.
[136] M. Hamman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, op.cit*, p. 21.
[137]G.D. Dogo, *op.cit*, p.61.
[138]*Ibid*, pp. 61-62.

been in touch with the Europeans. In D'Anville's map of Africa, 1727, "Courourfa" is shown as occupying the country south of Borno and Zamfara.[139]

However, from the beginning of the 18th century the fame of this powerful State began to wane. But, Fremantle posits that it seemed to have persisted down to about 1860.[140] The reason for this is not clear. The distant expeditions of this State were not heard again. No definite reasons for this sudden collapse. Sa'ad suggests that it was certainly as a result of serious military defeat which he attributes to the defeat of the combine forces of Mai Ali b. Al-Hajj Umar (1655-1684) with the Tuaregs.[141] Fremantle is of the view that "the State may have eventually weakened through what appears to have been a breaking away from Kwararafa of its dominant party in the 17th century and then crumbled away, at Puje and later Wukari".[142]

Notwithstanding, before its collapse, Kwararafa Confederacy grew to become a con-federal state with a complex political system.[143] It had elaborate political and economic systems.[144] Its economy "has been speculated to have depended very much on the slave trade."[145] Its expeditions on Hausa States in the 16th and 17th centuries were associated with seasonal slave raids since no attempt was made to establish political control on other States. These slaves were probably sold to Arab traders or taken by Jukun traders to the Atlantic coast at

[139] *Ibid*, p. 64.
[140] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p. 11.
[141] S. Abubakar, *op.cit*, p. 15.
[142] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.4.
[143] See M. Hammam, *op.cit*, and E.L. Hassan, "The Kwararafa Confederacy: An Example of a Pre-Colonial African Kingdom" in V. Ukaogo and D.S. Usman (eds), *Wukari Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 132-144, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University, Wukari, September, 2012.
[144] See details on political structure in Sa'ad Abubakar, *op.cit*, and M. Hamman, *op.cit*.
[145] A.C. Unomah, "The Lowland Salt Industry". *Studies in the History of Plateau State of Nigeria*, Elizabeth Isichie, MacMillan Press, 1982, p. 156.

Calabar through the Obudu trade route.[146] This might be the reason why the State continued to launch attacks on Borno and Hausaland, especially Kano, to take control of their Trans-Saharan trade markets.

Nevertheless, there were considerable industrial activities in the State to support the slave economy[147] that were probably overshadowed by the false hope that the salve economy seemed to offer, which never lasted. Salt and textile production was fundamental to the economy of Kwararafa. The two industries supplemented the slave economy and made the State prosperous. The income obtained from these industries was enormous and capable of maintaining a complex political system that could mobilise and organise a large army to embark on military expeditions in the Central Sudan. The salt mining industry in Akwana and antimony in Arufu were fundamental to the economy of Kwararafa. Akwana salt, commonly known as *ma Akwana*, contains sodium chloride. This makes it tasteful and as the best condiment in the Middle Benue Valley and beyond.[148]Due to its taste, it was able to compete with the varieties of Borno salt that flooded the Benue valley and Hausaland in the 16th and 17th centuries. This made it popular in the Central Sudan and it became an important trade item in the Trans-Saharan trade. It was transported in bags to Libya. About thirty (30) to fifty (50) bags were exported annually.[149]Asideits military fame, Kwararafa is popular because of Akwana salt.[150]

[146]See C.K. Meek. *A Sudanese Kingdom.*London, 1931, pp. 28 and 40, and A.E. Afigbo, "Trade Routes in Nineteen Century Nsukka."*Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. vii, No.1, 1973, pp. 78, 88-89.
[147]See M. Hamman, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue". *Op.cit*, p. 10. Group discussion with Mr Danladi Audu, 70 years; Mallam Tsokwa Agbu, 71 years; and Mr Paul Adi Agbu, 75 years, in Wukari on 15th December, 2015.
[148]Oral interview with Mallam Dankano Kunama, 85 years, in Nukunya, on 9th December, 2015.
[149]Group discussion with Mr Danladi Audu, 70 years; Mallam Tsokwa Agbu, 71 years; and Mr Paul Adi Agbu, 75 years, in Wukari on 15th December, 2015. Also see P. Lovejoy, *Salt*.
[150]This view is held by many oral informants. One of them is Mallam Dankano Kunama, *op.cit*.

Some scholars are of the view that Kwararafa emerged out of a system of salt production. Richard Shain has argued that the emergence of Kwararafa Confederacy through the prism of Apa identity was linked to salt production. He asserts that the Apa identity, an identity with which the people of the Central Nigerian area were known, emerged in the sixteenth century to link together the peoples producing and trading salt in the Nigeria's Benue River valley.[151] Ayuba , while referring to Shain's argument, maintains that:

> Kwararafa…State and region composed of economic, religious and political nuclei along the river valley of Central Nigeria… The Apa identity was the product of an enduring alliance of three groups: the many different local salt producers; the Jukun rain makers and Hausa-speaking Abakwariga salt merchants. These groups were bound together by a common interest in manufacturing and distributing salt. The formation of this salt complex resulted in an 'increased density of the interconnectedness of group of people'. Out of this 'increased density of the interconnectedness' grew first the Apa regional identity and then Kwararafa State. In other words, a regional pattern of production held the Apa identity together and laid the foundation for the Kwararafa State. [152]

From Ayuba's argument it is clear that salt production and distribution in the Benue Valley did not only develop a complex economic system but gave rise to the formation of a people with a common identity, which came to form common cultural and political systems that led to the formation of Kwararafa Confederacy. Salt production was, therefore, fundamental to the State. That is why some oral informants believe that Akwana was core to the existence of Kwararafa.[153] In fact, after the collapse of the latter, the succeeding leaders of the emerging Jukun State of Wukari, directly brought Akwana and other salt producing areas in the Middle Benue valley under State control. We shall see that shortly.

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[151] R.M. Shain, "The Salt that Binds: The Historical Geography of a Central Nigerian Regional Identity", in A.M. Howard and R.M. Shain (eds), *The Spatial Factor in African History: The Relationship of the Social, Material, and Perpetual…,* Boston, 2005, cited in J.M. Ayuba, "Resistance to British Rule in Central Nigeria During the Colonial Period", in J. Mangvat and T. Wuam (eds), *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa,* Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, 2012, p.53.

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] Group discussion with Mr Danladi Audu, 70 years; Mallam Tsokwa Agbu, 71 years; and Mr Paul Adi Agbu, 75 years, in Wukari, *op.cit.*

### 3.1.2 Wukari State

The State of Wukari emerged following the demise of the Kwararafa Confederacy. A number of princes left the Capital city of Kwararafa towards the end of the 17th century or early in the 18th century and established themselves in the country-side where they tried to live independent of the central Government.[154] Consequently, there were streams of migration from the city towards various directions, which led to the establishment of Keana, Awei, Wase-Tofa and Wukari.[155] The south-western stream of migration moved out under Katakpa, the son of Agbukenjo.[156]He founded Wukari, with its new capital at Puje, east of Wukari City, at about 1660.[157]The State he established here became more or less a successor State to Kwararafa. For most of the Jukun-speaking communities that established independent settlements after the breakup of Kwararafa and pre-existing states of Kona and Pindiga accorded Wukari the same respect and reverence that they accorded Kwararafa.[158]

The most significant difference between the new State and Kwararafa, however, was that Wukari evolved a somewhat different administrative structure probably as a result of the latter's experiences, arising from its reluctance to expand territorially and the concomitant concentration of the administrative machinery of the State in the capital town, which seem to have partly led to the political explosion of the end of the 17th century. The ruling aristocracy at Uka did away with these traditions.[159] They also ensured that the economy of the State was productive under state control. They tried to develop a strong internal economy that would develop the State.

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[154] G.D. Dogo, *op.cit*, p.65.
[155] C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p.52.
[156]According to tradition, Agbukenjo was the last Kuyu (Aku) of Kwararafa.
[157]O. Temple, *op.cit*, p. 523.
[158]*Ibid*, p.52.
[159] See M. Hamman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869....., op.cit*, p. 32.

The leaders of Wukari seemed to have understood the need to develop and expand internal economy, which, of course, is the backbone of any political system. They reduced their dependence on the slave economy. They used a handful of military caste at their disposal to expand and organise the existing industrial production in the Middle Benue valley and maximised the potentials of the available mineral deposits in the region, such as salt[160] and galena. Local industries, especially the salt industry, came to be taken over by the State. Hence, Wukari leaders were not focused on securing trade routes only but on areas of industrial significance. The first thing they did was to locate their State capitals near salt mines and made frantic effort to discover new ones, establish new settlements close to them and also introduce a political structure in such places. Hence, the production and sale of salt became part of the politics and diplomacy of Wukari State.

After establishing Puje as the capital of Wukari, Katakpa moved to the industrial region of Akwana and Arufu and stayed for some time. Records show that he was the one that established Akwana and Arufu.[161] However, oral informants are sceptical about the foundation of Akwana by him. That it was founded about five hundred (500) years before Wukari was established.[162] Since Akwana existed before Wukari, Katakpa would have sought to have effectively asserted State control on its salt industry that was why he set up an administrative structure to organise the production and distribution of this mineral resources in the State because of its revenue generating capacity.[163]

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[160]Salt mines were found in Akwana and Arufu on the south bank of the Benue; Keana, Awe, Akai (Akiri) and Azara on the north bank of the Benue.
[161]See O. Temple, *op.cit,* p.488 and J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit,* p.35.
[162]Group discussion with Mr Danladi Audu, 70 years; Mallam Tsokwa Agbu, 71 years; and Mr Paul Adi Agbu, 75 years, in Wukari on 15th December, 2015. The informants give graphic examples of existing historical monuments in Akwana that seem to make their argument valid. Akwana should have existed before Wukari since the Kuyu (Aku) of Kwararafa depended on its salt as a major contributor to State income.
[163]O. Temple, *op.cit,* p.523.

The successors of Aku Katakpa consolidated the move to establish a strong economic base. Aku Adi Matswen, crossed the Benue to bring the salt industries in Keana and Awe under Wukari's control.[164] Aku Ashumanu I, who succeeded Matswen, colonised more salt mining settlements in this area and brought them under Wukari.[165] He was said to have remained in this area to ensure that the salt industry was properly secured and production was organised to produce enough for domestic and commercial needs of the new State. Enormous revenue must have accrued to the State through this industry, which was used by subsequent Akus such as Tsonkwa (Zikenju) to build Wukari and expand the State to its peak so much that he was referred to as the builder of towns.[166] The textile industry and other handicraft industries were also developing in the headquarters. The expansion and development of the forces of production was the antidote to the rise of Wukari as a State through its expansionist policy. These industries will be discussed shortly.

### 3.1.3 Takum Chiefdom

The establishment of a State system in Takum began with the influx of the Chamba, especially the coming of Garkiye I from Gankwe to Jenuwa in the first three decades of the 19th century. With the help of the Tikar, he was able to subdue the Kuteb by attacking Jenuwa and other Kuteb hills like Akente, Akyuma, Bika and Likam of Markam.[167] After this, he established a centralised political system at Jenuwa, about 3 miles (5 kilometres) west of Takum.[168] However, the relationship between Garkiye and Garpon (one of his officials, who sought for the assistance of Kumboshi and also attacked Jenuwa, but was

[164]See A.C. Unomah, *op.cit*, p.157.s
[165]*Ibid*.
[166]See M. Hamman, *op.cit*.
[167]E.L Hassan is of the view that this relationship was cordial and Garkiye did not enslave the Kuteb. E.L. Hassan. "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba of Takum.", *op.cit*, p.59.
[168]*Ibid*, p. 56.

defeated) became sour.[169] Garkiye later left his newly established chiefdom of Jenuwa and migrated to Arufu and later Gankera, close to Ibi.[170]

Kumboshi seemed to have had a fall-out with Garpon after Garkiye left. Consequently, Kumboshi set out to develop the chiefdom for himself and, therefore, embarked on the war of conquering the Kuteb that were not brought under the suzerain of the Chamba in Jenuwa. He is said to have forced the Kuteb on the hill top to migrate to the lowland for fear of siding with Garkiye if the latter returned.[171] In the process of this expansion, Kumboshi is said to have lost his life in a battle at Kpambai.[172] After the death of Kumboshi, the succeeding Gara, Gboshi I, moved the capital from Jenuwa to Lupwe. Then Yakuba I later transferred the capital from Lupwe to Jenuwa. From here the capital was moved to Tankwara which is also called Tikar, 3 kilometres west of Takum, at the foot of Markam Hill. This was where the Chiefdom was consolidated. The political structure was same as that of Donga just that the Jukun had serious influence in the government because of their presence in the Gara court.[173]

### 3.1.4 The Kingdom of Donga

The establishment of the Kingdom of Donga can be traced to the immigration of Chamba to the eastern bank of River Donga in the second decade of the 19th century. It has earlier been stated that the breaking away of Nyonzuma from Gankwe as a result of succession dispute brought the group under him, especially the Poba clan, to a settlement north of the present

[169]This may be a political reason or, as E.L. Hassan claims, on the ground of Garpon's enslavement of the Kuteb.
[170] See M. Hamman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869.....op.cit*, p. 17.
[171]Oral interview with Mrs Victoria Ndari, 73 years, Farming, at Wukari, on 5th December, 2016.
[172]NAK: SNP17/3/24898, Takum District, Wukari Division, Benue Province, Intelligence Report on by Mr. K. Dewar, 1935-1936, pp. 18-19. Also see E.L. Hassan, *Ibid*, p. 57.
[173]E.L. Hassan, *Ibid*, p. 58. Oral interview with Mallam Mazadu, 86 years, at Takum, on 31st December, 2015.

town of Donga.[174] He did not attempt to build any large political system here since he did not incorporate other groups in his new settlement. Anyway, a small political structure was put up when he took the title of *Garbanyi* which was enough to organise farming and produce food for the population in the settlement. However, the arrival of Donzomga around the 1850s changed the political atmosphere of this area. He came into the Donga area as an experienced political leader with his contact with Sokoto Caliphate. He had had ample political experience and would want to establish an organised State like Sokoto Caliphate on the fertile plains of River Donga. He first established Donga settlement and set out to build a large centralised political system.[175]

Donzomga began with the war of conquest and incorporation of other groups into what came to be known as the Kingdom of Donga. He utilised the feud between him and Garbanyi to defeat and sack his settlement on economic ground- to secure food.[176] He also defeated the Jibu and the Garkola branch of Chamba and incorporated them into his new State. He brought many of the surrounding communities, such as the Ichen (Kentu), under his control. With his military strength, he extended the boundary of the State south to Nama and Nyido in the Kentu Area; eastward beyond River Suntai and up to Fali; northward to near Bantaji; and westward to Wukari boundary from where it curved south-eastward to Salatu, Chanchenji and joined up with Nyido in the south.[177] The Ichen groups on the Bibinu and Nukpo Hills, as well as Gayama and Nyivu, are said to have come under the

[174] See discussion under the migration of Chamba into the area of study.
[175] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 140.
[176] *Ibid*, p. 141.
[177] *Ibid*, p. 142. Also see Garbosa, *Chambawa da Alanmuransu*,*op.cit*, p.107.

attack of Donzomga. The Benye (Benyi) of Ichen group, who had had cordial relations with the Chamba, when they came to Gankwe in the 1830s, were subdued by his force.[178]

The Government was centralised with a form of hierarchy with Gara as the head of Government. In theory, he had unlimited power: the power of life and death; of confiscating property; and of making war. In practice, however, his powers were limited by the necessity of having regard to popular opinion and of admitting the *Abo* and other senior officials to his councils. These officials included the Abo (Gbana), Kanghati and the Kuni; the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces called the Nya. Other minor officials were Zarma, Tigye, Fawe, Galim, Kuna, Vompobiya and Gba-Lera. These were advisers. There was also an important female official known as the Mbala who was in charge of women affairs and also performed some rituals for the Gara.[179]

### 3.2 Production and Distribution

Having looked at the nature and pattern of migrations in the area of study the question that arises is how did they survive? How did they harness nature to meet their basic needs? How did they organise the process of production to meet these needs? It is important to make it clear that the kind of economy that existed was a pre-capitalist economy. It was pre-capitalist in the sense that the mode of production was not organised in the form of producing to exploit. Distribution was not influenced by the need to create capital. Thus, the forces of production basically included human labour, land and the implements with which land was worked. Capital investment, in monetary term, for the purposes of making profit was absolutely absent; competition and unhealthy rivalry was also absent. What to produce, where to produce and how to produce, was the function of the collective need of the society.

[178]Oral interview with Mallam Kabea Jangaba Fhh, 83 years, *op.cit*.
[179]C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 266.

People produced and exchanged for what they did not have. Production and exchange was based on societal or communal needs. In essence, the generation of surpluses and the ways in which they were appropriated and distributed were geared towards collective or communal satisfaction.[180]

However, where State systems were established, the State controlled some aspects of production to meet its needs. So, here, production and exchange were organised. Organisational structures emerged to take care of production, such as in mining and handicraft industries to raise income for the maintenance of the state. The system of production, however, continued to change as new forces were introduced and this differed from one society to another. There existed lineage, tributary and communal modes of production with each one coming after the other or co-existing together.[181] In any of these modes, agriculture dominated and was supported by other economic activities, like industry and commerce. Industrial products supplemented agricultural products which provided an atmosphere for local and inter-regional exchanges.[182] Thus, these three sectors pre-dominated the pre-capitalist economy of the area of study but were gradually incorporated into capitalist production at the wake of world-wide expansion of industrial capital following the Industrial Revolution that began in Europe in the mid-18$^{th}$ century.[183]

### 3.2.1 Land Use and Control:

Land was central to all forms of production and distribution of resources. All forms of economic activities were carried out on land. Land here included all geographical features, especially those of economic relevance such as agricultural lands; mineral deposits, such as

[180] E.L. Hassan. "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum...",*op.cit*, p.64.
[181] *Ibid*.
[182] M. Hamman, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin before the Jihad...",*op.cit*, p. 11.
[183] M. Hamman, "The Consolidation of Under-development in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1960", *Zaria Historical Research (ZAHIR)*, Vol.1, 2001, p. 14.

salt pools and antimony mines; water bodies for fishing and communication, such as fishing ponds, lakes, streams and rivers; highlands, such as mountains and hills; lowlands, such as flood plains and swamps. Land was, therefore, not only a factor of production it was indeed a factor that shaped the historical processes in the area of study. Given the natural endowment of the area of study in the pre-colonial times, it is clear that the streams of migration that came into the region were in the attempt to control land resources. No doubt, the States that emerged in the 19th century sought to control these resources.[184]

In Kwararafa, and subsequently in Wukari, the Aku was undoubtedly considered the suzerain in whom the ultimate title to all the land was vested. The occupiers considered their holding not in the sense of landed property, but merely as a means to wealth. Hence, some of the resources like fishing ponds and minerals were controlled by the chiefs or their officials. Portions of the catches made in such ponds were surrendered to them, in recognition of this fact.[185]The antimony mines in Arufu were controlled by the officials on behalf of the Aku of Wukari. In the case of the salt mines, all salt lands were formally in the hands of the local chiefs who received a percentage of the salt mined.[186]The chiefs distributed the salt lands to their officials in plots which were worked by the latter's wives. Such plots could, however, be sub-let to other women.[187]

### 3.2.2 Labour Mobilisation and Organisation

The organisation of labour for production was apparently similar in the societies in the area of study. Labour was organised at family, lineage and community levels. At the family level it was a form of household labour which was organised by the head of the family to work

[184]E.L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum..",*op.ci*., pp. 36-45.
[185] S. Abubakar. "Pre-colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun", *op.cit*, p. 20.
[186]See C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 430.
[187]*Ibid*, p.430; M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p.44.

on the farms. This labour was only produced for household consumption and little for household or local exchange. At the lineage level, various families of a particular lineage came together to produce and share among themselves the proceeds of production. A small lineage could share same barn- where crops were stored, for future use and could reach it in times of need. This was practised among the Kuteb after their dispersal from *Kwe Ussa* (Ussa Hills).[188]

However, as production increased and became organised as a result of increased needs that changed the forces of production, the organisation of labour transcended the family and lineage units to involve additional labour force through a system of mutual co-operation for work on a large scale production. Three of such labour organisations emerged. There was the co-operative labour or *gayya* which consisted of close relations, friends, neighbours and people of the same age group who agreed to work on one another's farm in a rotational basis. This labour was organised for cultivation, sowing, clearing and preparing the land, harvesting and so on. It was called *Kuku*. At one level an individual could place an open invitation to everyone in the family or community for assistance on a fixed day. He would prepare local beer or *burukutu* (Hausa) or *Shin* (Jukun) and food for the people he invited. Hence, it comprised of individuals who volunteered to assist so that whenever their turn came they also would invite others. Therefore, the number of those that were involved in this form of labour was more than the ones earlier discussed.[189]

Another labour was organised when a would-be bridegroom placed a call to his relations and friends to assist him work on the farm of his in-laws before his bride would be given to him. The bridegroom was the organiser and sponsor of the work. This act was one of the

[188] E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, p.69.
[189] *Ibid*.

conditions to be satisfied by a would-be husband before marriage took place. This was called *Dara Vyou,* in Jukun.[190]

Apart from the above forms of labour, there was a voluntary form of labour, which members of the various age grades embarked on, in providing social services for the community and also productive ventures towards the sustenance of the community as a whole. Slave labour was also used in the salt industry. The slaves were derived from Bamenda highlands and Hausaland. Labour was also hired for work on the salt mines. This form of labour was paid.[191]

### 3.2.3 Agriculture:

This was the mainstay of the economy and certainly the most vital use to which land was put. The means of sustenance was based on it such as the cultivation of staple grains, root crops and vegetables. With fertile plains and mountains, agricultural production was extensive and complex. On the plains where topography was gentle, the conventional method of cultivation involving bush clearing, fallowing or ridging prior to planting was the standard practice.[192] On the rugged mountainous Kentu and Kuteb areas, however, terracing was employed outside the river valleys in addition to the conventional method. This was to avoid erosion hazards that mountainous areas were exposed to.[193] Except on the natural levels, the greater part of the flood plains of the Benue and Donga Rivers were not conducive because water-logging and profusion brought diseases engendered by mosquitoes and tsetse flies.[194]

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[190] *Ibid,* p. 70.
[191] *Ibid,* p. 72.
[192] M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of Muri Emirate...",*op.cit,* p. 50.
[193] *Ibid,* pp. 50-51.
[194] *Ibid,* p.51.

The swamps did not encourage dry season farming because the swamps (*fadama*) easily dried up and so not suitable for irrigation.[195] The art of irrigation was not well developed before the 19th century.[196] Shifting cultivation was easy because there were empty lands in the area since population was low. Crop rotation and intercropping were other features of agricultural activity. The legumes like ground nut, peanuts, beans, *et ceterar*, were alternated with other crops like yam, maize, sorghum, millet and cassava. The staple food of the riverine Wurbo fisher folk was maize, which they raised twice in a year. It was produced on the cultivable parts of the alluvial plains of the Benue and the Donga Rivers.[197]

Another feature of agriculture was that the agriculturalists had major and minor farms. The former was devoted to the cultivation of staple crops and were located some distance from the homesteads or villages. In most cases such farms had houses attached to them for shelter. It was these major farms that were subjected to crop rotation and fallowing. The minor farms, on the other hand, were small gardens located in the background of compounds or very close to the villages. Several crops like pumpkin, garden egg, maize, spice and vegetable were inter-planted. The fertility of the soil was maintained by the application of manure derived from animal refuse and garbage.[198]

The months of January to March were devoted to the preparation of farm-clearing and ridging and the planting of early yam, millet, maize and the preparation of land for groundnut and sorghum. By June the rains were quite heavy and weeding started. Crops like millet, maize and benniseed were harvested in July and August. Sorghum was harvested in

[195] *Ibid*.
[196] Bulletin No 29, I.A.R., A.B.U., Zaria, 1964, p.50.
[197] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 52.
[198] E.L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum..", *op.cit.*, p.23.

December, after which the planting of early yams, clearing and preparation of new farms started all over again which lasted to the month of March.[199]

Being the basic human economic activity, agriculture was integrated with the other sectors of the economy, especially the industrial and commercial sectors. Agriculture provided the raw materials for some of the industries, such as the textile industry. It provided cotton for the production of cloths and local dye materials, produced from certain plants and used in dyeing cloth. Agriculture also supplied the commodities used as media of exchange and food as means of sustenance for those who did not engage directly in agricultural production, for example, the artisans, priestly orders and the ruling aristocracies.[200]

### 3.2.4 Handicraft Industries:

There were various handicraft industries which included weaving, dyeing, pottery, wood works and carpentry. Both men and women were engaged in these aspects of industrial production.

The blacksmithing industry was very crucial to virtually all processes of production. Iron products were used in many important economic activities like agriculture, fishing, hunting and even mining. They were in the form of tools and weapons. In every settlement or group of settlements there was a forge which met the iron requirements of the inhabitants. Beside iron works, there were other aspects of metal work, such as gold and silver, worked by some of the blacksmiths in the area.[201] For instance, all the blacksmith families in Wukari have a few individuals who specialised in gold and silver work.[202]

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[199] *Ibid.*
[200] M. Hamman, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
[201] Silver was mined near Arufu. See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, pp.10-71.
[202] M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 1978, p. 41.

The blacksmith industry was largely occupied by immigrants from Hausaland, especially the Abakwariga. There were two brothers, Muazu and Usman from Kano who reached Wukari before the Sokoto Jihad broke out in Hausaland. The next family of blacksmiths to settle in Wukari was headed by a man called Adamu who was of Nupe origin. He was domiciled in Zaria before he left for Wukari. He might have arrived at the beginning of the 19th century. During the last quarter of the 19th century, another family of blacksmiths arrived from Katsina. This was led by a man called Isa. The Nupe smiths never worked glasswork. But all the families had a few individuals who specialised in gold and silver work.[203]

The most common metalwork beside iron, however, was brass. This must have been introduced from West Africa through Hausaland and Borno. Most of these metals were used as currencies or raw materials for the manufacture of ornaments like bangles, outlets, earrings and hair pins.[204]

The textile industry was dominated by the Abakwariga.[205] The Jukun were also involved in the production of cloths called *Kwashe*. Cloths were made from cotton and other fibres like those of the rama hemp plant. The tantang silk cotton was used for weaving cloths. Except in Kwararafa and Wukari, where weaving was undertaken on a large scale and on a cooperative basis, the enterprise generally took the form of "cottage industry" with part-time weavers spinning the thread they required.[206] People ordering cloths brought their own thread with them. As a result of this, only a few family hands were employed in most of the

[203] *Ibid*, pp. 42-44.
[204] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 71.
[205] *Ibid*, p. 65.
[206] *Ibid*.

processes of weaving. [207] The products of the weaving industry were of high quality. Thus, they were of high demand in the Benue Valley and beyond. This depicts the existence of highly skilled weavers, especially among the Abakwariga. Thus, Wukari cloth was reputed to be of excellent quality.[208]Wukari was the centre of the manufacture of large cloths in which special techniques were used. These cloths, measuring about 8 by 20 feet (7 metres) in size, were made by the Abakwariga men working on a cooperative basis and they were widely used as part of the regalia of chiefs in the Middle Benue area and in the Bamenda highlands.[209]

The value attached to the Wukari cloths, known as *akya* in Jukun, was signified by the fact that among the people of Wukari, a person's wealth was reckoned by the number of *aguma* (plaited grass bag) of cloth which he possessed. Some taxes and tribute were also paid in them. When Wukari became tributary to Muri in the 19th century, its tribute were mainly paid in cloths, particularly the variety known as *kwashe*.[210]

Pottery was another important industry that existed in the pre-colonial economy. It was significant to the daily life of the people in connection with cooking, storage and carriage and also because of the ease with which the raw materials for the industry, namely clay for moulding and wood for firing, were procured. Smoking pipes and ash or charcoal trays were also produced by this industry and this also partly explains its spread among the people of Wukari. There was a clan of professional potters known as *Ba-zimi*.[211] In most cases the potters were females. Pots were presented as wedding gifts to brides. These were

[207]M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of Muri…",*op.cit*, p. 66.
[208]*Ibid*.
[209]*Ibid*, p. 70.
[210]*Ibid*, p. 67.
[211] C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 67.

given a special final decoration with streaks of chalk and European "blue".[212] No doubt, this was an important handicraft industry which provided the people with a wide range of domestic implements and various instruments of production.

The manufacture of canoes was an important enterprise among the riverine communities, like the Wurbo, the Jibu and the Jukun Wanu who virtually depended on them as vehicles for fishing, harvesting of maize and for river transport. The Wurbo in particular were masters of this craft and their small canoes were built by joining together, in the middle, two pieces of wood. These canoes were employed even in the hunting of hippotammi, which was one of the main pre-occupations of the Wurbo.[213]

**3.2.5 Mining Industry:**

Mining was another important sector of the economy. The minerals that were worked in the area included salt and antimony- galena (*tozali*). The major mineral which up to 1900 was exploited in the Wukari area was salt. The mines were located in Keana, Awe, Arufu and Akwana.[214] Much of the mining was done by the Jukun.[215] Salt was more widespread in the area than any other mineral. The prevalence of brine-springs and pools throughout the areas formally controlled by the Jukun is strongly suggestive that the desire to control the supplies of salt, one of the most prized commodities among inland peoples, exercised a considerable influence in the formation and building-up of the Jukun State.

Salt has ever been regarded as a divine gift, a substance "dear to the gods".[216] Salt served a variety of domestic, political and commercial purposes. It was an indispensable item of food

[212]*Ibid*.
[213]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 70.
[214]*Ibid*.
[215]D. G. Dogo, *op.cit*, p. 7.
[216]C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 428.

and tribute was paid in it. In the past, local chiefs received percentages of the salt mined as a sort of land tax. This was one of the major sources of revenue for the State. For instance, Keana's acknowledgement of Wukari's spiritual overlordship was an annual gift of salt to the Aku. It was used as an important ingredient in the tanning of hides and skins. In addition, until the beginning of the colonial period, salt was a medium of exchange.[217]

The main operations of the salt mines took place in the dry season. The brine was obtained from pools which, on the conclusion of the rains, were bailed out in order to increase their salinity. The most productive season was when the rains set in and again when the floods subsided.[218] Salt mines were worked by women on behalf of their husbands or themselves having purchased the rights of ownership from the male owners. Part of the labour used in producing the salt was supplied by the non-Jukun peoples in the neighbourhood who had no salt mines, especially Tiv, Chamba and Hausa. The labour was paid for in salt.[219]

During the dry season the marshy soil impregnated with the saline solution was cleared, scooped out and carried home to be filtered and evaporated. The spot from which the saline impregnated soil had been removed was immediately filled up with earth to be similarly impregnated. The briny soil was taken home and deposited in a number of perforated pots which were tilted at an angle on erected platform. They were placed on other vessels into which the salt water dripped. The salty water was then collected from the vessels underneath the platform into bigger and more open-mounted pots and boiled to ensure rapid evaporation and the salt grains were then left to solidify.[220]

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[217] See C.T. Dese, "The Role of Women in Local Salt Production in Awe, 1920-1990, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 2014.
[218] See J.M. Freemantle, *op.cit*, for production processes.
[219] C.T. Dese, *op.cit*, p.44.
[220] Oral interview with Mrs Sarah Agbu and Tani Agbu, salt miners, at Wukari on 15th December, 2015. Also see *ibid*, M. Hamman and C.T. Dese, for details.

Antimony was obtained at Arufu, a settlement west of Wukari. According to Baikie, the entire supply of the mineral for Central Africa was derived from this area and that it was found abundantly not far from the surface. The ore is said to have contained 80% lead, with small quantity of silver. It was chiefly used for staining the eyelids, for which purpose it was reduced to fine powder applied by means of a metallic or wooden pencil.[221] Antimony was discovered by a Jukun hunter, Adda, who saw a glittering black mass in the bush and informed a Hausa friend who went to look at it and recognised it as *tozali*, during the reign of AkuMatswe who gave permission for it to be worked, reserving 20% of the output for himself. Alluvial gold duct was obtained from the bed of the river Benue during the dry season.[222]

**3.2.6 Fishing and Hunting:**

Fishing was done not only in the main streams of large rivers, but also in the lagoons and landlocked mares. Indeed the most valuable fishing grounds were these lagoons and mares which, during the wet season, became themselves rivers, carrying off the flood waters of the main stream. Canoes proceeding upstream generally followed these side-rivers on account of the slacker current. As the main stream fell, these mares received each year a fresh supply of fish.[223]

The fishing enterprise provided the means of livelihood for a substantial number of communities. The chief among them were the Wurbo communities who were almost wholly occupied in fishing, engaging in agriculture mainly for the cultivation of maize, their staple crops. Most of them had their settlements on the levees or raised grounds formed on the

[221] Oral interview with Mrs Victoria Ndari, 73 years, farmer, at Wukari, on 10th December, 2015.
[222] J.M. Freemantle, *op.cit*, pp. 54-55.
[223] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 61.

flood plains of the Benue. Their houses were built on stilts to avoid flood water at the height of the rainy season.[224]

Beside the Wurbo there were other communities engaged in the fishing industry. The riverine Jukun known as Kpwanu (Wanu), the Nupawa, Kakanda and Kebbawa were fishermen.[225]The three latter groups constituted a good proportion of the inhabitants of Ibi.[226] Fishing mainly took place when the river had subsided after the rains. Much of the fish caught on the Benue was sold to Nupe, Kakanda and Hausa fish traders who came to the Benue from the confluence area in the dry season.[227]Beside fish and crocodiles, hippopotami were also caught on the Benue and its major tributaries. Beside the meat, the hippopotami teeth were valuable as ivory. Their hides, those of crocodiles and manatees were also valued. Hippopotami and manatees hides were used for making whip.

### 3.2.7 Trade:

Trading activities in this area, no doubt, constituted an important aspect of the economy. It was the medium through which both agricultural and industrial products were distributed among the people and societies in the area of study before the advent of the colonialists. It was, no doubt, the end process of production. Thus, trading activities and exchanges took place at local, regional and inter-regional (long distance) levels. At the local level, exchange took place among households. This was characterised by the exchange of food items, such

[224]*Ibid.*
[225]C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 420, NAK: SNP 7/87298/1912, Mutum Biyu District Report No. 628/1912 by Holme H.J.C.
[226] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 62.
[227]*Ibid.*

as vegetables and grains. The practice was common among women who exchanged what they had for certain products they needed for household consumption.[228]

However, a more organised form of distribution and exchange was observed among individual villages or among group of villages. It was usually organised in small markets with fixed market days. The major trading centres or markets where this form of exchange took place were places like Kwararafa city, Wukari, Donga, Mbarikam and the mining centres of Arufu and Akwana. These trade centres had well established and organised markets.[229]The products that characterised this trade were sylvan, agricultural and local industrial products, such as salt, iron goods, pottery and basketry. These local transactions met the daily needs of the communities and it was at this level of exchange that the barter system was most operational.[230]

The second level of trade operated on a regional basis. It involved the exchange of commodities among various parts of the Middle Benue region either through the barter system or by using the standard currencies like salt, cloths, cowries, manilas, among others. The trade was regional because it involved the areas in the Benue Valley, which, ofcourse, were of close proximity to Kwararafa and Wukari.Thus, the Mumuye who inhabited the iron rich hills to the south of the Benue brought to the plains washed ore (tama) and exchanged it with salt.[231]

The Jukun of Kona were suggested to have introduced maize into other parts of the Middle Benue. This maize, assuggestedby Meek, should have been introduced into the Benue Valley and Kwararafa from the Atlantic coast through Calabar because of the close

[228]Oral interview with Mallam Kunama Dankano, *op.cit*.
[229] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 68.
[230]Oral interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani, *op.cit*.
[231]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 77; N.A.K: Jalingo District Assessment Report; SNP 27P/1912. C.K. Meek, p. 39.

communication of the former with the latter at the beginning of the 19th century[232] and the Jukun might have introduced it into the Benue Valley. The Ichen (Kentu) who lived around the foothill of the Mambilla highland and the valley west of this highland, exchanged their food crops with the Chamba at Donga.[233] The Ichen around the foothills of the Bamenda highlands, together with the Ndoro and Tigon in the rain forest region, were suppliers of sylvan products, such as honey and palm oil to Wukari and Akwana markets in exchange for salt and cloth. The Kuteb were also known for palm and grain production, which they exchanged with Chamba crafts and seasonings, such as *dawadawa* and salt from the Jukun in Akwana.[234]

An introduction of the trading connections between the various communities in the Middle Benue area was the dominance of salt as an article of trade based in the salt mines of Bomanda, Arufu, Akwana, Awe, Keana, among others. Besides, mineral salts came to serve as a medium of exchange at the beginning of the 17th century.[235]

Not only that, the widespread of iron and other currencies contributed to the integration of the economy of the Middle Benue region by providing the media of exchange, which must have fostered trade. The *tukurdi*cloth imported into Kwararafa and Wukari from Hausaland was used as a currency. This was true of the textile products of Kwararafa city and Wukari whose quality in weaving ensured their prominence in the regional trade of the area.[236]

Furthermore, the river system in the Benue region, namely; the Benue and its southern tributaries, such as Donga and Katsina-Ala Rivers, facilitated a regional trade system. They

[232]C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 39; M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 77.
[233] See NAK: SNP17/ Donga Intelligence Report, 1934.
[234]Oral interview with Mrs Tamti, 73 years, Farmer, at Takum, on 31st December, 2015.
[235] M. Haman, *op.cit*, p. 78.
[236]*Ibid*.

provided an easy means of communication between the various parts of the region. There were also overland routes which linked up with the various riverine routes.[237]

Thus, this trade was so organised. There were markets in some of the villages and towns which attracted traders from far and wide. For instance, the mining and industrial centres like Akwana, Arufu, Awe and Keana and the seats of political power, like Kwararafaand Wukari, were important markets that attracted both the Hausa, Nupawa and the Kakanda traders.[238] Wukari was an important industrial centre specialised in textile production under the dominance of the Abakwariga community.These markets later developed with the increase in artisansfromHausaland between the 15th and 18th centuries who engaged in various crafts ranging from textile and dyeing to metal works. [239] Takum and Katsina-Ala[240]also developed as important markets in the region. These towns traded with Wukari and probably Akwana from where they obtained salt which constituted an important item of trade between the people of Katsina-Ala, that is, the Abakwariga and the Tiv.[241]

There was also trade between the area of study with other States and societies outside the Middle Benue Basin. Trade existed with the Niger Benue confluence area through the Benue and some overland routes, especially with Nupe and Igala Kingdoms. Kwararafa and Wukari exported trade items, like natron, that was imported from Borno, salt, antimony and slaves, to the Confluence area. These items were further re-exported to the Atlantic Coast via the Niger River, especially natron and slaves. Salt was re-exported to Hausaland.

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[237]See maps I and II for drainage pattern which facilitated trade.
[238]*Ibid*, p. 79. Both Kwararafa and Wukari were important market towns before 17th and 20th century, respectively.
[239]M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor..,op.cit*, pp. 39-41.
[240] Katsina-Ala was established by Abakwariga immigrants from Kastina in Hausaland. See J.T.W. Gbor, *op.cit*, pp. 40-41.
[241]M. Haman, *op.cit*, p. 80; M. Adamu, *op.cit*, p. 40.

Horses, beads, Hausa cloths and some spices were imported from Hausaland to the area of study. The bulk of cowries came from the Confluence area.[242]

The Bamendahighland, to the south,also provided markets for Kwararafa and Wukari cloths, especially the Tiv cloths. To the Atlantic coast, via the Cross River Valley, salt and slaves were exported to Obudu and metals and metallic goods as well as cowries were imported from there.[243] The Hausa States of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau as well as Kanem-Borno served as important trading partners of Kwararafa and, subsequently, Wukari. Natron was obtained from Borno andthe Hausa States and was re-exported to the Confluence area, the lower Niger and the Atlantic coast.[244]

Borno, in turn, imported the common salt or table salt, that is, sodium chloride (NaCl) from Akwana and Awe. Borno served as an important link between Kwararafa and the north-eastern Trans-Saharan trade routes that linked the area with Libya, Egypt and the Arab world. The Hausa states developed early trade contacts with Kwararafa at its early stage of development in the 15$^{th}$century. Items like Hausa cloths and Trans-Saharan trade items from Kano and Katsina markets came to Kwararafa and Wukari through the Hausa traders.[245]

Given the nature of the trade network, the items of trade were those that had a high degree of exchange value by virtue either of their intrinsic quality, for example, minerals like salt, galena, gold, silver and brass; or the amount of skilled labour that was applied in their production as in the case of textile goods. Thus, they attracted high price, thereby making their transportation over long distances a profitable enterprise. Labour, in the form of slaves, was also exported by means of this trade network, through the Trans-Saharan trade

[242]*Ibid*.
[243] NAK: SNP10/1284/ Assessment Report, 1913, *op.cit*.
[244]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 89.
[245] See J.M. Fremantle. "The Gazetteer of Muri Province…",*op.cit*, p. 3.

system. The relevance of this trade to State building was evident in the efforts of the Aku-Uka of Kwararafa in conquering and plundering the "international" markets of Kano in the 15th, 16thand 17thcenturies.[246]

Certain factors facilitated the development of this trade in the 18thand at the beginning of the 19th centuries. The expansion of the mining and textile industries in Akwana, Arufu and Wukari, made especially, Wukari, major producers of exportable goods of high quality. This may explain the wide circulation of the *kantai* and *akika* as currencies in the Middle Benue area.[247] Furthermore, the establishment and consolidation of the centralised chiefdoms of Bamenda as highly stratified societies in the 17th and 18thcenturies, whose ruling aristocracies developed special preferences for Middle Benue commodities, like textiles, as prestige goods, fostered the development of trade and its regulation through the market institution.[248] More so, the operation of the Atlantic Slave Trade whose impact was felt in the Middle Benue area, through the Cross River Valley, and the increased participation of traders from Hausaland in the Benue trade by the beginning of the 19th century, increased the volume and operation of the long distance trade in our area of study.[249]

However, the exchange of most of the products of the various industries was done by barter. Inthis system the producers of particular goods, whether sylvan, agricultural or industrial, disposed of surpluses by equitable exchange in kind with producers of other goods. Some of the exchanges were done through the media of fairly standardised currencies. For example,

[246]Oral interview with Alhaji Tanko Mazadu, 85 years, trader, in his residence at Takum on 31st December, 2015. Also see M. Hamman, *op.cit,* for details.
[247] T.D. Chongo. "The Role of Women in Local Salt Production in Awe…..*op.cit*, p.1.
[248]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 84, referred to Robert and Pat Ritzenthaler, *Cameroons Village: An Ethnography of the Bafun*, Will Wankere Public Museum Publications in Anthropology, 1962, pp. 1288.
[249]M. Adamu, *op.cit*, pp. 84-109.

there were two important iron currencies manufactured by the ironworkers in Muri. These were the *kantai*and the *akika*.[250]*Kantai*seemsto have been a distortion of the Kona Jukun word *'kanitau'*,which referred to the same objects,which were iron bars of about 14 inches (1 metre) long with a central bulb. The bars had a diameter of about 1 inch (0.0254 metre), a thickness of about ¼ inch (0.0025 metre) and were pointed towards the extremities.[251] The *kantai* currency was manufactured by the Mumuye. About hundred*kantai* is said to have formed the average price of a male slave "from Hamaruwa to Wukari."[252]The money, no doubt, promoted circulation with utility and value and made an excellent coinage. It was used all along the River Benue for many years.[253]The *akika* was hoe shaped with a spike at one end. It also enjoyed a wide circulation in the Middle Benue. *Akika*, was the common name by which it was known in Jukun. Among the Tiv, it was known as *ibia*, while in Hausa, it was called *agalema*(galma). Thirty-six of them was the ordinary price of a slave. The currency was apparently more widely manufactured than the *kantai*, judging by its greater spread among the various communities of the Middle Benue Basin and beyond.Baikie observed that they were most probably of indigenous origin and certainly anterior to the employment of cowries.[254]

Salt was also used as a medium of exchange. The *karoroo*r *bah*, which were cup shaped receptacles, woven from palm fronds, were, when filled with salt, a standard medium of exchange in the Middle Benue area and the areas to the north of it. One *bah*of salt was, in the Wukari area, considered the equivalent of one of the smaller manilas or one *age* (a wooden dish in Jukun) of corn. Antimony was also used as a medium of exchange, although

[250] T.D. Chongo, *op.cit*, p.4.
[251]C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 452, and M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 73, footnote 138.
[252]M. Hamman, *Ibid*, p. 73.
[253]NAK: SNP 783/1908, Report on the Muri Province for December, 1907, by K..V. Elphriston.
[254]*Ibid*. C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p.453.

it is said that there was no standard scale of weights.[255]There were imported currencies, like manillas, which seem to have been in circulation by the beginning of the 19th century.[256]Bymid-19thcentury,manillas, which were obtained from the Atlantic coast, were also used as currency in the Wukari area and they were known as *aka*.[257]

### 3.2.8 Penetration of European Capital

In the second half of the 19th century, agents of various European nations have shown interest in other parts of the world. This was sequel to the Industrial Revolution that had taken place. There was spectacular increase in the production of material goods and consequent expansion in production processes, productive forces and change in the modes of production. The emerging circumstances was a situation of more goods produced than needed, more surplus accrued with less markets for investment. Thus, there was the need for wider and more secured source of raw materials and larger markets for the disposal of the mass-produced goods than what had existed hitherto.[258]

The development that followed the above change was the process of global incorporation and insubordination of the markets and economies of other nations, States and polities in the other parts of the world into the world capitalist market controlled by the industrial nations, thereby making the non-capitalist economies as producers of raw materials and the consumers of industrial goods. This process took two forms, one was a liberal form as "free trade" and the other was the formal colonization of territories deemed to have had potentials for economic benefits for the exclusive exploitation of the colonised nations. This second

[255]*Ibid*.
[256]M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p 75, footnote 147.
[257] C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 452.
[258] J.E. Flint. "Economic Change in West Africa in the 19th Century", in A. Crowther.*The History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, pp. 397, 399-400.

form was officially discussed by the industrial powers in the second half of the 19th century in Berlin.[259]

Hence, one can argue that the essence of the agents of European nations venturing into the other parts of the world at the beginning of the 19thcentury was to achieve the sole aim of imperial economic exploitation. No doubt, the activities of the National African Company, later Royal Niger Company, and other Europeanfirms in the Benue Valley were basically imperial. It was to secure spheres of control for their European Government. But before they ventured into that, a 'door' was opened by the European explorers who established first contacts with the above states and societies.[260]

The Benue River had proved significant in the early contact of the societies in the Benue valley and the Europeans. This River and its tributaries served as the media through which the Europeans reached the hinterland of the Benue valley. For example, drained by the Benue on the north, Donga River on the east and Katsina-Ala, on the south, the significant parts of the Wukari State were easily accessed from Ibi as a base.[261]

Following Barth's report on the economies, States and culture of people of the Middle and Lower Benue area, especially Wukari, through an informant known as Abbade, a Kona Jukun from Bomanda, in 1851 and Vogel, who was sent out by the British Government in 1853,[262] the British Government organized the Baikie expedition of 1854 in the 'pleiad'.[263] This expedition was the most important development in Nigerian commerce. It supplied

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[259]*Ibid*, p. 388.
[260] M. Hamman, "European Rivalry in the Middle Benue Basin and its Impact on Emirate of Muri 1880-1895", *History Research in ABU, Vol. 8*, 1984.
[261] E.L. Hassan, "African Response to European Colonialism: The Case of Takum in Taraba State, Nigeria" in Joseph Mangvut and Terhemba Wuam (eds.), *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa,* Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, 2012, p. 12.
[262] See M. Hamman., "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa)...",*op.cit*, p. 412.
[263]*Ibid*, p. 414.

important information on the nature of social and political organisations and political relationships of the various communities, the nature of the internal and the external trade and the system of exchange and currencies.This expedition also introduced into the region some European commodities which set a pattern of demand that formed the basis of their relationship with the Europeans in times of peace for the rest of the 19th century.[264]The relevance of this expedition dwindled as from May, 1879, when the three British firms withdrew from the Benue due to setbacks.[265]

However, the Europeans did not give up. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) organised another expedition under J.H.Ashcroft, the agent of the CMS on the Niger, accompanied by Von Edward Flegel, the Accountant and Secretary of the expedition. The expedition went as far as Yola Emirate through the Benue and went overland to Arufu and Wukari.[266] It gathered a lot of information on the people and the society, the economy and the politics of the Benue valley which provided the Europeans with the kind of information they needed for the penetration and exploitation of the interior of the Benue valley. The navigability of River Benue and its potential as a commercial route into the interior of a region that was made up of rich material resources was established. The socio-economic and political organization of the Benue valleyas well as the commercial transactions with them had proved profitable.[267]

Following the successes of this expedition, trade now began in earnest. Many European trading firmsbegan to flock to the Niger. Prominent among these were the Miller Brothers, Central African Company, Holland Jacques, West African Company, and the Liverpool

[264]*Ibid*, p. 415.
[265]*Ibid*, p. 417.
[266] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 18; K. Greene, *op.cit*, pp. 31-32; Kano Studies, Vol. 1, No 41, p. 100.
[267] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 418.

(African Association),[268] all from Britain. The influx of these companies into the interior began the process of flooding African local markets with European industrial goods. This was the beginning of high competition between the European industrial goods and African industrial products. The nature of production began to change gradually towards providing the local goods needed by the companies. Emphasis was laid on sylvan products and raw materials. In essence, a form of competition emerged between African and European firms. But the European firms continued to gradually undermine the local economy and systematically incorporated all forms of production into capitalist economy as producer of raw materials. Since the local industrialists and merchants could not stand the sophistication of the Industrial Nations, they were subjected to imperial exploitation. As it appeared to be, beyond simple commercial relations there was, however, a basic polarity of attitude and interest between the societies and the Europeans. Trade and politics were inseparably mixed together. Thus, the gulf between African leaders and the Europeans was progressively widened in subsequent years, until it ended in military clash throughout the second half of the 19th century.[269]

From 1860, the British companies on the Niger and the Benue Rivers were engaged in cut-throat competition which by the 1870s had degenerated into a commercial war of natural attrition. There was excessive competition among these trading companies which of course depicted danger looming. This would not be healthy to imperial commercial exploitation of the Africans. So, the companies opted for an amalgamation that would give them monopoly of trade against Africans and other Europeans by bringing prices as low as possible.[270]

[268]R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906,* London, 1971*op.cit*, p.31.
[269]*Ibid*, p.34.
[270]*Ibid*, p. 15.

Sir George Goldie who was in charge of the Holland Jacques and Co. saw that over-competition was a "disease" to the progress of the penetration of industrial capital into the interior of Nigeria, so trade monopoly was the only sure way to imperial success.[271] He, therefore, suggested the amalgamation of these companies so as to ensure the monopoly of trade on the Niger and Benue. Hence, there was internal reformation by some of the companies. For example, in May, 1877, the West African Company carried out some internal reorganisations by increasing its capital so that it could have the power to amalgamate with other companies.[272]

Consequently, on 20th November, 1879, the United African Company was formed with limited liabilities and nominal capital of £ 250,000. The new company was, infact, an alliance made up of the Miller Brothers, Central African Company, West African Company and the Liverpool (African Association).[273] This was, of course, the company which was about to embark on a career not only of commercial, but of political expansion. It was to become Britain's imperial agent on the Niger. The objective of the amalgamation was to strengthen the bargaining power of the Europeans in order to reduce the prices paid to Africans for their produce.[274]

After the amalgamation, the United African Company increased its monopoly of trade on the Benue. Goldie's notion of forming the United African Company in 1879 and the inauguration of a system of monopoly by agreement as a final solution to challenges to the British firms on the Niger was false. The strengthening of the bargaining power of the Europeans and the consequent reduction in the prices of African goods attracted new

[271] *Ibid*, p.42.
[272] J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria*, Oxford UP, London, 1960, p. 30.
[273] *Ibid*, p. 31.
[274] R.A. Adeleye, *op.cit*, p. 119.

competitors to the Niger-Benue trade. These were the French and German firms, representing the imperial interests of their imperial Governments. Hence, the new company, formed as it was in the age of the scramble, was immediately engaged, though unofficially, in promoting British imperial interests against the rivalry of France and Germany.[275]

Faced with the French challenge, the United African Company re-mustered its strength and embarked on an effort to exterminate the French companies. In 1882, it was reconstituted under the new name of the National African Company (NAC) and its capital was increased to £ 1 million. Its objective was first, to acquire political influence with the African rulers and then to use this as a means for achieving the ultimate purpose of developing its commerce. By underselling and paying higher prices for African products, increased by 25%, as well as expanding the number of the company's stations on the Benue, the NAC exerted itself to the utmost to force the French companies to withdraw from the Niger trade or to be absorbed into the NAC. The change in nomenclature from United African Company to National African Company was significant. It was intended to govern the region with which it traded and to also exclude competition by political means, either through chatter from the British Government, or concessions from the African rulers. This intention was made clear in the operative clause in its new Memorandum of Association:

> To apply for, acquire, and hold any charters, Acts of parliament, privileges, monopolies, licenses, concessions, patents, or other rights or powers from the British Government, or any other Government or State, or any potentate or local or other authority in Africa or elsewhere; to exercise, carry on, or to work any powers, rights or privileges so obtained, and to constitute or incorporate the company as an anonymous or other society in any foreign country or State.[276]

[275] *Ibid*, p. 120.
[276] R.J.S.C. 17049, Memorandum of Association of National African Company Limited. 3(d) 8.6.82, quoted from J.E. Flint, *op.cit*, p. 44.

To achieve this goal, George DashwoodTaubman Goldie, began to push for signing treaties with the native rulers and also to acquire the political right to dominate the area through a Charter. It was at this stage of development that the company established its base in Ibi in 1882 and took up serious commercial and political activities on the Benue. Thus, a treaty was claimed to have been signed in Ibi on 23rd October, 1882, which claimed to cede the area to the British. Two years later another treaty was signed and Fremantle recorded it as thus:

> On 17th October, 1884, Bula and the headmen of Ibi signed a treaty with the National African Company conceding their land to the company. The treaty was signed before Mr. E.H. Hewett, the British Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Mr. W. Wallace and Mr. McIntosh signed on behalf of the company.[277]

The company also claimed that its agents had actually signed treaties with various rulers in the area, including Jibu and Donga, in 1885. The treaties conceded complete sovereignty to the company, granted rights to land, powers to settle disputes, "exclude foreign settlers and to exclude all persons not native to the territory".[278]

However, these treaties were in themselves contradictory without any trace of reality in them. This was demonstrated by the kind of response put up by people to the NAC when they began to be suspicious of the latter's behaviour especially when it invaded Jibu in 1884. This came to severe the relationship between the company and the Africans. The episode represented the first violent reaction of the NAC to attempts by some of the rulers on the Benue to resist the establishment of its dominance which they saw as posing a serious threat to the benefits that they derived from the pre-existing trading system. The

[277] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.28.
[278] J. E. Flint, *op.cit*, p. 60.

Emir of Muri, Nya, threatened to attack the NAC's base at Ibi in retaliation for their action in Jibu.[279]

The findings of Major Claude Maxwell Macdonald commission which was sent to investigate Royal Niger Company's (RNC's) administration on the Niger in 1889 did not find anything to suggest that the NAC had got through these treaties the kind of sweeping commercial and political powers that it claimed in the Benue valley.[280] He stated that:

> Many of the treaties signed had been concluded in 1884 and 1885 before the chatter was issued or the ascending of the RNC in the Middle Benue (valley). The terms of the treaties varied but in most of them the chief ceded their territories absolutely; gave the company the right to exclude foreigners; a monopoly of all mining, farming and building; the right to acquire land subject toa fair payment to owners; and in some cases the control of relations with other tribes or States. In return, the company promised also 'to protect the said chiefs from attacks of any neighbouring aggressive tribes'.[281]

According to MacDonald, most of these chiefs agreed that they had signed the treaties and seemed to understand what they had done. Although all these treaties granted commercial concessions, none was regarded by the rulers concerned as conceding sovereignty to the company. It is quite clear that the two parties put diametrically opposed interpretations on the treaties they signed.[282]

Notwithstanding, the station at Ibi came to be of commercial significance in the Middle Benue valley. It served the dual purpose of a collection centre for the produce of the hinterland and an entrepot, even though it was not a seaport. All African produce from the Lowland area of the Jos Plateau, north of the bank of the Benue, were brought to this station. Other minor stations were established on the Benue, but Ibi station was outstanding

[279] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 419.
[280] M. Hamman. "The European Rivalry in the Middle Benue Basin…",*op.cit*, p. 18.
[281] J.E. Flint, *op.cit*, p. 137.
[282] O. Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria, the British Conquest*, Heinemann, London, 1962, p.23.

and stood as the route through which the area of study was penetrated by the European firms, and later by the colonialists. The goods from these other minor stations, such as Jibu and Amar emptied their content at Ibi where they were ferried downstream to the Atlantic coast for final evacuation to Europe.[283] Ibi station also came to serve as important market for European industrial goods, such as salt, textiles and iron rods. In essence, it was the door through which European industrial capital penetrated the area. It later became the administrative headquarter of the company on the Benue.[284]

The French company under Flegel put forth strong competition to the NAC, but because of the latter's treachery, it succeeded in ousting Flegel out of the Benue in 1886, who later died at Brass that year. The NAC had temporarily succeeded in eliminating its last European rival in the Benue valley in the hectic period between 1880 and 1886. Henceforth, it was poised for the expansion and consolidation of its power and influence in what had become its largest and probably the richest District in the Niger territories. Thus, it needed a Royal Charter to enhance its position on the Niger-Benue by giving it political powers that could pave the way for the establishment of its commercial monopoly and for the spread of its power and influence in the area.[285]

Consequently, the Gladstone's Government granted it the long awaited Charter on the 10th of July, 1886 and the NAC changed its nomenclature to the Royal Niger Company (RNC).[286] Among other things, the Charter liberated the company from any threat of serious

[283] *Ibid*, p.24.
[284] See E.L. Hassan, "African Response to European Colonialism...", *op.cit*, p. 13.
[285] R.A. Adeleye, *op.cit*, p. 230.
[286] J.D. Ndera, *Wombo Makar: Historical Reflections on Chieftaincy and Colonial Experience in Tiv Land*, Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p. 48; M. Hamman, op.cit, PhD, p. 447.

commercial competition and enabled it to exert a considerable monopoly of trade on the Niger and Benue areas.[287]

To pursue this goal to the letter, the RNC also established an army for territorial expansion and protection, having seen that the claim on the treaties signed was not respected by the African rulers, as demonstrated by the conflictswhich were earlier stated. This period, therefore, saw conflicts between the firms and the rulers of States and societies in the Middle-Benue valley. In this regard a garrison of soldiers called the Royal Niger Constabulary Force was formed.[288]

In 1886, the RNC had a constabulary of only five English officers, two African officers, two sergeant-majors; fifteen sergeants, sixteen corporals and 380 privates. About 150 soldiers were stationed at Lokoja and 50 at Ibi.[289] Ibi became the base of the Royal Niger Constabulary Force and by 30th June, 1886, about 421 soldiers were stationed there to launch and consolidate their attack on the societies in the area, bringing them under imperial control.[290] That same year MacDonald recommended that they should be increased to three times their size.[291]

With this force in Ibi, the RNC began to lunch out to other areas of Wukari to conquer and control their economic resources. Jibu was the first settlement attacked by the RNC force.[292] It carried out a thorough attack upon Jibu in the wet season of 1888, when a constabulary

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[287] M. Hamman, "The European Rivalry in the Middle Benue Basin…",*op.cit*, p. 19.
[288] See J.D. Ndera, *op.cit*, pp. 48 and 53 for details on the formation of WAFF in the Benue Valley; and also see M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 459 for details on the operation of the Royal Niger Constabulary Force which was later transformed to WAFF that was central to the colonisation of the area of study.
[289] R.A. Adeleye, *op.cit*, p. 164.
[290] M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p. 452.
[291] *Ibid*.
[292] On the flood of September, 1884, the town of Jibu was shelled from the Benue River by Mr. Wallace and two or three European subordinates, killing many of its inhabitants for the reason that the ruler had refused to hand over a runaway culprit who had killed one of the company's servants at Ibi. See J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p. 11.

force from Asaba, then headquarters of the RCN, under the command of Captain Seymour Saule, captured the town. The chief, Duna, was eventually deported and died later in Asaba. On April 11, 1891, a force left Ibi to attack Jibu. They alleged that they were blocking the free passage to Ibi of ivory caravans from southern Adamawa- Fombina.[293]

Takum was next to be visited. Following the succession dispute that ensued between Tigge Yakuba II and Kachella in Tankwara, that is, Takum, the former successfully expelled the later. Kachella was a strong rival of Tigge Yakuba II to the throne of Takum after the death of Yakuba I. But Yakuba II got the assistance of Garbganyi, from Donga area and attacked and expelled Kachella from the settlement to the Tiv country in 1889. After this success, in 1890, he carried out attacks on the Kuteb and enslaved many of them even their chief, Ayipte, while others scattered southward. Another claimant to the throne known as Yamusa also had a quarrel with Tigge Yakuba II and left for Jenuwa, the first capital of the Chiefdom. The aggrieved Kachella and Yamusa joined forces to attack Yakuba II in Jenuwa. They were assisted by Dzere, the Tor (Chief) of the Mbatura kindred of the Shitire Tiv and some Kuteb elements. However, the group formed by Kachella posed serious threat to Takum and the economic activities in the area, especially the trade route from Bamenda to Ibi through Takum and Wukari. Yakuba II was not comfortable with their activities, therefore, he invited Dankaro, a Hausa mercenary, who assisted him but to no avail.[294]

The Royal Niger Company utilised this opportunity to attack and bring Takum under its control. Yakuba II invited them and tagged Kachella as a nuisance. However, Kachella appeared to have been fighting for a cause. The company did not hesitate. It consented and sent her troops under the command of Mr Hewby to subdue Kachella and his group. Takum

[293]*Ibid*, p. 8.
[294]E.L. Hassan, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba of Takum…" *op.cit*, p.58.

was considerably brought under the control of the Company between 1895 and 1896.[295] From thence, European trade operated in the area without any trouble.

Suntai Chiefdom was the last to be attacked in the area. J.M. Fremantle records that in 1899, just on the eve of the formal declaration of British colonial occupation of the Nigerian area, Mr Hewby continued his bombarding mission on Suntai after the chief refused them access to monopoly of trade in his chiefdom. Suntai was a walled and organised city which resisted the company's incursion for years. In the early months of 1899, the Constabulary Force tried to enter Suntai but was defeated by the poisoned arrows of the Chamba warriors. However, with much reinforcement, the company's force bombarded the town for days until it finally fell later in 1899.[296]

After the military conquest of Jibu, Takum and Suntai, there was little or nothing left for the company to face as a threat to its monopoly of trade in the Middle Benue basin. Ibi was already the company's base and because of the treaties of 1884, an administrative structure was set up to enhance the European trading activities in the area. The British company, the RNC, exercised the right of removing and installing the Chief of Ibi. For instance, after the death of Bula, the first chief of Ibi who ruled from 1861 to 1895, the next chief, Galli, was appointed by the company in 1895.[297]

Wukari State was probably frightened by the fate that had befallen the surrounding societies. On the other hand, events in the 19th century had weakened this State. The demographic explosion that came as result of the influx of the Chamba and Tiv altered the political balance in the area of study. Donga Kingdom emerged in the second half of the

[295] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.14.
[296] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[297] NAK: SNP10/2453/ Assessment Report on the Ibi District….. *op.cit*.

19th century and began to compete with Wukari. Wukari was attacked from all angles: by Bauchi through Wase in the north; Muri through Bakundi in the northeast; Gboshi I, the Chamba chief of Takum, from the southeast; and the Tiv and Dankaro on the northwest and west, respectively.[298]

Wukari was faced by challenges so, when the Europeans came, they met a considerably weak State, struggling to survive the waves of these attacks. At different times, it paid tribute to Bauchi and Muri.[299] The treaties signed in Ibi in 1884, Jibu and Donga, in 1895, respectively, ceded the Wukari State to the control of the company on the ground that it was saving Wukari and Donga from the control of Muri. Since then, Wukari and Donga did not send tribute to Muri.[300] Hence, the independence of these States was lost and the stage was set for the colonial economy to operate.

### 3.3Conclusion

This chapter discusses the pre-capitalist and the capitalist production and distribution in the area of study before the advent of colonial domination. It discusses how the people turned nature to serve them. It further stresses the nature and penetration of imperial industrial capital into the area and how this changed the mode of production and laid the foundation of primary export production. One important thing that has been emphasised is the gradual process that led to loss of political and economic independence of the societies and States in the area of study.

Thus, by 1899, the whole area was already a conquered "empire" of the Royal Niger Company. The economy was fully under the control of the company. It dictated the terms of

[298] See E.L. Hassan, *op.cit*, p. 35, C.K. Meek, *op.cit*, p. 420.
[299] See M. Hamman, *op.cit*, p.412.
[300] *Ibid*, p.413.

trade and prices for exchange. The pre-capitalist mode of production was gradually incorporated into capitalist production. What was needed was just a formal declaration and establishment of imperial administrative structures in the area of study and organisation of export production to be channelled to Europe. This was the ease with which the British colonialists established their control in the area.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# BRITISH COLONIAL OCCUPATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES, 1900-1934

## 4.0 Introduction

The military success of the Royal Niger Company in the area of study on the eve of 1900 gave it relative monopoly over the commercial and political activities in the area. However, the company could not set up the machinery that would ensure effective political control and economic exploitation of the area. The British colonial administrationconcluded that taking-over the spheres of influence of the company was the best option since the latter's inability to effectively exert political control over its conquered territories was glaring. Thus, the colonial administrationfollowed up the company's "success" by establishing a State- the colonial State, with a form of political structure which created an economic system that would finally incorporate the pre-existing economy into the world's capitalist system.

This chapter, therefore, examines the nature of the above process. It focuses on the administrative structures put in place to continue the process of exploitation begun in the 19$^{th}$ century. Therefore, it describes the nature of colonial administration and how it served the British colonial economic interests. The chapter outlines, chronologically, how colonial

administrative policies were enshrined and how they succeeded in creating a political unit that incorporated the pre-existing States into a colonial political unit called Ibi Division and later transformed it to be called Wukari Division in 1926.

### 4.1 British Colonial Occupation, 1900-1913

The forceful incorporation of the state and societies of the area of study into the British Colonial State was done with relative ease. In essence, there was no military confrontation on the advent of British colonial encroachment into the area that came to be called Ibi Division, later Wukari Division. The history of colonial conquest in the emirates also depicts that some of the emirates "willingly" surrendered to the colonialists either due to some internal squabbles or the military superiority of the British colonial army, while others put up stiff and dogged resistance which was subdued by the colonialists' military might. The reason for the differences in response to the colonial conquest in Northern Nigeria varied from one society to another. The condition prevalent in any of the societies informed the nature of its response to colonial conquest.

The condition of the autonomous State of Wukari, the Chiefdoms of Donga, Suntai and Takum and Muri Emirate on the wake of the 20$^{th}$ century was such that would not call for a joint and organised resistance to the colonial domination. The fact is that before British colonisation, Wukari had lost its political influence in the Benue valley. By the second half of the 19$^{th}$ century, a considerable portion of Wukari State was lost to the Chamba Chiefdom of Donga or was under the direct control of Muri. At the end of the 19$^{th}$ century,

what remained of it were the Capital, Wukari and its environs. Its vassal States and Districts were either under the direct control of Muri or were Muri's satellites. Wukari itself is said to have been paying tribute to Muri.[301] Thus, the Royal Niger Company seemed to have had "easy day" in the area and had praised itself for salvaging Wukari from the hands of Muri in the treaty of 1895 which received Donga and Wukari from the area of Muri's influence.[302] In fact, the colonialists' argument was that, their advent was a great salvation to the people in the area from Fulbe domination. It is glaring that this situation could not permit a joint and organised resistance of Wukari to British encroachment.

Four months after the British colonisers had revoked the charter of the Royal Niger Company, Williams Petch Hewby, the Resident of "Upper Benue" Province[303], came to Wukari on 5th April, 1900, to announce British colonial domination in Wukari and also established a colonial native court which was to serve the whole area that came to be called Wukari District. He stated this categorically:

> Under the power conferred on me by the proclamation No.5, 1900, I, Williams Petch Hewby, Resident of the Upper Benue, do hereby establish a native court at Wukari, with power in accordance with the said proclamation to hear and decide civil and criminal actions between natives within the jurisdiction of the court; which for the present shall be exercised in the town of Wukari; the town of Akwana; all (some 20-25 miles) Jukun villages east of Katsina-Ala river on the left bank of the river Benue, (excepting the four villages on the bank of the Benue, viz Sinka, Gidan Wurbo, Osebefu and Gidan Yaku), including all their outlying farm hamlets; and in such of the Deyin [Chamba] and Musi [Tiv]

[301] See discussion in Chapter Two.
[302] See details in M. Hamman, "The Rise and Fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa)...", *op.cit*.
[303] This Province was made up of all the emirates in the Upper Benue such as Muri, Bauchi, Gombe, Yola and Bornu Sheikdom. It also comprised of the non-Muslim state of Wukari, Chamba Chiefdoms of Donga, Takum and Suntai, Tiv, Idoma and Igala countries. See J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p. 2. This was the realm of influence of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue which the Colonialists took over from in 1900. The British Government, through the Colonial Office, handed it over to Mr. Williams Petch Hewby who was the Company's agent on the Benue when its Chatter was revoked.

> villages lying to the southward and westward of Wukari in Wukari territory as may be practicable under existing circumstances. The court shall consist of the following:
> President: the present chief Agudu Mallam [Awudumanu]
> Judge, the Kinda Ajo [Kinda Achuwo]
> Judge, Abu dan Ashumallam [Agbu Ashumanu]
> Judge, Alkali Sualu [Salau]
> Judge, AududanZenua
> Scribe, MallamDiko
> Given under my hand at Wukari this fifth day of April, 1900.
> (Sign) W.P. Hewby, Resident.[304]

The implication of the above statement was the loss of sovereignty and subjection under an alien rule. This development did not meet any resistance. Captain Hewby declared the British presence in the area with much ease. This marked the beginning of British colonial control in the area.

Following the occupation of Wukari, the British colonialists proceeded in occupying Donga and Takum in 1901.[305] Consequently, the Kuteb, Ichen and Chamba societies were brought under colonial control. They occupied Suntai and the Ichen group in Nukpo and Buban, west of the Mambilla highlands, in 1908.[306]However, Ayigiben group of the Kuteb and the Ichen, Tigon and Ndoro groups living south of River Donga in the western borders of the Bamenda Mountains were dominated by the Germans in 1905.[307]It was not until in 1913 that the Ayigiben District was brought under British administration as a result of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission. The area became part of Zomper (Kuteb) Sub-District with headquarters at Lissam that same year. The Ichen, Ndoro and Tigon areas were brought

[304] E.A Keat and S.S. Richardson, *Law in Africa No.18, The Native and Customary Courts of Nigeria*, *op.cit.*, p.25.
[305]O. Temple, *Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Norhern Province f Nigeria*. C.L. Temple (eds), Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1965, p.502.
[306]NAK: SNP17, 24678, Intelligence Report on the Donga District of the Wukari Division-Benue Province, By Mr. M.C. Cole, 1936, p.33.
[307]NAK: MAKPROF, 1199, Vol.1, Report on Kentu District by Mr. C.E. Boyd, D.O., in charge of Ibi Division, 1917, p.1. Also see NAK: SNP17, 24898, Takum District, Intelligent Report on by M.C. Cole, Assistant District Officer, Wukari Division, 1936, p 149.

under the control of Britain as a Mandated Territory in 1916, but it was finally included in Wukari Division as a separate District in 1933. In 1911, the whole of the northern Tiv groups, that is, Ugondo, Shitire, Ukum, including Katsina- Ala town and the Turu were brought under British domination.[308]

From 1900 to 1903 attempts were also made to establish colonial administrative structures in the occupied territories. In 1904, colonial political structures were established in form of Native Administrative system otherwise known as the Indirect Rule.

### 4.2 British Colonial Administrative System and Territorial Reorganisations, 1904-1934

After the "successive" occupation of the areas discussed above the colonialists followed up their victory by first creating a geo-political unit and then established administrative structures to see to the actualisation of the imperial goal. The driving force that propelled the colonialists to come all the way from Europe to Africa was economic, primarily to acquire raw materials for the metropolitan industries and free markets for both their industrial goods and safe place for investment. They were bent on achieving this hence any form of administrative system they opted in was to fit into the main goal. They needed a political system that would be less expensive and profitable. A system that would sustain the economy was what they wanted. Taxation was fundamental to the operation of this system and the assessment and collection of taxes required the existence of a clearly defined, permanent and hierarchic territorial administration.[309] A sure way of getting this done was to make use of the Native or indigenous rulers who were to serve as collaborators

[308]See J. D. Ndera, *op.cit*, and G. D. Dogo, *op.cit*.
[309]J.A. Ballard, "'Pagan Administration' and Political Development in Northern Nigeria",*Savananah*, Vol. 1, No.1, p.3.

to the British colonialists in the colonial enterprise. Thus, the "Indirect" Rule system or Native Administration was introduced.

The Indirect Rule system or Native Administration, in its principle and probably practice, was supposedly aimed at allowing the indigenes to rule themselves according to their customs and traditions, but were to take orders from the British colonial officers. But if one understands the political economy of the colonial system, it is obvious that it is an absolute fallacy. The system has been widely regarded as a smoke screen meant to cover up the evil of the colonial domination in Nigeria. It has been seen as a mere colonial propaganda propagated by the colonialists, their loyalists and apologists to showcase their ignorance and to demean the reality of the colonial experience of the colonised. Its essence was economic exploitation by creating an economic system that would achieve the colonial goal.

The British colonialists, therefore, operated a two-tier system of Government. First, was the colonial authority, representing the "modern structure", with British political officers, such as the Governor, High Commissioner, Resident, Divisional Officer, District Officer and Assistant District Officer. All these were in charge of the colony, group of the Provinces, particular Provinces, Divisions and Districts. Secondly, was the Native Authority (NA) tier representing the pre-existing structures, through which Indirect Rule became operational. At the level of the Native Authorities, the emirs, the chiefs, key "native" councillors, District Heads and Village Heads were in charge of "native affairs".[310] This arrangement placed the Native Authority at the bottom of the colonial system, subject to the British colonial officers. The colonial officers were in control of the colonial State and economy, while the "native" rulers were collaborators collecting taxes and assisting in maintaining law and

[310]Y. Turaki, "Socio-political Role and Status of Non-Muslim Groups of Northern Nigeria: Analysis of a Colonial Legacy". PhD Thesis, Boston University, 1982, pp. 100-101.

order. The "native" rulers were appointed by the British officials, depicting the loss of sovereignty. For example, following the death of Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu1 (1871-1903) in 1903, Aku-Uka Agbumanu II was the first Aku to be appointed by the British as the head of the Native Administration in Wukari in 1904. To demonstrate his loyalty to the British, he went to Ibi to salute the British Resident of Muri Province, Captain Ruxton, immediately after his appointment.[311]

The appointment of the indigenous officials, their powers, functions and duties were classified and directed by the British officials, which included the power to depose them.[312] Their employment and allegiance to the British were indicators that the ultimate source of their authority was the British colonialists. Any authority in the Native Authority was obtained from the colonial authority. Thus, the roles of the chiefs and their junior officials included tax collection, gathering intelligence for the colonial authority, drafting forced labour and ensuring that the colonised were observing law and order as defined by the colonialists. The colonial economic, political and social landscapes were fundamentally controlled and directed by the British. All major State policies on taxes, building of towns, mineral and material resources, education, infrastructure, communication and so on were determined by the British colonial Government.[313] Therefore, the Indirect Rule system was actually a Direct Rule.

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[311] NAK: MAKPROF/ Jukun History and Custom 1926-50, by Edward H. O Keates, A.D.O also see NAK: SNP17/k.2441 vol. I, Jukons of Wukari, History and Anthropological Notes: Notes on the Chiefs by Edward H.O. Keates, A.D.O., Ibi Division, Wukari, 1921. This source shows 1902 as the date the reign of Agbumanu II began.

[312] B. Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800*. London: Macmillan Press, 1984, p. 54.

[313] See Y.B. Usman, "Keynote Address: The Issue of Sovereignty", in A.M. Yakubu *et al*, (eds.), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, 2005, p. 49.

This system of administration was organised and structured in such a way that the collection of taxes was done with ease. Hence, the British colonial officers began to experiment with the Indirect Rule policy in the area of study aiming at establishing certain political units that would be suitable for the application of the policy. This process continued till the third decade of colonial domination in the area, beginning with Frederick Lord Lugard in 1904.[314]

### 4.2.1 Lugardian Principle of Native Administration and the Formation of Ibi Division, 1904-1919

As the first High Commissioner of the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria, Frederick Lord Lugard was the first to experiment with the Native Administration system. Lugard's view of the Native Administration in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was based on the principle of whether the emirate system of administration was to be extended to the "pagan" areas, or whether "pagan" and British interests were best served by curtailing Fulbe and Muslim rule and replacing it with the pre-existing native rulers and more direct British administration. However, after his tour of the Northern Provinces from 1904 to 1905, Lugard decided to lay down uniform administrative structures, defining jurisdiction in terms of taxation and fixing through Divisional boundaries, the areas of emirate control of the "pagan" Districts. Therefore, the emirate model of Indirect Rule was applied uniformly throughout Northern Nigeria.[315]

The effective content of Lugard's policy was its insistence upon assimilating the administration of "pagan" areas to the emirate model, based on indigenous local institutions. This arrangement called for a Paramount Chief in each Province, with

[314] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.2.
[315] J.A. Ballard, *op.cit*, p. 4.

subsidiary Chiefs in their Divisions. Consequent upon this development, the "pagan" groups in the Northern Protectorate which were claimed to have been under the control of and had paid taxes or tribute to any of the emirates in the defunct Sokoto Caliphate, were brought under the control of such emirate. Therefore, seventeen (17) Provinces were created along this line in the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria between 1904 and 1905 with each operating an emirate-type of administration where an emir was heading each of the Provinces as a Paramount Chief with the "pagan" groups which were close to these emirates and were assumed to have been under the influence of the Sokoto Caliphate, being brought under the control of the various emirs.[316]

Muri Province was created in 1904,[317] with the Native Administrative Headquarters at Jalingo (the capital of Muri emirate) but the Provincial Administrative Headquarters remained at Ibi where the Resident resided, because of its accessibility and nearness to Lokoja, the then headquarters of Northern Nigeria, through the Benue[318]. By this arrangement taxes collected by the various District Heads were remitted to the emir in Jalingo who, in turn, remitted part to the Resident in Ibi. By implication, the central Native Treasury was in Jalingo. Four Divisions were created which included Lau Division[319], Abinsi Division,[320]Ibi Division and Tshendam Division. Abinsi, Ibi and Tshendam Divisions were "pagan" Divisions placed under the emir of Muri emirate in pursuance of

[316]*Ibid.*
[317] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p. 5.
[318] See J. D. Ndera, *op.cit*, p.62. Though he states 1902 as the year Muri Province was formed but this does not coincide with colonial record and the period 1904-1905, when Lugard toured Northern Nigeria to introduce the Native Administrative System, i.e., the 'Indirect' Rule system.
[319] Lau Division included the whole area of the Muri Emirate. The name was later changed to Muri Division in 1915. It was called Lau Division because of the location of the Niger Company's station that was there. The station was abandoned in 1910. See J.M. Fremantle, o*p.cit*, p.2.
[320] It had two headquarters at Katsina-Ala and Abinsi. It was later called Munshi Division.

the Lugardian principle of Native Administration.[321]Ibi Division and parts of Tshendam sub-Division included the areas pre-dominantly occupied by the Jukun speaking peoples and those who were once part of the famous Jukun State of Wukari, either by conquest or influence.

The effective application of British colonial administration in Ibi Division was in 1904. Reporting in 1935, the District Officer, Wukari Division, Mr. K.O. Dewar, asserted that:

> The first administrative experiment under the British rule in the area of the present Wukari Division was to form it into the Ibi Division of Muri Province by focusing the administration on a Fulani [Fulbe]head-quarter, a policy which has vaguely been foreshadowed of eventually subjecting the whole area to a Fulani [Fulbe] Native Administration. Such a policy, if ever seriously entertained,… [was] in keeping with the general trend in the Northern Protectorate,..."[322]

Ibi Division was made up of fourteen (14) Districts with independent Native Administrations. They were later reduced to four which included Wukari, Ibi, Donga and Takum Districts with their respective Native Authorities. The Native Authority of Wukari was headed by the Aku Uka who, with the assistanceof four Jukun Chiefs, controlled the Jukun people around Wukari area and the Tiv population north of Tivland, that is, the ten (10) Tiv Districts. Ibi Native Authority was headed by *Sarkin* Ibi[323]; Takum by the Chamba Chief of Takum[324], who controlled the Kpanzum, Chamba Dinyi and the Kuteb (Zomper)

[321]J.M. Fremantle, o*p.cit,* p.2.
[322] NAK: MAPROF/248/14018/ 1934-35, Wukari Division Annual Report.
[323]His jurisdiction included areas like Dampar, Sarkin Kudu and Ibi Town.
[324] This arrangement was changed in 1912 when the Kuteb were regrouped under a Kuteb head called Ukwe. The first Ukwe was Ahmadu. His headquarters was at Lissam. This development occurred when the Kuteb complained of Chamba's exploitation and "misrule". However, when the Chamba Chief of Takum, Yamusa, was deposed and exiled to Ibi in 1914, on the alleged charge of slavery, the Kuteb Chief in Lissam was transferred to Takum to become the District Head of Takum District since then.

country; and Donga by the *Gara* of Donga whose area covered the Chamba settlements of Donga, Suntai and the Ichen (Kentu) country, southeast of Donga River.[325]

### 4.2.2 Palmer's Policy and the Creation of Wukari Division, 1920-1929

Lugard's successors came to challenge his policy of Native Administration, especially in the "pagan" areas in Northern Nigeria after his departure, in 1919, from Nigeria, as Governor-General. Prominent among them was Hugh Clifford (1919-1924). A Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria who also challenged the Lugard's system was Herbert Richmond Palmer (1925-29). When Hugh Clifford took-over from Frederick Lugard in 1919, he argued that the emirate model was suitable for the emirates but not for the "pagan" areas. He was the first to challenge Lugard's system and, therefore, proposed a coherent alternative system to the emirate model through his minute circulated to all Northern colonial officers as thus:

> I think we should abandon once and for all the expectation of ever converting …primitive tribal systems (such as they are) into any sort of semblance to the Native Administrations of the Mohammedan Emirates, and should content ourselves with making of the former only such limited use as experience may show to be at once safe and expedient.[326]

He argued that a separate administrative system should be developed in the "pagan" areas in Northern Nigeria, rather than applying the emirate model in these areas by placing them under the control of the emirs. He saw it as not profitable because taxes collected were not as expected. His proposal was not approved by Lord Milner, the Colonial Secretary in London, but certain changes were put in place. In Muri Province, certain administrative reorganisations began to take place. After his visit to Ibi on 20th September, 1919, Hugh

[325] NAK: SNP17, 24678, Intelligence Report on the Donga District of the Wukari Division-Benue Province, By Mr. M.C. Cole, 1936.

[326] Minute, 1 June, 1920, in NAK: K. 4046, Vol. 1 cited in J.A. Ballard, "Pagan Administration and Political Development in Northern Nigeria" in *Savannah* Vol. 1, p.8.

Clifford proposed for the amalgamation of Ibi Division Native Treasuries and locating it at Wukari. E.G.M. Dupigny, Resident, Muri Province, did not hesitate to put his superior's order on move. Reporting that same year, he affirmed that:

> The amalgamation of the four Ibi Division Treasuries [Wukari, Ibi, Takum and Donga] into one [Treasury] at Wukari is taking place at the time of writing and is the first step towards the projected scheme of making *Sarikin* Wukari over-lord of these Districts…Under the supervision and guidance of the political officer, a very useful Central Administration will be built up and in course of time these four Districts will be welded together.[327]

The hope of establishing a Central Administration with centre at Wukari was pursued vigorously, but this was not achieved during Clifford's time, 1919-1924.It was actualised by the colonial officers after him,especially in the North. However, by 1920, the Native Treasury of the whole of Ibi Division was transferred to Wukari. This included the Native Treasuries of Ibi, Takum and Donga Districts which were moved to Wukari.[328]When he took over the office of the Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Provinces in 1925, Herbert Richmond Palmer, capitalised on Clifford's effort and modified it to solve the need of the time in Northern Nigeria.[329]

Palmer was regarded as "the high priest of Indirect Rule within Nigeria during the 1920s".[330] His wealth of experience in the colonial administration in Nigeria offered him the opportunity to have well-articulated views on the policy of Indirect Rule. He had served in Katsina emirate and as a Resident in Borno Province. He is said to have achieved much in the colonial enterprise. He took the argument raised by Hugh Clifford on "pagan" administration and viewed the Native Administration along the line of historic destinies of

[327]NAK: SNP10/7p/1920, Muri Province-Annual Report, 1919, no 104 for year ending 31st December, 1919, by Resident E.G.M. Dupigny, p.31.
[328] NAK: SNP10/ Annual Report, Muri Province, Resident E.G.M. Dupigny by 1921.
[329]J.A. Ballard, *op.cit*, p.8.
[330]*Ibid*, p. 9.

the groups he felt were "ruling races" in all parts of Nigeria. Hence, from 1925 he began to make use of anthropologists to carry out anthropological and historical studies on the origin of these "pagan" groups so as to discover the underlying unities among them on the basis of which they might be organised from above under paramount chiefs.[331] Prominent among them was C.K. Meek. He carried out considerable study on the "tribes" of Northern Nigeria in books like *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria,* Vols. 1 and 2, London, 1925, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, Vols. 1 and 2, London, 1931 and *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Anthropological Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Negro University Press, New York, 1969.[332]

In contrast to Lugard's system, Palmer reorganised the Provinces along ethnic lines bringing to ascendency the paramountcy of the "ruling races" which he claimed were "Hamitic-based" ruling groups. Therefore, he was to evolve an administrative system that would give these "races" legitimate outlet for ascendency so as to use them as the media of establishing political control on the "lower grade races". This fitted into his idea of independent Native Administration which was different from Lugard's emirate model. Following this, Palmer carried out general reorganisations in the "pagan" Native Administration in the Northern Provinces.[333]

To follow his policy to the letter, Palmer began to reorganise Provincial and Divisional boundaries along ethnic lines. Consequently, Muri Province was abolished in 1926. The whole of former Ibi Division was incorporated into former Munshi Province and renamed

[331] *Ibid*, p.11.
[332] C.K. Meek toured the whole part of Ibi Division in the summer of 1925. He stayed in Wukari for some time where he documented the history of the defunct Kwararafa Confederacy and the Jukun in the book *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Anthropological Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria* which was published in 1969.
[333] See discussion in J.A. Ballard, *op.cit*.

Benue Province. The amalgamation and creation of Benue Province in 1926 was on ethnological standpoint. It was "to combine in one Province areas containing tribes with an interrelated history and linguistic and cultural affinities".[334] "The area contained section of 'tribes' in varying stages of culture, ranging from the primitive Idoma, equally primitive Tiv (Munshi), the Jukun and the kindred people of the rather mixed Fulani [Fulbe] ruling castes of the Keffi and Nasarawa emirates"[335]. The essence was to bring the whole Tiv and the Jukun speaking peoples of the Middle Benue Valley under the Native Administration of the Aku of Wukari. This decision was influenced by Meek's work on the Jukun's socio-political history in 1925.[336]

Palmer hoped that Jukun complex political structure could be revived so that the Tiv who were alleged to have not developed political system would learn from them and in future time, develop theirs. To this effect, he sent a memo to the Governor General of Nigeria informing him that:

> The Aku-Uka, like the Oni of Ife, was semi-sacred personage, who ruled through four big chiefs who in turn each ruled a quarter a segment of the country- Wukari being the centre of the circle. Whatever tribes or people fell within any of these segments retained their internal economy and independence, and their chiefs only had much to do with Wukari "big four". These men are there still and I was favourably impressed with them and I think it is far better and much juster to put the nearer sections of the Munchi under Wukari than continue the present policy of continually shearing away Wukari land and making a new boundary which they [Tiv] never keep and never will keep. I should propose therefore the North Shitire Munchi as a clan and certain section of the Tumbo Munchis, should be included as unit under Wukari- retaining their

[334] NAK: SNP17/1670/Vol. 1, Benue Province, Annual Report, 1931, p.9.
[335] *Ibid*, p.10.
[336] See details in C. K.*A Sudanese Kingdom: An Anthropological Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Negro University Press, New York 1969.

> internal organization- but looking to Wukari as their territorial chief.[337]

He argued that the Jukun State of Wukari did not fall completely to the suzerainty of Muri emirate in the pre-colonial period. Therefore, he saw no reason why it should be under Muri Province- the emirate of Muri.[338] It should be noted that Palmer's aim was to have a structure that would enhance the collection of tax and maintenance of law and order for the operation of the colonial economy, especially among the Tiv. The colonial policy of Indirect Rule was, thus, influenced by the political set-up of the Jukun which they maintained. The hegemony of the Jukun on other ethnic groups in the area was revived and strengthened to solve the British colonialists' problem of having to overstretch themselves to cover large areas. Commenting on the Jukun traditional set-up, a colonial officer wrote: "The colonial officers had long cherished the hope that the Jukun traditions might be revived and Wukari again become an important centre".[339]

The British amalgamated all the other ethnic groups in the area under the Aku of Wukari, with capital at Wukari. To adduce reasons for this amalgamation, Fremantle, the "right man" of Palmer and the Resident of Muri, argued that:

> As regard the amalgamation, the old Jukun rule extended practically over the whole of the area of these independent states. They regard with deep superstition and respect and they all have tradition of the former power of the Jukun. Even the Zompere [Kuteb]…. use the Jukun language as medium of intercourse. The inhabitants of Donga, who are Chamba, have already forgotten their language and speak Jukun --- Wukari is the most natural centre.[340]

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[337] Cited in D. Adamu, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, *op.cit* p.28.
[338] See the Preface to C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom……op.cit*.
[339] NAK/SNP/17/K.2441/VOL1: Half Yearly Report 30/6/18, p.4, cited in G.M.Ika, *op.cit*, p.72.
[340] NAK/SNP/17/K.2441; Extract from Ibi Division on Quarterly Report, June 1924, by J.M. Fremantle, p.12, cited in *ibid*, p.73.

Consequently, Wukari Division was created,in April, 1926, as the seat of Government of the former Jukun State of Wukari and the centre of all the Jukun speaking Districts of Donga and Takum. It also included 10 Tiv Districts of Sitire North, Shitire South, Ikurav North, Ikurav South, Ukum, Ugondo, Tongo, Turan, Mbagen and Turu. Awe independent District was also included on the ground that it was once under the Aku's control, so also was Katsina-Ala, which was administered separately from other Tiv Districts. However, the colonial administrative apparatus remained in Ibi until August, 1927, when it was finally moved to Wukari.[341]

As stated in Palmer's memo, the Aku-Uka administered his domain with the aid of a council made up of leading members of the Jukun hierarchy. There were four sub-Districts, each controlled by a sub-District head, which had under him, a number of village heads, including Tiv kindred heads of all the Tiv clans domiciled in Wukari area. They were remunerated through drawing of tax percentage. The Tiv kindred heads dealt directly with the sub-District heads in all matters affecting the Tiv who were placed under the authority of the Aku-Uka.[342]

### 4.2.3 Cameron's Policy and the Formation of Wukari Federation, 1930-1934

Donald Cameron arrived in Nigeria, in 1931, as Governor General. He had had ample experience in the colonial service as Hugh Clifford's former Chief Secretary. He also successfully applied the "pagan" administration system in Tanganyika. He came to Nigeria to reverse the policy of Native Administration, especially with regards to "pagan" administration. Events such as the Warri Tax riots of 1927 and the Aba Women revolt of 1929 gave the colonial officers concern and they thought that the traditional authority and

[341]NAK/14/Wukari Division Annual Report by Capt. H.S Bredel, 1932.
[342]*Ibid*.

traditional boundaries designed in the 1920s which "forcefully" brought some ethnic groups under the paramountcy of other traditional rulers, who had no historical link with them in the past, was central to these developments. In Benue Province, there were series of revolts in Idoma Division, in1928.[343] Hence, Cameron's administration sought to modify the existing order, especially in the Northern Provinces.

Cameron saw Native Administration in a tribal framework and sought to replace the territorial basis of authority which was implicit in the emirate model. In the place of the uniform emirate model, he laid down four possible types of Native Administration which included Tribal Chief, Federation of Chiefs, Tribal Council and Clan or Village Councils. To achieve this goal, he set to reduce the power of the Lieutenant Governors by changing their titles to Chief Commissioners and adopting the position of a Governor. He was to be the only Governor in Nigeria and his sub-ordinates taking orders from him. This change gave him power to reduce the influence of the former Lieutenant Governors in the Northern Provinces that had served as obstacles to change in colonial policies. He followed this by appointing a loyalist to the position of a Chief Commissioner of the Northern Provinces who had substantial experience in pagan areas and longstanding disagreement with Palmer's policy of Native Administration. He was G.S. Browne.[344]

In Benue Province, Cameron followed up his policy by instructing the Resident and his Sub-ordinates to prepare "Intelligence reports" on Districts, "tribes" and clans which he later used as the basis for reorganisation. Hence, in 1934, he carried out major territorial reorganisations based on tribal enclaves which he created and tagged as spheres of colonial entity. As a result, the Native Administration and Divisional structures were substantially

[343] NAK:SNP17/9138/Vol.1, Annual Report, Benue Province, by Mr G.L. Monk, Resident, Benue Province, 1928.
[344] See J.A. Ballard, o*p.cit*, p.9

redesigned.[345] All the Tiv were formed into a single administrative Division called Tiv Division which came to replace the Abinsi Division on 1st April, 1934.[346] Consequently, the ten (10) Tiv Districts, including Katsina-Ala in Wukari Division were absorbed in Tiv Native Administration with headquarters at Gboko. The independent District of Awe was incorporated in Nasarawa emirate of Nasarawa Division the same year. What remained of Wukari Division were the Districts of Wukari, Donga and Takum.[347] However, the Kentu Mandated Area was formed into a separate District and Native Administration that same year and was included in Wukari Division. It was formally under the control of the Lamido of Adamawa through the District Head of Garshaka District of Muri Division, Adamawa Province. But with the intelligence report prepared in 1934 on the Kentu Area, the colonial Government saw the nearness of the area culturally and historically to Wukari Division than to the emirate of Adamawa and so, decided to merge it with the Division that same year.[348]

At the beginning of the 1930s, the colonial officer in Wukari Division decided to replace the Confederation of Chiefs that emphasised the paramountcy of the Aku-Uka of Wukari Native Administration over other Chiefs in the Division with a Federal Council of Chiefs which would call for a rotational chairmanship of the Divisional central administration and equal participation. Commenting on the meeting of the Chiefs in 1931, the District Officer in charge of Wukari wrote the Resident, Benue Province, that:

> It appears to me that the inter-relation of the Districts of Wukari, Takum, and Donga justifies their inclusion in the category "Federation of Chiefs" defined in the recently issued memoranda on Native Administration.… I suggest that the danger of a permanent president becoming regarded as a

[345] The same development took place in Plateau Province and parts of Kabba and Niger Provinces. See J.A. Ballard, *op.cit*, p.9.
[346] NAK: SNP17/23593/ Benue Province, Annual Report, by E.S. Pembleton Esquire, Resident, Benue Province, 1934.
[347] Ibi District was already collapsed in 1927 and absorbed into Wukari District.
[348] NAK: MAPROF/715/1933, Kentu District.

> "Permanent" Chief should be avoided by the Division Officer presiding as was done on this occasion. Further, I consider that the council for the present should remain purely deliberative. Although the present relations between the Chiefs of these Districts are fairly good; I am strongly of the opinion that a categorical statement to the effect that it is not the policy of Government to envisage any infringement of their independence, would do much to facilitate co-operation.[349]

By implication, the chairmanship of the Confederal Council of Chiefs was to be rotated among the three rulers of Wukari, Donga and Takum, whose duty was to supervise the general administration of the area. However, the central authority with regard to the use of force, fell upon the British officer in charge of the Division.[350]

Thus, Palmer's policy of the Confederation of Chiefs was replaced with Federation of Chiefs. Wukari Division was redesigned into a Federation, a Federation of Chiefs. There were three independent Chiefs who formed a Federal Council at the Divisional headquarters in Wukari. The Federal Council comprised of Aku-Uka of Wukari, Gara of Donga and Ukwe of Takum. The Kentu, Ndoro and Tigon Chiefs who represented the Kentu, Ndoro and Tigon Native Authorities, respectively, from the Kentu Mandated Territory also formed part of the Federal Council of Chiefs. These chiefs met quarterly in Wukari, under the strict supervision of the Divisional Officer and other colonial officers, to deliberate on the matters concerning the Division and also discuss, among other things, matters concerning the general "development" of the Division. It was because of this development that the Wukari Division was popularly known as Wukari Federation.[351]

[349] NAK: MAKPROF/Province/50/Federation Council of Wukari, 1931.
[350] *Ibid*.
[351] *Ibid*.

### 4.3 Establishment of Colonial Instruments of Coercion, 1900-1920

#### 4.3.1 Native Police

The organisation of the Native Police in the Northern Provinces was effected in 1908. The establishment of the Native Police in Ibi Division took place in the 1920s. Between 1900 and 1918, police duties were shouldered by the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) stationed in Ibi.[352] The role of this force was to punish "acts of violence" within reachable distance of the British colonial administrative headquarters. It went to the extent of burning down of villages and crops, killing and looting of the valuables of the people.[353]

However, as colonial administration began to be more elaborate, it became expedient for the Colonial State to resort to recruiting and establishing Native Police that would take the place of the W.A.F.F. The reason for this was that the W.A.F.F. was becoming inadequate as a tool of controlling and taming the revolts against colonial policies that were alarming in the wake of the second decade of colonial domination. Not only that, the brutal nature of colonialism demanded an effective Native Police force, controlled by the Native Authority, which would be close to the people and would be able to put such situations to check. Most importantly, to enhance smooth and easy collection of taxes, as well as mobilising and recruiting free and cheap labour for the colonialists, such a force was needed. The Native Police force was a better option for the exploiters because they knew that for their collaborators, that is, the Native Authorities, to maintain their position and avoid the danger of damaging their "reputation" before the colonialists, they had to keep a force that they

[352] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, p.6.
[353] *Ibid*, p.7.

could maintain and use to achieve colonial exploitation. Moreover, the Native Authority Police was cheaper to maintain because they were paid from the Native Treasuries.[354]

However, it should be noted that the emirate type of police, the*Dogari,*was introduced and maintained in Wukari, Takum and Donga, in the early period of colonialism. This was minimal because the number of Native Police recruited was small. But with the alleged instances of corruption, indiscipline, inefficiency and other malpractices in the Northern Provinces, a uniformed Native Police force was inaugurated and was empowered to deal with all sorts of revolts against colonial economic policies, such as taxation and forced labour. This marked the end of *Dogarai* phase and the dawn of *Yandoka*- the uniformed N.A. Police.[355]

### 4.3.2 Native Courts

The establishment of Native Courts in the Northern Provinces started with the Native Court Proclamation of 1900 which set-up Native Courts that were graded A, B,C and D. The need to establish these courts was the desire of the British to control the native rulers and to use them to give effect to their policy as a means to dominate, control and regulate the lives of the colonised. Each of these Courts had certain duties to perform in pursuance of colonial exploitation. They had jurisdiction over "natives" living within specified areas which could be a whole colonial entity, one or two Districts or even a single town or area of a town, like the market place. The Native Courts handled only cases involving "natives" and had no jurisdiction over "non-natives" or "natives" in Government employment. The courts had

[354] M.S. Abdulkadir, *An Economic History of Igalaland, Central Nigeria: 1896-1939,* Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, Zaria, 2014, p.125.
[355] See for details, M.M. Tukur, "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914: A Re-interpretation of Colonial Sources", PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1979, p.400.

limited powers over their jurisdictions because the power to give verdict and impose sentence on the accused was vested on the Resident.[356]

Depending on their grade, they were empowered to indiscriminately impose fines on the accused which was another way of exploitation. This was designed to raise revenue for the Colonial State because the judges were instructed to remit all fees and fines levied to the Resident.[357] This was so arranged that no part of the fine or fee collected could be "siphoned" or bribes would be collected to avert "justice". Any District Head that collected bribe was fined €50 or jailed. Besides, the poor were discouraged from rushing to the court to seek justice because the judges were not interested in cases that would not attract heavy fine from which they also got their share. Hence, the pre-colonial judicial system was collapsed andwhat was sought after was money to the detriment of social relations. They also had the right to send "criminals" to jail with or without hard labour. The prisoners were essential source of labour especially in the area of study. For instance, from 1936, throughout the Second World War period, the prisoners in Wukari, Donga and Takum Districts' prisons served as major sources of labour for experimentation and cultivation of export and domestic crops, such as rice in Donga and groundnut in Wukari Districts. People were detained indefinitely as means of saving society from their menace.[358]

The first Native Court to be established in the area of study was at Wukari on the 5th of April 1900, by W.P. Hewby. It was headed by the Aku of Wukari who was assisted by four Judges and a Hausa scribe. An Alkali Court of the 'C' grade was established, in March,

[356] *Ibid*, pp. 463-464
[357] *Ibid*, p.472.
[358] NAK: SIMPLELIST/ Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report, No 18 and Returns, 1937 by Mr. S.A.S. Leslie, D.O, 1937.

1910, for the Muslim elements in Wukari town and its environs.[359] It, therefore, replaced the Aku's Court. The *Alkali* (Judge)became the Chief Judge, while the Aku was to concentrate on administrative matters, such as tax collection and maintenance of law and order. But in November, 1915, the Alkali Court was abolished because the *Alkali* was allegedly convicted of injustice in the Provincial Court in Ibi which led to his removal and consequent abolition of the court. In its place, a Native Court of 'D' grade was constituted with the Aku as the President. This kind of attitude of removing the Aku as the President of the Native Court and instituting an Alkali Court and later replacing the latter with the former, was typical of the colonial ethnic division and sowing of discord. Besides, it was in pursuance of Lugard's policy of colonial administration, irrespective of what the impact was on the people.[360]

In Ibi, a Judicial Council of 'D' grade was established on 1st March, 1906 and its powers were raised to the 'B' grade on 3rd December, 1913.A Native Court of the 'D' Grade was constituted in October, 1915 and *Sarkin* Ibi was made the President. In April, 1917, a new warrant for the Alkali Court of the 'B' Grade Court was issued, thus, making the two courts which had different judicial functions to perform, separate from each other. The Alkali's court served the large Muslim population of the town.[361]

In Donga, an Alkali court of 'D' grade was established in 1906, but was abolished early in 1916. A Native Court of 'C' grade was established to replace it.[362] However, its status was

[359] See NAK: SNP10/254p/1918, Muri Province, Ibi Division: Wukari District: Re-assessment Report by C.E. Boyd, 1919, p.2.
[360] See NAK: SNP10/254p/1918, Muri Province, Ibi Division: Wukari District: Re-assessment…….. *op.cit.*
[361] NAK: SNP10/283P/1918/ Muri Province, Ibi Division, Ibi District: Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd, 1919.
[362] NAK: SNP10/510/1917/Muri Province: Donga District, Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd, p. 21.

raised to a 'B' grade court, in 1934.[363] The Native Court was presided over by the *Gara,* the Chamba Chief and the District Head of Donga District. A Native Court of 'C' grade was also established in Takum, in 1916, which was presided over by the *Ukwe*, the District Head of Takum. Three 'D' grade Native Courts were established in the Kentu, Ndoro and Tigon areas of the Kentu Mandated Territory, in the 1920s. They were headed by the Village Heads of these areas who were heads of each of the Native Authority in the Area.[364]

### 4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the nature of the penetration and consequent domination of the area of study by the colonialists. The nature of penetration, no doubt, was generally peaceful throughout the area. This form of penetration was not met with any resistance because the societies in the area of study were already weakened by the imperial activities of the Royal Niger Company, on the eve of colonialism. Thus, the establishment of British colonial administrative structures was subsequently done to ensure effective introduction and implementation of the various colonial economic policies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. The changes in the processes of the establishment of colonial administrative structures have also been discussed in the chapter.

[363] NAK: SIMPLE LIST, WUKARI DIVISION/248/ Wukari Division, Annual Report, No. 18 and returns, 1934, by Mr. J.M. Smallwood, Assistant District Officer, Wukari Division.
[364] NAK: MAPROF/641/1933, Kentu Area.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE COLONIAL ECONOMY, 1904-1960

### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at discussing the operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. It emphasises the methods of the introduction of the various colonial economic policies and how they necessitated the exploitation of the economy and societies in the area. Thus, the various phases at which the colonial economy operated are examined. The people's response to the various colonial economic policies is also discussed.

### 5.1 Promulgation of Colonial Economic Policies, 1904-1930

The colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions basically operated in the agricultural and commercialsectors. Hence, certain fiscal measures, just as in other areas of the colonial State, were introduced to ensure the smooth operation of these sectors of the economy.[365]Fiscal policies were designed to compel the colonised to produce exportcrops, especially benniseed. They were also meant to stifle all forms of indigenous industrial activities that would pose some threats to this goal. Most important of these fiscal measures was the British Colonial Taxation.

#### 5.1.1. Colonial Taxation

The Colonial State imposed various forms of taxation on the conquered areas of Ibi and Wukari Divisions immediately a colonial administrative structure was set up. In a general note, the introduction of British colonial taxation was justified by the Colonial State. In order to rationalise his action, Frederick Lugard asserted that taxes were good for the governed. He saw taxation as a civilising mission; as a means of fulfilling responsibility and

[365]See M.S. Abdulkadir, "Resistance to Colonial Taxation in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s", in FAIS *Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. 2, November, 2000, p.32.

a means of increasing production.[366] He also stated that the assessment of taxes was to "bring the political officer in touch with his people"[367]. Giving these reasons, the colonialists began by "adopting" the pre-colonial taxes, where they existed, especially, in organised political systems such as the emirates and "modified their methods of collection so as to improve on the efficiency of collection and improve returns so that the colonial administration could finance itself"[368]. Since tax system did not exist in the pre-colonial economy of Wukari State and the Chiefdoms of Takum and Donga, the colonialists introduced and imposed taxation on the people. These taxes included the *kurdin kasa*, the *jangali*, Custom Duties, Caravan Tolls, Hawker's Licenses, fishing tax, salt tax, *et ceterar*[369].

Central to the destruction of the pre-colonial trade routes and trading activities was the introduction of Caravan Tolls. These were forms of taxation that were imposed on all forms of local trade in the Provinces.[370] This form of tax was targeted at areas of importance in the pre-colonial trade such as Ibi, Jibu, Wukari and Donga. Its essence was to undermine the pre-colonial economy and subordinate the local merchants to the British companies.[371] Up to 1904, that is, for the period of one year since Caravan Toll was proclaimed in 1903, it was levied only on the caravans carrying native produce.[372] Consequently, the trade on salt to Aro-Chukwu and Calabar area was adversely affected. This was one important reason why Akwana salt production was almost abandoned since the caravans was heavily levied

[366]F.L. Lugard, *op.cit*, pp.166-168, 199-200.
[367]*Ibid*, p. 208.
[368] M.I. Muktar, *The Impact of British Colonial Domination on Kano: C. 1903 to 1950 A.D., A Study of Colonial Change*, Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, Zaria, 2013, p. 86.
[369] These were the nature of taxes in Northern Protectorate. See details in M.M. Tukur, *op.cit*.
[370] See S. Bello, *State and Economy in Kano, C.1894 to 1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*, Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, Zaria, 2011, pp. 91-92.
[371]*Ibid*, p.91.
[372]*Ibid*, p. 92.

discouraging the local salt merchants from buying Akwana salt. No wander, a colonial officer reporting in the 1930s observed that there was no south trade existing in the Akwana area. Only Awe salt mines, in the north bank of the Benue, were producing for northward export to the emirates. In fact, in Kano Province, traders in Kano were said to have complained about the tax because it was against native manufactures and the various classes of traders. Therefore, it was abolished in 1907.[373] However, it had done its damage to the economy. Critical to this was "the forceful suppression of the long standing trade across the Sahara"[374], as well as trade with coastal regions that knitted together commercial activities within the Benue valley and beyond.

The Land Revenue Proclamation of 1904 gave the legal sanction to the colonial Government to collect a quarter of the taxes from land produce as well as half of the cattle tax (*jangali).* Consequently, direct taxation of producers, peasants, pastoralists, artisans and labourers in form of land, compound, industrial and labour taxes were imposed. The land tax was called*kurdin-kassa* while the industrial tax included salt tax, canoe tax, fish tax, among others. The colonial authority was very strict over the collection of taxes. They were collected by the Native Authority. Colonial tax was first assessed and collected in Ibi District, in 1903. Jibu was assessed on 4 shilling (4/-) per adult male while Nyankola 4 shilling and 6 pence (4/6) per adult male. Ibi town and its environs were first assessed on 4/-1per adult male in 1904. Wukari District was assessed in 1904 and taxes were collected in kind in form of clothes, salt, cowries and other food items during the reign of Aku Agbumanu II.[375]

[373]F.L. Lugard, Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, p.393.
[374] S. Bello, *op.cit*, p.96.
[375]NAK: SNP 17/K.2441/ Vol. 1/ Jukouns of Wukari: History and Anthropological Notes: Notes on the Chiefs by Edward H.O. Keates, A.D.O., I/C Ibi Division, Wukari District, October, 1921.

However, the above taxes were grouped into General Tax, in 1911, following the argument of some colonial officers that the taxes were numerous. Their argument was not for the benefit of the peasants but they were looking for a more efficient way through which the people could be exploited. These taxes made heavy demands on the taxpayers because they were heavily imposed. Beside their high nature, their assessment figures continued to rise steadily. For example, for the first two decades of colonial occupation the tax assessment figures in Wukari District continued to increase.See the table below:

**Table 5.1: Tax Assessment Figures for Wukari District, Ibi Division, 1904-1913.**

| Financial Year | Tax Assessment Figures |
|---|---|
| 1904-1905 | 500 black cloths |
| 1905-1906 | £306.18.6 |
| 1909-1907 | £347.12.0 |
| 1910-1911 | £480.14.0 |
| 1911-1912 | £474.8.0 |
| 1912-1913 | £790 |

Source: NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1, Assessment Report, Wukari District, by A.E. Churcher, 1913.

From the table, tax assessment for 1905/1906 financial year was £306.18.6, but four years later the aggregate tax for the same District assessed by Mr. Holme was £347.12.0 and was paid. The increase was about 12 per cent. The assessment continued to rise throughout the first three decades of colonial domination. The continuous rise in taxes and the compulsion in payment forced the people to produce export crops so as to pay these taxes. Hence, industrial labour began to dwindle.

Furthermore, there was discrepancy in industrial and land taxes in the first two decades of colonial domination in the area of study. This was an indication of the effort of the colonial State in crippling the handicraft and mining industries that were fundamental to the pre-

existing economy. In 1913, in Wukari and Ibi Districts, for instance, each household was assessed on 3/- to 17/- according to the situation and the size of the farms of the household, practically an average of 10% of staple crops and 5% of livestock (not cattle) together with an extra cost of 1/- as a household rent. But the industrialists were assessed on 10/- to 35/- according to the kind and size of the industry and its proximity to the market. The industry that was heavily taxed was textile because it was the highest income earning industry, especially in Wukari. Most of its production processes were carried out by the Abakwariga who stayed in Wukari City. A producer could pay up to 35/- as tax apart from paying 1/- as compound tax. In the salt mining industry, tax was relatively lower but still higher than tax on agricultural compounds, that is, land tax or *kurdin kassa*, because the industrialists paid 7/- to 18/- tax higher than the peasants. In addition to that, salt miners paid double taxes because they were taxed for producing salt in the dry season and equally taxed for producing crops in the wet season. So, most of them had to reduce production of salt to just household consumption and chose to embark on export crop production to avoid paying double taxes.[376]

Colonial tax was assessed per individual adult male unlike what was obtained in the pre-colonial Wukari where a household, represented by the head of the house, paid for everyone. So, a household could end up paying several times what it had previously paid. There was no exception even in times of locust attack in the area where several crops were destroyed and there was poor harvest.[377]

It should be noted that the payment of taxes was made compulsory in British currency in 1907. The insistence on cash payment of taxes in British currency rather than in kind or any

[376] See NAK: SNP10/686p/1913, Muri Province, Ibi Division, Wukari District. Assessment Report, *op.cit.*
[377] *Ibid.*

local currency subjugated the indigenous merchants to the colonial companies because they (indigenous merchants)came to serve as intermediaries. They purchased goods from the peasants for the trading companies. They also collected currencies from the companies and distributedthem to the peasants.This forced the people to produce export crops so that they could sell and get the British currency to pay taxes. It also made labour available for the colonialists since people who were involved in industrial production were forced to go to the Jos mines to work for colonial currency. Some served as porters for the colonialists and the trading companies to the stations at Ibi and Donga. Others went to the construction sites as far as Makurdi to work for low wages to pay taxes. The household was affected because the men left leaving the burden of fending for the household to the women.[378]

### 5.1.2. Colonial Currency

The British colonialists needed to collect taxes in British currency. They tried by all means to undermine the existing local currencies that were used in the colonies. They did this by gradually removing the pre-colonial currencies that were in circulation in the local markets. These included cowries, Maria Theresa dollars, native salt, *akita* and German marks. There were other local items that were used as legal tender such as shea nuts, hoes, *et ceterar.*[379]

The colonialists began by redeeming the local commodities to the Northern Nigeria Regiment or sold them in the market places[380]. Others were handed over to the Niger Company for redemption. The cowries collected as taxes were used by the British to flood the markets and tip the exchange parity between this pre-colonial currency and the British

[378] See this effect in NAK: SIMPLE LIST, Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report No. 18 and Returns, 1934 by J.M.
Smallwood, A.D.O.
[379] NAK: SNP10/283P/1918/ Muri Province, Ibi Division, Ibi District: Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd, 1919.
[380]M.M. Tukur, *op.cit,* pp. 746-747.

currency in favour of the latter in an effort to hasten the ouster of the cowry. The Maria Theresa dollars were accepted mainly in order to withdraw them from circulation and give the British shilling an enhanced prestige and it was for roughly the same reason that the German Marks were at first accepted,whereas the dollars were not redeemed by any country, the Mark was in fact redeemed by the German Colonial Bank in Berlin[381].

In order to establish their currency as the country's standard currency, the British assessed taxes in terms of British money, right from the time of the imposition of British taxation. They also used this policy to get the people to come and work for them for their money, not just for the colonial administration but also for the commercial and mining firms. Thus, their effort to establish their currency as the sole medium for the payment of taxes should be seen as just an aspect of their attempt to subvert whatever residual autonomy the indigenous economy had retained by the end of the nineteenth century. It was their effort to take over complete control of the indigenous economy.

There were certain obstacles to the introduction of British currency in the area. They were head-bent on clearing these obstacles so as to set a competition-free market for the British currency. One of such obstacles was the foreign non-British currencies like the Maria Theresa dollar and the German Mark. The Maria Theresa dollar was entrenched in Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Takum. It was introduced by the Royal Niger Company in the pre-colonial time. The German Mark was already a legal tender in the Kentu Area and among the Southern Kuteb as well as Kashimbila Area of Takum District. Hence, at the early stage of British taxation, they found it necessary to accept it for tax payments by the people. Beside, accepting it in payment for taxes was the surest way of gathering it in and ousting it

[381] *Ibid*, p.748.

as a currency. Another obstacle was the local currencies such as salt and cowry. Cowry was dominant in the Middle Benue valley as standard of exchange in the pre-colonial period. To oust it was to buy off all the cowries in the market and reduce its exchange rate in relation to the British currency. Reducing the exchange rate was to make the traders lose in their adventure and eventually turn to the use of British money.

The British continued to pump in more British coins in the area and further introduced small coins, such as pennies and half-pennies. This was to hasten the establishment of the British currency as the standard currency of the country and by that token put the entire population and its economy effectively at the disposal of the British. They also used the colonial employees to pump their currency into the economy[382].

However, the British found it difficult to undo these currencies mentioned above using the discussed methods. Therefore, they resorted to subjecting the District Heads to paying the British share of the taxes in British currency. This led to a situation of forcing them to collect taxes only in British currency. Thus, the people were forced to go and look for British currency either by producing export crops which were bought only in cash or migrate to the Jos mines to get colonial wages which was paid in British currency. Some went to the railway tracts where they looked for jobs to earn cash to pay their taxes. From 1907 the British currency started to be accepted as a general currency and not just as means of paying taxes. To this effect, the British decided to degrade the foreign currencies. So, they were ordered to be stopped but could be taken for taxation.[383]

[382] *Ibid,* p.754.
[383] S. Bello, *State and Economy in Kano, C.1894 to 1960..... op.cit,* p.39.

### 5.1.3Colonial Labour

Labour is the foundation on which production takes place in the society. Without labour, be it human or mechanical, nature cannot be transformed into goods and services. It is labour that creates wealth. Thus, colonial exploitation could only take place through the exploitation of the labour resources of the colonies. Having secured accumulated capital through plunder and land through conquest, the British went ahead to make policies that would ensure availability of labour at very little or no cost at all. They exploited the labour power of the colonised through various ways: forced labour and wage labour.[384]

Forced labour was one of the most dreaded systems ever introduced by the colonial State. Forced labour was a powerful tool for getting work done. Until the end of the Second World War, forced labour was utilised. Forced labour existed in various forms. It existed in the form of free or unpaid labour.Due to acute shortage of European staff and funds, African chiefs and headmen were used to recruit labour for the construction of public works, such as roads and bridges and for porterage. Hundreds of people were conscripted to work in the construction of these projects.[385] The people involved in this harsh reality were mostly able-bodied men. In the area of study they were involved in road and bridge construction. A few of them, especially the Tiv, were moved to the Jos Mines for work. However, after the Second World War in 1945, restriction was placed on forced labour which can be said to be a sister to slavery, better still,colonial slavery.

Paid or wage labour in itself was not free but exploitative. The people were compelled by the British tax policy to sell their labour for low wage so as to acquire British money to pay tax. As taxes began to increase and payment was to be made only in British currency,

[384]J.O. Agi, "The Development and Impact of British Colonial Rule in the Lowland Division of Plateau Province in Central Nigeria, 1902-1948" , PhD Thesis, Department of History Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2004, p.373.
[385]*Ibid*.

unpaid labour was discouraged by the colonial State to open door for the acquisition of cash for tax payment. By 1945, forced labour was drastically reduced. The colonial State substituted cash payments for work done in the public schemes.[386]

It is important to know that the wages paid to the unskilled labourers were not very remunerative, but people had no option than to work to pay taxes to the colonial State. They worked as road construction labourers and carriers of the British Officers and firms. Their labour was also used in the construction of public buildings, such as Government Rest Houses, Native Court Buildings at Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Takum.[387]

### 5.1.4 Colonial Land Policy

Land is central to any meaningful economic production. The colonialists first took control of this factor of production. The first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, Federick Lugard, enacted two proclamations on land as early as 1902. The first was the Crown Land Proclamation, No. 16, which vested on the High Commissioner and the administration the control of all land previously "administered" by the Royal Niger Company.[388] This proclamation was backed by the Public Land Proclamation which empowered the High Commissioner to take control of all lands not in actual occupation of persons holding title under the laws of the Protectorate or customs. In addition, he had control of lands belonging to rulers either conquered or deposed. Thus, the right to the disposal of land passed from the hands of the native rulers to the High Commissioner and resident colonial officers.[389]

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[386] *Ibid*, pp. 373-374.
[387] See NAK: SIMPLELIST/ Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report, No 18 and Returns, 1937 by Mr. S.A.S. Leslie, D.O, 1937.
[388] A. Adamu, "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria, C.1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1992, p.148.
[389] *Ibid*.

These policies threw out the peasantry from the land and consequently created a kind of "a large class of landless peasantry" which became labour reservoir for colonial production. The policy gave the colonial State control over land which it, in turn, gave over to the colonial expatriates or bourgeoisie to develop large agricultural estates as was done in Kenya. The uprooted peasants were forced to sell their labour cheaply to these estates, as agricultural wage labourers so that they could pay taxes. However, in order to take absolute control of land, the colonial State nationalised all lands in 1910 through the Land and Native Rights Proclamation. This policy placed all lands, whether occupied or unoccupied, under the control of the Governor of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria who is said to have administered the land for the "benefit" of the "natives". This Proclamation became the Native Right Ordinance as amended. From this date no further law was enacted with regards to the control of land.[390]

### 5.1.5 Colonial Agricultural Policy

The colonial economy was an export crop producing economy. Hence, series of policies were geared towards ensuring that the existing pre-colonial production was tactically oriented or forcefully directed towards achieving the colonial goal. Thus, these policies were solely directed at developing and expanding raw material production to the detriment of even food production and other indigenous industries.

The Land Policy seized agricultural lands from the peasants and rendered them as source of labour for colonial production. What to produce, where to produce, how to produce and when to produce became the sole function of the colonialists through their agents. The kind of taxes that were imposed made these peasants to embark on export crop production so as to pay them. The measures that were put in place for the collection of these taxes were

[390] *Ibid*, p. 150.

harsh so that the class of landless peasantry had no option than to be producing for export. The handicraftsmen also had to abandon their local industrial production for export crop production.[391]

In Ibi and Wukari Divisions, the major export crop that was emphasised was benniseed. It was the predominant crop that was produced in Ibi and later Wukari Division throughout the colonial period. The bulk of this crop came from the Tiv Districts in the 1920s and early 1930s. It continued to flourish among the Tiv in Wukari, Donga and Takum Districts even after the 10 Tiv Districts were removed from Wukari Division in 1934. To improve agricultural production an Agricultural Station was established in Yandev, Munshi Division, in 1927, to establish experimental farms in Benue Province. It was also to work on rotation of crops, improve the methods of cultivation of crops, such as benniseed and yam, and improve cotton selection and the means of combating yam beetle. The Agricultural Station extended its programme to Wukari Division. In 1945, an Extension work by the Native Administration Staff was developed for rice production in Donga District and Groundnut in Wukari District. Donga town and its environs were the chief rice producing areas in the whole of Benue Province.[392]

Wukari Division was known for its food production, especially sorghum and rice as from 1927. Despite the constant locust attack on food crops, the Division was able to produce enough for export in 1929 so much that excess was stored as a result of low demand of food stuff and the rest sold at low prices.[393] During the period 1925-1927, famine is said to have hit hardthe Munshi Division of Benue Province and, therefore, the bulk of food production

[391] See for details NAK: SIMPLE LIST, WUKARI DIVISION/248/ Wukari Division, Annual Report, No. 18 and
Returns, 1934, by Mr. J.M. Smallwood, Assistant District Officer, Wukari Division.
[392] NAK: MAKPROF/20/21/3765, Annual Report, Benue Province, 1945 by Wilson, Resident.
[393] NAK:MAKPROF/ 2343, *op.cit*

fell on Wukari Division. Food products became the dominant agricultural produce in the Division in the 1930s and also throughout the Second World War Years, 1939-1945. However, after the War, attention was fully turned to export crop production. Benniseed cultivation became dominant again and the prices of food products began to fall drastically, discouraging production.[394]

**5.2 British Colonial Commercial Enterprise, 1904-1960**

It has been stressed earlier that the European Trading Companies were instrumental to the conquest and domination of the area of study. The company, whose charter was revoked in 1899, was instrumental to the colonial subjugation of the area that came to form Ibi Division and later Wukari Division. When its chatter was revoked, the company was relieved of its administrative responsibilities. It focused on its main duty of exploiting mineral resources and expatriating same on the interest of Great Britain. The colonial State assumed direct administrative duties and emanated policies in favour of British based companies. As a result of the change in duty, the Royal Niger Company changed its name to the Niger Company.[395]

The colonial State and the Niger Company collaborated for the full exploitation of the resources of Nigeria. It gave the company privileges, such as granting it financial compensation and monopoly of trade and trading rights in the colony. It also provided the platform through which the company could monopolise all commercial activities within the colony. It promoted and protected the interest of the company, but worked against the

[394] See details in the following archival records NAK: MAPROF/931/1945: Annual Report Wukari Division. NAK: MAPROF/1036/1946: Annual Report Wukari Division. NAK: MAPROF/1271/1949: Annual Report Wukari Division. NAK: MAPROF/834A/1946-52, Mandated (Kentu) Area, Wukari Division: Tigon District.

[395] A.M. Modibbo, "The Colonial State and the European Trading Companies in Northern Nigeria c.1900-1919", *History Research in ABU,* Vol.3, 1978, p.6.

interest of the indigenous enterprises. It did this through the provision of transport and communication facilities, effective security and other fiscal policies that made labour easily available to the company. With these privileges, the company continued to grow to its zenith of commercial enterprise.[396]

Given the required protection, the Niger Company was set to act out the process of outright exploitation and disintegration of the local economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. In the first two decades of colonial domination, the company began to upset the pre-existing mode of production and gradually incorporate it into a capitalist mode. D.C. Dorward argues that the company was fixing prices of agricultural commodities in the whole of Muri and Munshi Provinces, especially that of benniseed. It conditioned peasants in the area to produce same product through the help of the colonial State.[397]

The period after the First World War saw a world-wide economic boom, especially between 1919 and 1920.[398] This period attracted other European trading companies into the trade in African Produce. John Holt & Co and C.F.A.O. became competitors of Niger Company in Ibi Division. As a result Niger Company merged with the Lever Brothers to become the subsidiary of the latter.[399] Consequently, Niger Company had much capital for trade. It used its financial strength to fight its rival firms. In March 1929, it merged together with its rival, the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, the second largest European trading company in Nigeria operating in Southern Nigeria, to form the United African Company to garner

[396] A.M. Modibbo, *History of the Activities of Royal Niger Company and United African Company in Northern Nigeria and Other Essays: A Political Economy Perspective*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 2016, p. 32.
[397] D.C. Dorward, "An Unknown Nigerian Export: Tiv Benniseed Production", *Journal of African History,* Vol. xvi, 1975, p 440.
[398] *Ibid*.
[399] A.M. Modibbo, *History of the Activities of Royal Niger Company…, op.cit,* p. 61.

financial resources to sustain the hardship of the Great Depression.[400]Henceforth, the UAC began trade competition with its rivals to assert monopoly of trade in the newly created Wukari Division.

However, John Holt & Co limited continued to rival UAC in African produce in Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Takum.The former had its stations in the places we mentioned above. It also had its buying agents who buying and storing benniseed for her. This company was becoming so popular in Wukari Division that through its agents, it worked hard to outdo the influence of UAC in the area.[401] But due to the backing of the colonial State that UAC had, it was able to manipulate the prices of agricultural products to its favour. It also used its financial strength to 'buy over' most of the agents of John Holt at the trading stations, especially Ibi. Its agents were everywhere, buying from the peasants. Therefore, on the eve of the Second World War, that is, in 1937/1938, the UAC had pushed out its rivals from the benniseed business in Wukari Division. In fact, Modibbo reveals that as from 1939 onward, the company became the sole exporter of African produce in Nigeria.[402] This monopolistic position made it a strong determinant in the economy of the colony. The advantage of its monopoly was that. It was in the position of fixing prices for commodities. It sometimes increased prices to encourage farmers to produce more benniseed and at other times it reduced prices when it felt farmers had no option than to produce at low prices. This situation was prevalent during the Great Depression even before other rival companies were evicted.

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[400]*Ibid,* p. 62. This UAC is different from the one that operated in the pre-colonial period. (See discussion in Chapter Three on the Penetration of European Capital). This company existed from 1929 till date. It is a major multi-national corporation in Nigeria.

[401]Oral interview with Elder S.B. Manga, 76 years, retired civil servant, at his residence in Wukari, on 10th September, 2018.

[402]A.M. Modibbo, *op.cit*,p. 64.

As a single exporter of African produce, especially benniseed, it gained enormously. But, just as observed by Modibbo, it discouraged the colonial authority from intervening in the improvement in the wellbeing of the people and physical development of Northern Nigeria in general and Wukari Division, in particular. Its point of argument was that Nigeria was not ready for development. To them, the people were best at producing raw materials and that anything other than that would not be good for the British colonialists.[403] But one of the colonial officers in Wukari Division, Smallwood, while commenting on the causes of resistance to colonial economic policies and the activities of the trading company in Wukari Division in 1939, pointed out that the reason for the people's action was because of impoverishment. He suggested that any improvement in their wellbeing would suffice.[404]

The attitude of the UAC on development and improvement of the standard of living of the people in Ibi and Wukari Divisions was discouraging. Apart from the rickety warehouses of the company one can see in Ibi, Donga, Wukari and Takum, there was nothing the company did to develop even Ibi where its station remained throughout the colonial period. For the good twenty-three (23) years that the British colonial administrative machinery was located in Ibi, nothing can be seen as a monument for such historic epoch apart from the office of the Division Officer, which included his residential buildings that are standing on the bank of the Benue River.[405]

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the impact of British commercial enterprise on the local economy in the area of study is enormous. The British colonialists needed benniseed and other agricultural produce. Therefore, they needed to redirect production towards

[403] *Op.cit*, p. 65.
[404] See NAK: SIMPLELIST: 682/Half yearly and Annual Reports, 1939, Wukari Division, by R.L.A. Underwood, Divisional Officer. See details on this in our discussion on the Nyambuan Movement.
[405] The Researcher's experience on fieldwork.

agriculture. The pre-existing dominant mining and textile industries would pose threat to them. The salt and galena mining industries would be serious competitors of labour while the dominant textile industry would be a competitor of raw materials, that is, cotton. Thus, there was conscious effort, through legislations and other means to outwit them. This attempt disorganised the nature and process of the pre-existing economy we have examined in chapter three above.

There was legislation that prohibited the purchase of local cotton by indigenous textile producers. It really affected the Jukun and Tiv cloth producers. This group of people who had to pay tax chose farming benniseed as the best option. Even though there were few local cloths produced but the output was really decreased. The imported European salt flooded Ibi and Wukari markets and was sold at lower prices to compete with the local Akwana salt. Even at that, the people continued to prefer the local salt to the cheap imported European salt.[406]Hence, the company influenced the colonial authority to promulgate a policy against the consumption of non-iodised salt, local salt. This was a serious crackdown on the salt industry.

The agricultural and industrial sectors of the pre-existing local economy were delinked. A new form of production and social relations emerged. Industrial labour was turned to a new class of peasant labour which were concentrated on benniseed production. The peasants' condition was not improved either. They were impoverished. Once independent peasants could no longer produce what they consumed but what the trading companies wanted. The trading companies became the "life-wire" of the economy and greatly intensified avenues of exploitation. The total subordination of the productive sector of the local economy laid the

[406]Mr Jibrin Amfani, *op.cit*, Mallam Kunama Dankano, *op.cit*, all posit that Akwana salt was and is still the best salt. That they still consume it instead of the iodizes table salt.

foundation of a dependent economy. The British colonial enterprise, therefore, violently ended the indigenous economic system and relations of production.

### 5.3 The Colonial Economy and World Events, 1914-1945

#### 5.3.1 The First World War, 1914-1919

The period of the First World War, 1914-1919, marked a phase in the colonial economy of Ibi Division which later became Wukari Division. It was the period when the world capitalist countries entered into conflict as a result of the contradictions that engulfed capitalism in their quest to acquire sources of raw materials and markets for home industries. Though the war was European Imperial War, it had impact on the economies of the colonies which they have conquered and occupied because the developments that emanated from the war forced them to modify old or adopt new policies that would enhance their exploitation of both human and material resources of the colonies.[407]

On the 5th of August, 1914, the news of the outbreak of the War was received in Muri Province.The Germans established some military posts in Bamenda District of the German Kamerun. One was at Kentu (Bissaulla) where Ibi Division, Muri Province, under the British, bordered the German Bamenda District around Takum District. Another German military post was in Gaiama (Gayama) at the border of Donga District. These posts were made up of about 100 men to tackle the British in Muri Province, specifically, Ibi Division. In response, the British Colonial authority in Muri Province established itsmilitary posts which consistedof about 78 men. In Ibi Division, particularly, two military posts were established to counter German attacks. A post was established in Kashimbila, Takum District, under Lt.-Commander B.E.M. Waters, R.N., D.O. Another post was established in Takum, the headquarter of Takum District, with a police force of 57 under the command of

[407]See M.S. Abdulkadir, *op.cit*, p. 168.

A.E. Churcher, D.O. Churcher, established himself here and surrounded the town with a chain of small blockhouses to protect the District from German soldiers.[408]

On 17th September, 1914, the German force, numbering 70 soldiers, attacked Takum with a machine gun with the aim of advancing to Ibi, the Provincial headquarters but were defeated. But a European officer and six (6) Africans died on the side of the British. Hence, the British force withdrew to Chanchanji and the Germans to Kentu (Bissaulla) that night.J.M Fremantle, the Resident of Muri Province,prepared to withdraw Ibi station because of German threat but changed his mind when he got the news that the Germans had been defeated by the British force in Takum.Consequently, a military column was formed at Ibi with about 500 men and two maxim guns under the command of Major Mann in October, 1914. This was meant to reinforce the force in the Province to protect it and support other military outposts mentioned above.[409]

After Major Mann had succeeded in warding off German threats in Bakundi District and Mutum-Biyu, he joined force with Captain Parr who wasin Takum to occupy Kentu Area, particularly, Bissaula, in September, 1915, after a small engagement at Talau. From here, Mann proceeded to Ibi to organise the move on Banyo, Bamenda Area of German Kamerun.General Cunliffe commenced the move on Banyo in October. Banyo was reached two days later and Banyo hill was taken by assault on 6th November, 1915, after severe fight lasting three days and nights. A British officer was killed. Fifty(50) to (60) soldiers were wounded and the Commander of the German armed force was killed while ten (10) of them

[408] J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*, pp. 12-13.
[409] *Ibid*, p. 14.

surrendered. This marked the end of the War in Muri Province and Ibi Division, in particular.[410]

The War ended in the area on the 6th of November but its impacts on the economy was enormous. The Native Treasury of Muri Province in Jalingo contributed £800 as war expenses in 1915. In 1916, even though the war had ended in the Province, another £500 was taken from the treasury for the war. In fact, £100 was also paid for war relief of disabled Nigerian troops that same year.[411] The demand on the Native Treasury to contribute to the War impacted on other areas of the economy such as commerce, agriculture and industry. Commercial activities were heightened to "bring" money to the hands of the people to pay tax. At the beginning of the War, prices of agricultural produce especially, benniseed, fell, but were later raised to encourage people to farm and earn tax money. These prices continued to be manipulated for the benefit of the European trading companies. This was the situation throughout the War years.

From the year 1911, the prices for agricultural produce in the area of study began to increase as a result of the entrance of the colonial State in the colonial commerce. The crop that received much attention was benniseed though other sylvan products, like the shea butter and locust bean, were patronised by the Niger Company as export crops at Ibi. The Niger Company increased the price paid per ton for benniseed by 40%. Thus, from 1911 to 1914 its price continued to rise as against the period before 1911. The table below provides a comparative figure of the station and actual price of benniseed before the period of the war.

[410] *Ibid*,p. 15.
[411] *Ibid*, p. 16.

**Table 5.2: Prices of Benniseed per ton before the First World War in Ibi Division, 1905-1914**

| Year | Station cost (£) per ton | Actual cost (£) per ton |
|---|---|---|
| 1905 | 5.13.3 | 3.16.7 |
| 1908 | 5.17.5 | 3.18.3 |
| 1911 | 5.17.1 | 3.18.2 |
| 1912 | 6.7.1 | 4.4.11 |
| 1913 | 7.8.0 | 6.0.9 |
| 1914 | 7.15.0 | 6.15.0 |

Source: D.C. Dorward, "An Unknown Nigerian Export: Tiv Benniseed Production", in *Journal of African History*, Vol. xvi, 1975, pp.435 and 439.

Thus, benniseed export increased in the area of study. For example, Ibi Division, which was known for benniseed production also witnessed an increase in the purchase of 357 tons, in 1912, to 1,106 tons, in 1913 and about 2, 000 tons, in 1914.[412]

However, as the War started, the price of benniseed began to fall and exports during the war years were extremely erratic. During the early months of the War, the Niger Company refused first to purchase and then to pay cash for benniseed.[413] The agent of the Company, Joseph Trigge, informed a local agent in 1915 that:

> Today we are faced with heavy war insurance premiums, 15 per cent increase in freight, heavy charges at the ports and great uncertainty as to shipment. Thus we can only buy produce with any hope of profit by buying it cheaply and allowing a very wide margin. Therefore you must impress

[412] Though these figures represent that of the transaction in the Benue as recorded by D.C. Dorward , *op.cit*, p. 441, it also include that of Ibi Division since the bulk of the crop came from the Division, especially among the Tiv.
[413] See NAK: SNP10/198p/ 1915, Half Yearly Report, Muri Province by J.M. Fremantle.

> upon the pagans the fact that reduced prices have come to stay.[414]

The company was paying as little as £4.10 per ton, for benniseed, while selling the crop for £18 per ton in Marseilles, France.[415] Consequently, the peasants withheld their benniseed. Due to the fall in price of benniseed, in 1915 and the political unrest in the area, in 1916,[416] owing to the peasants' reaction to the fall in purchase price, as well as high taxes, exports fell below 2,000 tons at the end of 1916. The response of the peasants made the Niger Company to abandon the effort to hold down the purchase price, especially of benniseed. Therefore, benniseed price rose to £7 per ton. Consequently, in 1917 and 1918, sales recovered so much that the annual purchase rose to over 2,000 tons. But export was still low due to wartime disruption of shipping and the epidemics of yellow fever and influenza, in 1917 and 1918, respectively. The colonial Government placed the Benue under quarantine.[417]

However, the increase in the cultivation of export crops and their prices would entail increase in individual income, but the corresponding rise in tax rates impacted negatively on the standard of living of the peasants because the cost effect was that they just produced enough to pay tax. The taxes were increased, in 1916 and 1917, in the whole of Muri Province to raise money for war expenses.[418] Aggregate tax increased by 57.5% and the incidence of tax increased from 3/1 to 4/0.5. Tax rate rose from 3/- per adult male to 8/-, especially in Donga District of Ibi Division.[419] Furthermore, imported goods at the company

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[414]Trigge to Agent I/c Nassarawa District, 26 January, 1915, MSS Afr. S99, Rhodes House. Cited in D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p. 440.
[415]See NAK: SNP10/671p/ 1916, Quarterly Report, Muri Province by J.M. Fremantle.
[416]These political unrests included the Montol Revolt and The Mairigan Karfi Revolt of 1916 (See the discussion below). Montol Revolt was in Tshendam Division but was in the Province and was jointly administered with Ibi Division.So it had influence on Mairiga Revolt.
[417]D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p. 441.
[418]See NAK: SNP10/95p/1917, Muri Province, Annual Report, 1916 by J.M. Fremantle.
[419]*Ibid*.

factories had been limited in quality and quantity and their prices were increasingly higher than the purchase price for benniseed. This was due to strict excise or custom duties in wartime.[420]

After the War and especially between 1919 and 1920, there was a World-wide post war economic boom, especially in trade. The producers and the trading companies seemed to have benefited from this boom. All the political officers in Muri Province reported that there was increase in the area under cultivation.[421] Prices of export crops increased. Benniseed price rose from £6.10, in 1918 to £8.10, in 1920.[422] Rice rose from £6, in 1919 to £8 per ton, in 1920.[423] But the peasants were confronted with rapidly increasing prices for imported luxuries at the canteens. In the period between 1918 and 1920, the import price index rose by 47% and the consumer price index rose by 48%. Hence, the rise in income did not lead to correspondent rise in social status as the money got was paid on taxes and the remaining could not buy the imported consumer goods that the farmers were meant to depend on. The beneficiaries of the immediate post war boom were the trading firms which enjoyed high commodity prices. Thus, the firms expanded their trading activities, while the export sector improved with a rise in prices.[424]

The period from 1921 to 1922 witnessed a severe slump in the economy as a result of a dramatic collapse of export prices, as well as a decline in the export value. There was a decline in the quantity of imported goods. Import duties were imposed. Cultivation of export crops was reduced. Prices of export goods remained stable while those of imported goods increased. However, this period was short-lived. From 1924 to 1928, there was an

[420]D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p. 442.
[421]NAK: SNP10/7p/1920, Muri Province, Annual Report, 1919, by E.G.M Dupigny, Resident.
[422]D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p.442.
[423]NAK: SNP10/7p/1920, *op.cit*.
[424] NAK: SNP10/7P/1920, Muri Province, Annual Report. Also see D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p.442.

upward turn in the economy. Price of benniseed went up to £9 per ton, thereby encouraging production. But, taxes were increased. The economy was deflated as consumer potential was withdrawn in taxes. Individual producers were subjected to increased financial demands from their compound heads, thus dampening incentive and this, in combination with a local famine in 1926, contributed to a fall in export sales.[425] But from 1927 to 1928 both import and consumer prices indexes remained relatively stable. Tax remained stable. The standard of living was relatively better.[426]

### 5.3.2 The Great World-Wide Economic Depression, 1929-1939

The period from 1929 to 1939 was characterised, world-wide, by the Great Economic Depression. This was another economic crisis that hit the economies of the capitalist countries. The Great Depression emanated from the financial centre of Wall Street in America, in October, 1929 and spread to Europe. It had drastic effects on the colonies. It was characterised by falling prices of commodities partly as a result of very low demand. The spiral effect was huge unemployment rates, closure of industries and a liquidity crunch. The Economic Depression was a World-wide catastrophe which affected the international economy as a whole.[427] It affected both the developed countries and the colonial economies and societies. The effect of the Depression on the colonised developing World was largely the result of it being embroiled in the capitalist World. The African colonies had been developed as suppliers of largely primary products for the capitalist World. The decline in demand for products in both the metropoles and the colonies was bound to cause serious

[425] NAK: SNP17/9138/Vol.1, Annual Report, Benue Province, by Mr G.L. Monk, Resident, Benue Province, 1928.
[426] NAK: SNP17/9138/Vol.1, *ibid* and D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p.444.
[427] W. Ochsen and S. N. Fisher, *The Middle East: A History…… op.cit*, p. 424.

ramifications on the colonial economies that had been modelled to depend on the West for its markets.[428]

Generally, the Depression presented a tough time to the colonial economies and it forced the colonial authority to implement measures which were meant to solve the problem of the Depression. These measures brought untold suffering on the population of the colonies. In Wukari Division, there was a rapid growth of agricultural production, while prices dropped very rapidly. For example, the purchase price of benniseed, which was as high as £9 per ton, in 1929, dropped to as low as £5 per ton, in 1930.[429] Yet in response to Government propaganda and in anticipation of a return to better prices, 1930 was bumper year and, despite the low prices, sales during 1930/1931 were a record high. However, when low purchasing prices continued into 1931, sales declined, forcing the trading firms to increase their purchase price to £6 per ton. At the end of 1931, the United Africa Company and John Holt jointly fixed benniseed price at £5. This continued to decline to as low as £3.05 in the early part of 1934/1935 buying season. The details are shown on the table below.

[428] U. Kufakurinani and H. Koke**,** "A Comparative Analysis of the African Experience of the Great Depression and the Second World War", www.greatdepression.com/nng.cg. p.4. Retrieved on 10th September, 2016.
[429]NAK: MAKPROF/1233/ Wukari Division: Annual Reports, No. 14 and Returns, 1932 by Captain H.S. Bredel, D.O.

**Table 5.3: Purchase Prices of Benniseed in Wukari Division during the Depression, 1929-1934**

| Year | Station Price Per Ton(£) |
|---|---|
| 1929 | 9 |
| 1930 | 5 |
| 1931 | 6 |
| 1932 | 5 |
| 1933 | 3.10 |
| 1934 | 3.05 |

**Source**: NAK: SNP17/1670/ Vol.I, Benue Province, Annual Report, 1931. NAK: SIMPLELIST, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1932. NAK: SIMPLELIST, 248, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1933. NAK: SIMPLELIST, 248, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1934; and D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, pp. 446-447.

The continuous fall in prices of export goods did not lead to fall in the quantity of benniseed except in 1931 and 1934 when prices were low that it discouraged production. In 1931, the output fell to 6,133 tons as against 9,000 tons in 1929 and 1930, respectively. With the appreciation of the price at the end of 1931, export increased to 11,000 tons in 1932 and 1933, but fell to 10,500 tons in 1934. During the period, 1931-1934, the trading firms made tremendous gain because as purchase price of benniseed was falling, Liverpool price continued to rise. When benniseed was bought at £3.5.0 per ton at Ibi and Donga in 1934, Liverpool price was more than £11 and rose to £15. The trading firms, therefore, made excess profit. In fact, taxes were further increased by 2d per adult male in the Division. Thus, benniseed was produced enough just to pay taxes.[430] The table below demonstrates the relationship between price and the quantity of benniseed supplied in a year during the Depression.

[430]NAK: SNP17/23593/ Benue Province, Annual Report, by E.S. Pembleton Esquire, Resident, 1934.

**Table 5.4: Price and Quantity of Benniseed produced during the Great Depression, in Wukari Division, 1929-1934.**

| Year | Price of Benniseed Per Ton (£) | Quantity of Benniseed Produced in Tons |
|---|---|---|
| 1929 | 9 | 9,000 |
| 1930 | 5 | 9,000 |
| 1931 | 6 | 6,133 |
| 1932 | 5 | 11,000 |
| 1933 | 3.10 | 11,000 |
| 1934 | 3.05 | 10,500 |

**Source**: NAK: SNP17/1670/ Vol.I, Benue Province, Annual Report, 1931. NAK: SIMPLELIST, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1932. NAK: SIMPLELIST, 248, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1933. NAK: SIMPLELIST, 248, Wukari Division, Annual Reports, 1934; and D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, pp. 446-447.

The table above shows that the relationship between the price and quantity of benniseed supplied was fairly elastic. We can see that a wide change in price had little to do with the quantity supplied. This is not in line with the ideal of market forces propagated by capitalists which entails that a decrease in price will reduce supply. However, in a controlled economy, like that of colonial Wukari Division, this law was not applicable. Price was not a constant in the supply of benniseed. What were constant were colonial policies and control achieved through the trading firms.

Food crops were cultivated in great quantity, but were left to waste. In 1925 and 1926, Wukari Division was known for its ability to produce food crops for Idoma and Munshi

Divisions during the famine of 1925 and 1926. Therefore, in the depression era, food production was emphasised but their prices were equally low. Their purchases also fell and food became so abundant in Wukari Division, especially in 1934, that much food was stored in barns as ordered by the Divisional Officer, Mr S.A.S Leslie.[431]

In 1935, trade conditions improved as the monopoly of British trading firms over commerce was broken with the entry of Denmark and Germany in the market, thereby, forcing up the purchasing price of the major export crop in Wukari Division to £8 in 1936 against the price of £3.5.0, in 1934.[432] Its cultivation increased by as much as 25%. Sales increased. Commerce became elaborate. Demand for labour on Jos mines and at Ibi station to load boats became high as labour was turned to benniseed cultivation. Expendable income rose and the peasants were able to buy bicycles for the first time. Attention was concentrated on imported textiles to the detriment of local ones.[433] Unfortunately, the actual trade boom was short-lived. Purchase prices fell to £6, in 1937 and again to £4, in 1938, following the withdrawal of Compagnie Francaise d'Afrique Occidentale (C.F.A.O.) as well as Denmark and Germany from the benniseed trade. This persisted to the Second World War year, 1939.[434]

The period of the Great Economic Depression, as demonstrated above, was indeed a hard time for the people in Wukari Division. Though the production of agricultural produce remained relatively high, their prices, especially export crop like benniseed and food crops, like sorghum and rice, continued to fall. Therefore, the peasants' income was not enough to

[431] *Ibid*.
[432] NAK: MAPROF/248/14018/ 1934-35, Wukari Division Annual Report.
[433] NAK: SIMPLELIST/ Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report, No 18 and Returns, 1937 by Mr. S.A.S. Leslie, D.O, 1937.
[434] *Ibid*.

even pay the ever-increasing colonial taxes and to purchase imported manufactured goods which they had come to depend on. These imported manufactured goods were relatively expensive. The intermittent commercial boom was not long enough. Beside, each boom came with a corresponding rise in tax rate, thereby reducing the peoples' purchasing power. Those that were working in the mines, railway tracks construction sites and with the British colonial authority as well as the European trading firms, were retrenched. Roads and railway construction came to a virtual halt and the opportunities to earn money ceased as did opportunities to sell foodstuffs to labourers. This condition persisted during the Second World War era. Consequently, it strained human relations and forced the people to react against British colonial policies, which resulted in the Nyambuan Revolt of 1939 in Tiv and Wukari Divisions of Benue Province.[435]

### 5.3.3 The Second World War, 1939-1945.

At the time when the colonies were just struggling to survive the pains of the Economic Depression, the Second World War broke out. The colonial economy again was plunged into another crisis. The colonised were again faced with another challenge: they were to carry their burden and also that of the colonialists. It is no doubt that the Second World War was a great war which drained the capitalists their human and natural resources. They depended largely on the colonies to solve the needs of the war. Therefore, colonial economic policies were modified and taxes increased to force the people to produce, especially food, for colonial troops. Prices of agricultural goods remained low and stabled, income was reduced.

[435]See discussion on this movement under "Responses to Colonial Economic Policies".

The impact of the war on agricultural production was glaring. With the outbreak of the war, Great Britain, which had been a very irregular importer of benniseed, began to absorb the entire export crop. Moreover, wartime propaganda and appeals for higher productivity were sweetened by a guaranteed purchase price of £7 per ton. The fixed purchase price was in reality rapidly eroded by the rising cost of living. The import price and consumer price indexes doubled between 1939 and 1944. Though money was at the disposal of the peasants, there were few imported consumer goods on which they could spend it. Thus, the few goods available were too expensive to buy. Another development was that attention was turned to the purchase of groundnuts. To force the people to produce groundnuts, its price was increased, in 1943/1944, from £6.10.0 to £9 per ton and then to £12 per ton, in 1944/1945. This was to the disadvantage of benniseed which was already the major export crop of the Division whose, price fell to £5, in 1942, but rose to £7 average price, in 1943. The price remained so throughout the war years. The peasants were aggrieved by this development, especially the Tiv farmers who were the main producers of benniseed. Consequently, as each year passed, benniseed acreage and sales shrank.[436]

The prices of food crops rose throughout the war years. Thus, food crop production attracted more labour. Labour, however, was minimal because the bulk of Tiv youth were conscripted into the colonial army and about 400 of them died in the battle of Burma. Local industrial production was encouraged. Local salt and woven cloths flooded the local markets.[437]

In 1947, the price of benniseed was raised to £15 per ton, bringing it into line with groundnuts, which was increased to £16 per ton. As from this year, benniseed cultivation

[436]D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p. 448.
[437]NAK: MAKPROF/20/21/3522/ Annual Report, Benue Province, 1944 by A.A. Cullen Esquire.

was encouraged. The response to the 1947 price increase marked the beginning of the post-war recovery. The following year, the purchase price was increased still further to £20 and during the next two years both acreage and export production increased. In 1951, purchase price rose to £32 and increased to £36, in 1952. It continued to rise to new heights during the immediate pre-independence period as the purchase price was increased, first to £38 in 1957 and then to £40 per ton in 1958.[438] However, taxation also continued to increase so as to force the peasants to cultivate more of benniseed. Generally, the post-war years were characterised by the influx of European manufactured goods which impacted on the local industries.

### 5.4 Responses to Colonial Economic Policies, 1916 and 1939.

There were several responses to colonial economic policies in the colony. Most prominent among them was withholding payment of taxes until they were discovered and compelled to pay. Some absconded by running into the bush. Others reacted by migrating to other areas of low taxes or where they could acquire jobs to pay these exorbitant taxes. In Ibi and later Wukari Division, there was violent resistance. For example, there were the Mairiga Revolt of 1916 that occurred in Donga District, Ibi Division and the famous Nyambuan Movement of the late 1930s, which engulfed Tiv and Wukari Divisions, Benue Province.[439]

#### 5.4.1 Mairiga Revolt, 1916

The Kentu (Ichen) formed a substantial part of the Chamba Native Administration in Donga District, Ibi Division. Historically, they have been under the domination of the Chamba for a considerable period before the advent of the colonialists. The Ichen groups in Donga

[438]See D.C. Dorward, *op.cit*, p.451.
[439]See NAK: SNP10/633P/1916, Muri Province, Disturbances in Donga District; NAK: SNP10/95p/1917, Muri Province, Annual Report, 1916 by J.M. Fremantle; and NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/P15, Nyambuan Movement, Benue Province by J.S. Synge, D.O., Tiv Division, 1939.

District included the Benye, Ndegwi, Ndawuah, Buban, Envdonoh (Bibinu) and Nukpo. The information obtained from oral sources among these groups do not accepted the Chamba claim of domination over them.[440] But the British accepted Garbosa's view over subordination and forcefully brought them under the Chamba administration in Donga, in 1908.[441] The people felt exploited. Taxes are said to have been excessively imposed and forcefully collected.[442] There were situations whereby household heads were publicly flogged and detained in the Native Court in Donga for allegedly evading tax payment. In fact, an Ichen man, a farmer, from Nyivu, Donga District,[443] was said to have migrated to Manya, Takum District, where he thought he could avoid such embarrassment since the District Head of Takum was considerably mild in his tax collection.[444]Sometimes, community leaders who seemed to be considerate and would not want to collect taxes as prompt as required by the District Head, were punished on behalf of the "culprits". For example, one Mallam Danbeki Twajwa, the *Mai Angwa* or Village Head of Tudun-Wada, was publicly given forty lashes of cane on his bare buttocks right before the eyes of the villagers.[445] This was actually embarrassing. The Ichen group in Donga District felt subordinated by Chamba dominated Donga Native Authority. The abuses stated above made the people to detest the colonisers and their collaborators.

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[440]Oral interview with Mallam Ahmed Shishi Sambo, Civil Servant, 68 years at Mararraba on 5th June, 2012. Same discussion was done with Mallam Sani Bello and Mr Yusuf Magaji, *op.cit*. Their claim is that the Chamba became prominent in the area during the colonial era but before this period which was due to their "folly". The folly they played was allowing the Chamba to have access to the British fearing that the British would enslave them. In fact, they posited that when the British demanded to train their children academically, they declined for the fear of enslavement. And that it was through this the Chamba became prominent and dominated them. However, this point does not correspond with the written sources especially those of the colonialists.

[441] NAK: SNP17, 24678, Intelligence Report on Donga District of the Wukari Division-Benue Province, By Mr. M.C. Cole, 1936.

[442] NAK: SNP10/633P/1916, Muri Province, Disturbances in Donga District, *op.cit*.

[443]The name of this person is not stated by the source. However, oral information has it that one Manya crossed the Donga River across to Manya. This may probably be the person referred to here.

[444] I.M. Innocent, *The Epitome of Peace: Life and Times of Ukwe Ali Ibrahim Kuffang Zarto II, 15th UkweTakum (1963-1996)*. Midland Press Ltd., Jos, 2002.

[445]Group discussion with Mallam Sani D. Bello and Mr. Yusuf Magaji, *op.cit*.

There was a kind of Ichen nationalist struggle against the exploitation in Donga District. In October, 1916, a famous Ichen warrior generally known as *Mairigan Karfe* (meaning the user of iron jacket) marched against the District Native Administration headquarters in Donga from Nukpo, probably Bibinu, to take over Chamba aristocracy. He was referred to as the "invulnerable one"[446] by the colonial officers. His was called Ndafwa in Ichen. Ndafwa, *Mairigan Karfe*, is said to have been taken to a river by spirit and was given a spiritual power. This made him powerful and unconquerable. People all over came to him to receive spiritual power. When the Chamba Native Authority became exploitative, he mobilised his men to challenge the status quo. He first of all attacked and defeated Suntai and the surrounding villages of Donga. After that he moved to Donga and attacked it. He was wounded and then retreated back to Nukpo.[447] However, the colonial officer in Ibi, the Resident of Muri Province, J.M. Fremantle, went up to Nukpo and got him arrested in 1917 and he was executed on Mount Nukpo by hanging.[448] Oral sources attest that he was hung but did not die until after about twelve hours.[449]

Years after his death, he is still celebrated as a famous Ichen nationalist who fought against colonial exploitative economic policies. The mountain on which he was executed is named after him in Ichen language namely, *Whii Mo Mairiga* or *Whii Mo Ndafwa* (Mairiga's or Ndafwa's mountain). The explanation to his action was the harsh measures adopted by the colonialists in the collection of taxes even in war time economy. This was the period of the

[446] NAK: SNP10/510/1917, Muri Province, Donga District, Re-assessment Report by Mr. C.E. Boyd, 1917.
[447] Group discussion with Mallam Sani D. Bello and Mr. Yusuf Magaji, *op.cit*.
[448] NAK: SNP10/510/1917, Muri Province, Donga District, *op.cit*.
[449] Oral interview with Malllam Yaro Daudu, 80 years, at Mararraba, Donga Local Government Area.

First World War and taxes were inflated, making payment difficult. Besides, taxation was new to the people.[450]

### 5.4.2 Nyambuan Movement, 1939

Two decades after Mairiga's Revolt was suppressed by the British colonialists, a more serious movement against British colonial economic policies emerged in the area of study, now Wukari Division, in 1939. The movement appeared in the Division in the beginning of 1939.[451] At its inception, it was more of a youth movement aimed at the old order and witchcraft in particular. However, its main focus was boycott of the Trading Firms and the prevention of the sale of export produce to them at the companies' prices. Its appeal was so strong that in Takum and Wukari it was not only the Tiv youth that joined, but even the young, middle-aged and old men. Even members of the household of the Aku Uka joined and at least one member of his council was openly an initiate who carried about the Nyambuan Symbol.[452] In fact, the Aku Uka received an interesting suggestion from one of the members that if he should be allowed to continue to participate he would pay a licence of two pounds (£2) to the Aku. This shows how widespread the movement was in the Division.[453]

The movement was a cultural organisation founded by an individual and spread through an ever increasing number of initiated practitioners. According to B. Akiga, *Inyambuan* is a Tiv word meaning *"Naman Kurmi"*,that is, "Forest Beast".[454] This movement was believed to have started on the borders of Tiv and Wukari Divisions about 1936 by a professional

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[450]Mallam Sani D. Bello, *op.cit.*
[451] NAK: SIMPLELIST: 682/ Half Yearly and Annual Reports, Wukari Division, by R.L.A. Underwood, Divisional Officer.
[452]The name of this individual is not mentioned in the colonial report cited above.
[453]*Ibid.*
[454] NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/P15, Nyambuan Movement, Benue Province by J.S. Synge, D.O., Tiv Division.

drummer, but suddenly expanded from May, 1939. The itinerant drummer was a Turu man called Jato who is said to have been hunting near a river and shot a duiker with an arrow that disappeared with his dog. An old man appeared and gave him the medicine to cure sickness and medicine to make people vomit evil if bewitched. The medicine was called *Inyambuan*. The man was instructed that the payment for the medicine was not to exceed a fowl, four eggs and 4d. From time to time the diviner claimed to reform or advance local knowledge and practice of the traditional medicine.[455]

With a large following, the movement became more organised. It grew in popularity all over Benue Province. Its popularity and rapid spread was due to the need of the community for guidance and protection based on their beliefs. It provided a feeling of security against disaster and produced great self-confidence. Against all traditional customs, it was a public movement for youth as well as the mature and was even extended to women. In fact, the British colonialists were concerned that the women may organise a revolt like that of the Aba Women Revolt in 1929 due to the turn up of women in the movement.[456]The extent of the movement was considerable having 130 members whose followers included members of surrounding groups as well as Tiv.[457]It was known to have come from Ugondo area. Takum District has been mentioned as an ultimate place of its origin too. In Donga, the movement was confined to Tiv young men. In both Takum and Wukari Districts, it attracted men from every group except the Hausa.[458]

While the movement destroyed the fears of witchcraft as the cause of all ill, its teaching also rendered unnecessary, scientific medical treatment in dispensaries and hospitals. From this

[455]*Ibid*.
[456]*Ibid*
[457]*Ibid*.
[458]*Ibid*, p. 32.

developed the belief in the ability to deal with all situations. Thus, colonial laws were challenged. Tax became pointless burden and was difficult to collect.

The reason for this movement was economic. Commenting on the emergence of this movement, R.L.A. Underwood, the Divisional Officer, Wukari Division, remarked, "But, I would ask, what gave it an almost immeasurable appeal? Without doubt economic conditions were the main spring and these unfortunately have not yet been improved"[459]. In Wukari Division, there was continued depression in the prices of agricultural produce in 1939 followed by stagnation in trade. It was really a bad moment for the peasants during the year. Since there was a decline in trade, production of benniseed was 70 per cent less than that of 1938because of protest against low prices paid for benniseed in relation to groundnuts. The price of groundnuts rose from £4.13 to £6.7.6 in November, 1939. The result of this development was that the income of the peasants dropped because benniseed was the major export crop in the Division, a fall in its price implied reduction in the peoples' income. But taxes still remained as high as 5/3.3d per adult male. The response to this harsh economic condition was the Nyambuan Movement in the whole of Benue Province, particularly in Wukari Division.[460]

The Nyambuan movement boycotted trading firms and prevented the sale of export produce to them at lower prices.[461] The practitioners stopped people from going to the farm and encouraged them to produce more of food crops than benniseed whose price was terribly low. But even the prices of food crops also began to fall with increase in production. A serious situation was created. Taxes were not reduced and their collections not stopped.

[459] SIMPLELIST/682.... *op.cit*.
[460] NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/P15, Nyambuan Movement, *op.cit*.
[461] *Ibid*, p.15.

Therefore, the young men and women that were involved in the movement took to the streets to further stop people from paying taxes to the colonialists. Instead they promised them that they could solve their economic and social plights if they could pay 4d, four eggs and a fowl. Hence, the payment for taxes was diverted to Nyambuan medicine for protection and fortune. Amidst this economic milieu, Nyambaun seemed to be a solace. Furthermore, the bulk of the young men who would have served as labour for agricultural production turned to protest against colonial economic odds. Young boys and girls left school to join the movement. Schools were closed and the social order was altered as the Native Authority was disobeyed.

The economy of the movement is very glaring. Since price of benniseed was low the leaders of the movement devised means of acquiring wealth. Though taxes were at 5/3.3d they collected just 4d and promised them 'paradise' on earth: protection from witchcraft and evil which the Colonial State could not provide; freedom from colonial obnoxious taxes and exploitation by the colonial collaborators, that is, the Native Authority. The leader of the movement is said to have been getting up to £5 a day,[462] which was a considerable income which export crop production could not have given him.

However, seeing the threat that the Nyambuan Movement was posing to the colonial economy and the smooth operation of the Colonial State, the Colonial authority did not hesitate to strategize for a serious clampdown on the movement. Legal sanction was proclaimed against it and the leaders were arrested and fined. Their huts were burnt down and symbols destroyed. But the movement had had considerable impact. Taxes were reduced in some parts of Wukari Division and efforts were made by the colonial authority

[462] NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/P15, Nyambuan Movement..... *op.cit*, pp. 100-105.

to embark on some "improvements" on the standard of living of the people. As suggested by the D.O., R.L.A. Underwood, "If improvement in economic conditions could be obtained such manifestation of discontent as the Nyambuan movement would disappear."[463]

## 5.5 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the operation of the colonial economy in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. It examines the role of the Colonial State, Colonial Firms and Native Authority. It first analyses the nature of the colonial economic policies and how they helped in incorporating the local economy into the capitalist mode of production and how they contributed to shaping the economy to a mono-cultural type that did not allow for diversification and all round socio-economic development in the area of study. These policies, by their nature, continued to increase burden on the people. This resulted in movements like the Mairiga Revolt and the Nyambuan Movement in 1916 and 1939, respectively, as discussed in the chapter.

[463]SIMPLELIST/682.... o*p.cit,* p.40.

# CHAPTER SIX

# COLONIAL ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS AND "DEVELOPMENTS", 1945-1960

## 6.0 Introduction

The benefits of colonialism were accidental by-products of activities or measures intended to promote the interests of the colonisers. Therefore, the infrastructural developments, political arrangements, fiscal and monetary changes, religion and rudimentary educational systems that were introduced in Ibi and later Wukari Division were designed not in the interests of the people but primarily to facilitate the exploitation that occasioned colonialism. Therefore, the incorporation of the area of study into the world capitalist economic system placed it in the state of the producer of primary products and made it dependent on the Metropolis or the world capitalist countries for any form of development, having distorted and crumbled the pre-existing mode of production that, at least, had set in motion a level of development in the pre-colonial society.

The argument now is that the so-called socio-economic developments occasioned by means of colonial domination were in themselves not only accidental by-products of colonialism but factors for distraction and dependence on the capitalist countries because their orientation of development was tilted towards imperial exploitation. In fact, it was not in the interest of the British colonialists to establish schools, build roads or provide any social service because that was not they came for. This is why the so called developments in the area of study are referred to in this research as contradictions of capitalist domination. Therefore, this chapter examines these "developments" as impact of the operation of the colonial economy on the socio-economic and political life of the people and societies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions.

### 6.1 Social Infrastructure

The aim of colonisation was basically to control the economy and production or what to produce, how to produce and in what quantities. The control of the structure of demand and supply in the colony was crucial and fundamental. With the establishment of the basic patterns of colonial institutions in the countryside, intensification of the presence of the colonisers was now focused on the provision and development of social services primarily to serve the colonial interests. These social infrastructure included transportation system, education and health facilities. Others were construction of concrete wells, building and expansion of markets. However, the so-called colonial infrastructures physically obtained in the area of study are transport and educational facilities.

The first physical evidence of colonial infrastructures in Ibi and Wukari Divisions was transportation. The transport system included water and road networks. They were designed with colonial interests in mind because they hardly improve the wellbeing of the people in qualitative terms. Since the drainage pattern of the area provided a good means of communication, the British colonialists first set out to develop the water ways. The Benue River was a major route that linked the area with Niger-Benue confluence region and the Atlantic coast. Ibi is located on the bank of the River. It was one of the important trading stations and headquarters of the Niger Company. It was the headquarters of both Muri Province and Ibi Division from 1904-1926.[464] From here, all the agricultural produce from the Division was evacuated to the Atlantic coast for final shipment to Europe. Hence, Ibi station became the most important on the Benue. Large vessels from Lokoja could not pass

[464]See discussion in chapter five.

this point. So, throughout the year, a vessel could only load once, during the rainy season only, when the water level was high.[465]

There were two ferry points on theBenue. One was at Chinkai. It connected Akwana and Arufu with Awe. This ferry point was in existence in the pre-colonial time.[466] The colonialists did not develop it because it did not serve their interest. They instead concentrated on Ibi ferry point because it connected Ibi-Wukari road with Ibi-Tshendam road. Agricultural products from the Jos Plateau and Tshendam Division (Lowland Division) were ferried to Ibi Station through this point. Ibi-Tshendam route was very important to the colonialists. Hence, they made vessels available to cross the Benue at Ibi, but at Chinkai, local canoe men were left with the job of ferrying people.

Seeing that the tributaries of the Benue were also important in penetrating the area of study, Rivers Donga and Katsina-Ala were developed as media of transport by the colonialists. The rivers drained most of the north-eastern and southern parts of the Division, respectively. They are major tributaries of the Benue. River Donga was instrumental to the movement of agricultural produce collected from Donga and Kentu area to Ibi. The two British companies also had their stations in Donga where most of the sylvan produce from the forest zone of Kentu and food and export crops from Donga area were collected. Katsina-Ala River was the medium through which goods were moved from the Tiv area of the Division to Abinsi and Lokoja. The Rivers were only navigable during the rainy season by small steamers.[467]

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[465]See NAK: SNP17/23593/Benue Province, Annual Report, *op.cit.*
[466]Oral interview with Loya Shimbura, 75 years, Retired Civil servant, at Wukari on the 14th of November, 2017.
[467]NAK: SNP 17/1670/ Vol. 1, Benue Province, Annual Report, 1931.

Since these rivers were not navigable throughout the year, roads were constructed to complement them. The road network was not devoid of exploitative tendency. The directions and the area these roads connected did not give a picture of attempt at development. In fact, they did not serve the purpose of communication among the people in the area as pre-colonial roads had done. The pre-colonial road network in the area was diversified because it joined all communities that were under the political and religious suzerainty of Wukari kingdom. Pre-colonial roads were shortcuts linking societies purposely to enhance exchange and production.[468]But this was not so with colonial roads. The colonial road network system was just to supplement the river system. The road network connected Ibi, the trading station on the bank of Benue, to Wukari, the administrative centre of the Division. From Wukari it connected Donga to the east which was both an administrative and a trading centre. Most goods purchased in the dry season from Donga trading station were not kept to wait for the rainy season but were transported to Ibi through Wukari when Donga River was not navigable. The Wukari-Takum road was to serve the Bamenda traders who were traversing the Division and the Cameroon Province to dispose of their goods at Ibi to the colonial firms. This same road linked Katsina-Ala with Wukari and Ibi through Takum.[469] We can see that when the water ways were not accessible, the roads could serve purpose.

These roads were not motor-able until 1928 when the colonial administration embarked on vigorous road building project to meet the need of increased production in agricultural

[468]See the road map of pre-colonial trade routes in the Middle-Benue Basin in M. Hamman, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869, Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri,* Arewa House, Kaduna, 2007.

[469] See M. S. Dansonka, "Inter-group Relations in Wukari Area,1987-1992: The position of the Jukun And Chamba Peoples",*op.cit*. Also see J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*.

goods in the whole of Wukari Division.[470] In the wake of 1930, the above roads were made motor-able throughout the year and other feeder seasonal roads were constructed to link the industrial centres of Akwana and Arufu and the Tiv agricultural producing area to ease the collection of taxes. For instance, Wukari-Katsina Ala and Wukari-Akwana roads were constructed.[471]

However, given the nature of this road system one would deduce that they were not meant to induce development but to serve the colonial interests. In fact, the roads did not even benefit the peasants because apart from the fact that they served as media through which capital and European imported goods entered the remote areas, they were only meant to serve the Native Authority. From the various colonial reports it is shown that the expenses for the building of these roads were taken from the Native Authority's Treasury.[472] So, they were to serve the purpose of the various independent Native Authorities who were to meet in Wukari every year for council meeting. To this effect, until the mid-1950s, human porters were by far the most popular form of transportation in Wukari Division.[473] This was because the number of vehicles to ply these roads was small and the bicycles that were imported to be used for short and long distance journey were only acquired by few. In the 1950s, Yola-Takum road was constructed to link the north-eastern Provinces of the Northern Region with the Southern Region through Wukari Division.[474] Donga-Baissa road was also constructed to link Donga with the Kentu Mandated Area.[475]

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[470] NAK: SNP 17/1670/Vol., Benue Province, *op.cit*.
[471] NAK:SNP17/12332/ Vol. 1, Benue Province, Annual Report for 1929 by E.S. Pembleton Esquire, Acting Resident, Benue Province.
[472] NAK: MAPROF/533/1931-51 & 1952: Roads- Wukari Division- General.
[473] *Ibid*.
[474] Oral interview with Mr. Manaseh, 65 years, farmer, at Mararraba.
[475] See J.M. Fremantle, *op.cit*.

The general character of these roads impacted on the social and economic structures of these societies in Wukari Division. People migrated from their old settlements to the emerging ones along the roads to get the share of the social provisioning the colonial system had made them to depend on. In Donga District, for example, settlements like Sabon-Gida Ndessin, Mararraba, Nyita and Tudun-Wada, all emerged as a result of road construction.[476]It is important to note that the transportation network built by forced labour and taxes of the productive sector of the subjugated colonial population did not do much to enhance the lives of those who built it, but much to further the expansion of the inimical interest of the colonial companies.

**6.2 Colonial Education**

Colonial education, like colonial administration, has been a subject of considerable academic interest and research.[477] The general picture of the evolution and development of colonial education in Nigeria has, therefore, emerged. In a general sense, colonial education refers to what is conventionally regarded in literature as "Western Education".[478] But we cannot scientifically define education by a vague geographical reference such as "Western", but rather by a rigorous and critical examination of the social relations of production to which that education pertains.[479] Western Education is actually a euphemism for the capitalist system of education. Hence, colonial education is adopted in this research to explain the kind of educational system that existed under the colonial system of production.

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[476]See details in K.D. Yaro, "A History of Mararraba", B.A. Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2012.

[477] See M. Y. Mangvwat, *A History of Class Formation in the Plateau Province of Nigeria, 1902-1960, The Genesis of a Ruling Class,* Carolina Academic Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2013, pp. 48-83, M.M. Tukur, o*p.cit*, pp 820-841, S. Bello, *op.cit*, pp. 133-134, W. Rodney, *op.cit,* pp. 65-73, M. I. Muktar, *The Impact of British Colonial Domination on Kano: C. 1903-1950 A.D., A Study of Colonial Change,* Ahmadu Bello Press Limited, Zaria, 2013, pp.131-140.

[478] M.Y. Mangvwat, o*p.cit,* p.48.

[479]*Ibid*

The education that the colonialists provided for the people in the area of study aimed at rationalising and legitimising their sufferings in the colonial era. It can be best seen as the education for subservience, as it assured the skills and ideas that it imparted on the people facilitated colonial domination and exploitation.

To understand the nature and general character of British colonial education in the area of study, let us take a look at its brief history in the area. The colonial State did not make initial effort to establish schools in the whole of Muri Province in the first decade of colonial enterprise. It did not establish one nor did it allow the Christian Missions to do so. However, propelled by the need of the time and to pacify the Tiv resistance to British colonial domination in Tivland, the State permitted the Dutch Reformed Church Mission from South Africa to start schools among the Tiv as from 1912. The colonialists claimed that by introducing the Tiv to western culture through their system of education, perhaps, they might accept British domination. As this development was on going among the Tiv, other part of Muri Province was left out of the scheme of things. It was not until in 1918, that other Divisions of Muri Province, especially Ibi Division, beganto receive attention from the colonial State. The Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.) succeeded in influencing the colonial State to allow it to establish schools among the non-Tiv people in the area. The Mission made effort at setting up Training Institute in Wukari, the headquarters of Wukari District, that same year in its effort to promote its missionary activities among the Jukun. It established two classes of five (5) boys each. This was the only school in the whole of Ibi Division.[480]

[480] NAK: SNP10/62P/1919/Muri Province, Report no. 102 for Half Year Ending 30th June, 1918, by Fremantle.

After 1920, there was a change in colonial authority's approach to education in Ibi Division. Though the colonial State was inactive in setting up schools, in its quest to actualise the goal of reviving Jukun Native Administration, it permitted the Missions to establish more schools in the Division. Consequently, the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.) opened a boarding school at Lupwe in Takum District and also a day school at Ibi, each with an attendance of some thirty (30) pupils. The Mission also built small day schools at Donga, Wukari and Takum in the early 1920s. The products of these schools were to serve the Sudan United Mission in Lupwe and also assist the British colonialists in colonial administration of Ibi Division.[481]

After the territorial organisation of 1926 and the consequent formation of Wukari Division, that same year, the colonial State began to start a more "serious" attempt in "developing" education among the Jukun. Thus, in 1928, the colonial authority established Elementary Schools in the newly formed Division.[482]An Elementary School was established in Wukari and, in the following year, 1929, one was opened in both Takum and Donga. This was an experiment for the British colonialists and not, to them, a need. Thus, they took their time to think of "commencing a more comprehensive scheme for educating the Jukun people".[483] Teaching was done in Jukun language until the 1940s when the colonial State decided to use Hausa language to replace Jukun language. The teachers of the Elementary Schools were trained and educated by the S.U.M. since the aim of these schools was to produce administrators and interpreters for the colonial State and the Missions. The subjects taught covered areas like writing, reading and arithmetic. The women were not in the scheme of

[481]Oral interview with Mr Jibrin Amfani, *op.cit*.
[482]*Ibid*.
[483]See NAK: SNP17/9138/Vol.1, Annual Report, Benue Province, 1928.

things at this time until in the 1930s when women education got fillip in Wukari Division.[484]

However, when there was an increasing need for administrators and clerks in the whole of the Northern Provinces, the British colonial authority embarked on a new education policy, in 1929, which led to the establishment of Middle Schools, at least one in each Province of Northern Nigeria.As a result, a Middle School was established for the whole of Benue Province at Katsina-Ala in 1934 to take care of the clerical and administrative needs of the Province.[485] The choice of locating the school at Katsina-Ala was because of its centrality in the Province so that the Divisions in the Province could access it. Katsina-Ala Middle School was designed to give advanced teaching to suitable ex-pupils of both Tiv and Jukun speaking Elementary Schools.[486] Hence, it provided Wukari Division the opportunity for "advanced education". This same year, classes for adults were started in Wukari with twenty-eight (28) adults in attendance. There were thirty (30) adults in Takum and forty-one (41)in Donga.[487]

In the 1950s, the colonial State established more schools in Wukari Division in its quest to pursue its so-called Development Plan launched in 1946. As a change of attitude towards its education policy and social development of the colonised, the Regional authority of Northern Nigerian Region transformed the status of the existing schools in Benue Province and Wukari Division in particular and established more to accommodate more students and to also include improved curricula in the existing ones. Hence, Katsina-Ala Middle School was changed to a Provincial School where the likes of General T.Y. Danjuma, General

[484]NAK: SIMPLELIST, Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report No.18 and Returns, 1934, *op.cit.*
[485]NAK: MAKPROF/1480/Wukari Administrative Organisation.
[486]NAK: SNP17/1670/Vol.1, Benue Province Annual Report, 1931.
[487]NAK: SIMPLELIST, Wukari Division/248/ Annual Report No.18 and Returns, 1934 by J.M. Smallwood, A.D.O.

Victor Malu and other prominent Nigerians graduated from.[488] As from 1952, the Elementary Schools in Wukari, Donga and Takum were transformed to Native Authority Primary Schools.[489] New ones were established in Nyita and Tudun-Wada, Donga District; another was established in Baisa, Kentu District.[490]

The establishment of colonial schools, as we have seen, was the result of colonial contradiction. They were established to meet colonial needs and not to provide the people with standard education acquired in Europe. The curricula of these schools did not include Biology, Physics, Chemistry and Engineering. These are subjects that would have been fundamental in creative and scientific education. This form of education, therefore, did not provide the room for invention or innovation.[491] This explains why the products of these schools were geared towards absorption into the departments of the Native Authority to serve as tax assessors and collectors, mechanics, bricklayers, amongst others. These forms of duties do not require creativity.[492]

Colonial education was, therefore, geared towards producing trained people to strengthen and maintain the functions of the colonial bureaucracy and to support colonial domination. Lugard made it clear by stating that the aim of colonial education was to create a group of "efficient, loyal, reliable and contended…self-respecting native gentlemen."[493] In the area of study, for example, some prominent District Heads of the Native Authorities were products of colonial schools. Garbosa I, a famous Head of Donga District from the 1920s to

[488]Oral interview with S.B. Manga, *op.cit*.
[489]Oral interview with Mr Danjuma Bakka, 71 years, farmer, at Sabon-Gida Ndessin, on 3rd January, 2018. He is a product of Tudun-Wada Native Authority Primary School and Dozomga Native Authority Primary School, Donga.
[490]Oral interview with Mr Polycarp Mamman, 62 years, Education Monitoring Officer, in Jalingo on 5th January, 2018.
[491]See M.I. Muktar, *op.cit*, pp. 140- 152, for discussion on colonial education in Northern Nigeria.
[492]*Ibid*.
[493]F.L. Lugard, *op.cit*, p. 170.

the 1930s, graduated from the Elementary School in Wukari. He did the job of tax collection so well that the Divisional Officer of Wukari, J.M. Smallwood, while reporting in 1934, praised him for doing excellent work when compared to the Heads of Wukariand Takum Districts.[494] His "success", according to the source, was due to his acquisition of western education. But it should be noted that, oral sources, especially among the Ichen people, unanimously agree that colonial economic policies were harsher in Donga District than the other Districts in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. When people did not pay tax, they were humiliated.[495]This was what Garbosa was praised for! This was what colonial education taught him: to meticulously deal with tax evaders. This is the irony of colonial education. One Aku Abe, the Head of Wukari District, was a product of Katsina-Ala Middle School. He is said to have headed the school before his appointment as the Aku of Wukari.[496]

Colonial system of education impacted on the socio-economic lives of the people. It accelerated their social status and produced a new class of proletariat in the society. Schools provided the students with a socialising environment quite distinct from the elders and the household. The students developed new values independent of the society. It promoted individualism rather than collective existence as obtained in the household setting. Colonial education gave them a sense of superiority and made them to look down on those that were not opportune to go to school. Consequently, the societal values, which were entrenched in the household, were challenged. A mix value system, alien to African norms and tradition, began to emerge. The household, the basic unit of education, was challenged. Furthermore, the difference between a villager and a town man or woman became conspicuous.

[494]NAK: SIMPLELIST, Wukari Division/248/ *op.cit*.
[495]Discussion with Mr Yusuf Ishaku and Sani Bello, *op.cit*.
[496]Oral interview with S.B. Manga, *op.cit*.

Household labour was also affected. Those that went to school declined to white collar job rather than farming. The young men and women who would have formed part of the household labour opted to live in urban centres like Wukari, Takum, Makurdi, amongst others, than to live in the village. This did not only affect the social order in the household but affected the economic unit of production.[497]

### 6.3 Migrations and Emergence of Settlements

A number of factors led to the movement of people from one area to another in the area of study during the period of study. The reasons range from harsh economic policies, colonial infrastructural developments and social services to colonial administrative needs. These movements led to the emergence of new settlements. In the earlier stage of colonial domination, especially in the German dominated area of Kentu, people moved away from their harsh economic policies. As a result of the high taxes in the Kentu area, many of the Tigon population migrated to Donga District, Ibi Division. In fact, the chief of Galeia (Garleya) and that of Ndoro are said to have moved to the territory of Donga District in 1913 due to German taxes. In 1913, the German introduced direct taxes in Kentu area. Two German marks were imposed on an adult male. The system of assessment and collection was harsh. The Germans would send a messenger accompanied by a military escort to distribute metal discs, one for each adult male of a village. The disc was to be returned with money, two marks for each disc.[498]In 1914, the tax was increased to 6 marks and this made many to abscond and migrate out of the area. In fact, the brutal nature of German domination led to the large immigration into the Donga District from Kentu District under

[497]*Ibid*.
[498]NAK: MAKPROF/1199/Vol.1, Report on Kentu District, by Mr. C.E. Boyd, District Officer in charge of Ibi Division, 1917, p.4.

the Germans. Among these were the Village Heads of Namma, Atsoku (Ashuku) and Galia (Garleya).[499]

Some of these migrations led to the emergence of new settlements. New settlements emerged and old ones expanded in the area of study either due to trading activities, the presence of colonial infrastructure or because of colonial administrative needs. It is said that, many of the Ichen (Kentu) ethnic groups carried benniseed to the agents of the Royal Niger Company in Ibi. As the trading trips became frequent, the people decided to establish a camp along the route where they would rest and refresh by a stream that is a tributary to the river Benue in Ibi. As many of the people stopped and refreshed in the place, a community emerged. Many of them that settled in the place farmed benniseed and other crops needed by the European traders.[500]

During this period, colonial soldiers en route to either Wukari or Takum also stopped by the stream where the small community was established to wash and refresh. The same happened as the soldiers returned to Ibi. The stream became a stop point for the soldiers on their journey to and from Ibi. It was for this that the stream was named Rafin-Soja, that is,"soldiers' stream".[501] Thus, it became the name of the community.Rafin Soja grew to become a big community with people from different ethnic groups, many of whom were attracted to the town as a result of the trading activities with the Europeans on the River Benue in Ibi.Others were attracted by the fertility of the soil which was good for the production of benniseed.[502]

[499] *Ibid*, p.4.
[500] See M.S. Dansonka,*op.cit.*.
[501] *Ibid*.
[502] *Ibid*.

Some communities emerged as a result of colonial infrastructure. Notable among them is Gindin-Waya, located north of Rafin-Soja along Wukari-Ibi road. It should be noted that the colonial telegraph line from Keffi crossed the river Benue at Chinkai and ran in an easterly direction of Ibi and the gadget of eight miles (13 kilometres) loop was mounted at Gindin-Waya. To safe guard the gadget, the colonial officers built a house where someone was to live and take care of their lines. With that, some people from Rafin-Soja migrated to the place and a community emerged and was called Gindin-Waya, named after the colonial telegraph line. It should be noted that the construction of the original line from Lokoja to Ibi via Loko and Akwanga was arrested, in 1900, by the hostility of the Tiv. For this reason, the line was diverted from Loko via Keffi to avoid the Tiv country. The telegraph entered Muri province in 1903.[503]

**6.4 The Destruction of the Independent Handicraft Industries**

It has been demonstrated that the pre-existing local industries in the area of study were at their heights of development. The complexity of their operations and the horizontal connectivity among them produced a smooth vertical relationship with agricultural sector, which resulted in complex production relations and development of new productive forces. These industries assisted in the formation and consolidation of states and societies like Kwararafa and Wukari. They also promoted inter-state and inter-regional exchanges. The predominant salt mining and textile manufacturing industries were fundamental because their products took the fame of the above named states to within and outside Africa.

The first Assessment Report on the economy of Wukari written by A.E. Churcher obviously asserts that the textile industry was in a flourishing condition even in the first decade of

[503] *Ibid*.

colonial domination before colonial measures were designed to supress it. Churcher posited that the size of the industry was so large that locally cultivated raw cotton was totally absorbed by it. It was insufficient for the needs of the cottage producers, thus, making necessary the importation of further quantities of raw cotton.[504] Apart from the textile industry, there were other cottage industries domiciled in Wukari City. The table below shows the size of the cottage industry in Wukari City as recorded by Churcher.

**Table 6.1: Size of Cottage Industry in Wukari City, Wukari District, Ibi Division, 1913.**

| S/No | Cottage Industry | Number of Workers |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Weaving | 87 |
| 2. | Dyeing | 39 |
| 3. | Blacksmiths | 22 |
| 4. | Others* | 46 |
| **Total** | | **194** |

**Source**: NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1, Assessment Report, Wukari District, By A.E. Churcher, 1913.

Out of the 194 industrialists domiciled in Wukari City, 126 of them were involved in textile production.[505] This number included 87 weavers and 39 dyers who made up the textile industry. Therefore, their contribution to the economy was enormous. This can be demonstrated by their earnings. For example, the small size of the celebrated Jukun cloth called *Kwashe* was sold for 4/-, while the large ones were 20/- in both Wukari and Ibi markets. Their prices demonstrate how competitive they were to European cloths. An average earning for a cloth weaver was 2/6 per day. A big white Tiv cloth was dyed for 8/-.

[504]NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1, *op.cit*.

[505]This figure did not take into consideration the number of people involved in the whole production process but just the chief producers who mobilised and organised the labour for production. If this is put into consideration, it is definite to assert that the textile industry was indeed a large cottage industry in Wukari.

When dyed, it could be exchanged for1000 kola nuts in Bamenda. A dyer could earn 5/- per day. The total average income earned by individuals in the textile industry per day amounted to about 7/6. If a producer could earn up to 7/6 per day, then he could earn about £56.88 a year. With this we can assert that the textile industry domiciled in Wukari city earned about £7,166.88 annually given the number of producers. This earning was more than the earnings from benniseed and groundnut in the whole of Muri Province in 1913, whose total sales stood at £7,050.[506] The income accrued to the economy through this industry brings to fore how Wukari's pre-colonial economy was not only diversified but attended a level of industrial advancement.

From the foregoing, it is safe to assume that if these industries were allowed to continue without any interference, they would have been developed to a considerable level. Better still, if the colonialists had promulgated policies that would enhance their operations or a form of mechanisation was developed to improve their production, one could depict the progress they would have made. But the case was different under British colonial domination. It appears Churcher's report was sabotage! One would prefer he did not visit Wukari! Nevertheless, an alien rule was instituted; measures were in place to bring to reality British colonial goal.

The local industries were great threats to the colonial companies and, of course, British colonial interest. These companies were to promote British colonial interest by exploiting and expatriating the raw materials the local industries were consuming, especially cotton, to European textile industries in Europe. The colonial State was to, therefore, make these resources readily available for these companies. These companies also needed an agrarian

[506] *Ibid*

labour that would produce the required products. Thus, transforming the large industrial labour we have considered above to an agrarian one was not to them an option, but a necessity. These European companies also needed a market where they could invest their capital and sell their imported industrial surpluses.[507] The local and international markets created by processes of production and distributions resulting from the local industries ought to be taken over or destroyed and new ones created by the companies. These would not have been achieved without the intervention of the colonial State, which had both the political and military power to deal with the situation. Therefore, the colonial State began by introducing policies and solidified its clampdown on the local industries by imposing strict measures, which the latter could not stand but had to decline in their production processes. The period after the Second World War glaringly showed that fate had befallen these industries.

The first step the colonial State took was to do away with the fame of the local industries Churcher reported of in 1913. To do this, heavy tax was imposed on all sorts of industrial activities over and above the land tax. The land tax, called *kurdin kassa,* in the first three decades of colonial domination was not above 7/- in Ibi Division. However, the condition in the industrial sector was not so. For example, it was reported that "the amount which the industrialists was assessed each, varies from 10/- to 35/- depending on the class of industry engaged in and the proximity of the industry to markets. But the basis worked on is 10% average of the net profit plus an extra cost of 1/- as a household rent".[508] These industrialists equally paid land taxes if they had land. Salt miners paid land tax as well as salt tax.

[507] See V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970.
[508] NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1, assessment Report, Wukari District by Captain A.E. Churcher, Assistant Resident, Muri Province, 1913.

The forceful payment of tax in British currencies challenged the status of salt and cloths as legal tenders. They lost their values as the store of wealth. They became mere commodities that could be bought and sold by European currencies. Thus, the exorbitant industrial taxes pushed most of the cloths and salt producers to opt for farming where they could get the cash to pay tax. Besides, the products of these industries could no longer be accepted for tax payment. This was a serious blow on these industries. Where there was cloth manufacturing or salt mining, it was just for household consumption.[509]

Furthermore, the colonial labour policy aimed at disrupting the caste of labour in the industrial centres of Wukari and Akwana. The demand for labour to farm benniseed and to work for the British colonialists, especially in road construction, drained the household labour leading to the decline in the local co-operative labour mobilisation. This created a reservoir of labour that was turned to serve the British colonialists, a potential source of cheap wage labour for colonial export crop production.[510]

A serious crackdown on the local industries was the attack on their source of raw materials. This was to further discourage those who would defy tax and labour policies to continue in their craftsmanship. In spite of British colonial policies, the local industries survived at the beginning of British colonial domination. Churcher's report attests to this. The struggle for survival between local manufactures and imported European ones did not last the first three decades of colonial domination, nor was it actually a free struggle since the Colonial State, as expected, favoured and promoted European manufactures against local ones. Even then, the local populations continued to show preference for local manufactures as against those imported by the firms, particularly, in the textile industry. In spite of the "convenience" of

[509]NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/P15, Nyambuan Movement, Benue Province by J.S. Synge, D.O., Tiv Division, 1939, *op.cit.*
[510]NAK: MAKPROF/1271/1949: Annual Report Wukari Division.

the imported textiles, local manufactures were much stronger and more durable.[511]The European firms, therefore, prevailed upon the colonial authority to outlaw local textiles. This had become necessary because initial attempts to destroy local industries by lowering the prices of imported ones had failed to produce the desired effect.

There was direct colonial restriction on the iron industry. This brought serious setbacks to salt and galena mining industries in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. There is no evidence of pre-colonial iron smelting in the area of study, but there were iron working activities. Iron ore was mined by the Mumuye in Muri. It was imported to Wukari, Donga and Takum in form of raw materials or semi-finished iron products that were worked upon by the Abakwariga blacksmiths into industrial and agricultural tools. The nature of galena mining requires iron tools. So, with the restriction on this industry, its production declined.[512]The consequence of this restriction was the distortion of the pre-existing local industries and the consequent opening up of the market to colonial products.[513]

The colonial authority took a variety of steps to guarantee the ultimate predominance of colonial textiles. These include measures enabling the British companies to monopolise the purchase of raw materials and restrictions governing the import of raw materials by local textile industries, as well as the sale of the latter's products. Similarly, the importation of indigo and other dyes vital to the local industry suffered from a number of restrictions. Meanwhile, the British companies were engaged in experiments designed to enable them to utilise these popular dyes. The imposition of the cultivation of a particular type of cotton

[511] M.Y. Mangvwat, *AHistory of Class Formation in the Plateau Province of Nigeria, 1902-1960, The Genesis of a Ruling Class*. Carolina Academic Press, Durham, 2013, p. 108.
[512]See M. Hamman, *op.cit*.
[513]NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ASS/W/1…*op.cit*.

suitable for colonial manufacture went hand in hand with the aim to eradicate all native cotton in the area, the latter alone being suitable for the local industries.[514]

There was also a clampdown on wood as a major raw material in the wood working and other cottage industries. Wood provided the raw materials for various cottage industries involved in the production of various household utensils, furniture, tool handles and for construction purposes. It was used in the operation of various herbal medicines and also as fuel. The major feature of colonial policy in relation to this was simply to curtail the availability of such resources and, thereby, indirectly cripple the industry. Colonial forestry regulations and other laws relating to farm trees, along with the establishment of forest reserves, were the major forms of restriction used to deny local producers access to wood. The forestry rule essentially states that permits had to be obtained for either the cutting or lopping of farm trees in the forest reserves. Similarly, permits had to be obtained before any produce of such trees should be used. Prices were fixed on the felling of trees for such things as mortars and tool handles. The difficulty in obtaining wood for fuel constrained the development of the local manufacture of canoes and other implements.[515]

The period from 1945 to 1960 saw the once famous mining and textile industries in a state of decline. They were dominated by benniseed cultivation. The result of this development was the prevalence of imported European products in the local markets. It also made the people to depend on these products. The contradiction emanating from this development was that no single factory was established by either British companies or the colonial State in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. There were attempts in other parts of Northern Nigeria to establish processing factories to replace the "paralysed" local ones, but that was not the case

[514]Oral interview with Mallam Sule Umar, 93 years, *op.cit*.
[515] See S. Bello, *op.cit*, pp. 195-196.

in the area. In fact, red sorghum, which was largely produced in Wukari Division, was taken to as far as Kano Milling factory for further processing instead of such milling factory established in the area of study. In essence, there was no attempt at industrialisation in Wukari Division. The evidences are everywhere![516] Besides, no effort would have been enough to replace the damage done to the salt and textile industries of Wukari. Thus, the lasting legacy of this is the emergence of a mono-cultural economy;an economy that was not only an export crop producer but a single crop, benniseed, exporter, largely dependent on the capitalist countries for survival.[517]

**6.5 Emergence of a Mono-Cultural Economy**

Though industrial production pre-dominated the pre-colonial economy of the area of study, agriculture was the basis on which the industrial economy thrived. It supplied the necessary raw materials to the industries and fostered regional production and exchange. The relationship between the two sectors was such that provided complex production relations and the development of new productive forces. Thus, to crumble the industries so as to meet colonial needs, agricultural production was reoriented from producing the raw materials for the local industries as well as food for the industrial producers. It was reorganised to produce particularly benniseed as an export crop and sometimes food crops for consumption in the colony.[518]The decline in the industrial activities and the degree of British colonial intervention in the peasant mode of production of Ibi and Wukari Divisions resulted in the emergence of capitalist agrarian economy, which was gradually incorporated in the main stream of the world capitalist market economy. The nature of the economy was

[516]Personal experience on fieldwork. Information gathered from oral sources, specifically Mr. Jibrin Amfani, *op.cit.*
[517]See the nature of the development programme of the colonialists in Wukari Division in NAK: MARKPROF/339/1935-36: Development Programme Wukari Division.
[518]See discussion on colonial agricultural policy.

not only a mono-cultural agrarian economy, but almost a single-export-crop producing economy. In essence, colonial agriculture was not only emphasised above any form of production, but benniseed was chosen and imposed as the only required export crop to be produced.[519]

The new system of economy that emerged impacted on the societies and life of the people in the area. Through the various British colonial economic policies, the peasants in Ibi and Wukari Divisions who were initially local agriculturalists, such as the Tiv, or industrialist-turned peasants, like the Jukun and Abakwariga, became source of "free" and cheap labour for the British colonialists. Peasants were forced to produce export crops no matter how low the prices were fixed for the products. To obtain currency for the payment of a number of taxes, the peasants had to cultivate the preferred export crop- benniseed, or in the alternative, sell their labour on construction works at Makurdi. In addition, peasants were physically coerced into providing labour for the construction of colonial offices, roads, railways and other colonial infrastructure.[520] This development affected the basic unit of production, that is, the household.

Communal and cooperative labour were disorganised because the emigration of people out of home to get money to pay tax did not allow for the initial collective labour system. The desire to acquire money replaced collective responsibility with individual ambitions. The consideration of money began to be more important part of social relations in all sectors of the economy than communal relations. The relations that emerged became void of communitarian considerations. Thus, cooperative labour was eluded and replaced by individual labour. People preferred to earn money so as to pay tax than farm collectively

[519]NAK: MAKPROF/339/1935-36, *op.cit*.
[520]NAK: MAKPROF/339/1935, *op.cit*

under the watch of a household leader.[521] The youth who chose to remain and farm rather than seek for colonial jobs, decided to own their farms. Thus, reduction in labour strength of the household as well as the commercialisation of labour affected the production units in all the sectors of the economy. This significantly weakened the economic and social security of the society.[522]

The peasants were mercilessly exploited. Their condition is best explained by Rodney, thus:

> Cash crop peasants never had any capital of their own. They existed from one crop to another, depending on good harvest and good prices. Any bad harvest or fall of prices caused the peasant to borrow in order to find money to pay taxes and buy certain necessities. As security, they mortgaged their future crop to money lenders in the middlemen category. Non-payment of debt could and did lead to their farms being taken away by money lenders. The rates of interest on the loan were always fantasticallyhigh amounting to what is known as 'usury'.[523]

The farmer had his produce under-priced and was forced to pay for goods in the market, over and above its value. This is not to talk of the tax squeezed out of him by the colonial State.

The peasants were left at the mercy of the middlemen, the agents of John Holt & Co and UAC. The trading companies did not deal directly with the peasants. They employed certain Africans from Ibi, Donga, Wukari and Takum to buy from the peasants. Some of the middlemen rose to become "rich" and influential in the Division. In Ibi there was one Alhaji Gambo who dealt in the purchase of agricultural produce for the trading companies. He had other people working for him who would go to villages to buy goods for him. In Wukari town there were many of them. They included Alhaji Dangiri, Alhaji Habu Gako and Nuhu

[521] Oral interview with HRH Daniel Kikong, *op.cit*.
[522] *Ibid*.
[523] W. Rodney, 1972, *op.cit*, p.155.

Abe Kente. They likes of Alhaji Danbaba Umar Noo, Alhaji Haruna Adamu and Adamu Kperafa Donga, were rich and influential business men in Donga during the colonial period. Some of these middlemen like Alhaji Gambo, were renowned businessmen before the coming of the colonialists. They traded with the companies before 1900 and continued throughout the colonial period. The family of some of those people mentioned are still famous today, especially Adamu Kperafa Donga's family.[524]

As the middlemen were growing rich the peasants were getting impoverished. The middlemen would buy from the farmers at standard prices, sometimes fixed by the companies. The former might also under pay the farmers, below the standard price. Sometimes the peasants were indebted to the middlemen. The companies issued advances to the middlemen to lure the farmers sell their produce to them. The middlemen would give the peasants "dish" of "double handful of refined salt" or a "loan" in cash to pay his tax or purchase a few things in the market.[525]The consequence of the above was that the farmer would have to sell his product to no other than the middleman he collected loan from not at his will nor at the price he wanted. To repay the loan he collected, the peasant had to pay in kind with interest.[526] This was a serious bondage! The peasant continued to be impoverished in the colonial economy system they were serving. This was the reason why the young Tiv farmers in both Tiv and Wukari Divisions protested against the colonial economic policies due to their frustration in the system.

Furthermore, there existed no social infrastructure and meaningful investment on the land where the wealth was produced for the benefit of the local communities. Their social lives

[524]Oral interview with Mr S.B. Manga, *op.cit.*
[525]*Ibid.*
[526]*Ibid.*

were not improved while the little they had was squeezed out from them.[527] Their continual production of export crops did not increase their income. They struggled to pay tax, which was characteristically increasing throughout the colonial period. To get cash, they became cash croppers.

Increase in cash crop production brought large tracts of land previously left fallow into cultivation. Agricultural land became important asset. Those that did not have enough labour to cultivate their land sold it out to others who needed it to farm. The household began to see its land as a marketable asset. Members of household demanded for their portion of the household's land leading to increase fragmentations of household lands especially after the death of the household's head. Increasing fragmentation of lands meant increasing individualism of holdings and production. It signified the emergence of private property in land. Land was becoming a form of capital.

Consequently, ethnic identity began to be attached to land. The Jukun began to see the area formerly occupied by the Wukari State as the "Land of their ancestors". Other groups, especially the Tiv were seen as "occupiers". The famous colonial land policy in Ibi Division, the Ring Fence Policy of 1918, further defined land on ethnic basis. In the 1950s, the contradiction that emanated from the burden the colonial economy had exerted on the people unconsciously revived the "fatherland" question in the Division.[528] Land question became politicised, thus, social relations was severed leading to the conflicts the works we cited earlier have discussed.

[527] NAK: MAKPROF/AR/ANT/p15, Nyambuan Movement, *op.cit.*

[528] M.S. Dansoka, *op.cit*, and E.I. Akombo, "The Jukun-Tiv Relations since 1850, ….*op.cit*. This policy has been described by these sources as one of the fundamental British colonial policies that soured the Jukun-Tiv inter-relations. But the present research emphasises the colonial strain on the people and its commoditization of land as an awakening force of the abolished Ring Fence Policy on the people.

In conclusion, though agricultural production came to over-shadow the economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions, its dominant feature remained at its rudimentary stage, with the use of simple implements like hoes, for weeding and ploughing, among others, as the major tools of production. The use of local manure was, however, predominant and chemical fertilizer, were imported in the 1950s, but the price of the latter was so high for the poor peasants to buy. The introduction of modern techniques and newly improved seed varieties arrived much later in the Division. The indifference of the colonial authority over the development of the forces of production beyond the export production level was obvious.[529]

**6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the varying impact of the colonial economy on Ibi and Wukari Divisions. It has demonstrated that the so-called socio-economic developments that came with colonialism in the area of study were accidental by-products. The roads were constructed to solve colonial needs. The types of schools that were established and when they were established in the area of study were meant to produce people that would condone colonial practices and would promote colonial interests. Colonial policies were designed in such a way that the indigenous economy was transformed into mono-cultural economy. The pressure colonial policies exerted on the people and society in the area of study was such that it pushed the people to clamour for land resources on which export crops were produced.

[529]NAK: MARKPROF/339/1935-36: Development Programme Wukari Division.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

The study of the colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions in the period 1900-1960 is, no doubt, a study of the economic history of the area in the colonial period. The study has been divided in chapters with each discussing the subjects that provided understanding of the subject of discussion. Chapter one provides the general background to the study. It identifies the perspective adopted in the study, the problem the research attempts to solve, the scope and limitations of the research, the justification and significance of the study. To sharpen the perspective and understanding of the subject of study, some relevant works on the subject and area of study have been reviewed. In chapter two, the general characteristic of the geography of the area of study is examined. It also discusses the movement of people into the area and how they settled. Chapter three provides the picture of the pre-colonial society and economy of the area of study. It examines the pre-capitalist production and distribution in the area of study and further stresses the nature and penetration of imperial industrial capital into the area and how this changed the mode of production and laid the foundation of primary export production in the colonial period. This process consequently led to loss of political and economic independence of the societies and States in the area of study, even before the coming of the colonialists to establish a formal colonial administration.

In chapter four, the process through which the pre-capitalist mode of production was gradually incorporated into capitalist production through outright colonial domination, has been examined. Thus, the establishment of British colonial administrative structures was subsequently done to ensure effective introduction and implementation of the various colonial economic policies in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. How the colonial economy operated has been analysed in chapter five. It first analyses the nature of the colonial

economic policies and how they helped in incorporating the local economy into capitalist production as well as how they contributed in shaping the economy to a mono-cultural type that did not allow for diversification and all round socio-economic development in the area of study. These policies, in their nature, continued to change and increased burden on the people. This resulted to negative responses which have been discussed.

The general impact of the colonial economy has been discussed in chapter six. It shows that colonial policies were designed in such a way to transform the indigenous economy to a mono-cultural one. This was because the pressure colonial policies exerted on the people and society in Wukari Division was such that it pushed the people to clamour for the scarce resource on which export crop was produced, that is, land. The result of this development was struggle over land ownership which came to impact on the inter-group relations in the area of study.

The legacy that colonialism left Wukari Division with at independence was socio-economic backwardness, ethnic tussle and conflict. The pre-colonial agricultural and industrial production was restructured to solve colonial need. Consequently, the salt and cloth industries that flourished in the pre-colonial Kwararafa and Wukari States were partially crushed out by colonial policies. High taxes, the imperial commercial activities of the trading companies and other repressive measures adopted by the colonialists subdued these industries. Though they were allowed at some point to operate when the need arose, especially in the War Years, to supplement the wartime needs, after the War Years they were relegated to the background. The focus of production was benniseed cultivation and in some areas, food stuffs, to fend for colonialism.

Export crop production was systematically enforced on the people, turning industrial labour to agrarian labour, thereby, drastically turning almost everybody to an export or food crop producer. Pressure came to be mounted on land, which was hitherto, not a serious factor to be considered in the pre-colonial economy of Ibi and Wukari Divisions. Pre-colonial industrial mining and textile production did not call for the use of large land. The struggle for land control was absent. But with the emphasis on export crop production, land control and ownership became important factor in resource control. Land was taken over by the colonial State and the local rulers lost control of it. Thus, the customary procedures for land ownership were abandoned and possession of land was the colonialists' wish.

The demographic explosion in Ibi and Wukari Divisions during the colonial period and the elaborate agricultural activities that took place drew attention to land question. Land became the means from which income was obtained to meet the demand of the colonial economy. Land was commoditised. Taxes were obtained from the income from farming or sylvan produce from the forest. Hence, when the colonialists left, they left the people with struggle over the control of land. The Jukun began to see the Tiv as those who want to take "their land" from them because the Tiv were the main producers of benniseed in Ibi and Wukari Divisions. They occupied the colonial agricultural sector, while the Jukun were mainly used as colonial administrators. Thus, the land question formed the basis of the Tiv and Jukun conflicts. This study has demonstrated the above argument and has shown that the colonial economy opened the area of study to the social upheavals that has come to characterise the area.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 1.0 INFORMANTS

| S/NO | NAME | AGE | GENDER | OCCUPATION | PLACE | DATE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mr. Bako Joseph | 52 | M | Clergyman | Mararraba | 23/12/2015 |
| 2. | Mrs Victoria Ndari | 73 | F | Farming | Wukari | 05/12/2016 |
| 3. | Mr. A. Manaseh | 65 | M | Farming | Mararraba | 2012 |
| 4. | Alhaji Tanko Mazadu | 86 | M | Trader | Takum | 31/12/2015 |
| 5. | Asabe Gumba Peter | 67 | F | Salt Miner | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 6. | HRH Paul Adi Agbu | 75 | M | District Head | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 7. | Jangaba Daniel | 76 | M | Civil Servant | Mararraba | 08/05/2014 |
| 8. | Ladi Gana | 65 | F | Farming | Donga | 10/10/2017 |
| 9. | Justice Audu Daniels | 54 | M | Civil Servant | Zaria | 04/09/2015 |
| 10. | Yakubu Ba'ajo | 80 | M | Farming | Donga | 10/11/2017 |
| 11. | Kabea Jangaba Fhh | 83 | M | Farming | Mararraba | 2012 |
| 12. | Kefas Makere | 80 | M | Blacksmithing | Mararraba | 2012 |
| 13. | Shepuya Lezu | 63 | F | Civil Servant | Donga | 10/11/2017 |
| 14. | Kunama Dankano | 82 | M | Farmer | Ndessin | 26/12/2015 |
| 15. | Mal. Sule Umar | 93 | M | Tailoring | Takum | 31/12/2015 |
| 16. | Mal. Tsokwa Agbu | 71 | M | Retired Soldier | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 17. | Mr. Danladi Audu | 70 | M | Artist | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 18. | Mr. Jibrin Amfani | 72 | M | Rtr. Civil Servant | Wukari | 23/12/2015 |
| 19. | Mrs Lydia Tamti | 58 | F | Farming | Takum | 31/12/2015 |
| 20. | Mrs Tani Agbu | 61 | F | Salt Mining | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 21. | Mrs Rebekah Agbu | 69 | F | Trade/Salt Mining | Wukari | 15/12/2015 |
| 22. | Mrs Tamti | 73 | F | Farming | Takum | 31/12/2015 |
| 23. | Rakiya Yaro Daudu | 81 | F | Farming | Mararraba | 2012 |
| 24. | Sandra Audu Daniels | 35 | F | Civil Servant | Zaria | 04/09/2015 |
| 25. | HRH Daniel Kikong | 85 | M | Kwe Bikka | Bikka Baba | 19/11/2017 |
| 26. | Shishi Adamu Sambo | 68 | M | Retired Civil Servant | Mararraba | 05/06/2012 |
| 27. | Mr. S.B. Manga | 73 | M | Civil Servant | Wukari | 12/11/2017 |
| 28. | Mr. El-Zulkibilu Dodo | 30 | M | Student | Mararraba | 11/10/2015 |
| 29. | Loya Shimbura | 75 | M | Rtr. Civil Servant | Wukari | 14/11/2017 |
| 30. | Mallam Usman | 83 | M | Farming | Donga | 12/11/2017 |
| 31. | Mr. Polycarp Mamman | 63 | M | Civil Servant | Jalingo | 05/01/2018 |
| 32. | Mr. Danjuma Bakka | 71 | M | Farming | Sabon-Gida Ndessin | 3/01/2018 |

## 2. ARCHIVAL RECORDS


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