A STUDY OF THE CATTLE TRADING COMMUNITY IN UMUAHIA-IBEKU, c. 1914-2000

BY

HARUNA MUHAMMAD SULEIMURI
M.A/ARTS/01456/2008-09

BEING AN M.A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, FACULTY OF ARTS, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS M.A (HISTORY)

DECEMBER, 2012

DECLARATION

I, Haruna Muhammad Suleimuri, hereby declare that this study is the product of my own research work and that it has never been submitted in any previous application for the award of higher degrees. All sources of information in this study have been duly and specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

_____ _____

Haruna Muhammad Suleimuri Date

CERTIFICATION

This M.A Thesis titled "**A STUDY OF THE CATTLE TRADING COMMUNITY IN UMUAHIA-IBEKU, c. 1914-2000**" by Haruna Muhammad Suleimuri, has been certified to have met part of the requirements governing the award of Masters of Arts (M.A) in Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Prof. J. G. Nengel External Examiner	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Sule Bello, PhD Major Supervisor	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe, PhD Minor Supervisor	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Mamman Musa Adamu, PhD Head of Department	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Prof. Adebayo A. Joshua Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies ABU Zaria	_____ Signature	_____ Date

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to Almighty Allah for granting me the health and resources to pursue this programme and to my parents Hamman Suleimuri and Rabi Muhammad for their love and prayers.

The work is also dedicated to all victims of violent conflicts wherever they are in Nigeria either dead or alive. Your blood spilled in whatever guise and your travails are not in vain.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the *Rahama* i.e. mercy of Almighty Allah through the opportunity He afforded me to achieve this monumental feat. Scholarship or acquisition of knowledge is such a wonderful and complex phenomenon that one person cannot share in its glory. Even the authorities on whom one bases his study there is no enough space to thank them. Nor is there enough space to thank those of your lecturers on whom one draws inspiration and acquire his training. Nor is there enough space to thank those of your family and friends who wished and even did you well during the course of your research. The list is endless and can go on and on. Or is it my first supervisor who I will like to describe as one of the most precise yet forceful scholar of our time in the person of Dr. Sule Bello. Not to talk of my second supervisor Dr. Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe who has been "on my toes" ever since I started this work. I cannot thank any of these people enough. However, as for my supervisors, I will like, to express my gratitude to them Dr. Sule Bello and Mustapha Muhammad Gwadabe whose diligent efforts, patience and guidance and understanding has enabled me to write this thesis. I also want to express my appreciation to my external examiner in the person of Prof. J. G. Nengel whose insightful and incisive observance has given the work the better shape that it now has. My interactions with him has also helped in broadening my horizon to understand inter-group relations and in appreciating the work done.

This accomplishment would not have been possible if not for the help I got from many people whose name I cannot put down all here due to want of space. It is not possible to mention by name all those that contributed to the realization of this project and my dream but I will like them to know that they are deeply appreciated; every one of

them. To my parents Hamman Suleimuri and Rabi Muhammad and siblings; Usman, Yusuf, Bilyaminu, Fatima, Shuaibu and last but not least Zainab I can never say thank you enough because you deserve more. Worthy of mention are also people like Prof. E. Oyedele, Mallam Toure-Kazah Toure, Dr. Shaaba Jimada, Dr. K.S. Chafe, Prof. Mahmoud Hamman, Dr. Mamman Musa Adamu, Dr. J. O. Agi, Prof. Abdulkadir Adamu and Mallam Ademu Adamu of the P.G. Library. These people have helped me greatly, some without even knowing it during and after my course work. I also want to thank the entire Department of History for their support always may Allah reward you all.

I will like to acknowledge my course mates during the P.G programme for their friendship and goodwill, people like Amina Bello Zailani are appreciated. Also appreciated are Mrs. Judith Asogwa for her "motherly" advice and Faskari Babangida, Rabiu Isah Hassan, Oladokun Benjamin, Mallam Ado Haruna, and many other P.G students who came after us such as Zainab Abdulrazaq, Rebecca Mutuah and Nana Aishatu Yakubu. I can never forget my good friend Catherine Gakkuk from my undergraduate days and even when we came back for our masters. I want you all to know that I appreciate you from the deepest recesses of my heart. Worthy of mention are also people like Dr. Talla Ngarka S. of the Department of History & Archaeology, TSU Jalingo, Mr. Fred Ayokhai of the of the Department of History & Diplomatic Studies, Federal University Lafia, Nasarawa State and Mr. Beavens Ajiduku of the Department of Languages and Linguistics, TSU Jalingo for proof-reading my work.

I want to also show my appreciation to Alhaji Salisu at Umuahia who served as my "chauffeur" during my fieldwork in that city. At Lokpanta I wish to appreciate people like Abdulkarim Musa (Bishop) for hosting me and Kabiru (KB Show). At Okigwe I

want to thank Garba (G Man) for his hospitality. I wish to also appreciate Mal. Aboki Muhammad Sani of the Department of Languages and Linguistics, Taraba State University for helping in translating some of the Hausa words in this thesis. At Enugu I want to register my appreciation to the staff of the National Archives. Finally to all those that helped me in one way or the other in the course of my research and writing of the thesis, who due to lack of space I cannot mention by name I say a very big thank you to you all.

ABSTRACT

The cattle trading community and the cattle market in Umuahia has played a significant role in the economic and inter-group relations aspects of the south-east and south-south parts of Nigeria. Therefore, with the relocation of the cattle market from Umuahia to Okigwe in 1994 the foundation of harmonious inter-group relationship that had hitherto become the hallmark of inter-group relations in Umuahia was shaken. The process set in motion with this development led to one of the bloodiest conflicts in the town in the year 2000 targeting members of the cattle trading community who even during the Nigerian Civil War were not harmed. This conflict led to the dislocation of the community who dispersed to various parts of Nigeria as a result. This was made possible because of the fact that what was initially linking the two communities i.e. the cattle market was no longer in Umuahia. Umuahia was the centre of activities of the peoples of Northern Nigerian origin in the eastern region. In essence, therefore, the cattle market played an important role in fostering and sustaining a harmonious inter-group relationship between the two communities in question. This research effort has shown that the cattle market formed the basis of the inter-group relationship in Umuahia. In this research effort we have examined the economic, political, cultural and religious organizations and practices of the Cattle Trading Community and the peoples whom they lived among in Umuahia and neighbouring towns and villages. Evidence have shown that members of the Cattle Trading Community have even before establishing permanent settlement been frequenting the markets in the villages and towns neighbouring Umuahia through the *Aro* trade routes and trade system. They were able to sustain this relationship over a long period because of the economic benefits derivable from it and because they were living together even in the Hausa quarters known as *Ama Hausa* in the Igbo language. Two theories have proved to be of great significance in this work. The work has been articulated in such a way to take care of not only the inter-group but also the intra-group aspect of the two peoples in question. The work employed the historical economy approach in reaching its conclusions.

PREFACE

The work started by giving a background of the study taking into consideration factors that were responsible for making the migration of the members of the cattle trading community into the Umuahia area. The climate was very instrumental in the various factors that drew the community into the area. The study is made up of eight chapters. Chapter one gives us the general introduction of the work and the various techniques that were employed toward the completion of the thesis. The chapter also incorporates the theoretical framework of the study and the literature review upon which the study found it basis. Chapter two presents a historical as well as the geographical account of Umuahia and an overview of the structure of the Cattle Trading Community. It also looked at the people that made up Umuahia and their traditions of origin as well as the process of migration in the area. While giving an outline history of Umuahia and a synopsis of the geography of the area, the chapter also looked at the basic concepts of migration and social formation and organization in Umuahia. Migration is one of the most significant components of the study in general and has been treated in this chapter.

Chapter three discusses the establishment of the Community and the cattle market or (*garke* or *garki: Hausa or walde: Fulfulde*) and the system of buying and selling in the market. It examined the evolution of the Community from few individuals into a full-fledged Community to reckon with in the affairs of Umuahia and Eastern Nigeria. It also looked at the organization of the cattle market. The organization took care of the various functionaries of the cattle market. Market days were another important aspect of the socio-economic system and commercial organization of the people of Umuahia in particular and the Igbo in general and this was also reflected in the market days of the

cattle market. The chapter also looked at the political organization of the cattle trading community and the intra-group relations in the community.

Chapter four gave an overview of migrant settlements in Nigeria in general and in Umuahia in particular. It also looked at Umuahia on the eve of the British colonization as well as the battles that led to the take-over of the town. The chapter also looked at some of the development during the colonial era and how favourable they were to Umuahia as well as the Community. It presented an overview of the social and economic activities of the Community and the relationship that existed between the Community and the people of Umuahia.

Chapter five is about post-colonial Nigeria and the nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia with focus on the subject of social formation, social integration and transformation. The evolution of political institutions in Umuahia and its system of inclusion or exclusion is another theme of the chapter. The chapter also examined the subject of marriage and inter-marriage in Umuahia between the Community and the Igbo in Eastern Nigeria.

Chapter six looked at the Nigerian civil war and inter-group relations in Nigeria in post Nigerian Civil War era. It also examined migrations or movements during this time out of Umuahia and the coming back of the Community after the war. It also examined those developments leading to the relocation of the cattle market to Ubakala by the Abia State Military government and the refusal of the Community to move there and instead moved to Okigwe in Imo State. Most importantly it explored the level of inter-group

relations in the area and how entrenched the subject of economic inter-dependence developed in the area with cattle market and trade as its cementing phenomenon.

Chapter seven looked at the relocation of the cattle market to Okigwe by the majority of the members of the community. It also looked at the establishment of the Ubakala cattle market by the Abia State Military government under the Governorship of Col. Ike Nwosu which saw little or no patronage at all by the members of the community. The effect of the relocation of the cattle market is also an important aspect of the chapter as it also examined the changing nature of inter-group relation in the area. Chapter eight is the general conclusion and a summary of the work. The chapter organization is so structured to take care of the study in its entirety.

NOTES ON SOURCES

For this study, we have used a wide variety of sources. These included formal and informal interviews at Umuahia, Okigwe, Lokpanta, Kaduna, Jalingo and the National Archive in Enugu Nigeria, published official documents, contemporary newspapers, Nigerian popular literature, and published secondary literature. The sources used in this study range from oral to written as it were the expectation from all historical studies. All sources have their story or history, which is what we attempt to present here. We are going to look at particularly the background of those that provided us with oral information that helped in this study. This is done in order to not only appreciate the study but to also present those people as part of the history of which we are presenting. We will like to first of all say that there is no any comprehensive written history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia ever. This attempt was the first and it was based on some fragmentary colonial records as well as some oral information many of whom we had to screen. In the process we are now able to come up what we consider to be the best effort so far. Any other review will have to await the discovery of different other sources of which there are serious doubt.

Having said this we will now proceed to look at our sources of information starting with the archival materials followed by oral sources. The archival sources have been of great help to me in the forming the framework of the study as well as the confirmation of the period under study.

National Archives of Nigeria, Enugu branch (NAE)

The Enugu branch of the National Archives contains the files of several departments; the Provincial and District Offices in the former Eastern Provinces

(including information relating to the Anglophone part of Cameroon which used to be ruled as a mandate area by the British), the proceedings of a number of Native Courts in that area, as well as the files of some Local Authorities. We mainly used files from the Departmental, Provincial and District Offices as well as court cases and deeds of agreement.

The documents we used can be seen in the footnotes as well as details of the actual documents which are given in the reference section. The importance of this type of source is enormous as far as this work is concerned. We came to realize this importance particularly in the establishment of the period of study which helped us not only in starting the study but also to complete the study. These two (oral and archival sources) can be categorized under primary sources in the context of this study.

Oral Interviews

Apart from the significant role played by the archival sources the oral interviews conducted has been very helpful also. It was through oral interviews that I was able to establish the starting point of this study. The oral interview confirmed what C. C. Ifemesia wrote in his book on the subject of the transfer of the Aro trade fair from Bende to Uzuakoli. The people of Uzuakoli however were not all that welcoming to the strangers who come to the area to trade. The people I interviewed to the best of my knowledge had no access to the book. But at the same this was an important historical development that was well known in the area. This category of source has been very helpful indeed. Below is the list of some of the people interviewed and some brief biography on them:

Mal. Garba Umaru Sarki Dogon Yaro aka JB Dan Aro born 1945: this is the son to Sarki Umaru Dogon Yaro who took over from Sarki Mamman Na-Akere after his in Jos in 1953.

Mrs. Aisha Altine Mamman Na-Akare, 75 years of No. 15 Crowder Street, Umuahia: this is the daughter of Sarki Mamman Na-Akare who was captured during the Civil War and was made to marry one Igbo man. She is still in the man's house and has given birth to many children. Her first husband was Sarki Abbo Garua from whose house she was captured.

Alh. Ali Ogiwo, 51 years, of No. 6 Ogoja Lane, Umuahia: this is the Chief Imam of Umuahia presently and he is an Igbo.

Mazi Friday Onwudinjo, 64 years, of Umuezi, Ibeku, Umuahia: this is one of the butchers from Ibeku whose grandfather, father and senior brother were all butchers.

Alh. Shuaibu Mallam Pate, born 1952.

Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, 55 Years.

Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri 54 years.

Alhaji Audu Inuwa Idem, born 1945, 67 years.

Alhaji Ibrahim Idi AKA Ibrahim Jaguda, 55 years.

GLOSSARY

English	Igbo	Fulfulde	Hausa
Kraal/cattle market	*Gariki*	*Walde*	*Garke*
Merchant	*Onye ahia*		*falke*
Broker		*Joumu sare*	*fatoma/dillali*
Retailers		Sippotoo□ee	*Yan Baranda*
Cattle Tenders	*ndi lekota*		*Yan Ware/tare*
Commission		*La'ada*	*La'ada*
Aborigine	*Ama ala* or *Okpu*		*Dan kasa*
Stranger or migrant	*Mbiarambia*	*ko□o*	*Bako/matafiyi*
To become Muslim	*O chiela* Hausa		
Itinerant haberdashers	*ndi ahia*		*yan koli*
Courtiers			*fadawa*
Cattle Drover	*o chi nnama*	*Gainako*	*Gainako*
Chief of a Hausa settlement	*Onye isi ahia*		*Sarkin Zango*
First wife	*nwanyi mbu*	*daada saare*	*uwargida*
New bride (wife)	*nwunye ohuru*	*amarya*	*amarya*
Teacher	*onye nkuzi*	*mallumjo*	*Malam*
Charm	*nsi*	*asiri*	*Kurciya/sammu*
Cloth	*akwa nmiri*		*Godo*
Rope money	*ego udo*	*cede □oggi*	*kudin igiya (la'ada)*
This is our land	*eba bu ala anyi*	*lesdi aa meen*	*□asanmu ne*
Tradition	*ome na-ala*	*Ndono*	*al'ada*
Title holder	*Ichie or ozo*		
Assembly	*Amala*		*madalisa*
Square	*Ama* or *Mbara*		*da'ira*
Big square	*Mbara Ukwu*		*babbar da'ira*
Initiation ceremony	*itu-anya*, *iwa-akwa*		
Cleansing ritual	*Ikwa-ala*		
Cult	*Okonko*		
Locally made soap	*Ncha-Ogbe*		*sabulun salo*
Merry-making	*Mmemme*		*biki*
Masquerade	*Ekpo*		*Dodo*
Yam festival	*iri-ji*		bikin sabuwar doya
Birth	*ime-izu*	*inde*	bikin haihuwa/suna
Caravan	*otu ije*		
Seasonal labour migrants			*'yancirani*

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This is a history of inter-group relations in Southeastern Nigeria. The study deals with the people of Umuahia, Southeastern Nigeria and the people of Northern Nigerian origin who settled in Umuahia. This includes the Fulbe, the Hausa, the Kanuri and the Shuwa Arab who together formed the Cattle Trading Community. The seriousness and urgency for which Nigeria need this kind of study is not in question following the trend which its peoples are taking toward bloody sectarian clashes which is threatening the very foundation of the Nigerian state. This is the kind of study whose importance and significance to the understanding of the history of relationships and interactions between the different Nigerian peoples can be brought to the fore and understood. Hence, the study has brought out the basic elements of relationships that existed between the Fulbe, the Hausa, the Kanuri the Shuwa-Arab as a community and the Igbo in Umuahia and neighbouring communities of the Southeastern and the South-South part of Nigeria. This is the socio-economic interaction based on the cattle trade and other socio-economic factors.

The members of the cattle trading particularly the Fulbe, the Hausa, the Kanuri and the Shuwa who were found in Umuahia were inially hunters, traders and nomads. This is to say that they move frequently from one place to another in search of means of survival. In the case of Umuahia they found it more convenient to settle down due to the

favourable nature of the environment through participation in the Aro trade system.[1] This is in addition to the hospitality of the people living in this area. Another reason was the mutual needs of the people involved on the socio-economic realm. Human relations or interactions are built on the benefits derivable from it. The task of history is to find out those benefits so as to examine how they worked over time in the course of the history of an area. This is where the history of the Cattle Trading Community starts in the Eastern Nigerian town of Umuahia-Ibeku.

The question of citizenship in Nigeria as it relates to this study is of paramount importance. More than anything else it has drawn the attention of Nigerians from the scholars to the politicians and to even the ordinary man on the streets. This is because it has to do with one belonging to the Nigerian state or not. It is therefore the question of inclusion or exclusion in the Nigerian state. This has affected not only the pattern of migration especially with the inception of colonialism but also has shaped the pattern of settlement in Nigeria. This, however, depends on which part of the country one is talking about or studying.

Over the years, therefore, different kinds of people especially scholars and governments have tried to comprehend as well as solve the problem caused by the diverse nature of the Nigerian state. It will be important to note, however, that to have one people in a country is not a guarantee that conflict will not occur. If one looks at what is happening in Somalia, it is a good example. And to be made up of different peoples is also not a guarantee for conflict in an area. We say this, however, knowing that conflict

[1] C. C. Ifemesia, 1978, *Southeastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: An Introductory Analysis,* New York: NOK Publishers International Ltd., p. 30.

can both be violent and non-violent. The existence of differences in a society either ethnic, linguistic, religious and so on cannot be said to be the only reason for the outbreak of violent clashes or even the retaliatory or reprisal attacks that come from it. We also take into consideration the inherent contradictions in all human societies.

The study of the history of relationship between the people of Umuahia Ibeku and the Cattle Trading Community and all other groups in Nigeria is blighted by wrong perceptions and stereotypes which regrettably affects historical studies in Nigeria. Perception is how something is experienced and interpreted by people. Perception is distinguished from information and knowledge. A perception can be true or false, justified or unjustified. Perception is the result of many factors including socialization, education, availability of information, and individual or group needs.[2]

Some of these perceptions speak of Nigerian peoples as antagonistic groups from the beginning of their contacts.[3] This, however, could be said to be the legacy of colonialism whose main aim would not be achieved except through divide and rule. No matter how we try to deny it the fact still remains that colonialism has played a

[2] International Organization for Migration, Geneva, 2011, "Managing Perception," http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/migration-management-foundations/managing-perception/cache/offonce/

[3] See Thorp, Ellen, 2000, *Ladder of Bones: The Birth of Modern Nigeria from 1853 to Independence,* Ibadan: Spectrum Books. This book tries to show that right from the pre-colonial times Africa has been characterized by "inter-tribal" wars. It therefore became the "White Man's Burden" to come and "civilize" the African "savages".; Margery Perham, 1937, *Native Administration in Nigeria,* London: Oxford University Press.; Fredrick Lugard, 1929, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* 4th ed. London: William Blackwood.; C. K. Meek, 1937, *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe,* London: Oxford University Press.; Terry Ranger, 1994, "The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa," in P. Kaarsholm & J. Hultin, (eds.), *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism,* Occasional Paper No. 11, International Development Studies, Roskilde University.; A. Smock, 1969, "NCNC and Ethnic Unions in Biafra," *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 1.; M. G. Smith, 1960, *Government in Zazzau,* London: Oxford University Press. This is to review a few of the many colonial sources and their apologist on their wrong but yet celebrated views of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

significant role in contemporary inter-group relations conflict in Nigeria.[4] The post-colonial project in Nigeria has not quite transcended this phenomenon of division; take for example the civil war, communal violence and reprisal attacks of recent years. Up till this moment in Nigeria, we are still talking in terms of various dichotomies such as the South, the North and divisions on many other levels. The present situation where Nigeria is experiencing sporadic ethnic conflicts in almost all parts of the country can be said to be a result of colonialism and its policies. This is a problem that has been persistent in the colonial historiography and the Africanist historian's response to it is not altogether satisfactory.[5] This issue therefore, is at the heart of this study.

Another such wrong perception is the fact that the Igbo regard and refer to anyone from the Northern part of Nigeria as Hausa. This is not withstanding the fact that the majority of the people who ended up as "settlers" in this region are Fulbe with a substantial Kanuri population and some pockets of Hausa. This has made it to the extent that even the Islamic religion is seen as an exclusive "property" of the "Hausa". To the extent that when any Igbo convert to Islam he is regarded as one who has become Hausa. He or she is referred to in this way: *o chiela* Hausa; translated roughly as "he has become

[4] Mohammad J. Kuna, 2005, "Coloniality and the Geography of Conflicts: A Typology," in Yakubu, A. M., et al, (eds.), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003,* Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University.

[5] See Tokunbo Simbowale & Oladipupo Sunday Osinubi, 2006, "Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary Africa: The Nigerian Experience," in *Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 12, No. 2, Kamla-Raj, pp. 101-114.; Achie Mafeje, 1995, "Demographic and Ethnic Variations: A Source of Instability in Modern African States," paper presented at the 8th General Assembly of CODESRIA, Dakar, June.; Okudiba Nnoli, 1978, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria,* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.; Okudiba Nnoli, 1995, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria,* Aldershot, England, UNRISD and Avebury.; Okudiba Nnoli, 1995, "Ethnic Conflicts and Democratization in Africa," paper presented at the 8th General Assembly of CODESRIA, Dakar, June; Tijani, Abdulwahab, 2008, "Ethnic Relations: A Study of Hausa Community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria 1924-1967," Ogbomoso: Department of General Studies, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Kamla-Raj 2008, *Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 253-260; Tijani, Abdulwahab, 2008, "The Hausa Community in Agege, Nigeria 1906–1967," Ogbomoso: Department of General Studies, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Kamla-Raj 2008, *Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 173-180.

Hausa". This may sound harmless but a fundamental problematic as far as intergroup relations and interactions in this area is concerned. The interview we had with Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, the present Chief Imam of Umuahia and an Igbo Muslim confirmed this assertion.[6]

> The members of the cattle trading did not help matters in the propagation of the Islamic religion making it to appear as if was only them that were fit to be Muslim. There was this discrimination which distances the people of the east from the religion and this was what affected the slow growth of the religion in the area. This informed our peoples' perception that the Islamic religion was the exclusive preserve of the "Hausa".[7]

There is a long tradition of studies on ethnicity in Nigeria. Scholars have examined the ideological orientation and social bases of political parties. Admittedly, few studies have also focused on ethnicity and the citizenship question in the Nigerian socioeconomic sector. The focus of these studies has also been too general. Little or no attention was directed to explaining the dynamic linkages of structures of ethnicity, the true essence of the Nigeria nation-state. Also, no attention was paid to the public perception, attitudes and behavior regarding cultural integration and cross fertilization that has been taking place in Nigeria. Most importantly, none of the studies examined the activities of the peoples of Northern Nigerian origin resident in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. This is where this work is of great significance because it combined a host of themes dealing with inter and intra group relation in Umuahia and how it affects the Nigerian state.

This study departs from the previous studies of inter-group relations and ethnicity in Nigeria as cited above and investigates the dynamic interplay of structures of inter-

[6] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, 51, interview on 10-09-2011.
[7] Ibid.

group relations and ethnicity in Umuahia Ibeku in particular. In this way, the study shows special sensitivity to the complex way ethnic groups have intermingled in Nigeria in the past years and the changes that have occurred in the course of the history of Nigeria. Thus, the importance of this study lies in its investigation of ethnic intermingling and the possibilities for conflict in general. It also analyzes the effectiveness of the inter-ethnic relationship between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria and in Umuahia in particular. The study examines the nature and structure of inter-group relations and ethnicity in Nigeria and the relationships that have existed between the Nigerian ethnic groups in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. The question, therefore, is: to what extent have the people living together for such a long time been effective in managing the diversity of the Nigerian state and socio-economic relations in Umuahia Ibeku?

David Welsh asserts that "the precipitation of ethnic identities becomes incomprehensible if it is divorced from colonial rule";[8] similarly, ethnicity is not a "natural cultural residue but a consciously crafted ideological creation".[9] These two statements directly apply to colonial Nigeria as they discuss the relevant connection between colonialism and ethnic or cultural identity, the former creating and manipulating the latter. British colonial administrators implemented policies through a tripartite structure with the intention of producing a Nigerian federation presiding over three regional governments with legislative power.[10] This tripartite division perpetuated ethnic divisions between the Northern Hausa and Fulani, Eastern Igbo, and Western Yoruba and

[8] David Welsh, 1996, "Ethnicity in sub-Saharan Africa," in *International Affairs,* Vol. 72, No. 3, p. 479.
[9] Ibid., p. 480.
[10] Frederick Cooper, 2002, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 69.

between the majority and minority ethnic groups; it strengthened these ethnic identities as interest groups fighting for political representation and power.

The study uses both primary and secondary sources of data to examine these questions. Primary sources included interviews conducted with a cross-section of people, most of whom are members of the Cattle Trading Community and a good number of the Igbo people whom the cattle traders lived among. Some of the Igbo that were interviewed have been part and parcel of the cattle trading business through generations, to the extent that their great grand fathers were butchers.

While this study is not about conflict per se, it recognizes the fact that inter-group relation is conflict ridden in Nigeria.[11] This conflict could be violent or just the presence of tension among the people. At the termination of our study on Monday, 28th February in the year 2000, there occurred one of the bloodiest of conflict in the history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia Ibeku. Our investigations included finding out what went wrong. What has been the situation in the past, how comes this violent conflict and most importantly, why now? We have seen that over the years the peoples have lived in considerable harmony. Though, there was the existence of harmonious relationship over the years, the crisis of 2000 showed that the conflict was as a result of pent-up anger over the years. This was especially so after the Nigerian Civil War. The riot as the people used to refer to it or conflict came about in retaliation of the attack that was carried out on some Igbo elements in Kaduna the previous week. It was alledged that a lorry load of

[11] This fact is not far-fetched considering the fact that Nigeria is made up many ethnic groups and with its colonial experience and its policy of divide and rule. This diverse nature was turned into an advantage for the colonialist and it has now become a serious problem for the Nigerian state.

dead Igbo people was brought to Awka or Aba or Onitsha. This was what provoked some Igbo elements who took up arms against Northeners in the Southeast.

This crisis led to the dispersal of the Cattle Trading Community with many going back to the North. Few of the members of the Community remained in Umuahia. Many of the members of the Community relocated their families to the North only coming to Umuahia for business. By this time though, the cattle market had been relocated to Okigwe in Imo State. The cattle market was relocated to Okigwe because in 1994 the then Military Administrator of Abia State in person of Col. Ike Nwosu had forced the cattle market to be moved to Ubakala, another part of Umuahia, because the present market was situated right in the heart of Umuahia town.

The basis for unity of the various ethnic nationals of Nigeria is on the ground. This can be found in the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia Eastern Nigeria. The community had been living peacefully in Umuahia conducting economic, political, social and religious activities in the area. But contradictions and conflicts as it later occurred between these peoples is a necessary part of life of different groups of peoples. What is important is the discovery of those things that makes for more peaceful co-existence between the different groups and exploring them. This is where the task of the historian becomes significant in terms of the study of the human society and it shows that history is the very destiny of the human race.

As far as we cannot understand the issues that made the people to be together at one time only to despise one another in the end and want to harm or even go to the extent of harming one another, we can never find the solution to this systemic problem of

violent conflict in Nigeria. This study is a step towards that direction. The terms "tribe" or "ethnic" group has not mattered and is not even an issue and neither was it present in the long history of Africa. Also in the long history of the peoples of the Nigerian area this has not mattered before the advent of colonialism. This was true of the Nigerian area before colonialism. An important feature of all human societies is interdependence for we need one another if not for nothing but for survival through exchange of socio-cultural nature and most importantly economic reasons.

The concern of this study is with peoples or communities (in this case the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria). This community is made up of people living outside of their place of "origin" and the kind of relationship that they were able to establish with their "host" community. Efforts have been made to look at how they related among themselves (intra-group relation), and the challenges that they had to encounter as a people collectively. They had to interact with the Igbo in many respects and this is where the inter-group relation aspect comes into being. We have also examined how they were able to solve those challenges either peacefully or with resort to violent conflicts. The activities of the different groups in this study i.e. the Fulbe (Fulani), the Hausa, the Kanuri and the Shuwa have been looked into in terms of economic, social, cultural and political organizations. These peoples are components of the Community and no one component can function on its own. Consequently, this study is on two levels; level one looks at the relationship that existed between the Igbo and the Cattle Trading Community. On the second level the study looked at the social, political and economic struggles within the Cattle Trading Community itself. The last aspect also makes for an

interesting study. The factor that made this study possible is migration and the subsequent establishment of settlement by the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia c. 1895.

In terms of inter-group relations between the people of Umuahia and the Cattle Trading Community, our research have been able to establish that the cattle market and trade fostered harmonious and cordial relationship in Umuahia between the people of Umuahia and the cattle trading community. Central to our discussions is the term community which according to Ann Boyles it was Aristotle who first defined the word "community" as a group established by men having shared values. That initial definition has been refined and expanded through the years. We have come, for example, to recognize that people can belong to a number of different "communities" simultaneously -communities of place; cultural communities; communities of memory, in which people who may be strangers share "a morally significant history"; and psychological communities "of face-to-face personal interaction governed by sentiments of trust, co-operation, and altruism."[12] Community- is an evolving state. But it is so central to our world, that it makes sense to reflect on its meaning and understand what has changed, and what remains constant, in the meaning of community.

1.2 Scope of the Study

One of the reasons for the establishment of presence of the Cattle Trading Community in this area is because it provided them with the pasture for their cattle. It also served as one of the biggest market for cattle dealers in the region of Eastern Nigeria and the South-South. This study is essentially concerned with the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia Ibeku. They are mostly sedentary and their main occupation is

[12] Daniel Bell, 1993, *Communitarianism and its Critics,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 14, as cited in Ann Boyles, 1996 "The Meaning of Community," in *The Bahá'í World,* 1996-97, ed.

cattle rearing and sales and their goods are purchased all over the Eastern part of Nigeria and the Niger Delta by butchers and other private individuals coming from far and near.

The period that this study covered is 1914-2000 which coincided with the formal establishment of the Cattle Market at Umuahia. The Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia however was established even before this period, as early as c. 1895. Cattle trade was not their first occupation in the area. They came to the area as result trade in clothing, ivory, beads, kola nut and so on. It looked at the period when the cattle market was established in around 1914 at Umuahia area up to when the cattle market was moved away from Umuahia in 1994. It also examined the conflict of the year 2000 as reprisal attacks of the conflict that took place in the Northern part of Nigeria which affected some Igbo people. The conflict spilled over to some cities in the East with Umuahia as one of these cities. This period is significant because it has captured the history of this people in a fairly accurate manner, in such a way that there is no room for leaving anything out. In the history of the Cattle Trading Community in this area and the neighbouring villages and towns in Eastern region of Nigeria the cattle market and cattle trade had played a significant role boosting the economy of the area as well as inter-group relations.

It is important to note also that the year 1895 marked a turning point in the history of Umuahia, being the eve of formal contact with the Europeans which was to lead to colonialism. The first Europeans to set their foot on Umuahia came in 1896 on their way to Bende. As for the members of the cattle trading community they started making their presence in the Umuahia area as from c. 1895. This was therefore the period the members of the cattle trading community started to come to Umuahia and eventually make it home. Colonialism starting effectively in 1900 served as the beginning of the end for the

harmonious relationship between the various groups that subsequently make up the Nigerian state. The topic itself captured the essence of inter-group relations and manifests itself as reflecting the true nature of the Nigerian state made up of different but not differing groups in the pre-colonial period. Inter-group relations and contact has never been these devastatingly ridden with conflict in the pre-colonial period as the colonialist would want us believe. The colonialist went to the extent of saying that this was why they came to Africa for their "mission to civilize".[13] This study has proved otherwise. It has also showed that the colonialist would not have come to Africa if not for the necessity that the advancement in their production system brought about by industrialization. One would not expect them to say that they have come to seek for market and sell their surplus products because market at home could not buy up all that they were producing.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is expected to achieve the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge and to contribute to the thorny and much needed issue of unity in diversity in Nigeria. It will also open a new line of enquiry into the true nature of Nigerian history in such a way that it will serve scholarship and humanity in general.

It hopes to enhance social relations in Nigeria in particular to eliminate the parochial tendency of some of its peoples towards violence against one another by bringing to light the harmonious relationship existing between the peoples not only in the pre-colonial period but even in the formative years of colonialism.

[13] See C. C. Ifemesia, Dec. 1962, "The 'Civilizing' Mission of 1841: Aspects of an Episode in Anglo-Nigerian Relations," in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria,* Vol. 2 No. 3, pp. 291-310.

To present a means or medium through which Nigeria could achieve the status of a nation, this will lead to peace for which the people will live and carry out their activities anywhere without fear of being attacked or maimed.

The study is significant in the sense that it will help in dispelling the erroneous colonial historiography about the Nigerian peoples and to correct the inadequate response to it by the Africanist historians.

It will also show the significance of Umuahia to Cattle Trading Community, and the colonialists in search of market for their industrial goods and raw materials. The ecology of the area falls under the important palm belt and it is known to be favourable for other farm produce such as cassava and so on.

Umuahia as a commercial centre is also a cosmopolitan city that is made up of many migrant groups both within the vicinity of Igboland and beyond. It is therefore an outpost of diversity itself and reflects the nature of the Nigerian state. The significance of the study therefore lies in its ability to bring this into general knowledge of the Nigerian peoples.

This is a pioneering work in the sense that the members of the cattle trading community living in Umuahia has never been studied before. This project has been carried out in order to correct this defect and to help in completing and complementing the history of Nigeria.

1.4 Statement of Research Problem

Since the establishment of the community and cattle market up to 1994 when the market was relocated to Okigwe, there was no record of hostility between the people. After 1994, without the cattle market in Umuahia, which was serving as the binding force

of socio-economic relationship in Umuahia, inter group relations began to deteriorate. This came to a head in the year 2000 when one of the bloodiest conflicts took place in Umuahia. This happened in retaliation of the previous week's ethno religious conflict in Kaduna and other Northern Nigeria cities. Even though on this occasion, the direct involvement of the people of Umuahia was late, they were encouraged by the coming of the dreaded *Bakassi Boys* from Aba to Umuahia. This conflict completely transformed the socio-economic landscape of Umuahia and Eastern Nigeria. This study also examines the harmonious relationship based on the benefit derivable from the activities in the cattle industry of Umuahia.

This research examined the establishment of the cattle trading community in Umuahia Ibeku. It also looked at the factors that favoured the establishment of the cattle market. With the founding of the community and the establishment of the cattle market socio-economic relationship took a new dimension in Umuahia. The study also examines the diverse nature of the Nigerian nation and peoples and seeks to uncover the issues as well as the problematic that have characterized their relationship with one another in the face of cultural diversities as distinct groups and within the same group. The study dealt with the inter and intra group relations between the Cattle Trading Community who are mainly Muslims and the Igbo people in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria who are mainly Christians and traditionalists or animists in their religious inclinations. This is a necessary study which has cast light on the thorny issue of unity in Nigeria and the much talked about and much needed unity in diversity. This complex mix of ethnicity and regionalism in Nigeria has allowed political and cultural entrepreneurs to exploit divisions and sub classifications to suit their purposes. We can see this in the various political frictions that

occurred within the cattle trading community as a result of power play between the titans of the community.

The issue of indigene/settler dichotomy in Nigeria arises out of inter-group interactions and hence a problem not only of the federal system that is practiced by Nigeria and reinforced by the very constitution that is to protect the rights of the citizens. It is important to note, therefore, the challenges and pitfalls in the practice of federalism in Nigeria and the call by some scholars to review this system that view the people based on indigenes and non-indigenes instead of as citizens.[14] The study of inter-group relations normally leads to the discovery of some stereotypes. It is, therefore, the duty of the historian to discuss those stereotypes with the sole aim of explaining them for posterity.

The terms "tribe" or "ethnic group" has not mattered and is not even present in the long history of Africa[15] and in the long history of the peoples of the Nigerian area before the advent of colonialism. This was true of the Nigerian area before colonialism. Archie Mafeje on his part completely condemned the use of the term "tribe" or any other terms that do not bring out and which obscure the reality of the social existence of a people to describe the peoples of Africa by the Europeans.[16] And looking at it one will see that those terms or distinctions are only referring to the Africans who the Europeans had contact with. Because the Europeans always want to have a label for something, they always want to give something a name, often degrading names to distinguish it or them from their own. The issue is that of identity and recognition as it affects the Nigerian

[14] See Toure Kazah-Toure, 2004, "A Discourse on the Citizenship Question in Nigeria," in *Journal of West African Affairs,* Vol. 4, No. 1, CDD, pp. 41-63.
[15] See Archie Mafeje, August, 1971, "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'," in *The Modern Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 9 No. 2, pp. 253-61, JSTOR, at http://www.jstor/stable/159443?seq=1
[16] Ibid.

state. An important feature of all human societies is interdependence[17] for we need one another if for nothing but for survival. This comes about in the kind of positions we occupy in the production and distribution mechanism of the society. This is in the economic level for when one is benefiting from someone he does not want to know or ask from which "tribe" or "ethnic" group the person comes from. This picture pretty much describes all human societies and our area of study is a good example and no exception.

The subject of "inter-group" relation arises out of the fact that Nigeria is made up of many different groups and these groups are not living in isolation from one another, they interact.[18] Therefore the issue of relationship and how these different groups have interacted with one another is one that we cannot run away from, and this study, therefore, inasmuch as it is a necessary one also brings out the relevance of understanding inter-group relations in the context of Nigerian history. There is the need to understand the social nature of man not only in relation to his fellow man but in relation to his environment.

Colonialism brought with it a kind of false consciousness among the people of the Nigerian area and destructive identities that are resulting in the sporadic violent ethnic clashes and ethnic cleansing. This legacy has become pervasive and constitutes a serious impediment to the writing of Nigerian history of both the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods.

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[17] Okpeh O. Okpeh, Jr., 2006, "Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Studies in Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria in the 20th Century," in Olayemi Akinwumi, et al (eds.), 2006, *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, p. 6.

[18] See Crawford Young, 1973, *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism,* Madison: The University Wisconsin Press.

Devoid of colonial experience in Nigeria, inter-group relations have been considerably peaceful with economic factors dominating the relationship and hence the people were very cooperative. Peace had always been the concern of traders, pastoralists, travelers and nomads in general.

The indigenous leadership that took over after the termination of colonial domination made no effort to foster unity in concrete terms in the form of reviewing the colonial system and the way the colonialist conceived the Nigerian peoples. The extent to which this could be explained by the interests of the leaders is another subject of this study.

1.5 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding on occupational migration and inter-group relations in Nigeria. To establish the historical fact that violent conflict was not a constant feature of the relationship of the different peoples that make up the Nigerian state in the pre-colonial era.

To show that mutually beneficial relationships had evolved among different ngerian groups before colonial rule. There is need to, therefore, bring this to the knowledge of the people so as to identify ways of increasing this dependence and awareness among the people so as to have lasting peace in Nigeria.

To show that colonial activities changed the content and nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia towards meeting the goals of coloniazation.

To show that the relationship between the the cattle trading community and its host has been largely peaceful. To show that occasional violent conflict among the community and its host were due largely to extraneous factors.

To show that unlike in the North where the colonialist saw to it that peoples of different cultural, social and religious relationship lived separately, in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria the migrant and the "natives" live together. This study hopes to find out why this was so and factors that made that possible.

To show that trade formed the primary basis of inter-group relatins between the cattle trading community and their host.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Many issues are involved in inter-group interactions as a result many explanations of its nature are also available. Any one of them is true based on the circumstances on ground at the time. Perspectives also differ and this is to be expected because the scholars occupy different positions in the society as well as coming from different intellectual backgrounds. In the social sciences there are many disciplines and all have their theories of inter-group relations. Dike and Ekejiuba in their study of the *Aro* of Southeastern Nigeria used multiple theories to explain the socio-economic and political changes that took place within the *Aro* society and how they influenced many historical developments in the Igbo area.[19] In this study it is our intention also to do the same by the use of combined theoretical[20] framework in order to elucidate the phenomenon of inter-group relations in its broadest sense. Hence, this study is adopting the theory of Mutual Aid and the Interdependence Theory among other beneficial theories of inter-group relation to explain inter-group relations in Umuahia.

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[19] See Dike, K. O. and Ekejiuba, Felicia, 1990, *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria, 1650-1980: A study of socio-economic formation and transformation in Nigeria,* Ibadan: University Press Ltd.

[20] Barth, Fredrik, 1969, (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference,* Oslo: Universitets Forlaget, p. 10.

Therefore, the theoretical framework adopted for this study is going to be the inter-disciplinary approach[21] that is to say it would use a multiplicity of theories. This multiplicity of theories range from: Mutual Aid Theory, Interdependence Theory as we have said earlier. It will also include such theories as: Theory of Cultural Pluralism, Theory of Nation Building and or State Building, the Conflict Theory and Accommodation and Integration Theory. The Mutual Aid Theory and Interdependence Theory has it that man by nature, is a dependent creature: he depends on his environment and others for food, shelter and clothing, all of which give him a sense of purpose here on earth.[22] Okpeh Jr. who uses these theories also accepts and acknowledges the role of conflict as a necessary consequence of the complex nature of contact and interactions between groups. He also attempts to bridge the gap between the two perspectives by positing that they are two sides of the same coin, depending, "on the dynamics of the configuring variables and the placement of interacting groups in this broad process".[23]

Okpeh Jr. in his contribution on the conceptual and theoretical issues on studies of inter-group relations highlighted the significance of contact and interaction between groups and he tied it to the economic factor of survival.[24] He continued by saying that this has remained universally constant and basic.[25] In looking at these issues he tried to explain the concept of Mutual Aid which recognizes the necessity for cooperation among human beings even in the face of the all-important question of the struggle for the basic

[21] Adebayo Adedeji, (ed.), 1999, *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search for Sustainable Peace & Good Governance,* London, Zaria & Ijebu-Ode: Zeb Books, ABU Press & ACDESS, p. 348.
[22] Okpeh O. Okpeh, Jr., 2006, "Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Studies in Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria in the 20th Century," in Olayemi Akinwumi, et al (eds.), 2006, *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, p. 6.
[23] Ibid., p. 6.
[24] Ibid., p. 7.
[25] Ibid., p. 7.

things of life. Concluding his argument on this issue he wrote that even the Marxist thesis that sees contradictions in all human societies as a constant feature also did not wish away social relations of the human society. This conceptual insight (Mutual Aid) recognizes and upholds consensus and co-operation as the dominant feature of society; both in time past and at present.

Inter-group relation as a study is complex, in the sense that we are dealing with multiple peoples as well as disciplines. The world outlook of these peoples and perspectives of the disciplines all combine to make the study of inter-group relation such an interesting endeavour. In this sense therefore despite the fact that this study has stuck to the Mutual Aid Theory and Interdependence Theory it had from time to time in the course of the writing of this thesis resort to using other theories as enumerated above to explain some of the developments in Umuahia.

In the final analysis, two main theoretical approaches deal with the subject of inter-group relationship as used in this study, raising issues which help to provide a context within which the specific experiences of the Nigerian peoples relating to inter-group relations can be located. When it comes to the history of inter-group relations in Nigeria many factors are into play; these are political factors, economic factors, social factors, cultural factors, religious factors, individual and group perceptions or factors not to mention the different disciplines that we have which study human behaviour. The list could go on and on; however, the point is that one theory is not enough in trying to understand the salient issues that make up inter-group relations in Nigeria. For our purpose, however, we have made use of the Interdependence Theory and the Mutual Aid Theory because we are looking at the level of needs of the people of Umuahia and the

Cattle Trading Community and how these needs were satisfied through their interactions over the years.

1.7 Literature Review

The study of inter-group relations in Nigeria has attracted the attention of not only historians but people from other disciplines. They have tried in various ways to conceptualize and to understand the factors that characterized inter-group relations in Nigeria. Most of the studies that have been carried out which as we have indicated come short of reducing the history of inter-group relations to some restricted themes or issues. This has prompted us to reexamine the matter and come up with new perspectives in relation to the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. In an attempt to reconstruct the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria in relation to their "host" community a variety of sources have been used that have to do with some issues and concepts relating to inter-group relations which need to be clarified. Concepts such as migration and its patterns, indigene-settler dichotomy, settlements, community and group, stereotypes, conflict.

The significance of the sources to our study lie on the fact that they provide important explanation to some terms or concepts that helps us in the understanding of the subject of study i.e. inter-group relations and the socio-economic activities of the Cattle Trading Community. In terms of the object of study i.e. the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, most of the work have been completed in the field, as there is no work that have been carried out looking at the history of the Cattle Trading Community in

Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. The literature review that is hereunder has to do with the position of some scholars on the subject of inter-group relations and conflict.

One major work in this category is Howard Wolpe's *Urban Politics in Nigeria: Study of Port Harcourt*. This book identifies socioeconomic roles and identities as the most significant of communal politics. It sees communalism as a persistent feature of social change[26] and that tradition-modernity models have obscured this fact. This work which is centered on Port Harcourt is significant in the sense that the city is populated primarily by culturally diverse rural immigrants. This city which is situated outside of the main Igbo "area" is important in many respects: site of Nigeria's second largest harbor, the centre of the country's petroleum industry and the nation's second largest industrial centre.[27] The work set out to identify and understand patterns of urban conflict and community power so as to acquire insight into the politics of regional and national systems in which cities are embedded. The urban community is a good example of understanding ethnic and religious makeup of Nigerian East.[28] Umuahia as an urban community but whose status is different with that of Port Harcourt also present the same case of "cosmopolitan" and "parochial" orientations.

Wolpe uses the cultural pluralism perspective in order to explain the development in communal politics associating the communal conflict to competition for the scarce resources of wealth, status and power. In the context of cultural pluralism the most effective organizational vehicle is the communal group. Wolpe therefore concludes that conflict produces "tribalism" than to argue, as conventional wisdom would have it, that

[26] Howard Wolpe, 1974, *Urban Politics in Nigeria: Study of Port Harcourt,* Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 3.
[27] Ibid., p. 4.
[28] Ibid., p. 5.

"tribalism" is the cause of conflict.[29] In a culturally plural society such as Nigeria "modernization" has the effect of reorientating formally separate peoples to a common system of rewards and paths to rewards, thereby generating new patterns of intergroup interaction and competition. This is to say that as people of different cultures live together in the same place they tend to want the same things. He concludes that men enter into conflict not because they are different but because they are essentially the same.[30] As contradicting as this statement may sound it is the reality of intergroup relations.

All persons possess multiple social identities that are of varying salience, depending upon their perception of the situation with which they are faced. In some situations, men may join together in defense of their common religious commitment; in others, they may organize to protect their occupational interests or, at election time, to promote the interests and prestige of their communities of origin.[31] The important point is that since the various identities of any given individual are each triggered by different social situations, seemingly conflicting identities may well be compatible. Social roles may, in effect, be compartmentalized, thereby permitting the individual to respond flexibly to changing social and political circumstances.[32]

Another major work which we reviewed is *The Hausa Factor in West African History* by Mahdi Adamu. In this book which is about the Hausa Adamu traced not only the routes that the Hausa people followed in their migration to different parts of West Africa, mostly for trading and other activities, but also areas in which they eventually settled and the kinds of social and economic activities that they engaged in. He sees the

[29] Ibid., p. 6.
[30] Ibid., p. 7.
[31] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[32] Ibid., p. 8.

Hausa as providing a service or services as needed by the different peoples of West Africa as they lived among them. Though the work is about the Hausa and their activities in West Africa in terms of concepts and methodology the work is of great importance to my study. The book addresses very basic and fundamental conceptual as well as methodological issues that are related to my topic of research. The concern of our study just like that of this book is with peoples or communities living in a place outside of their place of origin and of the relationship they were able to establish with those peoples.[33] One significant paradigm shift about the text is the focus on the ordinary people instead of government and its agencies.[34] Another important thing that the text did is to define the area[35] under study and the people[36] under study which is a good method which put the conceptual framework into its proper perspectives. The definition of the people under study was extensive and it brought out many salient issues about the identity of the Hausa people and how they are formed.[37]

Mahdi Adamu in his book did not treat the cattle trading community of Umuahia. However, his description of the routes that the raders had followed matched the ones taken by the members of the cattle trading community in their sojourn to Umuahia. So while it has some weaknesses because no mention of the community at Umuahia even though it was established before colonial rule the routes did not change. These routes had been there since the era of the trans-saharan trade.

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[33] Mahdi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History,* Zaria & Ibadan: Ahmadu Bello University Press & Oxford University Press Nigeria, p. v.
[34] Ibid., p. 1.
[35] Ibid., p. 1.
[36] Ibid., p. 1.
[37] Ibid., p. 1.

Another work that has helped us in understanding especially the subject matter of our study is a comprehensive collection of articles into book on inter-group relations in Nigeria edited by people like O. Akinwunmi, O. O. Okpeh, Jr. and J. D. Gwamna titled *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*. The book is divided into five parts with forty-nine chapters. Part one deals with Conceptual Perspectives,[38] part two: Pre-Colonial Patterns of Contact and Interactions,[39] part three: Colonialism and the Changing Nature of Relations,[40] part four has to do with the Emerging Trends since Independence[41] and part five is Towards a Viable Nation.[42] There is no gainsaying that the book is apt to our area of study.

A contribution by Okpeh Jr. addresses conceptual and theoretical issues as they relate to inter-group relations in Nigeria. In this contribution he brought out the significance of contact and interaction between groups and he tied it to the economic factor of survival and that this has remained universally constant and basic. In looking at this issue he came up with the concept of Mutual Aid which recognizes the necessity for co-operation among human beings even in the face of the all-important question of the struggle for the basic things of life. This conceptual insight recognizes and upholds consensus and co-operation as the dominant feature of society, both in time past and at present. Even the Marxist thesis or theory that sees contradictions in all human societies as defined by their position in the relation of production as a constant feature also did not wish away social relations of the human society.

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[38] Olayemi Akinwumi, et al (eds.), 2006, *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, pp. 1-168.
[39] Ibid., pp. 171-296.
[40] Ibid., pp. 297-529.
[41] Ibid., pp. 531-773.
[42] Ibid., pp. 775-867.

Adesoji and Alao wrote that it is plausible to argue that the relative peace witnessed in Nigerian societies as well as the attendant socio-political developments could not be completely divorced from the ability to manage relationship among groups, devoid of the over-glorification of indigenes-settlers differences. With a few exceptions, this was particularly the situation beginning from the emergence of states to the onset of colonial rule in Nigeria. Like in many societies the world over, the indigenes-settlers' syndrome in Nigeria is an age long problem. The distinction between autochthonous people and migrant groups even in ancient kingdoms and primordial communities attest to this assertion. However, unlike in the contemporary period when the problem has assumed a more serious dimension perhaps due to its manipulation for individual and group gains, this was not the case in the distant past when highly hybridized people and culture emerged from the blending of autochthonous and migrant groups. As a way of justifying the distinction between indigenes and settlers and reaping the gains, myths have been built while certain positions have been established. Not surprisingly, crises have been generated some of which have defied all known logics till now.

In an edited book by Otite and Albert about community conflicts in Nigeria they posited in the preface that Nigeria as a plural society is bound to experience one form of conflict or the other.[43] But what makes a society an ideal polity is the extent to which the conflicting interests and needs in a society are constructively managed so that violence does not threaten its continued existence. Conflict challenges the rational man to think of alternative ways of meeting contesting human needs and interests. They ended by saying that what is to be emphasized, therefore, is not conflict per se but the ways man responds

[43] Onigu Otite & Isaac Olawale Albert, 1999, *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation,* Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., p. ix.

to it. Going further they argued that violent community conflicts are regular features of social life in Nigeria, especially since the 1960s. These conflicts result from different value systems, aggressive competition for land, water and political resources, and the unhealthy competition of some community leaders.[44] This shows that the conflicts are all the legacies of colonialism as there is no any report of sectarian violence in this area between the Cattle Trading Community and the Igbo before the colonial period.

What made all these possible, as we shall see in this study, are migrations and the subsequent establishment of a settlement and the founding of the community by the people. In a recent study of migration in West Africa, Wallerstein recognized three kinds of migrations on the basis of the periods of occurrence. These are the pre-colonial movements of people which featured colonization type movements and forced migrations in the form of slavery; colonial period's migrations which were prompted by the post-colonial migrations which feature movements into the major urban and industrial centres as well as into areas of intensive cultivation of tree crops and large-scale exploitation of timber and mineral resources.[45]

Udo has it that rural-urban as well as rural-rural migration can be looked upon as a process which is similar in some ways to the flow of running water or wind. Like these natural phenomena, such migratory flows bring about marked changes both at the source regions and the destinations of the migrant population. In a developing but predominantly peasant economy such as that of West Africa the effects of migrations on the society and the cultural landscape are generally more obvious in the receiving areas or destinations

[44] Ibid., p. ix.
[45] Reuben K. Udo, 1972, "Influence of Migrations on the Changing Cultural Map of West Africa," in *Ikenga Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2, Nsukka: Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, p. 48.

than in the source regions. But where the volume of out-migration is considerable, structural changes in the source region as well as the feed-back effects of migrations have also brought about marked cultural changes in the areas which export population.[46]

In a study of the history of a people their social structure cannot be ignored and in this aspect the book by Margaret M. Green *Igbo Village Affairs* is of great significance. Though this work is mainly focusing on a different Igbo village other than Umuahia there are certain similarities which one can draw upon to generalize on this study.

Pongri is another scholar whose work on Northern Adamawa is very helpful particularly in the area of the definition of concept of inter-group relations. He defined inter-group relations as the interaction between social classes or groups (race, sex, class, occupational, religious, ethnic, communal, etc.) in large political set ups like nations, territorial organizations such as regions or in small communal organizations like ethnic groups and the conflicts which arise from such interactions.[47] It should be noted he wrote further that inter-group relations also entail accommodation and integration processes which take place over a long period of time. However he continued, in all political organizations, the process of integration and accommodation is constantly threatened by various inter-group contradictions.[48]

1.8 Methodology

The method that we adopted and used for this study is the historical method which in itself is a critical method and the best for our kind of inquiry. Most of this work has

[46] Ibid., p. 48.
[47] Johnson H. Pongri, 1987, "Political Development in Northern Adamawa 1809-1960: A Study in the Historical Development of Inter-Group Relations," unpublished PhD Dissertation, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U., p. 5.
[48] Ibid., p. 5.

been completed in the field through oral interviews. However, some of the subject that we touched on has been taken up by many authors. Only in a way that left us thinking that the Nigerian peoples have never lived in considerable harmony with each other in the past before the establishment of colonialism. The colonialist therefore, deviced "segregationist" policies which has been erroneously taken to be part of the past reality of social existence in Nigeria. For a work to be original there is need for the use of oral sources and for our area of study there been an extensive use of oral sources. This of course took place hand in hand with the use of archival materials as our period of study corresponds with the colonial period of which a good number of materials have been found on this subject in the National Archives Enugu.

1.8.1 Primary Sources

This is the most important source material and we have used it extensively in our attempt to reconstruct the history of this people. In our preliminary inquiries we have been able to come in contact with some informants who are eyewitnesses to the events we are studying both on the part of the Igbo and on the part of the members of the Cattle Trading Community. So far these sources have proved priceless. Most important of all these is the oral tradition and history. Among the primary sources also are archival materials that have to do with the colonial period which have been found at the Enugu Natioanl Archives. There are also some documents that have been recovered from Owerri the Imo State capital that is records of primary events. At a point in the course of the period under study Umuahia came to be under Owerri Division, Imo State and Abia State. In order for the sources to be useful to our study it has to analyzed and critically examined and corroborated with some independent sources on the subject.

1.8.2 Secondary Sources

These are mainly written sources whose importance lies in their interpretation of the primary sources on this area. As it is there is shortage of this type of source material and this is because before this time there is no any written material on this specific area and on the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria.

The method we used is the critical method a key element of the historical method is the suitable method in attempt to reconstruct the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. This is because for the long time that they lived among the Igbo there is no any known work that has been written investigating their stay in that area.

1.8.3 Analysis of Data

The method one has used is the critical method is a key element of historical reconstruction. This method has to do with critical assessment of the sources to be obtained and in-depth analysis of same. This is the best in an attempt to reconstruct the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. The important historical task of going beyond the source is however crucial in this respect since there are interests that will come into play. But all can be eliminated by the use of corroboration of the sources. In order for the sources to be useful to our study it has to be analyzed and critically examined and corroborated with the use of some independent sources on the subject.

CHAPTER TWO

LAND AND PEOPLE OF UMUAHIA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

Deep in the heart of the tropical rain forest and on the fringes of the Niger Delta rose a community made up of some people of Northern Nigerian origin such as the Fulbe (Fulani) the Hausa, the Kanuri the Shuwa-Arab and others. The Kanuri and the Shuwa Arabs however came much later than the Fulbe and the Hausa. These are separate but complementing identities in terms of religious, linguistic and cultural affiliations. They came from various parts of Northern Nigeria and even beyond the borders and found a community among the Igbo of Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria. They were mainly engaged in hunting, trading, pastoralism and the business of selling cattle to a vast majority of the peoples of the Eastern and South-South parts of Nigeria. We refer to them as the Cattle Trading Community, henceforth referred to as the Community. We have looked at the groups that made up this Community as a single and or a collective entity where the evidence allows it. This way we have been able to understand the history of this Community in their sojourn in the Eastern part of Nigeria. They answered a call, a need- both of their own and of the peoples of the area- for beef and other services best provided by the people of Northern Nigerian origin. This study, therefore, is about this people, for the history of this people and of their activities in this area has not been told before. It is consequently the desire to give a narration of the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia, Eastern Nigeria and to outline and examine the interactions of

these peoples and their activities in the Eastern part of Nigeria that is the subject of this study.

Throughout human existence history takes place as a result of several factors one of which is the movement of people in the form of migration and the subsequent establishment of settlements. Movement of people or migration is an aspect of a peoples' history that may sometimes be shrouded in myths, folklore or legends. This could be in relation to the place where the people come from or alleged to have come from or even their primogenitor. In most cases the place or person could not be known especially for those people whose movements dated back to antiquity. One significant thing is that the place where they are presently settled is there and can help the historian reconstruct their history with some degree of accuracy, certainty and authenticity through the use of the historical sources that one is able to recover. A history of a people should reflect all aspects of their life- social, economic, political, religious, etc., -as they interact with people of different groups, different cultures and with different nature.

The formation of a people like the *Hausawa*, the Fulbe, the Igbo, a community etc., is something that used to take place throughout history as a result of many factors one of which is economic, through the movement of people to look for means of survival. These people i.e. the *Hausawa*, the Fulbe, the Igbo, etc., community or group are a language group -like the Fulbe, an "ethnic" group, groups with similar economic interests, religious interests and so on. Even as you find independent groupings within them they already have an identity and the historical reality is that they are formed already. They can also be transformed taking into consideration the social factors involved in their formation in the first place. Though they may be made up of other

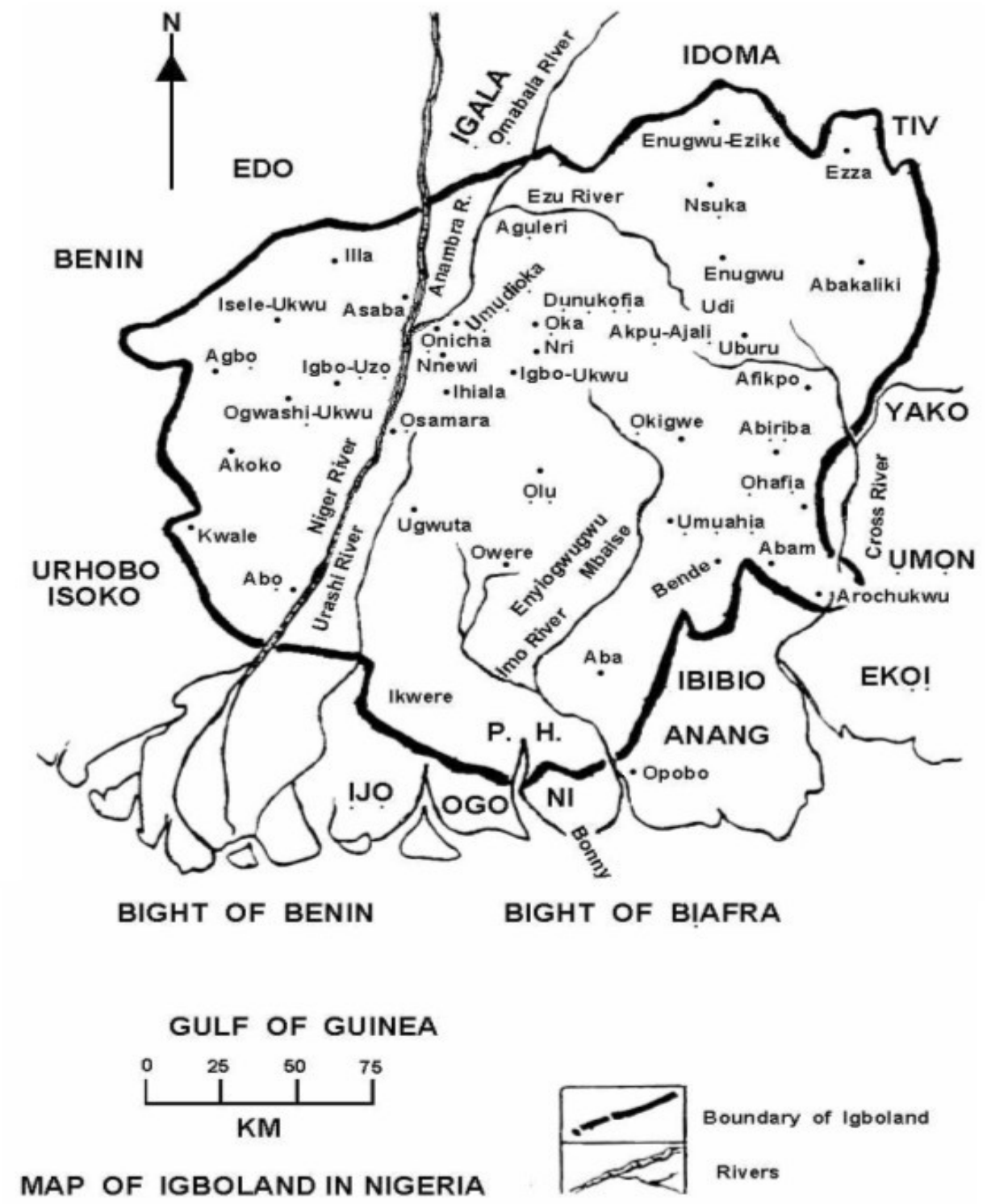
groups, they in the present consider themselves as what they are whether in an area as for instance the *Kanawa* or a language group as in the Fulbe or even the *Hausawa* or what other groups call them. The important thing is not to deny their existence but to examine the process(s) of their origin and for what purpose. This is a question of identity formation and identity transformation which is a social phenomenon involving perception and differentiation.[1]

Nigeria, like most countries in Africa is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural society. Its current population, which is estimated at about one hundred and forty million, is a vast mosaic of large and small ethnic groups. The major groups are the Hausa, the Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo. Despite its rich ethnic diversity, easy geographical and social mobility have scattered people from various ethnic groups throughout the country without destroying or weakening their ethnic bonds. Ethnic rivalries though present got worsened during and after the colonial era and the effect of colonialism on different groups and regions of the country in both the colonial and post independence Nigeria have all contributed to the present day ethnic tensions within and among the various ethnic groups and the country in general. Even though no part of Nigeria is ethnically homogeneous, an overriding feature of the county's ethnic polarization is the north–south dichotomy. There are other dichotomies depending on the local historical experiences of the people all over Nigeria.

A possible exception to the issue of ethnic homogeneity is the Umuahia area, where the people living there are ethnically homogeneous, being all Igbo, speaking the

[1] Sherry, Mark, 2008, "Identity," in Lisa M. Given, (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods,* Vols. 1 & 2, Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc., p. 415.

same language with minor, hardly major dialectical variations. The issue of common homeland for ethnic group can therefore apply to the area. But as a cosmopolitan town other migrant peoples are also present in the town. One writer once referred to Umuahia as a Timbuktu of some sort and rightly too. Because not only was the town a commercial area it was also the meeting point for many peoples.



Source: Eze Uche, 2010, Nairaland Forum: The True Extent of Alaigbo (Igboland) – Culture, http://www.nairaland.com/500126/true-extent-alaigbo-igboland

2.2 The Land

Umuahia is situated on the Eastern Nigeria Railway line and developed from sprawling rural community into thriving commercial centre. Umuahia is located on the North-East of Owerri in Southern Nigeria; it is found on latitudes 05.32^{o} North Longitudes 07.30^{o} East.[2] Umuahia is 681 square kilometers in size and it is situated at the junction of some important trade routes, which radiates to Owerri and Okigwe to the West, Ikot Ekpene to the East, Aba to the South and Uzuakoli to the North.[3] The town Umuahia is characterized by wooded green vegetation, and the two well-known seasons; the rainy season (May-October) and the dry season (November-April) thus placing the town within the Rain Forest climatic zone.[4]

Umuahia is significant and unique in many important respects. It has played host to a most vibrant Cattle Trading community in the Eastern Nigeria. During the Nigerian Civil War also Umuahia served as the capital of the Biafra state after the capture of Owerri as the capital and the city now is playing host to the National War Museum housing items related to the Nigerian Civil War and the Ojukwu Bunker. The war was a watershed in the history of Nigeria as a country. The experience, many agree, is such that makes the resort to arms and war as a means of conflict resolution not an attractive option. It is in this spirit that the Nigerian War Museum, Umuahia was established. The museum's location was chosen because it is where the bunker housing the famous

[2] Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1965, *Gazetteer Vol. II, Western Nigeria and Municipality of Lagos, Mid-Western Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria,* Lagos: Director of Federal Surveys, p. 170.
[3] Glad C. Apugo, 2005, The Railway System and Economic Development in Umuahia, unpublished dissertation, Uturu, Department of History & International Relations, Abia State University, p. 21.
[4] Ibid., p. 21.

shortwave radio "the voice of Biafra" was transmitted from. Voice of Biafra was the mouth-piece for Biafra during the war.[5]

Umuahia is a city that grew out of the everyday commercial activities of the people of *Ibeku* and their neighboring communities and the migrant populations. Umuahia Township is a city located within *Ibeku*. The City of Umuahia as it is now is made up of seven *Ibeku* villages, they included *Afarata* or *Amuzukwu* to the North, *Afara Ukwu* to the south, *Nkata* to the North East, *Ohokobe Ndume* to South East, then *Osaah* and *Ugwunchara* and *Emede* villages to the West. It is sometimes called *Ibeku Egu Asa*.[6] This is one of the five clans that made up this town and it is interesting to note that the various places that the cattle market was located were all within *Ibeku*. On the whole however, the study area is made up of some 79 villages all scattered around these five clans of the town, *Ibeku*, *Olokoro*, *Ohuhu*, *Umuokpara* and *Ubakala*.[7] During the era of British colonisation Umuahia was administered under these five clans. This arrangement was for the purpose of facilitating and operating easy administrative and judicial system under the British.

Umuahia-Ibeku is located on top of a foot hill that is a part of the Cameroon mountain range that sloped into the Imo River. The hill flattens as it passes *Ubakala* to become one of the even graded paces in the Eastern part of Nigeria to the edge of Atlantic Ocean at Port Harcourt. This includes all *Ngwaland*. The city of Umuahia *Ibeku* has expanded a lot into the surrounding villages and many have found themselves in the

[5] Okorie Uguru, 2011, "National War Museum," *The Nation Newspaper.*
[6] Okechukwu (Okey) Alozie, 2004, "Ibeku Clan Social Structure," http://www.umuahiaibeku.com/Ibeku_structure.html
[7] Obinna Godwin Itite, 2007, The Small-Holder Oil Palm Project in Umuahia, unpublished dissertation, Uturu, Department of History & International Relations, Abia State University, p. 9.

middle of the crossroads heading in and out of the city. Umuahia-*Ibeku* has different names: *Ugwuocha*, *Ugwu Nchara*, *Ogwumabiri* all referring to the trading post at the center of the city serving all other villages whose market days are to come or have past in the tradition of buying and selling using market days *Afo*, *Nkwo*, *Eke*, *Orie*. There are four (4) market days that trades only once a week. Thus we have *Afo nta* and *Afo ukwu*, *Eke ukwu* and *Eke nta*, *Nkwo nta* and *Nkwo ukwu*, *Orie nta* and *Orie ukwu: nta* stands for small while *ukwu* stands for big. There is always one big market day in a week. This allows the Umuahia *Ibeku* market to serve as a central point for all others for cheaper goods.[8]

There are other big villages that are around *Ibeku* like *Olokoro*, *Ubakala*, *Old Umuahia*, *Umuokpara*, *Ohuhu*, *Oboro*, *Abam*, *Item*, and *Uzuakoli*. Umuahia was an Administrative Center and a big one especially during the Regional government era of the 1960's. The name Umuahia started off as a Central Market post called *Ama-Ahia* meaning market place or square. But with evolution and bad pronunciations and rewriting "*Ama-Ahia*" became Umuahia. There have been several legends to tell otherwise but this is it.[9]

But the name Umuahia was not part of the city name. It was still called Ibeku till the arrival of traders and foreign merchants that brought with them railroad. There was petition and counter petition[10] about the name Umuahia or Umuahia-Ibeku. The Nigerian Government then signed Agreements with Ibeku on the name of the railroad Station to be

[8] Okey Alozie, 2004, "History of Umuahia-Ibeku," available at www.umuahiaibeku.com/Umuahia-Ibeku.html
[9] Ibid.
[10] NAE, OW: 7257, UMDIV 3/1/734, Petition from Ukaegbu & others of Ibeku about change of the name Umuahia Township to Ibeku, 1937-49.

located in Ibeku. There was a temporary agreement to call the location Umuahia but there were objection. Then the agreement was to have a hyphenated name Umuahia-Ibeku to reflect the owners of the land and domain. Then the name will revert to Ibeku Rail Station. This agreement was to last for no longer than 20 years. The hyphenated Umuahia-Ibeku is still being used till today. There are three railway stations in Umuahia Ibeku: (1) Amaeke station, (2) Umuahia-Ibeku station, (3) Old Umuahia station.[11]

The origin and meaning of the name "Umuahia" has been subject for intense debate between elders and scholars alike over the years. Most people believe in the assertion that it was the British who coined the name Umuahia from "*Ama-Ahia*" –which means a market square or arena. The British on their first visit to Umuahia in 1896 had passed through parts of *Olokoro* and Ibeku on their way to *Bende*, and stopping at the "*Afor-Ibeji*" market square at *Nsukwe* had inquired after the name of where they were, they were informed by some villagers that, it was called "*Ama-Ahia*". As the story goes, the British eventually derived the name, Umuahia, first applying it to the entire village of "*Afor-Ibeji*" and subsequently to the entire communities of present day Umuahia.[12]

However, the 1938 official report by a District Officer in the person of J.G.C. Allen avers that:

> The Umuahia township was originally established during the construction of the Nigerian Eastern Railway at mile 64 near Olokoro village of Umuahia, from which it (the new Township) took the name; after its transfer in 1917 to its present (Ibeku) site, the name Umuahia remained unchanged, a fact which led to considerable resentment among local

[11] Okey Alozie, 2004, "History of Umuahia-Ibeku,"… op. cit.
[12] Glad C. Apugo, 2005, The Railway System… op. cit., p. 22.

(Ibeku) inhabitants who objected to the name of an Olokoro village being applied to what is now regarded as an Ibeku (Township or land).[13]

Therefore, with reference to the above versions, the corruption of the word '*Ama-Ahia'* to Umuahia can be greatly contested for instance, no one has denied or contested this claim that the village called Umuahia was already in existence as part of the *Olokoro* clan long before the arrival of the British. Thus, it must be agreed from these evidences that the *Olokoro* village with its name, Umuahia (now Old Umuahia) was already in existence long ago before the coming of the colonialists. Therefore, the British could not have coined the name as most oral tradition has suggested.[14]

Today, Umuahia is politically divided into two local governments; Umuahia North and Umuahia South. Umuahia is naturally located around some important trade routes in south-eastern Nigeria. According to Asiegbu as was made reference to by Obinna "the Umuahia Igbo communities were strategically and advantageously situated on some of the important trade routes connecting not only the major trading centres in the Eastern Nigerian region, but also linking important trading centres in the country."[15] This is evident by the establishment and growth of the cattle market to an international standard and a distributing centre for the whole of the East and the Niger Delta.

Umuahia is bordered in the North by *Umuobiala* and *Nunya* Communities in *Isiukwuato* LGA of Abia State. In the west and south-west by *Ihitte Uboma* and *Obowo* respectively, both in Imo State with the Imo River as the common boundary. It is bordered in the south by *Ngwa* communities, while in the north-east and the east is

[13] Allen, J. G. C., (District Officer), *Intelligence Report on Umuahia (Ibeku) Township* E. P. 15565A MILGOV, 12/11/31, 1938.
[14] Glad C. Apugo, 2005, The Railway System…, p. 24.
[15] Obinna Godwin Itite, 2007, The Small-Holder Oil Palm Project in Umuahia, … p. 10.

bordered by *Bende* and *Ikwuano* communities. From the sea-coast of Port Harcourt in present-day Rivers State, the direct distance to Umuahia is about 120km. The average annual rainfall in Umuahia ranges between 80-100cms, and the total land occupied by the communities is about 406 square kilometers. This climatic condition favours the cultivation of such crops as oil palm, cocoa, rubber, kolanut[16] and cassava, to mention but a few of the important cash and tree crops in the area.

One of the reasons for the establishment of the Cattle Trading Community in this area is because it provides them with the pasture for their cattle. It also served as one of the biggest and vibrant cattle market of international repute for cattle dealers in the region of Eastern Nigeria and the South-South. The community is sedentary and their main occupation is cattle rearing and sales and their goods are purchased all over the Eastern Nigeria and the Niger Delta by butchers and other private individuals coming from far and near. The various segments of the Community in this area and their activities are all interwoven and centered on the Cattle Market.

There had been some interaction between peoples of pre-Umuahia and post-Umuahia altitudes prior to the arrival of the colonialist, but the town assumed an enhanced role as a meeting point between northern Nigeria-bound palm oil merchants and southern Nigeria-bound cattle herdsmen, especially following the extension of Nigeria Railways lines to this Igbo heartland.[17] Before and even after the establishment of the railway, the cattle herdsmen used to take their cattle to the eastern heartland town of

[16] Ibid., p. 11.
[17] Maurice Archibong, Thursday, March 2, 2006, "Umuahia: Centre of God's own state," available at http://www.sunnewsonline.com/webpages/features/travels/2006/mar/02/travels-2-03-2006-001.htm

Umuahia by foot that is to say they trek the cattle to Umuahia to be distributed to other parts of South-eastern and South-south parts of Nigeria.

G. I. Jones had described the routes that the cattle herdsmen used to follow in his work on cattle trade in Nigeria. This was also the pre-colonial routes. The only change in the colonial era being the introduction of railing facilities and even at that they used the trains only when they get to Makurdi:

> There are two main routes to Umuahia: one from Adamawa through eastern Benue province taps the eastern highlands and was the original route; the second from Bornu through Bauchi and the plateau to Makurdi taps the north-eastern region and the central highlands and takes most of the cattle that are not for various reasons railed to the south-west.[18]

But, this South-eastern Nigeria town, which lies along the railroad from Port Harcourt to Enugu, had been an agricultural produce market for centuries before it became a railway collecting point for crops such as cassava, corn (maize), citrus fruits, palm oil, palm kernel and yams. The town has a number of palm oil processing plants. Although Nigeria Railways was established in 1898, that mode of transportation was further made popular by the discovery of coal in Enugu around 1914. This led to the laying of the 243 km Enugu-Port Harcourt railway line between 1914 and 1916. This Enugu-Port Harcourt railway, which passed through Umuahia, was to facilitate the export of coal through the littoral settlement.[19]

But other items apart from coal were later freighted along this line. For example, in those days, when Marketing Boards reigned supreme, evacuation of the fabled

[18] G. I. Jones, January 1946, "The Beef-Cattle Trade in Nigeria," in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 33.
[19] Maurice Archibong, Thursday, March 2, 2006, "Umuahia: Centre of God's own state," available at http://www.sunnewsonline.com/webpages/features/travels/2006/mar/02/travels-2-03-2006-001.htm

groundnut pyramids and export of hides and skin, tin, bauxite, as well as the importation and distribution of general merchandise was facilitated by Nigeria Railways. Furthermore, prior to the era of transportation of fuel through pipelines, the Nigerian Railways played an invaluable role in fuel distribution. Since Umuahia served as principal transit point along the 243 km Enugu to Port Harcourt railway, a lot of trading expectedly took place here. This commercial activity and the transfer of Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) workers to Umuahia were to soon change the face of this town.[20]

Umuahia at present comprise of two local government areas: Umuahia North and Umuahia South. These local governments are also composed of clans such as the *Umuopara*, *Ibeku*, *Olokoro*, *Ubakala* and *Ohuhu* communities. *Ibeku* is made up of seven communities, which include *Ndume*, *Azueke*, *Amaoforo*, *Afara*, *Osa*, *Isieke*, etc. *Umuopara* is also made up of seven communities, which include *Ezeleke*, *Ogbodi-ukwu*, *Ekenobizi*, *Ogbodinaibe*, *Umunwawa*, *Umuihi* and *Ehume*. *Ezeleke* in turn contains six villages, notable among which is *Umuabali*.[21]

2.3 The People

Umuahia's main ethnic group is the Igbo speaking people, also referred to as the Ibo, Ebo, Eboans or Heebo are an ethnic group living chiefly in southeastern and south-south Nigeria. They speak Igbo, which includes various Igboid languages and dialects.[22]

[20] Maurice Archibong, Thursday, March 2, 2006, "Umuahia: Centre of God's own state," available at http://www.sunnewsonline.com/webpages/features/travels/2006/mar/02/travels-2-03-2006-001.htm
[21] Absolute Astronomy, 2011, "Umuahia," http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Umuahia
[22] Okechukwu (Okey) Alozie, 2004, "Ibeku Clan Social Structure, Department of Anthropology University of Manitoba," http://www.umuahiaibeku.com/Ibeku_structure.html

Umuahia as a town is cosmopolitan in nature; though a chiefly Igbo town, it was a combination of almost all the "major" and "minor" ethnic groups in Nigeria. The attraction was on the commercial viability of the area and the opportunities available on the environmental and economic levels. This therefore led to the converging of various peoples on the town and gave the town a kind of national and international outlook. There would not have been Umuahia without migration and by implication migrant communities.[23]

The town was however founded on a land that belongs to the Ibeku clan of seven villages as we have already mentioned. We also noted that that was why the town was also known as Umuahia-Ibeku to show the 'owners' of the town. While the Ibeku people maintain their residence in the seven villages, peoples from many parts of Nigeria inhabit the main town.

That being said we will like to note that there were other Igbo groups from places like Item, Bende, Aba, Oboro, Ngwa, Uzuakoli, Arochukwu, this is to mention but a few of what we can refer to as internal migration from within Igboland.[24]

There were five clans that made up Umuahia today but one clan- Ibeku was to play one of the most important roles in the life of the cattle trading community in Umuahia. In turn also the cattle trading community was to also impact on the life of the people of Ibeku in general.[25] In recognition of these mutual roles of these people on one another we will like to recount briefly the history of the people of Ibeku in regard to the peopling of the area.

[23] Mazi Friday Onwudinjo, 64 years, of Umuezi, Ibeku, Umuahia, interview at No. 4 Eket Street, Umuahia.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

We must recognize though that the political, social as well as the economic and religious ways of these clans were intertwined and similar.[26] In essence there were a lot that was the same in the way that the peoples of Umuahia occupying the various communities and villages of Umuahia conduct their affairs.[27] This fact will also come out when we come to discuss about the issue of marriage and intermarriage between the two communities i.e. the Cattle Trading Community and the peoples of Umuahia. As we have done on the subject of tradition of origin of the people where we used one of the clan as example for the rest of the clans though there may be difference in the traditions of origin. Our choice of the Ibeku clan as the case study in the tradition of origin stems from the fact that the Umuahia Township is in their territory. Also was the fact that the location of the cattle market had always being in Ibekuland.

Like many other places in Nigeria Umuahia was peopled through the means of migration. The peopling of the area started many years ago as a result of the development of long distance trading in the Nigerian area. Umuahia area serves commercial purposes more that security purposes though.[28] The economic factor is therefore paramount, however, this is not overruling the security factors as well as other significant factors as can be seen in the push and pull factors of migration. The environmental factor was also very important in peopling the Umuahia area as the area is abundant in fertile land. This support the agricultural activities of the people that crops like cassava, yam, corn were farmed not only for domestic consumption but also to feed neighbouring villages. This

[26] Orji, Ndubuisi, July 2004, Aspects of the Socio-cultural History of Ibeku 1900-1970, … p. 11.
[27] Ibid., p. 11.
[28] This is even present in the name of the town as well as the coomercial activities in the area in the various markets in the area.

had always been the attraction of the various peoples that decided to make Umuahia home.

The lack and in places paucity of data has tended to encourage unrestrained speculation which in fact largely accounts for some insupportable hypotheses being put forward by many early or pioneer archaeologists, concerning the nature of culture change in Ibeku, Umuahia-Ibeku, Eastern Nigeria.[29] One of such flawed hypotheses was that the peopling of the forest region (southern Nigeria and indeed, all of the Guinea zone of West Africa) was a much later development than that of the northern open savanna area.[30] Recent archaeological research has shown that people were already living in south-western Nigeria (specifically Iwo-Eleru) as early as 9000 BC and perhaps earlier at Ugwuelle-Uturu (Okigwe) in south-eastern Nigeria.[31] This is the area of Ibeku clan.

Lack of adequate funding and dating facilities has also caused a lag in archaeological research in Ibeku area of Nigeria and indeed, all of West Africa. Many sites threatened by construction work such as bridges, roads, houses and dams are not normally rescued because there are no sources of funding. The governments both the state and federal have not been supportive enough of archaeological work, partly because both the leaders and the peoples do not recognize the role a sound knowledge of the past can play in nation-building.[32]

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[29] Okechukwu (Okey) Alozie, Ibeku Clan Social Structure, Department of Anthropology University of Manitoba, http://www.umuahiaibeku.com/Ibeku_structure.html
[30] Ibid.
[31] Shaw, T. & Daniells, S. G. H. 1984, "Excavations at Iwo-Eleru, Ondo State, Nigeria," *West African Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. 14.
[32] Okechukwu (Okey) Alozie, 2004, "Ibeku Clan Social Structure, Department of Anthropology University of Manitoba," http://www.umuahiaibeku.com/Ibeku_structure.html

There is up to now, no well-equipped dating laboratory either to process charcoal samples or potsherds. The only laboratory in West Africa is in Senegal and it is far from being well equipped. Consequently, it is restricted mostly to processing charcoal samples collected from sites in Senegal. Given this problem, samples collected from archaeological excavations have to be sent abroad for processing. This delays the rate at which archaeological information is put into its proper time perspective.

It seems also that a great deal more time and attention are paid to the later phases of human settlement history than the earlier. Consequently, much more is known of Iron Age and historic settlements in Ibeku as a whole. Some considerable amount of work has been done for these phases in Benin City in Nigeria, Niani in Niger Republic and Jenne-Jeno in Mali, among other places in West Africa.[33] One reason for this interest in the later phase seems to rest in the fact that there is a meeting point between historic settlement archaeology and oral traditions in the region generally and the fact that people can identify much more easily with this phase because it is more recent and by this fact closer to our times.

It is pertinent to note that there is no settlement archaeology tradition(s) in Ibeku (Umuahia Ibeku) Nigeria up to the early 1980's. Even at places like Ife, Old-Oyo, Benin and Zaria where some relatively limited archaeological work has been carried out, efforts were mainly concentrated on walls.[34] In Southern Nigeria, where Ibeku is located, proto-historic settlements were generally composed of mud or sun-dried brick houses. Most if not all these house structures and defensive and/or demarcatory walls have either been

[33] Ibid.
[34] Darling, P., 1984, *Archaeology & History in Southern Nigeria: The ancient Linear Earthworks of Benin and Ishan,* B. A. R. Series 215.

destroyed or obliterated by erosion. The tradition(s) of constructing houses with stones in the pre colonial past was well reflected in many parts of Northern Nigeria. In fact, many hill-top settlements in this area of Nigeria were composed of stone houses - a direct response among other things, to opportunities offered by the immediate environment.[35] Despite the nature of the soil chemistry (acidic soil) stone buildings are still better preserved than mud houses.

Relics of ancient settlements are much fewer in the south, including Ibeku, than in the north, because of the different building materials as well as techniques of construction which are partly determined by diverse historical experiences among other things.[36] Hill-tops and slopes offer abundant boulders which could be dressed for construction, while in the plains; it is much easier to obtain mud for building houses.[37] For example, the dispersed mode of settlement of the present-day Tiv as opposed to the nucleated rural settlements on the hill-tops and slopes in ancient times, coupled with their shifting agricultural system, as well as the factor of refarming and/or resettlement of former sites by some daughter groups which hived off, from the original stock, make most ancient settlements and recently abandoned sites (made up of sun-dried brick houses) difficult to discover at least in a fairly well preserved state.

This preservation problem among others further makes the task of establishing stratigraphic sequences a little bit difficult. Nigeria is divisible into zones on the basis of techniques of construction as follows:

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[35] See Netting, R. M., 1968, *Hill Farmers of Nigeria: Cultural Ecology of the Kofyar of the Jos Plateau,* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
[36] Awomukwu, Davidson A., 1988, Igbo Traditional Architecture with some Historical Monuments in Umuahia, Terminal Essay, Department of Architecture, Faculty of Environmental Design, ABU Zaria.
[37] Ibid.

[1.] Mud construction techniques which are very common in most parts of southern Nigeria and in Ibeku.[38]

[2.] Stone construction techniques which are very common in most parts of Northern Nigeria; and

[3.] Combination of mud and stone construction techniques. This development is common in Tivland, where the ancient houses and protective walls on hill-tops were constructed of stones, while present-day houses in the plains are usually constructed of mud.[39]

Given our experiences in Ibeku (Umuahia Ibeku) Nigeria, the third category of construction is very useful for generating models. These are models derivable from oral traditional data and ethnographic resources. Such models, if carefully applied to archaeological situations, can greatly fill the gaps in our knowledge of the past of the Ibeku peoples.[40]

2.4 Origin and Migration Process in Umuahia

The tradition of origin of the Igbo is one of the most elaborate of the tradition of origin among the peoples of the Nigerian area. This is because there are many versions of the tradition of origin or legend of origin. We see it to be elaborate because of the fact that there is no any form of uniform central government in the area, yet the people were able to maintain these legend(s) of origin. The most influential of people in this area are the *Aro* people who for a very long time were prominent not only on the political and

[38] Ibid.
[39] Netting, R. M., 1968, *Hill Farmers of Nigeria*: ….
[40] Okechukwu (Okey) Alozie, 2004, "Ibeku Clan Social Structure," …

economic landscape but especially on the religious practices of the Igbo people in general.[41]

The study of traditions of origins is a recurring theme in Nigerian history. It is an issue which touches the very foundation of the group identity of the people. This is especially so in a plural society like Nigeria with many centrifugal tendencies and in which access to limited resources, political offices and employment opportunities is largely determined by ethnicity.[42]

Consequently, many legends have been put forward about the origin of the Igbo people. Some claim that the Igbo migrated from the East and are one of the lost tribes of Israel.[43] Another tradition claims that they migrated from Western Africa. But available evidence such as language diversity and archaeology suggests that the Igbo migrated from Sudan from the ancient city of Meroe in about AD 350.[44] It is said that the ancestors followed the sunsets until they encountered River Niger upon which they sailed down to their present location.[45] This tradition however is not complete because it did not state why did the Igbo leave Meroe or how they were able to sail the Niger River and with what. However, migration from an earlier base outside the present traditional Igbo area has played a significant role in the peopling of the area.

The traditional homeland of the lgbo people lies in the south-eastern region of Nigeria. They are situated between the Niger and Cross Rivers, with the Ibibio, Ijo, Igala,

[41] See Dike, K. O. and Ekejiuba, Felicia, 1990, *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria, 1650-1980: A study of socio-economic formation and transformation in Nigeria,* Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
[42] E. N. Mordi and P. O. Opone, 2009, "Origins and Migrations of the Enuani People of South Central Nigeria Reconsidered" in *Stud Tribes Tribals,* Vol. 7, No. 1, Kamla-Raj, pp. 47-56.
[43] Igbo Cultural and Support Network, 2011, "Igbo History," http://www.icsn.co.uk/page.php?pageID=history
[44] Absolute Astronomy, 2011, "Umuahia," http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Umuahia
[45] Igbo Cultural and Support Network, 2011, "Igbo History," op. cit.

Idoma, Edo as their neighbors. The ancient settlement at Igbo-Ukwu in eastern Nigeria was an outpost for West African's long-distance trade routes, one of which was the Trans-Saharan trade routes.[46] The main items traded were gold, slaves, salt, cowrie shells (the major unit of currency), weapons, expensive clothes, pepper, ivory, kola nuts, leather goods.[47]

The Igbo are a people rich in culture and tradition from what we have seen so far. Although generally having very similar cultures, they also show a local variation in cultures and customs. Based on these variations the Igboland have been divided into five main subgroups by the scholars:

1. The Northern Igbo: - Igbo-Ukwu, Onitsha, Enugu, Nri-Awka
2. The Western Igbo: - Ogwashi-Ukwu, Asaba, Agbor,
3. The Southern Igbo: - Umuahia, Ngwa, Owerrinta, Port Harcourt, Eleme
4. The Eastern Igbo: - Afikpo, Arochukwu-Ohiafia, Bende
5. The North-Eastern Igbo: - Ogu-Ukwu, Abakaliki.[48]

We are concerned with the Southern Igbo group of which Umuahia is part of. We shall find out though that the territories of these peoples overlap as well as the fact that the economic activities also were interrelated. The area of operation of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia covers all Igboland and the Niger Delta. Umuahia served as the headquarters of the cattle trade in the South-east and South-south regions of Nigeria.

[46] Shaw, T. & Daniells, S. G. H. 1984, "Excavations at Iwo-Eleru, Ondo State, Nigeria," *West African Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. 14.
[47] Igbo Cultural and Support Network, 2011, "Igbo History," … op cit.
[48] Ibid.

In the case of the Umuahia area we have five clans that made up this area: *Ibeku*, *Ohuhu*, *Olokoro*, *Ubakala*, etc. Among all these clans however one stands out in interaction between the peoples of Umuahia with the cattle trading community. This was because all the cattle markets that were established were all situate in the territory of the Ibeku clan. For this reason most of our case study will come from this area with occasional mention of the other clans as they impact on the community.

Like many communities in Nigeria there have been a lot of controversies regarding the origin and settlement of Ibeku. There are varied accounts, while some people hold the tradition of migration, some hold tenaciously to the claim of the people being authochnonous.[49] Some even hold on to the linguistic evidence, which highlight the glottochronology and lexical similarities among societies.[50]

One of the traditions says that the people of Ibeku migrated from *Agbor* in present-day Delta State. It stated that the migrants left the village of *Agbor* due to disagreement and migrated southward. They crossed the River Niger and settled temporarily at *Nnewi* from where they moved to an area between *Orlu* and *Nkwerre*. From *Nkwerre*, they moved down to *Mbaise* and finally crossed the Imo River, leaving behind one of their kinsmen who later founded the *Ibeku-Ukwuato* in present-day *Abor-Mbaise* in Imo State.[51]

Much as this version is in consonance with the south and the south-east ward migrational trend from the core Igbo areas of Igbo-Ukwu, Akwa and so on, to secondary

[49] Orji, Ndubuisi, 2004, Aspects of the Socio-Cultural History of Ibeku, 1900-1970, unpublished dissertation, Uturu: Department of History & International Relations, Abia State University, p. 8.
[50] Ibid., p. 8.
[51] Ibid., p. 8.

areas of Owerri, Okigwe, Orlu into the tertiary Igbo areas of Umuahia, Bende, Uzuakoli, and so on. It lacks merit for some reasons; in the first place, there has never existed or is there any kinship relation between any of these people along the assumed migration routes or is there any relationship with the assumed settlements points and Ibeku.[52] The tradition also did not say what kind of disagreement there was between the people of Agbor that led to the Ibeku group leaving. There is no resemblance either in dialect or culture or socio-political organization between these two groups.[53]

Another tradition of origin traces the origin of *Ibeku* to *Obegu*, a village in the southern borders of *Ngwaland*. It narrated that the early settlers in Ibeku migrated from *Obegu* due to the war between *Aro* traders and *Obegu* people in 1901.[54] Those who could not withstand the war fled and migrated southwards to the present location of Ibeku. This account was debunked by Mazi Okonkwo Ndubuka whose son Thomas Ndubuka claimed to have fought for the Europeans during the Second World War thus lending credence to the age of his father. According to Mazi Thomas Ndubuka he had not noticed any influx of people into Ibekuland as a result of war. He also claimed that his parents who were born in Ibeku and got married in Ibeku did not tell him of any influx of people as a result of war. Therefore, he concluded that Ibeku had been in existence right from creation. He was however quick to add that Ibeku has two categories:

1. "*Okpu*" meaning aborigine
2. "*Mbiarambia*" meaning stranger or migrant.[55]

[52] Ibid., p. 8.
[53] Ibid., p. 8.
[54] Ibid., p. 8.
[55] Ibid., p. 10.

From this account therefore, it is probable that there were indigenous Ibeku people who were later joined by migrants and together they made up the population through inter-marriages and other social contacts.[56]

There is another account of origin and migration of the people of Ibeku. This tradition has that the founding father of Ibeku was a man called Ifenkwe. Accordingly, Ifenkwe had another son called Uduma. They lived at Isieke Ibeku. At the death of Ifenkwe, Uduma and his half brother Ibeku had a disagreement over a source of water supply.[57] Because of this disagreement, Uduma left and migrated northwards where he founded *Udumeze*, *Ohafia*, *Asaga*, *Ebem*, *Ania* and *Abia* while his brother Ibeku married three wives and had seven children, who founded the seven villages of *Ndume*, *Isieke*, *Afarata*, *Ossah*, *Afaraukwu*, *Emede* and *Amaoforo*.[58]

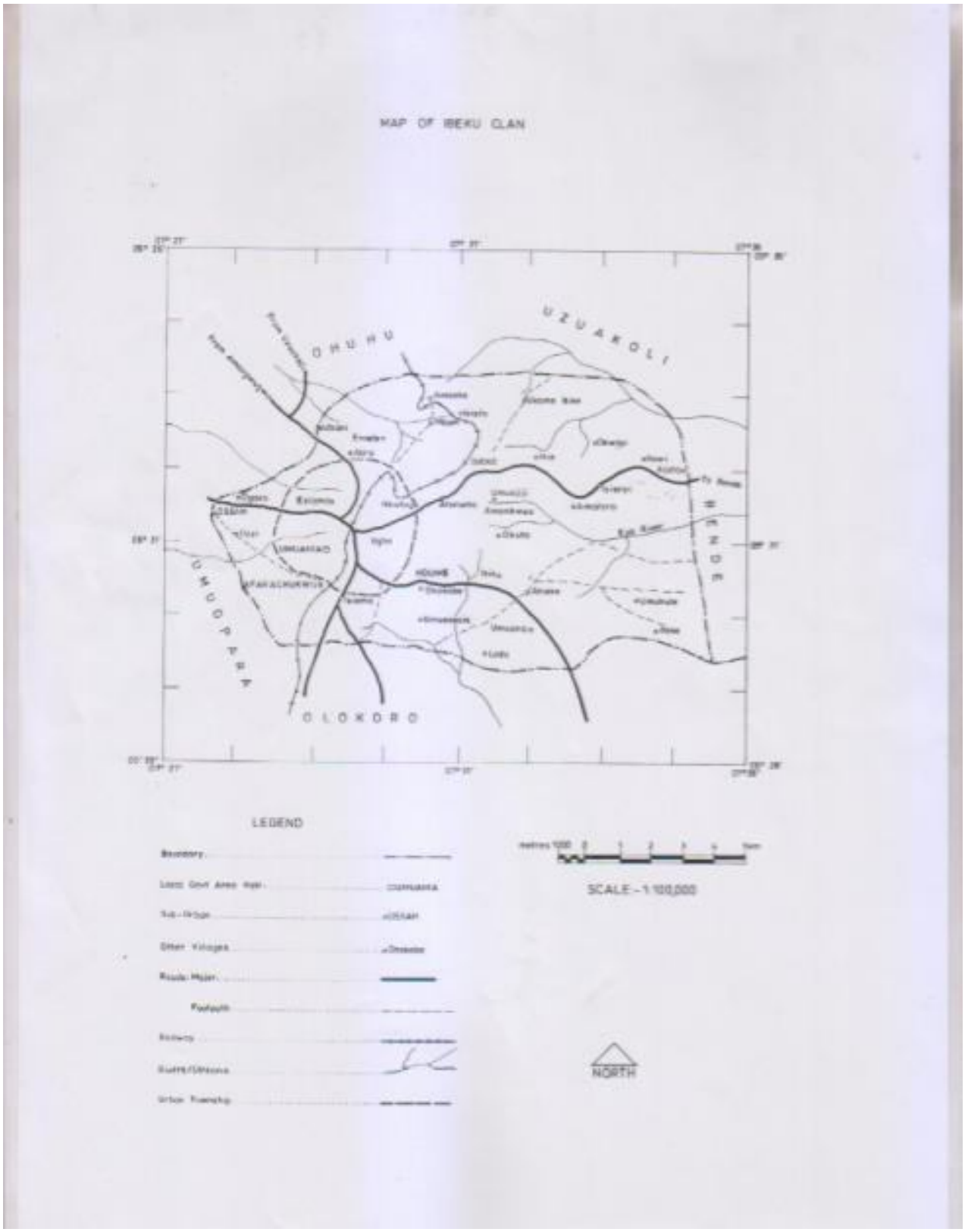
Ogurube was the name of the father of Ibeku who was noted for the number of children he had. Today, in remembrance of this great grandfather, the people of Ibeku use his name to signify their size.[59] The people of Ibeku are fondly referred to as *Ibeku Ukwu Ogurube* and their highest administrative body is known as Ibeku Egwu Asaa, representing the seven sub-clans. The Egwu represents autonomy and it is the beginning and end of an autonomous village group –Isimba. Egwu connotes finality in group decision-making process. Therefore, it is regarded as the highest socio-political unit in Ibeku.[60]

[56] Ibid., p. 9.
[57] Ibid., p. 9.
[58] Ibid., p. 10.
[59] Ibid., p. 10.
[60] Ibid., p. 10.

The relationship between these two brothers, Ibeku and Uduma still exists till this present time. For instance, if any prominent male from Ohafia dies outside Ohafia town and the corpse is carried across Ibekuland, the conveying vehicle must stop for the ritual of pouring libation before the final journey to Ohafia. Also during new yam festivals, the two communities invite each other in turn depending on who celebrates earlier. In addition an Ohafia man must not be hurt by an Ibeku man no matter the extent of the provocation and vice versa.[61]

This tradition also is not without some loopholes just like the rest of the traditions. What is important to note is the fact that social factors played an important role in the peopling of the area. This is also one way we are going to understand the processes that led to the peopling of the Umuahia area. However, it is our understanding that migration has played one the most important roles in the founding and establishment of the Ibeku clan in the area. The legends marely reflects the efforts of a people to trace their past.

[61] Ibid., p. 10.



2.5 Umuahia: The Beginning and Basis of Interaction

The Igbo speaking people and their neighbours in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria are people whose love for ceremonies, merriment and festivities is unmatched by any other people in Nigeria. In doing this they are required to slaughter a cow or other animals but prestige is attached to cattle. This therefore, attracted the cattle trading community into the area. This in turn led to the permanent establishment of settlement in Umuahia. Information about grazing pasture in the Southeast came from drovers who used to frequent the area on the traditional seasonal movements of the cattle drovers.

In order to understand the historical basis of the Umuahia cattle trading community and cattle market it is important to study the Aro trade system in Southeastern Nigeria.[62] The commercial operations of the Aro ranged north and south, east and west of Southeastern Nigeria.[63] Activities on the Lower Niger often influenced and were greatly influenced by events in its hinterland.[64] Trade was carried on in the products of agriculture and manufacture, livestock and provisions being the principal commodities.[65] The coast-hinterland trade was in progress, and was transacted in markets established or developed for the purpose. According to C. C. Ifemesia Equiano styles livestock "the principal wealth of the country and the chief articles of its commerce".[66]

Writing about 1800 to 1854 Igboland C. C. Ifemesia made mention of the trade route linking the Southeastern Nigeria hinterland and Northern Nigeria. It was through this route which drove northwards to Uburu, and farther north to Nkalagu, Nike, Aku and

[62] See Kenneth O. Dike & Felicia Ekejiuba, 1990, *Aro of South-eastern Nigeria, 1650-1980: A Study of Socio-economic formation and transformation in Nigeria,* Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
[63] C. C. Ifemesia, 1978, *Southeastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: An Introductory Analysis,* New York: NOK Publishers International Ltd., p. 30.
[64] Ibid. p. 30.
[65] Ibid. p. 31.
[66] Ibid. p. 31.

Ibagwa in the Nsukka area.[67] Through this route came natron, cattle and horses from the far north, via Idah and Ankpa in Igala, and Utonkon and Igumale in Idoma.[68] To meet the hazards of the long journeys, the traders travelled in caravans (*otu ije*), often several hundred strong by the early part of the nineteenth century.[69]

Both in the pre-existing settlements and in their more recent colonies, the Aro opened or developed trade fairs and industrial centres. The fairs were far and near, they were held at regular intervals and lasted several days on end.[70] However, for the best part of the period, down to 1896, the two most famous fairs patronized by the Aro in Southeastern Nigerian hinterland were held at Bende and Uburu.[71] The trade fairs were attended by traders from places as far away as Calabar on the coast, Onitsha on the Niger and Ibi on the Benue –a fact which also argues the comparative political stability of the intervening areas and of the Bende neighbourhood itself during the nineteenth century.[72]

Bende used to host the trade fair for the *Aro* trade fairs taking place every 30 days. Following some misunderstanding between the people of Bende and the Aro, Uzuakoli took over this role. As a result there was influx of people into Uzuakoli for the trade fairs. But the traders were not given a good reception by the people of Uzuakoli. With this the people decided to choose Umuahia as their next market base. With the establishment of the cattle market and the prosperity it brought to Umuahia the possibilities of its growth was assured. Just as Bende was the terminus for traders from

[67] Ibid., p. 32.
[68] Ibid. pp. 32-33.
[69] Ibid. p. 33.
[70] Ibid. p. 33.
[71] Ibid. p. 34.
[72] Ibid., p. 34.

the coast, so was Uburu the terminus for traders from the north.[73] But, unlike Bende, Uburu was essentially a commercial and not an industrial centre; it was mainly concerned with wholesale rather than retail trade.[74]

According to Mahdi Adamu majority of the Hausa migrant were traders and Muslim clerics[75] and government intervention in their affairs was minimal. The second point Adamu made was that "in nearly all cases the Hausa migrations of the pre-colonial era were not of the '*yancirani* (seasonal labour migrants) type."[76] Also they are not 'an ethnic group in dispersal'.[77] According to Abner Cohen as cited by Adamu in his justification of the phrase 'an ethnic group in dispersal' to justify his concept of Hausa diaspora. Adamu wrote that Cohen "overlooked the fact that the migrants classified as Hausa were not members of the same ethnic group and many of them took Hausa ethnicity only while away from their homes. Also, only a small proportion of the Hausa people actually emigrated."[78]

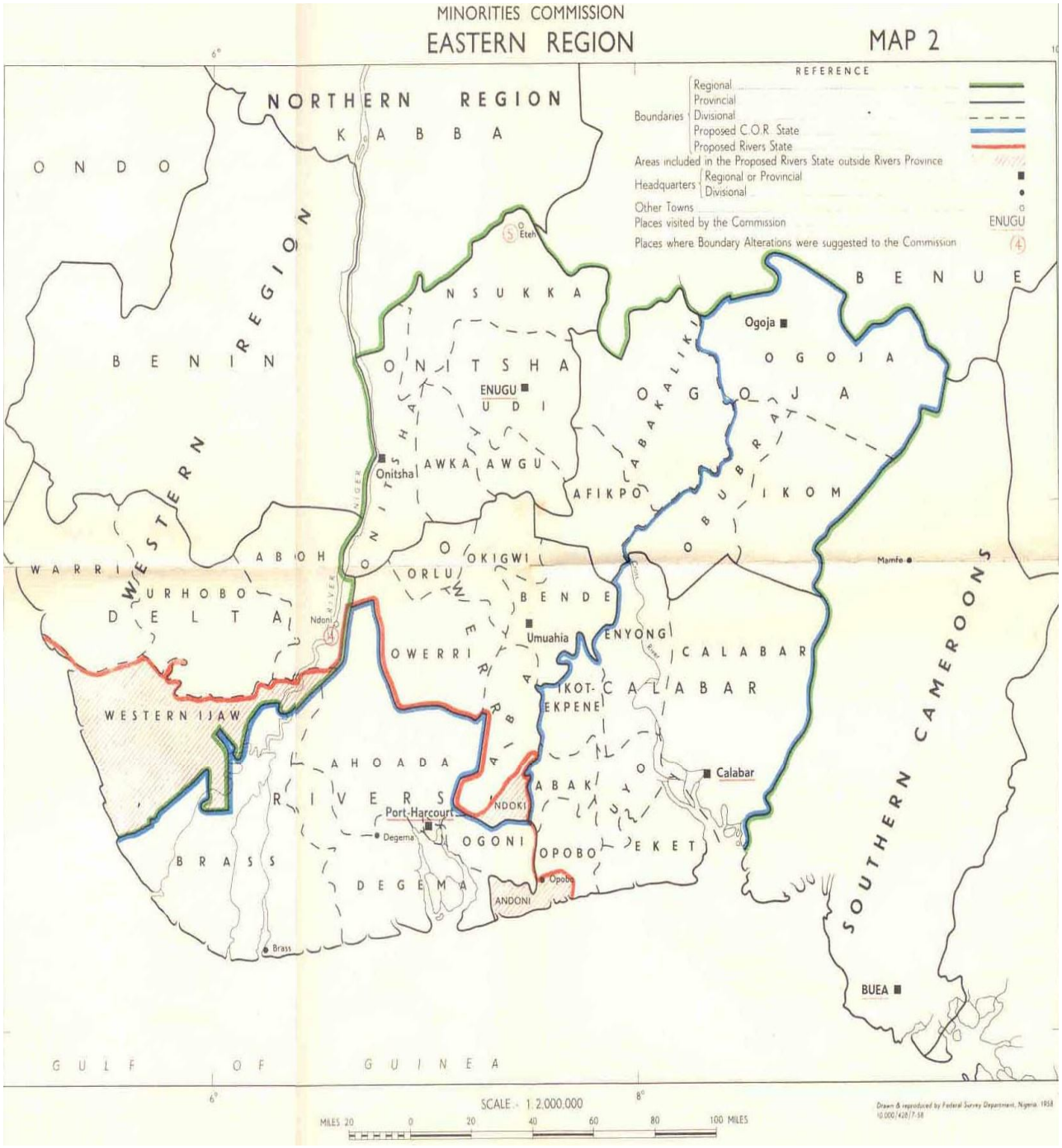
The migratory waves studied by Adamu can best be described by the Hausa words *fatauci* and *yawon almajiranci* except few of the migrations.[79] *Fatauci* means long-distance trading, without reference to the size of capital or nature of the goods involved. Thus both the itinerant haberdashers ('*yan koli*) who carried their assorted goods on their heads and wealthy long-distance merchants (*fatake*, singular *falke*) who

[73] Ibid., p. 34.
[74] Ibid., p. 34.
[75] Mahdi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History,* Zaria & Ibadan: Ahmadu Bello University Press & Oxford University Press, pp. 14-15.
[76] Ibid., p. 15.
[77] Ibid., p. 15.
[78] Ibid., p. 15.
[79] Ibid., p. 15.

required porters and pack animals to carry their goods were equally out on fatauci.[80] The cattle trading community of Umuahia lacks the character of the Adamu description of the Hausa community.

This pretty much described situation in the Umuahia area and explained the coming of the members of the cattle trading community and their economic activities in the Southeast. People like Mahdi Adamu also lent their voice in this process of trade system and social transformation between the Northern part of Nigeria and the Southeast. He however focuses his attention not deep into the hinterland.[81] His attention even on the Gold Coast hinterland and Bight of Benin not Bight of Biafra on which hinterland the Igbo are located.

[80] Ibid., p. 15.
[81] Ibid., pp. 113-137.



Source: Urhobo Historical Society, 2012, Willink Minorities Commission -Nigeria (1957-58), Map of Colonial Nigeria (1957-58) http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/maps/willink_commission/willink_minorities_commission.html

2.6 Meaning and Significance of Migration to Social Formations

Migration is the movement of persons from one country or locality to another.[82] Migration can also be defined as the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, who wish to settle definitively or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin.[83] Definitions of "migration" and, by extension, "migrant" are constructed from distinct political, social, economic, or cultural contexts that can vary greatly. There are real variations in the social and economic significance of migration phenomena, and a typology of migration can be developed on the basis of several distinctions. For example, definitions can be drawn from a geographical standpoint ("migration"), or from a human standpoint ("migrant").

Migration can also be seen as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people. Migration has been enormously influential in determining cultural and social change at all scales, not least the global, and it is fundamental to individual experience(s).[84] This explains the Hausa proverb: *tafiya ma budin ilimi.*

From a geographical standpoint, "migration" is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, with the intention of settling indefinitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin. Migration has numerous and varied causes; and even in one

[82] eLook Online Dictionary, "Migration," http://www.elook.org/dictionary/migration.html
[83] International Organization for Migration, 2011, "Migration Typologies," available at http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/522
[84] Ibid.

individual, the motives to migrate may be mixed and multiple.[85] The term "migrant" can designate a person who, voluntarily and for personal reasons, moves from his or her place of origin to a particular destination with the intention to establish residence without being compelled to do so. This definition selects the voluntary nature of the movement as the criterion for the definition.[86]

The migration process could be said to begin with the impetus for migration (including root causes-the push and pull factors, and whether forced or voluntary), moving through the various stages of travel and entry (either by regular or irregular means, and either facilitated or spontaneous), settlement and/or return, integration and/or reintegration, and ultimately, in some cases, the acquisition of nationality. "Migration" is a term that has been used to describe the movement of people in very different contexts and situations, including invasion, conquest, displacement under force of arms, flight from natural disaster, mercantile outreach, colonial settlement, and even slavery. The more familiar and modern understanding of migration, as the movement of individuals or families usually for economic or social purposes, has come to the foreground in contemporary usage. This is the definition that best explains the situation of the cattle trading community in Umuahia.

The generic term "migration" covers a wide range of behaviours that may or may not be relevant to the concept of migration as it is understood today by most people, or as it is defined in national laws and regulations. Generic references to migration often refer as much to permanent population relocations as to nomadic habits of existence built

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

around periodic shifts in places of residence. Nomadic habits may be "pendular" movements (typically of a seasonal nature) from a more or less fixed base to an outpost and back again, or less precisely defined circuits or itineraries, for example, to search for food or to conduct trade. Saying that migration is an age-old form of behaviour is not the same as saying that in the past most human beings were migrants. It is probably impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how many persons were "migrants" at any point in history and how many were not. The reality is probably that sedentary and migratory lifestyles have always co-existed as options, and people have chosen between them.[87]

Social change is an important and lasting impact that migration has had on all countries of destination. Previously homogeneous societies have undergone change and have evolved into complex multicultural societies. In some countries, this has been seen as appropriate and even desirable, while in others it is the subject of much debate. Migratory flows have been, and continue to be, important vectors of social, economic, and cultural change. The relationship between migration and history is dynamic. Migration has made history, and history has created the circumstances for varied and complex forms of migration. Migration is part of history, and history is part of migration.[88]

Migration may also be a crucial symptom of relations of dependence between different regions at different times.[89] This fact is present in the Umuahia situation where the Cattle Trading Community provides the people of the Eastern and South-south parts

[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

of Nigeria with beef gotten from the cattle from the North. It was a symbiotic relationship of economic, political, cultural and social significance.

Migrations are of many kinds and scholars have categorized migration into three but for our purpose we are going to examine two kinds of migrations: coordinated and uncoordinated migrations. An example of coordinated migration is the one that the people decide to leave their place of abode to a different place either as a result of deliberation among them or as a result of natural phenomenon like draughts and the likes. Throughout history we have these cases especially in the Nigerian area like the shrinking of the Lake Chad. This led to the mass migration of the people. This can be seen as coordinated because though it happened over a long period of time the natural disaster triggered a planned migration.

In the case of the Cattle Trading Community it was not at all coordinated, while it was uncoordinated it was however, triggered by economic factors that have to do with both man and the animals or that affected both man and animal. The case of the Cattle Trading Community settling in Umuahia was as a result of the economic opportunities present in the area especially because of environmental factors and the transformation of Umuahia into the distributing centre for the cattle trade in Nigerian south.

Social formation is a Marxist concept, largely synonymous with ‘society’, which refers to the institutional context which provides the conditions of existence of the mode of production. The term was devised by the structuralist Marxist Louis Althusser as a substitute for society, because he thought that the latter was too strongly marked by what he regarded as pre-Marxist humanist conceptions of social life as being (ultimately) the

product of individual human beings. For this reason, its presence in a text normally indicates that the author works with a structuralist conception of social life, according to which social relations as such–rather than their bearers–are what determine what happens within societies. For Althusser, a social formation is a complex of concrete economic, political, and ideological relations, bound together and given their particular character as capitalist, feudal, or whatever by the fact that the economic relations are, in his words, 'determinant in the last instance'.[90] Many of those who continue to use the term now reject this residual reductionism.[91] In our case the economic categorization is paramount in defining the inter-group relations as found in Umuahia with the formation of the Cattle Trading Community.

The key factor in this phenomenon is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has always been an important aspect in the development of *all* human societies.[92] Going further on this issue Sule Bello posits that: "conversely no human society has existed as an isolated, static and inert unit in history. This is partly why the fact of the multicultural nature of the social processes of development, is in itself, not the critical issue. It is rather the actual policies needed to ensure the development of independent, integrated and viable nation-states in Africa that is the issue".[93] The fact that Nigeria has not been able to transcend this challenge was because of its colonial experience. Earlier in our discussions we have shown how Nigeria have not been able to change anything

[90] Alan Swingewood, 1977, *The Myth of Mass Culture,* London: Macmillan, p. 21.
[91] Gordon Marshall, 1998, "social formation," A Dictionary of Sociology, Encyclopedia.com, (December 14, 2010), http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-socialformation.html
[92] Sule Bello, 2010, "The Enemy Within: The Challenges of Managing Multiculturalism in Nigeria," Being a Paper Delivered at the Conference on Political Stability and Democratic Imperatives in a Dynamic International Environment, Organized by National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, at the International Conference Centre, Abuja, p. 15.
[93] Ibid., p. 15.

substantial in what she inherited from colonialism especially those that touch on citizenship, to the extent that her constitution contains and categorizes its peoples based on settler and indigene when it comes to political appointments.[94]

On the subject of social formation or as Sule Bello puts it: formation of communities and polities this was his observations:

> "In fact African history, in its totality, is the demonstration of various processes of the formation of communities, and polities, of multicultural denomination whose successes and failures were greatly related to their capacity to promote peace and the well being of the community through the purposive utilization of available resources in response to a variety of environmental, demographic, economic, political and cultural challenges. It was only in the global imperial context of transatlantic slave trafficking, and formal colonization of the continent, that the racial profiling and 'tribal' ordering of society became rampant. It was used as a convenient strategy for the emasculation, or containment, of the conflicts and contradictions generated as a result of colonial conquest and the numerous changes it introduced thereafter, centred on colonial exploitation through the expropriation of land and mines; forced labour; exploitation of agricultural producers, mine labourers and control of local extractive economic services in the interests of foreign companies. These changes in turn greatly promoted multicultural, as well as multiracial, migrations and social intercourse."[95]

Looking at the quote above one will see a correlation between the colonial experience of Nigeria and the problem of conflicts of the ethnic variation. It shows that this was as a result of the exogenous forces at work in Nigeria. These however received impetus by the leaders of Nigeria immediately after the gaining of political independence through their political activities. These affected social intercourse on many levels and in many regions of Nigeria. The issue on their lips and that of people who wish to see the Nigerian project fails was that Nigeria was an "artificial creation".

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[94] Federal Republic of Nigeria: *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,* p. 85 or LL 85, Section 147 Subsection 3.
[95] Sule Bello, 2010, "The Enemy Within: … op. cit, p. 11.

On this matter Obaro Ikime has this to say:

> Since the late 1950s when Nigerian scholars got involved in the study of the history of their country, the idea that Nigeria is artificial creation of the British has been assailed. I consider the assault in some ways unnecessary. No nation of the world as we know it today came into existence in one fell swoop. All nations are products of History, which history often involved periods of imperial subjugation of some groups by other groups. In that sense all nations are 'artificial creations'.[96]

Therefore one will have to look at the realities of social formation based on the formation and transformation that is bound to happen in every social setting. In social formation nothing is artificial this is because it happened following historical antecedence. The only thing that one has to put into consideration is the issue of whether the phenomenon has undergone the full process of its formation. Whether it was disrupted by some exogenous and or even endogenous forces before it fully matures. This is one question that is important that one do not often hear on the lips of those scholars who strive to deny Africa its history or say that conflict had been a constant factor in the relationship between the various Nigerian peoples even before the establishment of colonial domination.

The matter is like this; when a woman gives birth to a premature baby, that baby had to be put in an incubator for a certain period. This will help the child to survive in the first instance and subsequently to develop all the other faculties that a normal child should have. The situation of Nigeria and the inter-group relation in Nigeria had suffered the fate of not being allowed to mature. This realization alone will help us in understanding and in tackling the issue once and for all.

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[96] Obaro Ikime, 1982, "Inter-group Relations in Pre-Colonial Nigeria: A Call for Re-Examination of Political Relations Among Nigerian Peoples in the Period up to c. 1850," in Obaro Ikime, 2006, *History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian,* Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc., p. 17.

We believe and many other scholars know that on the arena of economic and social relations the people of Nigeria have cooperated to the extent that the benefits gotten from this aspect is visible even today. This is on the economic and social aspects. Commenting further on this subject Mahmoud Hamman has this to say:

> There were relationships that were underpinned by cultural cross-fertilisation in which religious and linguistic elements served as veritable bridges through which inter-ethnic relationships were promoted. Differences in resource endowments also provided strong avenues for inter-ethnic relationships in which the principle of relative economic advantage served as anchor for mutual economic benefit through various exchanges…. Exogamous marriages and emigration also served as anchors for various ethnic groups in terms of mutual relationships.[97]

On the political aspect of the relationship between the Nigerian peoples, Obaro Ikime has tackled that in his book, *History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian*.[98] From what he has to say; that even though one may not expressly be strong in bringing out the various ways that the Nigerian peoples have had political relationships. Especially in terms of one empire controlling all the Nigerian peoples as they are constituted today many of its peoples, chiefdoms, kingdoms, and so on, have been politically influenced by each other.

He said: "The subject of political relations among the peoples within the Nigerian geographical area in pre-colonial times is one which the historians of Nigeria have tended to leave severely alone even when the subjects they have studied provide material for daring certain suggestions if not conclusions."[99]

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[97] Mahmoud Hamman, 2005, "Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts," in A. M. Yakubu, et al, (eds.), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003,* Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, p. 452.
[98] Obaro Ikime, 1982, "Inter-group Relations in Pre-Colonial Nigeria: … op. cit., p. 17-39.
[99] Ibid., p. 17.

To elaborate more on this issue or to put it in more unequivocal manner we would like to quote Sule Bello once again:

> Imperial divisions in the colonies, subsumed under the general category of 'tribes', in fact includes all forms of social groups that are supposed to, in some ways, be linked by language, dialect, culture, territory, religion, occupation or biology. Most of the inconsistencies, confusion, flaws, contradictions, errors and falsehoods that tend to characterize ethnocentric categories arise from the desperate need to create divisions in the colonies, irrespective of whether they are justified or not, as necessary tools for ethnocentric management of the society. Thus the taxonomy or the principles of classification of ethnic groups is based on abstractions derived from a motley of indefinite bio-physical, as well as transient cultural characteristics none of which, in itself, is capable of constituting a definite basis for a comprehensive social, political or economic identity and all of which, taken together, constitute mainly a stereotype that is completely oblivious of the plural, fluid, dynamic and inter-related socio-historical characteristics of the identities concerned. For this reason, the ethnocentric identities the colonialists configured and projected as Africa eternal differ remarkably from the pre-colonial African societies they attempted to fake, mainly on the basis of linguistic similarities and exotic fetish.[100]

The significance of migration to social formation can be seen from the fact that human society is social in character. And no one community can produce all that it needs to sustain it either in the form of physical products or goods or ideas in general. This takes care of cultural as well as social inter-change also. There must be cultural and social interchange for all human societies to function to full capacity. Even the environment we occupy does not support this possibility as many of the needs of the people cannot be produced by them.

[100] Sule Bello, 2010, "The Enemy Within: … op. cit., pp. 18-19.

2.7 Conclusion

In the final analysis, it is important to note that even before the advent of colonialism the various ethnic groups that make up the Nigerian state have never lived in isolation from one another. The fact still remains that Nigeria is made up of diverse socio-cultural groups. Different socio-economic conditions and inter-group relations in the pre-colonial era combined with differential exposure to, and incorporation into the colonial order, set the stage for ethno-regional interactions, inequalities, tensions and rivalries after independence. This is not saying that in the pre-colonial era of Nigerian history violent conflicts was not part of such interaction but that it was never with the absolute destructions that accompany the recent violence or riots as it was known in the popular language of the people all over Nigeria.

Migration historians agree that migratory flows have been, and continue to be, important vectors of social, economic, and cultural change. Although it is not possible to accurately determine how many persons were "migrants" at any particular point in history, evidence of co-existing sedentary and migratory lifestyles can be found in all periods of world history.[101]

The formation of any people follows certain rules. These rules also have a pattern which is universal as far as human community is concerned. These rules have to do with the fact that it is human nature to move from one place to the other and to settle as the situation allows. There have always been movements in human societies. No human society has been static. Nor is there any human society that has always been completely

[101] International Organization for Migration, 2011, "Migration Typologies," available at http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/522

pure. This is in consideration of the peoples, their cultural practices, social and economic practices, political and religious. At all these levels there are mixing and counter-mixing of ideas from elsewhere. This is the true nature of all human societies.

In a bid to understand the complex nature of the human society and to examine those factors that made the human society to be complex it is important to adopt the concepts as well as the theoretical framework that will make this possible. This chapter was an effort towards achieving that goal. Nigeria in general and Umuahia in particular presents one of the significant examples in inter-group relations, migration, social and identity formation and transformation.

The presence of social and historical factors is very critical and fundamental to this study. It is in this context that we are going to understand the traditions of origin of the peoples involved in this study and how they are able to sustain these traditions and they, in turn being shaped by them. Of great significance was the fact that importance was placed on history as can be seen in the manner in which these traditions were preserved. It is obvious that social, political and cultural factors played an important role in this direction. We have tried in our way to enumerate the importance of these factors to our understanding of inter-group relation between the different peoples of Nigeria and in Umuahia in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATTLE TRADING COMMUNITY IN UMUAHIA c. 1895

3.1 Introduction

One cannot say with absolute certainty the actual date that the "would be" members of the Cattle Trading Community started to come to the Umuahia area. Neither can one say again with any degree of certainty the actual date that the first member of the Community first started to settle in Umuahia. What we can say though is that at a certain point during one of the sojourns of the hunters from the North, cattle Fulbe and the Hausa *yan koli*, discovered the commercial potential of the area. That by the year 1895 they have started having permanent residence in Umuahia. By the 1920s there was a well established Community in Umuahia and the cattle market had become the distributing centre for cattle throughout the Southern Provinces. And ever since at various periods interrupted by the Civil War, a group of peoples from the northern part of Nigeria decided to settle in the Umuahia area and in many other areas of eastern Nigeria such as Abakaliki, Awka, Enugu and so on. At first their business with the area was to hunt, trade and just to graze their cattle as part of the transhumance nature of the Fulbe. This was because the area was endowed with grass for the cattle and then later to sell cattle to the peoples of the area for consumption. None of the cattle markets established in other parts of the Southern Provinces, however, could match the prominence that Umuahia occupies in this category.

Members of the cattle trading community has been carrying out their activities in the vicinity of Umuahia for quit sometime. It was in this course that they decided to establish permanent settlement. The significance of economic factors in development is paramount because it is linked to the subject of making ends meet. This is one of the most important factors that lead to migration and establishment of settlement in any area. This chapter examines the process of the establishment of the community. It also looks at the establishment of the cattle market through the development of trade and socio-cultural and economic interactions between the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria.

3.2 The Cattle Trading Community of Umuahia c. 1895

The Cattle Trading Community is a conglomerations of ethnic groups from the northern part of Nigeria living in Umuahia as a social organization that was formed first on the basis of economic specialization, religion, regional and because they can speak the same language, the Hausa language. Membership into the Community is therefore not on the basis of ethnicity or common ethnic affiliations but regionalism. Northern Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups and at one time or another many have come to settle in Umuahia and have had to identify with their "kith and kin" who were living in Umuahia. The basis for this identification was the fact that they all come from the Northern part of Nigeria. This is because of the basic and colonial political division of Nigeria into Northern and Southern Provinces or Regions. The Northern part of Nigeria also contained peoples who practice Islam, Christianity and traditional religion. All these are significant in understanding what we know as the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia. This simplification is necessary in order to put the study in its proper perspective.

In essence, therefore, and based on the available evidence we can say that by 1895 what was the nucleus of the Community and eventually of the cattle market had already been established in Umuahia under the leadership of Mallam Hussaini. In the colonial records he was known as Mallam Oseni. This was to be the first *Sarkin Hausawa* in Umuahia. He was a hunter who came from Azare in the *Kasashen* Bauchi.[1] There was a claim; however, coming from the lawyer to Mamman Na-Ikare during their controversy with *Sarki* Adamu Oseni saying that before *Sarki* Mallam Oseni there was one Mamuda who was the Sarki but who was deposed in favour of Mallam Oseni. Mallam Mamuda or Mallam Oseni were not made *Sarki* immediately. Mallam Oseni was made *Sarki* in about 1911 or 1914. He reigned for 25 years after which when he died the *Sarkiship* was given to one man who was to hold the "throne" for his son until he came of age. Apart from this mention of Mamuda by the Council to Mamman Na-Ikare to justify the election of his client there was another citing of the man. But this time it was said that he was the man that took over from *Sarki* Oseni after his death before his son *Sarki* Adamu Oseni came of age.[2] By this we mean *Sarki* Adamu Oseni took over his father's position as the leader of the community, the *Sarkin Hausawa* of Umuahia.

If the Mallam Mamuda leadership position before *Sarki* Mallam Oseni was to be true then the 1895 date for the full establishment of the community stands. There was every possibility that that was true. This was because to Mazi Friday Onwudinjo or Dee Friday as he is known to all in the community who is a butcher, the Hausa had been in Umuahia for a very long time. He said this on the basis that his grandfather was also a

[1] For more details on this term see Mahdi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History,* Zaria & Ibadan: Ahmadu Bello University Press & Oxford University Press, pp. 23-57.
[2] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, 51, interview on 10-09-2011, Chief Imam of Umuahia.

butcher and so also was his father. He narrated what his brother told him also a butcher, who was eighty three years before he died in 2009, that he grew up to see Hausa well established in Umuahia.[3]

In 1943 the son of Mallam Oseni by the name Adamu was made *Sarki*.[4] In 1949 there arose some dissentions in connection with the cattle trade which led to the election of another Sarki in the person of Mamman Na-Akare referred to in the colonial records as Moma Nakare.[5] This was when Umuahia started having two *Sarakuna*. This trend was to repeat itself generation to generation in the history of the Community in Umuahia. We shall see in the subsequent passages more on this issue. The year 1967 mark the end of an era in the history the cattle trading community in Umuahia and the start of another era in 1970. The era started in 1914 with the establishment of the cattle market to end in 1967 with the outbeak of the civil war. The period between 1967 and 1970 i.e. 1968 and 1969 the community was in exile as a result of the Civil War which had displaced them. By 1967 the cattle trade was disrupted though not entirely but it was reduced to a trickle, as a result of the civil war following the coup and couter-coup of the year 1966. By this period the members of the cattle trading community had dispersed to various parts of Nigeria. Some of them came back while others decided to make their new settlements and others went back to their original homes.

At the height of its existence the community was made up of an estimated number of more than three hundred households. It is difficult to have the exact number of the individuals that made up this community but one can give an estimation of around five

[3] Mazi Friday Onwudinjo, 64, interview on 10-09-2011.
[4] NAE, OW: 7863, UMDIV 3/1/774, Sarikin Hausawa Umuahia-Ibeku, 1949-1953.
[5] Ibid.

thousand-five hundred people making up the community.[6] It was a very large community stretching from the Umuahia Main Market i.e. *Isi* Gate to Uwalaka Street at Amuzukwu where the cattle market was moved to in 1950. This was the extent of the area of the community (Hausa Quarters) or *Ama Hausa* before the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War in 1967.[7]

Abner Cohen's research focused on the commercial enterprises of migrant Hausa communities in Ibadan, a Yoruba town, showing how ethnic identity developed as the migrants devised measures to take control of the cattle and kola nut markets. The study demonstrates that migrant communities often developed political institutions and systems distinct from cultural practices dominant in their places of provenance. Their relations with their 'host' communities were at different points cooperative, competitive and conflictual.[8] This observation aptly describes the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia but in this case we are dealing with a conglomeration of peoples not just the Hausa. Though the majority of the people are not Hausa the fact that they found themselves amidst the Igbo they were all seen and referred to as Hausa. For the purpose of convenience and in order to avoid misrepresentation we shall just refer to them as the Cattle Trading Community.

In Nigeria and in many other parts of the world where one finds the Hausa they can best be seen as a language group rather that an ethnic categorization, based on this fact too we can call them Hausa since the Hausa language is their lingua franca. This is

[6] Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, 13-09-2011 & Shuaibu Mallam Pate, (Okoronkwo), 56, interview, 15-09-2011.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ukiwo, Ukoha, June 2005, "On the Study of Ethnicity in Nigeria," in Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford: University of Oxford, CRISE Working Paper No. 12, p. 6.

one huddle that many other ethnic groups in the Nigerian area have not been able to overcome. This is what we believe the reason the Igbo regard the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia as they referred to the members as Hausa. It is because of the fact that the lingua franca of the Community is Hausa. There was more to it though, and that was because the Igbo regarded and referred to anyone from the northern part of Nigeria as Hausa.

Information about the grazing in these regions came from Fulbe drovers (*gainakai*) who went to the towns to manage animals for the cattle traders. Evidence of pre-colonial or pre-railway trekking of cattle is also available which will put the presence of the members of the Cattle Trading Community in this area even before the coming of the colonialists. The Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia was involved both in long-distance trade and the marketing of livestock and other northern products. The daily business of this community is often based in the cattle market- *garke* or *gariki* according to the Igbo, and individuals live in Hausa quarters or *Ama Hausa* with a substantial number living among the Igbo at the out skirts of Umuahia, in the villages. Even the *Ama Hausa*- an area housing peoples of Northern Nigerian extraction, with the majority of the people from the Cattle Trading Community is inundated by pockets of Igbo residents. The members of this community have always been very active in the livestock trade, both as dealers and butchers and those who roasted the meat in form of the popular *suya*.

Among the first people that started living permanently in Umuahia was *Sarki* Oseni (Hussaini) who was a hunter. He came to Umuahia as a grown up and he became wealthy as a result of his activities, being a hunter he was credited to have possessed certain extraordinary powers. This was the case with all hunters in Hausaland where they

were fabled to possess certain charm that enables them to even disappear. This must have contributed to his success as well as the fact that he became the first *Sarki* of *Hausawa* in Umuahia. This must have taken place in 1895 before the advent of colonialism. After this success and prestige that he gained his son by the name Adamu followed him from the North.

There were also *yan koli* i.e. itinerant haberdashers,[9] who were some of the first people to settle in Umuahia. Among what they used to trade on were beads and trinkets and other items of beautification. They also sold such cloths known to the Igbo as *akwa nmiri*.[10] This was an important item of clothing to the Igbo and a symbol of respect in Igbo society. It was brought to this area by the first Northern settlers in Umuahia. These people were to start the cattle trade in this area which attracted huge number of people from all over the Northern Region. The source of these items is the Northern part of Nigeria.

Sarki Mallam Oseni (Hussaini) came from Azare in the *Kasashen* Bauchi as stated earlier.[11] From whence his son followed and after his death the son took over the mantle of leadership around 1940s. When Adamu came to Umuahia he was lodged at No. 10 Eket Street by his father this was where *Sarki* Hussaini used to keep his strangers. Before his death *Sarki* Hussaini had up to 30 houses at Umuahia. Alhaji Inuwa Idem said that he grew up to see up to 27 houses belonging to *Sarki* Oseni in Umuahia.[12] *Sarki* Oseni himself was living at No. 7 Eket and No. 8 Cameroon streets just close to the

[9] Mahdi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History,* Zaria & Ibadan: Ahmadu Bello University Press & Oxford University Press, p. 15.
[10] Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, 13-09-2011.
[11] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55, interview, 13-09-2011.
[12] Alhaji Inuwa Idem, … op. cit.

mosque at No. 5 Hausa/Eket Street. It used to be his house but was later converted to a mosque. When *Sarki* Oseni died his son Adamu was turbaned *Sarki* in 1943. He was buried at his residence No. 7 Eket Street. At this time there was the establishment of the cattle market which took place during the reign of *Sarki* Oseni. The cattle market prospered to the extent that it superseded other business of the Hausa community as this community was known to the colonialist and the Igbo of Umuahia.

After *Sarki* Adamu was turbaned he continued piloting the affairs of the community but he was not as strong-willed as his father. Somewhere along the line there occurred some problems between *Sarki* Adamu and some of the strong men of the community pertaining to the derivations accruing to the community. This happened at the same time that Mamman Na-Ikare had started living in Umuahia and had become popular with the people because he was sociable. He had made friends within the police, the Hausa community and the colonial officials. Some of the members of the community therefore decided to make him *Sarki* to counter some of the excesses of *Sarki* Adamu.[13] We shall discuss this matter at length in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The community was able to grow through series of emigrations into Umuahia by people from the Norhtern part of Nigeria. Other class of migrant also came to Umuahia over the years from across the border from Cameroun, Niger and Chad Republics.

The circumstances that led to Malam Oseni being chosen as *Sarki* of Umuahia are not altogether unconnected with the fact that he was among the first to have made Umuahia home. It was said that he opened up the present *Ama Hausa* at Umuahia when it

[13] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, 51, interview on 10-09-2011, Chief Imam of Umuahia.

merely a forest, hence the name *Ama Hausa* (Hausa square). When he came to the area with his band of hunters he negotiated with the owners of the land for a place and he was given. This was to repeat itself in 1950 when *Sarki* Adamu Oseni, son to *Sarki* Malam Oseni, negotiated for a piece of land at Amuzukwu-Ibeku for the new cattle market and a sum was agreed to be paid annually to the owners of the land and one cow. The same arrangement took place between his father and the people of the Umuahia area in the past. *Sarki* Malam Oseni was a respected man who built a reputation for himself through negotiating for a place for the migrant Northerners to stay. He therefore naturally became the *Sarki*.

3.3 Establishment and Locations of the Cattle Market c. 1914-1950

The establishment of the cattle market was not analogous with the establishment of the Community as the Community was already established long before the cattle market was established. Available evidence showed that the first people to have settled in Umuahia were hunters then later *yan koli* (itinerant haberdashers) joined them.[14] With these initial members of the community who were living a kind of transhumance life it was not long before they discovered that cattle trade had great potential in the East. They took advantage of this opportunity by bringing the cattle over a long distance. At first the cattle were being trekked from the North through Abakaliki and later with the introduction of railing facilities by the colonialists they were being ferried through the railway lines.

[14] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, interviews at various times at Kaduna and Okigwe 2009 and 2011.

The discovery of the commercial viability of this area was to be the main attraction of the people and the subsequent establishment of the cattle market. This was a gradual process because at first the cattle used to be brought to Umuahia through Abakaliki. It was to change when it was discovered that it was better and more convenient to make Umuahia the base as well as the distributing centre for the cattle trade in the Southern Provinces.

With the establishment of the cattle market there evolved other leadership titles such as *Sarkin Zango* who oversee the entire affairs of the cattle market and was appointed by the *Sarkin Hausawa*. Another title was *Sarkin Gainakai* who oversaw the affairs of the cattle drovers with the cattle from the north and from Cameroon through the mountains passing through Obudu to Abakaliki then to Umuahia. When they reached Umuahia too there were those drovers (*Gainakai*) who took them into the bush to feed them and made them fit for sale.

With the establishment of the cattle market and the advent of colonialism there were certain things that were added to the function of the *Sarki Hausawa* these are:

a. Arrange water supply
b. Supply ropes and boys leading the cattle
c. Arranging grazing land with local natives
d. Feed and lodge the strangers who come with cattle
e. Settle by payment, if necessary, claims and fines for trespass.[15]

He was to do all these by collecting the sum of money known as "rope money" or "*kudin igiya*" per head for each cow amounting to 1/- (one shilling).[16] This had become a kind of custom among the community in relation to the cattle market in subsequent years.

[15] NAE, OW 385/21 RIVPROF 8/9/322, Owerri Province Hausa Settlements, 1921-1930.
[16] Ibid.

This was to apply also to the *Fatoma* who lodged the strangers (*fatake*) who came with the cattle from the North to Umuahia.

This rope money i.e. *kudin igiya* caused some dissention between the top shorts of the community in 1929 that led to the invitation by colonial authorities of the Sarki Ododo or Dodo of Elele to come and resolve the problem being the senior sarki in the province (Owerri Province).[17]

The importance of Umuahia in terms of the cattle trade was what made the colonial authorities to take interest in the affairs of the cattle market and the community. In 1929 one Monsieur Chollier who brought a herd down to Umuahia in 1929 estimated that about 10,000 herds had been brought to Umuahia during the past twelve Months (i.e. in 1928).[18] This was just an estimate and a conservative one at that, if one might add. This was because the Umuahia cattle market was a distributing centre to all parts of the Southern Provinces.

The cattle market had been located at various places within the Umuahia township area as well as at some of the neighbouring Ibeku villages such as Afaraukwu and Afarata (Amuzukwu) all within the Ibeku clan villages. In 1928 when the cattle arrived from the North they were usually brought to the Township and kept at night on a portion of land close to the Hausa quarters. This was when the cattle market (*gariki*) was located at Hausa/Eket Street over the rail. This place had already been earmarked to be used as native building sites.[19]

[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

In 1929 with the problem between Sarki Mallam Oseni and Musa Madaki Kazallaha there was the establishment of another *garke* or *gariki* site by Musa Kazallaha south of the Railway Station, this was near the Goods Shed area and buyers also patronized this market. One such persons was Monsieur Chollier who had in 1928 given his men some cattle to take to the site controlled by Mallam Oseni where they had to pay 1/- to Sarki Oseni and 1/- to the man they lodged with i.e. the *Fatoma*. On this particular occasion in 1929 he went to Musa and had to pay only 1/- to Musa alone. The colonial authorities were in favour of Monsieur Chollier going to Musa as he had to pay only 1/- claiming that he had gone to the cheaper man.[20]

Because of this problem of division among the community involving the Sarki and one of the strong men of the community the colonial authorities became worried and wanted to resolve the matter before it escalated to violence. For them to do that they decided to invite the most senior sarki in Owerri Province at that time in the person of *Sarki* Mallam Ododo or Dodo of Elele. Another *sarki* that was following *Sarki* Ododo in seniority was that of Port Harcourt in the person of *Sarki* Mallam Alilu or Halilu. So that in event where *Sarki* Ododo cannot come to Umuahia to help resolve the problem *Sarki* Alilu would come instead. During this time Elele, Okigwi, Port Harcourt, Aba, Bende i.e. Umuahia were all under Owerri Province.[21]

Sarki Ododo of Elele accepted the invitation by the colonial authorities, which was more a command than invitation, and went to Umuahia on the 3rd June 1929 via Owerri and Aba.[22] Details of what he did and how he did resolve the problem was not

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

given. Details of what he did to bring the two people *Sarki* Mallam Oseni and Musa Kazallaha to settle their differences was not known but it appeared that after that visit there was no more problem.

On many occasions the cattle market had had to be relocated, in many instances as a result of the fact that the town had grown to meet it. This was why one finds many instances of the cattle market being relocated or new sites being proposed for the new cattle market. Because of the tendency of towns to grow also there were various plans by the Town Planning Authority to extend the township.

In 1929 another cattle pound was proposed to be located at *Ishiama* (Afara) end of the proposed extension of the native location.[23] Plots were also laid out for the Hausa drovers to build their houses as they had to live close to the cattle pound. By this time Umuahia had grown in importance to the colonial authorities in view of the revenue that they got from cattle trade and many other related trades. In 1923 there was a lay-out by the town planning committee of Umuahia and even this time it took care of the cattle market. In this lay-out many things were not put into consideration i.e. the fact that by the year 1928 more than 10,000 herd of cattle were brought to Umuahia,[24] this much traffic was not put into consideration in their locating of the cattle pound. By this period Umuahia cattle market had become the distributing centre to the whole of the southern provinces. In a period of less than three decades the number of cattle that enter Umuahia had increased from 10,000 to more 50,000.[25]

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] NAE, OW 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning: Cattle Kraal Scheme, 1947-1952.

By this time also the community was fully established with its *sarki*, a mosque and a burial ground. These are necessities that any Hausa/Muslim community cannot do without. The colonial authorities too were aware of these things and used to put them in their town planning lay-out. In 1929 a site outside Umuahia Township was in use. A site that had been in use for a very long time was the one in Afaraukwu overlooking the Golden Guinea Breweries. There was however one tradition about the location of the cattle pound or market or kraal. And that was the fact that all had been located near the rail line. That was why attention was drawn by the colonial authorities on the possibility of the cattle crossing the rail line. In citing the cattle pound also such issues as water supply and grazing facilities were of paramount importance.[26]

On the issue of citing of cattle compound/market in Umuahia there were problems that arose. As we have seen with the coming of colonialism the status of the people of Nigeria change to being subjects and with it other titles such as squatters and so on.[27] The people were now squatters on their own land. All these were done in order to justify any action that the British colonialists were going to take and did take on the people pertaining to the land and other rights of the people.

In 1930 the question of the relocation of the cattle compound still came up as the old site was no longer suitable.[28] The Medical Officer had earlier selected a site to the west of the Native location and outside the boundaries of the Crown Land. According to the Land Officer this site was not good because it was near the Native Town. He suggested a better site for the cattle compound in the Ishiama area to the south of the

[26] NAE, OW 7792 UMDIV 3/1/768, Unauthorised Cattle Kraal Umuahia dispute concerning, 1948.
[27] NAE, OW 385/21 RIVPROF 8/9/322, Owerri Province Hausa Settlements, 1921-1930.
[28] Ibid.

European Trading Area. In doing that it was proposed that the Railway authorities should extend the existing siding post to cover plots: 16, 17 and 18 further south.[29] That if this was done it was possible for the cattle to be loaded, housed and killed in the same area. It would appear then that with the current arrangement this was not possible.

In order to achieve this, the colonial authorities proposed to evict what they termed "layout squatters" in the village of Ishiama. They also proposed to make plots available for the people tending the cattle to erect their dwellings on as it was necessary for them to live close to the cattle. On this matter the Land Officer in the person of (Sgd) H. B. Shepheard reports thus:

> I have to inform you that certain amount of trouble has arisen over the cattle compound at Umuahia. For some years the cattle were stabled on ground which had been laid out in plots for occupation by native and close to those already occupied. The Medical Officer of Health decided that the cattle were too close to this native town and ordered them to be moved to a site which it now transpires is not on Crown Land. The site is to the north and west of the European Trading and Residential Area but… when the cattle are added into the railway wagons from the ramp… opposite to Messrs Miller Brothers' factory they have to be driven through a portion of the European area and right through the native market… the present arrangement is by no means satisfactory. It appears that a considerable number of cattle are killed to the south of the European area in the neutral zone and close to plot 18.
> …this area is the best for a cattle compound, but in order to be able to site it there it will be necessary to have a number of squatters who have been in occupation many years. But if the cattle are housed there it will mean that when loading on wagons they will have to be driven through the European Area unless the ramp is moved.[30]
>
> And in order to do that

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

> …the existing siding could be extended 100 yards at very little cost and trouble and a new ramp built in the market zone.[31]

He concluded that

> …if this could be done it would mean that the cattle could be housed, loaded and killed all in the same area without causing any inconvenience to anyone under for more sanitary conditions that at present prevail.[32]

From the forgoing one can see the actual mentality of the colonialist as it pertains to land and its use in the colonies. The changing of status of the people of the colonies as they were being subjugated by the colonialist. The situation was a pathetic one where the people had no rights at all.

As a result of the friction in the community that led to the election of *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare there was the need also to relocate the cattle market. The market was then located at Afaraukwu area. With the election of *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare, he, also, at first established a separate cattle market at the spot now opposite the CPS (Central Police Station) in Umuahia. This place was the spot where Chewkas Cinema was once located. This place was in the middle of the town. The colonial authorities at this time were not in favour of two cattle markets at this time.

As a result there was one of the most elaborate schemes to build a new cattle kraal. It was during this process that *Sarki* Adamu Oseni approached one Timothy Iroegbu of Umuwaya Amuzukwu to give him a land located at Uwalaka Street to become the new cattle market or kraal. This was in 1950 and the family granted him this request. At first he wanted to buy the land but the family refused and instead demanded him to be giving them a yearly tenancy at the rate of £20 per annum. This agreement was made on

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

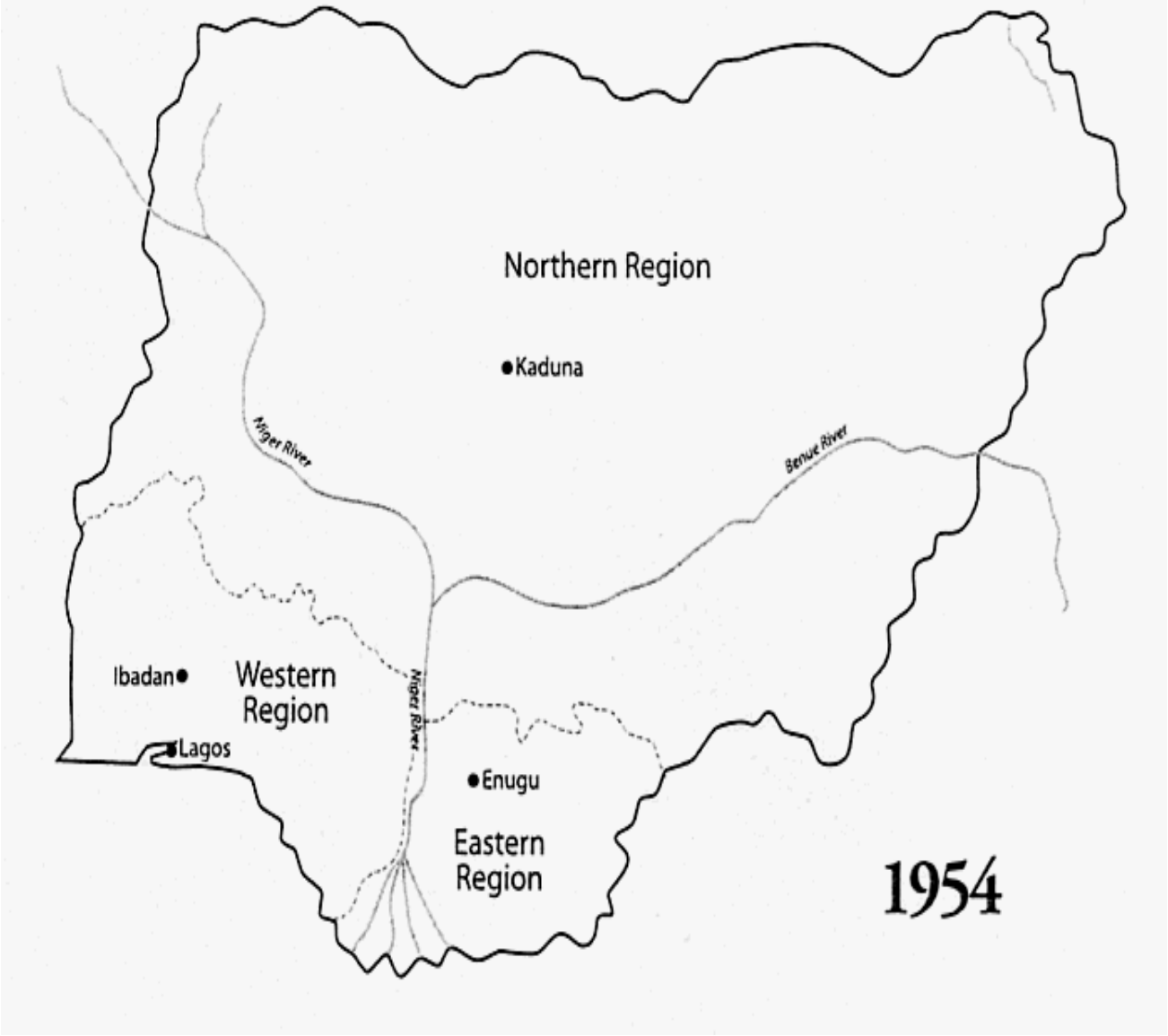
the 28th of August, 1950.[33] Upon collection of the land known as *Odipkiri*, *Sarki* Adamu as a leader of the Hausa Community in Umuahia Township allowed all the cattle dealers to use the land and thus it became a cattle market not only for Umuahia but for whole of the East and South-south.

This was all happening after the election of Mamman Na-Ikare as another *Sarkin Hausawa* in Umuahia. Before this time there was one cattle market especially since 1929 when *Sarki* Ododo of Elele came to Umuahia to resolve the problem in the community. After the election of Mamman Na-Ikare and the bad blood that it created Na-Ikare had to open a different cattle market as we have seen. But with *Sarki* Adamu Oseni acquiring of the land at Umuwaya Amuzukwu Ibeku, *Sarki* Na-Ikare also approached the other family that owned a piece of land adjacent to the one acquired by *Sarki* Adamu at Uwalaka Street. An agreement was entered between Na-Ikare and Iheukwumere Nwadinobi representing his family on the 1st of October, 1950 on the land known as "*Isiokpula*". The land was leased to Na-Ikare at the rate of £15:0:0d (fifteen pounds).[34] These lands "*Odipkiri*" and "*Isiokpula*" situate at Umuwaya, Amuzukwu-Ibeku were to remain the cattle market until 1994 when they were forced to relocate to Ubakala in Umuahia South Local Government by the Military Administrator of Abia State, but instead choose to relocate to Okigwe in Imo State.

We shall discuss relocation of the *gariki* in detail in chapters five and six. Meanwhile, it is important to note the high level of inter-group relations that went into the activities of the cattle trading community and the people of Umuahia particularly the

[33] Statement of Claim, in Suit No. HU/123/93, in the High Court of Umuahia Judicial Division, Holden at Umuahia, 1993.
[34] See the Memorandum of Agreement between Iheukwumere Nwadinobi and Chief Momo Nakari on October 1st 1950.

Ibeku clan. It shows how significant the community had become in Umuahia following many years of existence in the town. After these many years the community had become synonymous with the town, the cattle market that they established was to acquire international status with people coming from far and near to patronize the market.



Source: Urhobo Historical Society, 2012, Willink Minorities Commission -Nigeria (1954), Map of Colonial Nigeria (1954) http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/maps/willink_commission/willink_minorities_commission.html

3.4 Organization of the Cattle Market

The cattle market has one of the most elaborate and complex organizations that one can think of. It is a kind of commercial chain defined by the role the individual and group play in the buying and selling that takes place in the market. These practices pertain to the credit and payment system of the market. The organization and operation of the Umuahia cattle market have not always been the same over the years.[35] Like the social process that led to the establishment of the Community it has undergone several transformations also. These transformations or changes were on many levels touching on the commercial practices in the market. Several concepts developed and got transformed based on developments that were bound to take place in such a pluralistic, multicultural setting like the cattle market. On another level the Community of the market is an appendage.[36] As new peoples are being absorbed into the community they also come with their experiences and culture. These are often expressed in various ways. It can influence and be influenced by the new community. It was a socio-economic exchange and counter-exchange.

The market was organized in what we will like to refer to as a commercial hierarchy with each functionary performing specific functions in the running of the market. These are not permanent roles occupied by the members of the community.[37] The number of years that one spends in the activities of the market qualifies one to occupy the upper echelon of the hierarchy of the cattle market. The buying and selling system relied very much on the credit and payment system. That is to say, the cattle market was

[35] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, 55 Years, interviews at various times at Kaduna, Okigwe and Umuahia, 2011.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

organized in such a way that it took care of all the functionaries of the market and by extension the community.

At the top of the hierarchy of the organization was the *patoma* or the landlord. This was the person that the *falke* or the owner of the merchandise stays in his place during the period of his stay at Umuahia.[38] The *falke* is a person who engaged in long-distance trade and since he was going to a place other than his place of residence he needs a place to stay. This was where the *fatoma* come into play. The *falke* or *bako* i.e. stranger stays at his place with his merchandise under his care. During the whole period his feeding was also being taken care of by the *fatoma*. The *fatoma* in turn has people under him who oversee the selling of the cattle in the form of what is known as *ware*.[39] This was a situation where upon the bringing of the cattle by the *falke* they were separated by his boys known as *yan gida* some few minutes before the market starts. These were his boys or men, but always men, who help in selling the merchandise. Each member of the household of the *fatoma* was entitled to a number of cows depending on the size of the cattle brought by his *baki* or *fatake*. This division or *ware* very much takes into consideration the rank of the individual in the household. We use the term merchandise because the *falke* is not restricted to cattle alone but also any person who buys goods and travels to sell them is known as *falke*.[40]

In this case the *yan gida* can also be called or regarded as *dillalai* or brokers. In the cattle market the *yan gida* usually will separate the cattle into what is known as ware under the care of another functionary or a younger person known as *dan tare* sing. or *yan*

[38] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri 54 years, interviews at various times at Jalingo, Okigwe and Umuahia, 2011.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Alhaji Inuwa born 1945, 56 years interviews at various times at Kaduna, Okigwe and Umuahia 2009-2011.

tare plu. They are so called because they take care of the cattle in the market and make sure they stay in one place while the market goes on. This is to prevent the cattle from straying into the next *ware*.

At the end of the market and after sales the *yan tare* were given some reward as collected by the *dillali* in form of *la'ada* from the butcher or any person that bought the cow.[41] At all times the *la'ada* was the attraction of the *dillali* who was the *dan gida* of the *fatoma*. It worked very well for both the *falke* or *patake* and the *fatoma*. Over the years there were modifications in the amount of money to be collected as *la'ada*.[42] This aspect will be discussed in detail when we come to talk about the System and Organization of the Cattle Trade.

There were many other functionaries of the cattle market. The organization of the market was a complex one with every individual playing a role in bringing about a successful completion of the market day(s). The business of the day cannot move without having these machineries in place.

The hierarchy that we have enumerated above takes care of the commercial aspect of the cattle market, those who buy and sell for the profit. That is to say they serve those who buy the cattle for commercial purposes. These were the butchers who sell the beef raw and those who roast the meat in form of the famous *suya*. The first group consists of mostly Igbo while the second group consists of exclusively the members of the Cattle Trading Community known in Fulfulde as *bangarbe* or *bangaro* or *mahauta* or *mahauci* in Hausa.

[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

There was another group whose function was mostly to serve those people who come to the market to buy cow for domestic use. This was usually during festivities such as Christmas, Easter, Wedding, Burial Ceremonies, etc. these group were known as *yan arnan daji*.[43] *Arnan daji* means those that come from the bush or village to buy cattle for the festivals we just enumerated above. This was because most of the people who come to buy from this group come from the villages. This is not saying that those that lived in the town do not come to buy. The point is that once you come to buy for domestic purpose you usually ask someone who knows the price to buy for you. That is where this group comes into play. They usually buy the goods above the market price and this was the incentive that draws the group to engage in this business of *arnan daji*.

In the sections below we have outlined some of the other functionaries of the cattle market. This is not an exhaustive list considering a market of this magnitude and Community that consist of several peoples with different economic inclinations. What we are trying to say here is that there were other forms of commercial activities that do not involve selling of cattle. Some of this trade or even most were an appendage of the cattle trade though. One of such commodities was kola nut. Some of the *fatake* when they finish selling their cattle will buy kola nut for the consumption of the people of the north. Though the kola nut sellers have their headquarters or so to speak, in the Hausa quarters or *Ama Hausa*, majority of the trade was also being conducted at the cattle market. Just like the cattle market the *Ama Hausa* was also a place where you have large concentration of people from the north.

[43] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, 55 Years, interviews at various times at Kaduna, Okigwe and Umuahia 2009-2011.

How the market was organized was never static, there were changes based on the realities on the ground that occurred. The functionaries, the fees in form of the *la'ada* or rope money, the revenue accruing to the various authorities in charge of the cattle market i.e. the Cattle Trading Community or the Hausa Community, the Colonial authorities and after independence the Local and State governments. These all benefited with the establishment of the cattle market. This was evident in the kind of attention that the Community and Market received in the course of the history of the Cattle Trading Community.[44]

3.4.1. The "*Fatoma*" i.e. Landlord or the Middleman

The *Fatoma* or Middleman is a very elaborate and important institution in the cattle market. In some areas and studies of the cattle market such as in Ibadan and Kumasi it is the same as saying landlord. The various roles of the Ibadan cattle landlords (in Hausa known also known as *mai gida*) are dealt with very adequately by Abner Cohen. In a general way, taking Cohen's article as read, we would briefly define a landlord as a settled stranger, who makes it his business to accommodate long-distance stranger-traders (*fatake*) and to assist them in selling, and usually in storing, their goods.[45] If a landlord operates in a market then he is also a *dillali* (or broker), a Hausa word of Arabian origin, signifying a formally recognised intermediary between buyer and seller.[46] It is important not to confuse the *dillali* proper, who is a formally recognised intermediary between buyer and seller who usually possesses certain compulsory powers,

[44] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, 55 Years, interviews at various times at Kaduna, Okigwe and Umuahia 2009-2011.
[45] Polly Hill, 1966, "Landlords and Brokers: A West African Trading System (With a Note on Kumasi Butchers)," in *Cahiers d'études africaines,* http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/cea_0008-0055_1966_num_6_23_3072#
[46] Ibid.

with the mere commission-seller who acts on behalf of the seller only and has no "public" function. In our case this is the *dan gida* -a member of the household of the *fatoma* or landlord. However, the latter may evolve into the former. The West African landlord System is especially associated, historically, with the long-distance trades in livestock (cattle, sheep, and goats).[47]

Abner Cohen examined the mechanism of Ibadan cattle market mainly in terms of the roles of the chief permanent functionaries of the market, the "landlords". Landlord in our case is the *fatoma*, *mai gida* in Hausa and *joumu sare* in Fulfulde. Unlike in Umuahia in a few regions, such as Hausaland, landlords may be natives, whose business it is to receive long-distance traders who are also natives. In Umuahia the *fatoma* or landlords come from the Cattle Trading Community, they were people who have lived in the Community for a longer period. That is to say they are what the Igbo refer to as *ama ala* or *dan kasa* in Hausa. They are called thus by virtue of the fact that they are permanently settled in Umuahia. They are not like the cattle owners or traders i.e. *fatake* who come and go with their cows or merchandise to sell under their supervision.

The landlords outside Hausaland are nearly all settled strangers. If a landlord has not inherited his position from his father, then he is likely to have been a long-distance trader himself, one who made such a success of his business that he was enabled to buy, build, or rent a house large enough for the accommodation of other strangers. Landlords wish to give the appearance of having retired from active trading -of being elder statesmen above the fray: thus do they enhance the dignity of their neutrality as brokers.

[47] Ibid.

We should strongly emphasise the importance of the fact that each long-distance trader i.e. *falke* has his regular *fatoma* or landlord to whom he often remains attached for years and this stability is a general feature of the *fatoma* institution or landlord system, whatever commodity may be involved and represents a highly-developed form of the reciprocal regular-customer relationship which is of such general importance in West African market trading, both wholesaling and retailing. For instance in her study of Kumasi cattle market, Polly Hill said that the name of each stranger's landlord is so well-known as to be almost automatically recorded against his (the stranger's) name in the official record of cattle arrivals at the market, yet both there and in Ibadan, landlords compete vigorously for old as well as new business, even to the extent of sending agents to Mali to advertise their good name.[48]

The picture is the same in the Umuahia cattle market where the *fatoma* engaged in such a fierce competition to the extent that almost on daily basis their used to occur changes of *fatoma* or *mai gida* among the strangers. Successful *fatoma* or cattle landlords, with many strangers attached to them, are very prosperous people. The *la'ada* (or commission on sales), also known to the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia as rope money or *kudin igiya,* is their only remuneration. Depending on many factors the amount has been fluctuating over the years.

Polly Hill, when visiting Abakaliki cattle market in Eastern Nigeria, in April 1965, was informed that *la'ada* was 12s., made up as follows: 5s. for the *mai gida*; 3s. for the cattle seller; and it is the landlord who gives his stranger a present on his departure - not vice-versa. She concluded by saying that: "am sure that in large southern cattle

[48] Ibid.

markets the *la'ada* is not very important to the landlord in monetary terms -it is basically a mere witness fee".[49]

This observation is significant for us since a part of the Umuahia cattle traders and the *fatoma* once stayed at Abakaliki. In fact Abakaliki was one of the first places that they stayed at in the eastern part of Nigeria. During the civil war too some sections of the Community also stayed at Abakaliki from where they returned to Umuahia after the war. Auchi in the Edo area was another place that received some contingent of the Community during the period of the Civil War.

Each *fatoma* had a number of his *yan gida* i.e. members of his household and this comprises of a secretary, a treasurer, a financial secretary and other assistants. These were the people that normally sell the cattle on behalf of the *fatoma* for the *falke*. They were the minor brokers or *dillalai*.

The significance of the *fatoma* was even recognized by the colonial authorities. This was made known through a letter written by the Veterinary Officer to the Resident, Owerri Province in paragraph 10:

> Broker: These men are of vital importance. Traders all over the East and North East rely on these to facilitate sales, act as hosts to herdsmen and agents to return money. It is their efficiency, more than higher market prices that attracts traders to Umuahia. We must remember that there are unsaturated markets paying as big price at Enugu, Onitsha, Aba, etc. I think they should be met and reassure that they will not be superceded by the new market but rather helped. Their fees should not be interfered with. Should they not agree to co-operate the success of Umuahia as a market would be seriously interfered with.[50]

[49] Ibid.
[50] NAE, OW: 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia-Ibeku Township, Cattle Kraal Scheme, 1947-1952.

The quote shows not only the importance of the *fatoma* as a broker but also the important role that the cattle market and by extension the community has played to the development of Umuahia as a market. This shows that more than any other market activity, the cattle trade was of more importance. The cattle market provided one of the highest taxes to the colonial authorities. Otherwise they would not have gone to the extent of trying to placate the *patoma* or brokers at the cattle market.

3.4.2. The "*Falke*" or "*Bako*" i.e. Cattle Owners

These were the people who used to bring cattle from the North to Umuahia to sell. They, therefore play one of the most significant roles in the cattle market. This is because without them there would not be a market in the first place. The *falke* as we have already discussed was a very significant functionary of the cattle market. This was because he was the one who brought the merchandise to be sold.[51] He was the main reason why there was a market in the first place. That was why the *fatoma* or landlord and other functionaries in the cattle market accord him so much respect.

The role of the *falke* in relation to the cattle market and trade is very important since he was the one that brought his goods in form of the cattle to be sold. It may be said though that his role could be the same with that of the *fatoma* who used to house him upon arrival at Umuahia.[52] Together they make for the most important members of the cattle trading community. Most of the time *fatake* or cattle owners were not permanent resident of Umuahia as they come from the North with the cattle to sell during one of the various market days. Depending on the market situation a *falke* can come to Umuahia

[51] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, born 6th March 1952, 55 Years, interviews at various times at Kaduna, Okigwe and Umuahia 2009-2011.
[52] Ibid.

sometimes two to three times a week. This is because we have three most important market days; Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. This was possible because they used to have their boys who go and bring the cattle for them as they stay in Umuahia either to collect their money that they give on credit or to even rest after being on the road for so long.

3.4.3. Retailers or "*Yan Baranda*"

These were the most conspicuous among those that see to it that the butchers get the merchandise that they needed. They are members of the Community who do not have the opportunity to travel to the North to buy cattle on their own. What they therefore do was to wait on the *fatake* to bring the cattle to buy and in turn sell to the butchers or any other customer, such as those for domestic consumption on retail. Sometimes they could give the *falke* through the *fatoma* or *dillali* i.e. broker who will serve as the surety the full payment but at times they will buy on credit and pay back when they sell the cows. They are very strong functionaries of the cattle market who knew just the right people to sell to. They too also did sell on credit and were paid later by the butchers.

They could either pay the *falke* through the *fatoma* at the end of the market day if they were able to sell to the butchers or any other customer without credit. This is to say that they too could sell on credit and pay back when they get the money from the butcher. This usually was the next day in the morning where they go to the slaughter house either in Umuahia Township or the neighbouring towns and villages to collect the money. Another possible way or means of recovering credit was to wait for the butcher who will

come during the following market day with the payments. On this occasion too he may buy on credit again.

The credit system in the cattle market and trade was so complex that when the goods were bought on credit the person that buys will only pay the *la'ada* or rope money. The *la'ada* or rope money was the life-blood of the cattle trade. It was what sustains all the functionaries of the cattle market. Sale may even be discontinued if the buyer does not have the *la'ada*. The profit from the trade is also there. These two played a very important role in the activities of the cattle market and trade.

3.5 The System and Organization of the Cattle Trade

The system of trade in the cattle market was such that cater for many of the functionaries of the market. It also took care of the needs of those who buy from the *fatoma* and sell to the butchers. Trading was organized in such a way that worked for the people and the different functionaries as well as the customers. This was where the role of the *fatoma* and those that served him in form of *yan gida* and by implication *dillalai* i.e. brokers comes to play. The system of trading followed the Igbo traditional marketing system. Since the Igbo were the primary customers the market system of the cattle market conformed to the traditional Igbo system of trade. In the end it did not disrupt their economic activities as they used to know them.

In case if a customer or in most cases a butcher was buying a cow on credit, which was a constant thing there was an elaborate system of credit guarantee system as well as the recovery pattern. So one find that most often people stood as surety to a customer they were familiar with. These customers could be doing their butchery

business at Umuahia metropolis or in the neighbouring towns and villages and even in other States of the Southeast and South-south. These include, cities like Aba, Owerri, Port Harcourt, etc, and villages such as Abriba, Arochukwu, etc. this is to mention but a few of the various places that the butchers used to come from and buy cattle.

The credit system though not regulated by any laid down rules was however, built on trust which was sometimes abused. To the extent that some credit or debt went unpaid, what the bankers would call bad credit. Many a people were made to lose their livelihood through this means.

The operation of the guarantee system was on many levels. It starts with the *dillali* or broker who was the *dan gida* of the *fatoma* or even the *fatoma* himself and who was familiar with the butchers as well as the remotest of villages where the butchers come from or where they were conducting their business from. Usually it was the leader of the *yan gida* of a particular *fatoma* or *mai gida* that was entrusted with the responsibility of going into the villages to collect the money. That was why when a butcher finished buying his goods and it happens that it was on credit the lead *dan gida* was called upon to ask the butcher when the money will be available so that he can come and collect it. It was usually the morning of the next day when the cow was being butchered. During the sale a person can decide to when called by the butcher to vouch for him and to promise that he will go and collect the credit when it was ready the following day. There were cases too where the butcher will bring back the money on his own the following day or on the next market day. In any case, however, there must be someone who can stand as a guarantor to the customer be they butchers or not in the case of credit.

There was, therefore, series of dependence in the organization and or execution of the trade system in the cattle market. The *falke*, however, most times have the final say in these matters but on some occasions the *fatoma* had the final say. This was because he knew the butchers more than the *falke* since he had been residing in the area for a longer time than the *falke* who went and come from time to time. The *fatoma* on the other hand had been living in Umuahia for a long time; advice was therefore sort of him first on these matters. On some occasion where it happened that the *falke* had stayed for a long time without selling his goods he would leave them with the *fatoma* to go and get more cattle so as not to miss out on the next market day.

3.5.1 Market Days

It is important to note that in respect to the markets days the Community adopted something that was almost similar with the market days of the Igbo. The Igbo divide their week into market days of four days i.e. *Afo*, *Eke*, *Nkwo* and *Orie*. The Community therefore also has days in which they held their market. In essence, however, every day of the week that one comes to the market, one could buy cow. There were, though three "big market days" in which the market holds: these were and still are; Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. These were all market days but Tuesday was the biggest with Thursday and Saturday respectively following.

Every other day however that one comes to the market you could still buy goods. The market days were divided into two; morning and afternoon. The morning session as the name implies takes place in the morning as from 6am up to 10am, while the afternoon

session starts from 12pm to as long as 8pm. There may, however, be an overlap depending on the size of the cattle in the market and the volume of purchase on a day.

The *fatake* usually plan their journey to coincide with most of the market days especially Tuesday which was the biggest market day. For the Tuesday market they usually arrive on Monday to make sure that they were at Umuahia by all means. When they arrive Monday morning or afternoon the cattle were taken by the *gainako* or drovers to the bush to sleep over until Tuesday afternoon. They will be brought back in time for the start of the market day on Tuesday. *Gainako* is the attendant who tends the cattle either in the bush or within the cattle market as the case may. This is to say that it was not always that the cattle were being taken to the bush. Sometimes the cattle may not be in the state of health to be taken to such great distance to look for pasture for them. In this case you had people whose job was to go and cut the grass for the cattle, to feed those that were not that strong.

Another market day was Thursday; this was the second most important market day of the cattle market. It too starts from Wednesday with the *fatake* arriving late in the evening or in the night or very early in the morning on the Thursday. They also follow the same pattern where the cattle were being taken to the bush to be fed so that they come to the market in the afternoon of the Thursday refreshed. For those that were sick or not too strong to be taken to the bush they were left at the premises of the cattle market and the services of a Veterinarian was employed to either inject them or to give them the necessary treatment. The Veterinarian was usually the *gainako* who had no formal education on this matter but who became familiar with the various drugs through long years of tending the cattle. All these were done in time for the market which starts at

around 12pm and holds until 6pm. Depending on the size of the cattle that the *fatake* brought on a particular market day the period could extend to 8pm.

The Saturday market day too, follows the same pattern as the Tuesday and the Thursday markets and its importance is almost the same as that of Tuesday. This was because of the fact that it falls on the weekend and a lot of activities used to take place on this day in time for Sunday when people rest. Sunday was also a day saw many festivities in the form of weddings and burials and so on. People therefore attend the market on Saturday to buy the cows for the ceremonies.

However, it is interesting to note in the final analysis that whatever day of the week that one come to the market one will be able to buy the cattle that he wants. Hardly would the market stay without cows for sale at any one time. There was constant supply of cattle to the market from the North by the *fatake* that one can only see the cow that was not his choice rather than not to find at all to buy.

3.6 Political Organization and Intra-Group Relations within the Cattle Trading Community

Politics or rather leadership is an important aspect of the Cattle Trading Community. This is linked to their religious orientation which was Islam. Islam encourages that where there were two people one should be appointed the leader. In the case of a community of this magnitude the question of leadership and who leads was at the centre. The concept of leadership and who leads is paramount in the Community as a means to fulfill certain obligations therefore. It is therefore, not surprising to find out that there are many contentious issues when it comes to this aspect of life of the Community. The leadership starts within the Cattle market from the *Sarkin gainakai* (chief of those

who attend to the cattle) to *Sarkin Zango* to *Sakin Fulani* to *Sarkin Hausawa*. This was starting it from the lower rank which was the *Sarkin Gainakai* up to the overall *Sarki*. It was a complex arrangement depending on the contemporary demands of the Community.

Under these leadership functions there were also assistants though it was not as elaborate as we know it in the North but there was also the existence of *fadawa* or courtiers who help in the running of the affairs of the Community. This is apart from the other leadership positions of *Sarkin Gainakai* or *Sarkin Zango* all of whom had their functions. Their primary function was, however, to serve the Community and to see to the smooth running of buying and selling at the cattle market. To this end their source of livelihood also depended on the cattle market just like every other functionary.

The political setting of the Community was organized in such a way that the *Sarkin Hausawa* was at the top. He takes care of all the affairs of the Community. He functioned as the magistrate who arbitrates between the members of the Community. Before the outbreak of the Nigeria Civil War none of the members of the Community dare takes his case to the police. The police would usually refer such a person back to the *Sarki* with strong warning not to come to them again.[53] This practice had its roots in the colonial period where matters pertaining to the Hausa Community were handled by the *Sarkin Hausawa*.

There were other influential members of the Community who surround the Sarki but there were no title holders as it was the case in the North. These people were just like any other member of the Community but were usually *fatoma* who when the strangers

[53] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55, interview on 13-09-2011.

come with their cattle usually lodge with them. There was mention of one Mamuda as being the first sarki before Oseni. But in the available known records Oseni was the first sarki who was probably made *Sarki* around 1911 or 1914, it could have been earlier than this date though he was to rule for up to 25 years. When he died someone was appointed on interim capacity to hold the seat for his son in the person of Adamu who was made *Sarki* in 1943. In 1949 there arose some dissention in the community that led to the election of a new *sarki*. This election however did not affect the *sarkiship* of Adamu Oseni as there was factions in the community with each loyal to its *sarki*. The new *Sarki* was Mamman Na-Ikare (Momo Nakari as written in the records).[54]

In 1929 there was some considerable dissention amongst the community in connection with the cattle trade involving the *Sarki* Mallam Oseni but this did not lead to the election of a new Sarki or another sarki as was the case in 1949. The controversy of 1929 was between *Sarki* Oseni and one Musa. This was Musa Madaki Kazallaha who though influential was not the *sarki* but had many loyalists being someone that was powerful and cunning to the extent that he had some run-ins with the colonial authorities which led to civil litigation against him.[55] He was marked by the colonial authorities and as it would happen he was at the centre of factionalizing of the community in 1949.

With the establishment of the cattle market there evolved other titles such as the *Sarkin Zango* who oversee the entire affairs of the cattle market and was appointed by the *Sarkin Hausawa*. Another title was *Sarkin Gainakai* this was the Chief *Gainako*, who

[54] See NAE, OW 7863, UMDIV 3/1/774, Sarikin Hausawa Umuahia-Ibeku, 1949-1953. In all other records this was how the name of Mamman Na-Ikare was written. But for purpose of clarity and to set the records straight we shall adopt Mamman Na-Ikare as the correct way of writing the name.
[55] NAE, OW 4456, UMDIV 3/1/550, Musa Madaiki Kazallaha Prosecution of under Section 3 (45A) of Regulation 29 of 1940 (Emergency Powers (Definition)) Act, 1939.

oversee the affairs of the cattle drovers. These were people who used to trek with the cattle from the North and from Cameroun through the mountains passing through Obudu to Abakaliki then to Umuahia. On arrival to Umuahia either by foot or on the train there were those other cattle drovers who were living permanently in Umuahia who take the cattle into the bush to graze them and make them fit for sale.

In the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia there were several occasion where disaffection and wrangling was the order of the day between two factions that had claim to the Sarkiship in this town. It was all connected to the cattle trade in Umuahia, which was considerable.[56] It started to become something of a tradition from 1929. This was to repeat itself in 1949 and throughout the rest of the stay of the Community in Umuahia up to the present.

Mamman Na-Akare was a grandson of Sarki Usman of Kano on the side of his daughter. His father was the Mallam to the Sarki Usman and he came from Danguguwa in Kano. When it was time for the daughter to get married she chose to be married to the Mallam from Danguguwa. Because of the respect that the *Sarki* had for the Mallam he honored the wish of his daughter. She gave birth in turn to Mamman Na-Akare his name at birth was Muhammad Bello. He was an only son. The mallam already had a wife who was the *uwargida* i.e. the first wife.[57]

It could be also that the Sarki decided on his own to give out his daughter to the *Mallam*. That was a constant happening in the relationship between the *Sarakuna* and

[56] NAE, OW: 385/21, RIVPROF, 8/9/322, Owerri Province Hausa Settlements, 1929-1930.
[57] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.

their *Malams* i.e. teachers. The honored one was the *Sarki* who was giving out his daughter to a man of learning who may not maltreat his daughter.

But as it would happen there developed problem between the *Uwargida* and the *Amarya* who was the daughter of the *Sarki* and mother to Mamman Na-Akare. The *Uwargida* feared that she would take over the house with her male child. She therefore did what she could that was *Kurciya* as the Hausa would call it. *Kurciya* is a kind of bird that used to fly over a long distance. This led to Mamman Na-Akare leaving home. After his leaving home he went to Yorubaland and settled at Ikare. Though my informant pronounced it to be Ikara,[58] he must have gotten it wrong because Ikara is in Zazzau and not Yorubaland. Ikare was where he stayed and this was confirmed to me by A.Y Bello.[59] At Ikare he stayed at the palace where he was working for the Oba. The mother kept on looking for him all this while. She got information from people taking their wares to go and sell at Lagos that they saw Mamman Bello at one place called Ikare. She went and brought him back home to Kano. But his stay at home was not for long as my informant said the *Uwargida* did another *Kurciya* and Mamman Bello went back to Ikare. He was at Ikare when his father died and the mother decided to follow her son to Ikare to the palace where he was working. The ruler of Ikare saw that the mother was from a royal family and that was why when she wanted a place to stay and to bring her servants, her wish was granted by the ruler.

After then she now gave him (Mamman Na-Ikare) money to start business. The business he started was that of selling cloths. He used to go to Onitsha, Benin, Calabar

[58] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.
[59] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, op. cit.

and so on. That was how he came to Umuahia. On his coming to Umuahia, he lodged at the house of *Sarki* Mallam Oseni of Umuahia as it was the practice during this time. Every stranger belongs to the *Sarki*. What led to his permanent stay in Umuahia was that those that bought his wares where not able to pay him all his money. As a result *Sarki* Oseni decided to compensate Mamman Na-Akare and he gave him a house No. 1 Hausa/Eket Street then it was known as Hausa street. That was when he started learning cattle trade. Initially, he use to move from place to place selling cloths and he usually would spend a long time before going back to Ikare to his mother. At some point when he went to visit his mother she married him a wife and asked them to go and he came back to Umuahia. This was where he was before the news of his mother's passing came to him. On receiving the news he gave instruction that her property should be shared to the servants because by then he was already made *Sarki*. He started the cattle trade in Umuahia and he was one of the members of the court of *Sarki* Oseni. He therefore prospered and became prominent. He was taking cattle to the Uyo area in the Ibibio country, which was where he had his customers. Then the cows where trekked on foot and some by train.[60]

It is interesting to note that even though there was a train at Uyo even cattle that were being supplied to Enugu which was located before Umuahia had to come to Umuahia before being bought and distributed to all other parts of the eastern Nigeria. So not only Uyo there was also Abak, Ikot Ekpene and many other villages and cities in this area get their beef from Umuahia as the distributing centre.

[60] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.

This was the situation of things in Umuahia until when *Sarki* Mallam Oseni died and his son Adamu was made Sarki in his place. Adamu was given this mantle in 1943 after an election conducted by the Community between him and two other candidates among whom was Musa Madaki Kazallaha. *Sarki* Adamu Oseni was chosen over them.

On the 4th February, 1949, after months of bickering and bad blood between members of the Hausa community and by implication the cattle trading community in Umuahia, an election was held under the supervision of the District Officer, Bende at *Odida Anyawu*- the Headquarters of the colonialist in Umuahia. The election was between *Sarki* Adamu Oseni and Mamman Na-Ikare.[61] This was to be one of two elections to be held between these two people with the Sarki office in contention. At this first election Mamman Na-Ikare won with a majority of 40 votes.[62]

Sarki Adamu Oseni was elected *Sarki* in 1947 succeeding his father *Sarki* Mallam Oseni who ruled for 25 years. The friction that led to the election of a new *Sarki* in the person of Mamman Na-Ikare had to do with rail wagons allocations for the ferrying of cattle from Makurdi to Umuahia. It was said that though this allocation was made to the entire community the proceeds therefrom was appropriated by *Sarki* Adamu Oseni.[63] This action infuriated some of the members of the cattle trading community in Umuahia.[64] One such person was Musa Madaki Kazallaha who decided to invite Mamman Na-Ikare to come and become the *Sarki* thereby dethroning Sarki Adamu Oseni.

[61] NAE, OW 7863, UMDIV 3/1/774, Sarikin Hausawa Umuahia-Ibeku, 1949-1954.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

This move ended up producing two powerful *Sarakuna* in Umuahia from 1949. This was to be the state of affairs in Umuahia up to this moment. With Adamu Oseni and later Usman Digol (De-Gaulle) Mamman Na-Ikare they inherited the *Sarkiship* as both of their fathers were once *Sarkis* but as for the others that answered the title it was as the situation presented itself.

With this, however, we would want to recount the events of 1949-1953.

On 4th February, 1949, a meeting of the cattle trading community was held after months of "considerable friction." The District Officer, Bende Division was the presiding officer at that meeting; "the point at issue was whether the present *Sarkin Hausawa*; Adamu Oseni, should continue in office."[65] An election was held between him and Mamman Na-Ikare in which he (Adamu Oseni) was deposed by 40 votes, the result of the voting was as follows:-

Mamman Na-Ikare, 147
Adamu Oseni, 107[66]

As was reported by the presiding officer, Adamu Oseni "accepted the majority verdict with good grace". But as it turned out there was more to come in terms of problems in community regarding the office of the sarki. At the end of this election the presiding officer "… informed all assembled that the appointment (of Mamman Na-Ikare) was not one made by Government, (colonial) or officially recognized by

[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

Government except as a matter of convenience in dealing with the Hausa community as a body."[67]

This shows that it was not the concern of the colonialist that the community was divided. Once again just like all the policies of the colonialist the case of the "matter of convenience" had to do with; as long as that problem did not prevent the collection and remittance of taxes to the so-called Government, the Hausa community can have as many *Sarakuna* as the wanted.

This situation brought about claims and counter claims that even led to the employment of the services of lawyers. One of such lawyers was Mr. Njoku, a solicitor with chambers at Aba. He sent a telegram on the 14th of March, 1949. This was against the backdrop of the fact that on the 13th of March 1949 the election of 4th February, 1949 was declared null and void and a fresh election ordered. He wrote:

> Hausa Community appalled at most undemocratic and unfair way popular election of Chief Moma Nakari was reversed yesterday (13th March, 1949) by Executive Bende stop My client (Mamman Na-Ikare) regard this redundant sudden fraudulent second election null and void and pray Resident to confirm former clean democratic election or conduct another himself after due notice to avoid communal disorder stop[68]

This was to be the beginning of many correspondences between the parties to the conflict. It was also to create more bad blood between the *Sarki* Adamu Oseni faction and that of *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare on the one hand and the colonial government of the other.

[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

Reporting back to the Resident, Owerri Province, the District Officer, Bende in a letter dated 22nd March, 1949 had this to say about how the problem started and the situation report so far:

> …2. Some months ago as a result the successful attempt of outside Hausa interests to corner the cattle trade to Umuahia, by monopolizing railing facilities from Makurdi, Mr. C. P. Thompson, District Officer, arranged for the Nigerian Railway to allocate wagons specifically to the Umuahia-Ibeku cattle traders. These railing facilities were given to Sarikin Adamu Oseni, as representing Umuahia-Ibeku cattle interests. With more opportunism than good faith, Sarikin Adamu Oseni took this allocation of wagons as an allocation to himself and not the cattle trading community as a whole, and pocketed the considerable profits made. This action infuriated the Hausa community, a large section of whom proceeded to disown him as Sarikin Hausawa which, so far as Umuahia-Ibeku is concerned, is a purely artificial office. In an attempt to put a stop to the constant bickering between the parties I held an election on the 4th of February, at which Sarikin Adamu Oseni was deposed in favour of Sarikin Moma Nakari (Mamman Na-Ikare)- … I had hoped that this would put an end to the friction.
> 3. In actual fact this election merely intensified the friction, in that (largely through his own idleness and over-optimism) the meeting was packed by the opponents of Adamu Oseni. Moma Nakari, who was elected, was elected by a caucus, led by one Musa Maidiki, who has for at least a generation been a principal fisher in the troubled waters of local Hausa politics.
> 5. …it immediately became clear that only a further counting of heads would settle the issue: voters were screened with the greatest care, and a further election was held at which Sarikin Adamu Oseni regained his position by 120 votes to 114. The majority was small, but it was a majority vote which had to be accepted. I informed the meeting that so far as I was concerned, Sarikin Adamu Oseni would be recognized as Sarikin Hausawa.[69]

When in 1949 there occurred problems between *Sarki* Adamu Oseni regarding cattle trade people like Musa Madaki Kazallaha, who was a contemporary of *Sarki* Oseni father to Adamu Oseni decided to field Mamman Na-Ikare as *Sarki*. By this time Mamman Na-Ikare had left Umuahia and was staying at Makurdi. He left his wife, the

[69] Ibid.

mother to the future *Sarki* Usman "De-Gaulle" Mamman Na-Ikare, she was overseeing his business while he was away at Makurdi he had packed the rest of his family to Makurdi. When that problem occurred 1949 between some members of the community under Kazallaha, they sent one Baba Dan Gabas, Mallam Yuguda a man from *Yantumaki* in Katsina to go and fetch Mamman Na-Ikare from Makurdi.[70]

At first he refused to come saying that he was tired of the problem of the town. But Mallam Yuguda convinced him that he had no option but to return to Umuahia. Kazallaha was uncle to Mallam Yuguda. Being someone that was wide travelled and wise he demanded that they should put it writing. He asked Mallam Yuguda to come and relay his demand to the people. He (Mallam Yuguda) came back to Umuahia and was given the letter to take back to Mamman Na-Ikare at Makurdi. There was one Ari who was the *Sarki* Hausawa at Makurdi, he wanted Mamman Na-Ikare to leave Makurdi because he was a trouble maker. He therefore saw that as an opportunity to rid himself of the troublesome Mamman Na-Ikare since the people of Umuahia want him to go and be their *Sarki* he decided to encourage his going by asking some of his Kanuri kinsmen to follow Mamman Na-Ikare. These were learned men among who was Alhaji Gana who was father to Alhaji Garba Yaro, who was to be the chief Imam of Umuahia.[71] These were the people to accompany Mamman Na-Ikare to Umuahia for him to be elected as *Sarkin* Hausawa of Umuahia. On their coming they were lodged in an area to the West of the Hausa quarter later to be known by the cattle trading community as *Ungwan Barebari*.[72]

[70] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

The two parties had their people and the town was agog with the matter of the election of a new *Sarki*. When the Resident of Umuahia at that time whose office was the present Umuahia North Local Government headquarters known as *Odida Anyawu* heard the matter. The Resident demanded that on the 4th of February, 1949 that the two parties should come with their supporters. On arrival on that day the Resident demanded to know what was the problem and Musa Madaki Kazallaha stood up for the Mamman Na-Ikare faction and *Sarki* Adamu Oseni stood up for his side. After all these there was voting and the Mamman Na-Ikare faction under the leadership Kazallaha carried the day. According to my informant in the position of Alhaji Ali Ogiwo it was with Kazallaha that *Sarki* Adamu Oseni contested the throne with that it was after that he decided to give the *Sarkiship* to Mamman Na-Ikare. There was wisdom in this move because he Kazallaha, was influential and had lived in Umuahia longer being a contemporary of *Sarki* Oseni himself, father to *Sarki* Adamu. He was seen as one of the respected statesmen in Umuahia, what the Hausa would call *Ubangari* i.e. godfather, but he was not the sarki.[73] Since the Mamman Na-Ikare faction had the majority vote he was pronounced the new sarki. The other faction, that of *Sarki* Adamu Oseni said that they do not agree with the election. The Resident said that each faction should go and maintain their *Sarki* that was the beginning of the two *sarkis* in Umuahia to this day. The wisdom behind the Resident allowing each faction to have their *sarki* was because they do not want anything that would disturb the peace to the extent that the collection of taxes would be affected.

With this, the people came back to town and continue to live with two *Sarakuna* in Umuahia. The new *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare had his house at Awka Street and this

[73] Ibid.

served as his (Fada) Palace. With No. 1 Hausa Street at that time now 1 Eket Street as the place where he keeps his strangers. The other *Sarki* Adamu Oseni still maintained his house and palace No. 7 Hausa Street/7 Eket Street. They were all very close just a stone throw between the Palace of the old and new *Sarki*.[74]

The new *Sarki* was someone who was disposed to merriment and he used to invite musicians from the North to come to Umuahia.[75] While the old *Sarki* that was not part of his lifestyle.[76] As a result of this division the faction of *Sarki* Adamu Oseni claimed that since the mosque does not belong to Mamman Na-Ikare he will not pray at the mosque which belongs to *Sarki* Adamu Oseni. The mosque was built on a plot of land belonging to the father of *Sarki* Adamu Oseni. While his house and palace was situated at No. 7 Hausa/Eket and No. 8 Cameroon Street the mosque was situated at No. 5 Hausa/Eket Street. The *Sarki* Adamu Oseni faction would therefore block the way for Mamman Na-Ikare on his way to the mosque. He therefore decided to pray at the Lagos street mosque. There were even instance where Mamman Na-Ikare was prevented even to follow Hausa/Eket Street. This caused a lot of disaffected among the community.

The problem between the two parties intensified to the extent that *Sarki* Adamu Oseni appealed to the Residient Owerri Province to deport Mamman Na-Akare. On the 17th May 1950 Sarki Adamu Oseni petitioned the colonial authorities to deport Mamman Na-Akare (Momo Nakari).[77] This is because according to *Sarki* Adamu Oseni "it is customary for any Hausa Sarikin to be conferred with full powers to control markets, cattle kraal, and Moslem Mosques, as it is obtained at the North and South, but in my

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] A. Y. Bello & Alhaji Inuwa.
[77] NAE OW 7863, UMDIV 3/1/774, Sariki Hausawa Umuahia Ibeku, 1949-1954.

case every-thing is said to be in division, an issue which Northern Hausa Authorities view with disdain and ridicule".[78]

Sarki Adamu Oseni continued by writing to the colonial authorities thus:

> I inherited Hausa Chieftaincy from my late father who reigned uninterrupted for the past 25 years here at Umuahia Ibeku, and I failed to see where lies the delinquency on my part? The Hausa Community who are my subjects, appear to be fed up with constant conference with Major Obeney (Major T. H. O'Beney, Secretary, Umuahia Ibeku Town Planning Authority), which results to no useful purposes, particularly in the matter of cattle kraal, which is entirely a case for the Hausas to solve by themselves unaided by any outside influence.[79]
>
> I ask and respectfully pray that as Mallam Momo Nakari is usurping my powers and causing confusion and unrest among the Hausa Community it is imperatively essential and desirable for him to be deported forthwith and not until then, the peace and tranquility of Moslem elements will be restored and the pending bloodshed also be avoided.[80]

This was the advice of the District Officer Bende to the Resident Owerri Province:

> …Momo Nakari has never recognized Adamu Oseni as Seriki and on occasions rivalry between the two has thereatened breaches of the peace. I believe that at present Momo Nakari, a younger man holds greater influence, probably through greater control of the cattle trade. There is no abatement of the rivalry, and I do not myself see how a peaceful settlement of the dispute can be brought about. It is for the Hausas themselves to decide who is their overlord, and when one faction disputes the other's overlordship, it is not strictly the concern of the Administration. There are, of course, no grounds on which Momo Nakari could be 'deported'.[81]

He concluded thus:

> It is ludicrous to continue to 'recognise' Adamu Oseni as Seriki, when about half the Hausas disregard him, but to renounce him publicly, and

[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

> announce, that no 'Seriki' would be recognized till the dispute was settled, would have no practical effect, and might well bring the rivalry to a new pitch. I can only recommend that in answer to the petition you should refer in uncomplimentary terms to the continuing rivalry, and advice Adamu Oseni that if he cannot command the loyalty of all the Hausas he had better himself quit the town.[82]

In contuation of this dispute certain individuals comprising of 1. Umoru Dogo Yaro, 2. Mallam Rupai, 3. Mallam Audu, 4. Ibirahim *Sarikin* Zangwo, 5. Audu Nkasa, 6. Mallam Hamowa, 7. Mallam Liman, 8. Mallam Jibirin, 9. Awudu Dansuman, 10. Ibirahim Zaria, wrote the colonial authorities backing the leadership of Mamman Na-Akare on the 28th June 1952.[83] On a similar note in January 1953 a body calling itself Hausa Chiefs Council with secretariat at Enugu also wrote to that Chief Adamu Oseni is the rightful *Sarki* of Hausa in Umuahia Township.[84]

However, all these were not able to put the matter to rest. The matter was only resolved with the death of Mamman Na-Akare which took place on the 3rd January, 1954, while on tour of his business at Jos.[85] This led to the nomination and installation of Umoru Dogon Yaro as the *Sarki* for the Mamman Na-Akare faction on the 4th March, 1954.[86]

That was the situation that the community found itself until 1953 when Mamman Na-Ikare died while on tour his business at Jos.[87] With the death of Mamman Na-Ikare on the 3rd January, 1954, Umaru Dogon Yaro was made *Sarki* to that faction so it

[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

continued until the outbreak of civil war and everybody left. *Sarki* Adamu Oseni on the other hand lived until after the Nigerian civil war which ended in 1970.

The death of Mamman Na-Ikare did not end the two *Sarki* situation in Umuahia as one Umaru Dogon Yaro was made the new *Sarki* for that faction. He took charge of all the functions of Mamman Na-Ikare up to the beginning of the civil war in Nigeria. He was collecting all the taxes for that faction and was remitting it to the colonial authorities.[88]

During the war, the people had to leave Umuahia and they scattered to many parts of the Nigeria. *Sarki* Adamu Oseni stayed at Kaduna from where after the war he came to sell all his properties at Umuahia after which he went back to Kaduna. The mosque too he wanted to sale it but the people; since quite a number of them had returned decided to contribute money and purchase the mosque.[89] There were soldiers stationed at that in Umuahia during this period that were helping in preserving the peace further.[90] This was round 1971. The people contributed about £1500, more than the value of the mosque that when *Sarki* Adamu saw that the people were able to raise a reasonable amount of money he decided to return back part of the money to them.

On their return in 1970 just after the war there was one Dodo who was made *Sarki*.[91] My informant said he was known for the bicycle he used to ride. His reign though was not long. *Sarki* Abbo Garua was the one that took over from him.[92]

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.
[90] Mallam Garba Umaru Sarki Dogon Yaro (J.B. Dan Aro), born 1945, interview on 08-09-2011.
[91] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.
[92] Mallam Ibrahim Jaguda, 55, interview on 14-09-2011.

It was during the reign of Sarki Abbo Garua that some people among whom was Alhaji Yusuf Bello and Alhaji Aboki Saad decided to install a "son of the soil" as the *Sarki Hausawa* of Umuahia. These were friends to the son of Mamman Na-Ikare Usman De-Gaulle. They decided that it was time for the *Sarkiship* to go back to its rightful heir, to someone whose father was a *Sarki* at one time. Since no son of *Sarki* Adamu Oseni was living at Umuahia at that time son of Mamman Na-Akare was chosen. That was how *Sarki* Usman De-Gaulle was turbaned. This did not stop *Sarki* Abbo from being *Sarki* too. He had his own people and followings too, in essence the situation of 1949 just repeated itself. This happened when some elders decided to go back to *Sarki* Abbo instead of *Sarki* De-Gaulle. But De-Gaulle somehow dominated the scene that was how people kept on changing their allegiance over the period that *Sarki* Abbo remained alive. When the faction of *Sarki* Abbo said that he had become old and cannot continue with the task of being *Sarki* they decided to turban Alhaji Muhammadu Marwa.[93]

There was however mutual understanding between *Sarki* De-Gaulle and *Sarki* Muhammadu Marwa. The aim of having two *sarakuna* was not paying those elements that installed Muhammadu Marwa. It was decided that the *sarkiship* should go to Hayatu Adamu. Hayatu Adamu by this time was the *Sarkin Zango*. This was the person that saw to the overall activities of the cattle market. It was said that he (Hayatu) so exalted the office that it made him influential. Before this time it was one Hassan popularly known as Hassan "*burged"*, a Kanuri man who was the *Sarkin Zango*.[94]

[93] Ibid.
[94] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.

Sarkin Zango Hayatu Adamu, according to my informant was being antagonized by one Alhaji Garba Yaro, the Chief Imam of Umuahia at time. He wanted him removed from the post. His reason was that because he was not giving the elders their proper due. In the end Alhaji Garba Yaro succeeded in making *Sarki* Digol (De-Gaulle) to remove Hayatu Adamu from the position of *Sarkin Zango* because it was *Sarki* De-Gaulle that put him there in the first place. A man known as Muhammadu Action was made *Sarkin Zango*. Because of this move of *Sarki* De-Gaulle removal of Hayatu Adamu as *Sarkin Zango* people like Alhaji Yusuf Bello and Alhaji Aboki Saad and the entire *Ukwu Udara* group decided overnight to turban Hayatu Adamu as *Sarkin Hausawa*. *Sarki* Hayatu Adamu on his part during his reign as *Sarki Zango* was very generous and this drew people to him. And this was because when you come to him with any problem he would take it up to its logical conclusion. All over the East he knew the police that this was like a hobby to him and that he can sacrifice anything to maintain that position. He had connections in high places in the East. My informant was like, had it been *Sarki* Hayatu utilized these connections he would have become whatever he wanted. His interest though was just power. Because of these it was only *Sarki* Hayatu Adamu among all the *Sarakuna* that were elected during the reign of *Sarki* De-Gaulle that shook him.[95]

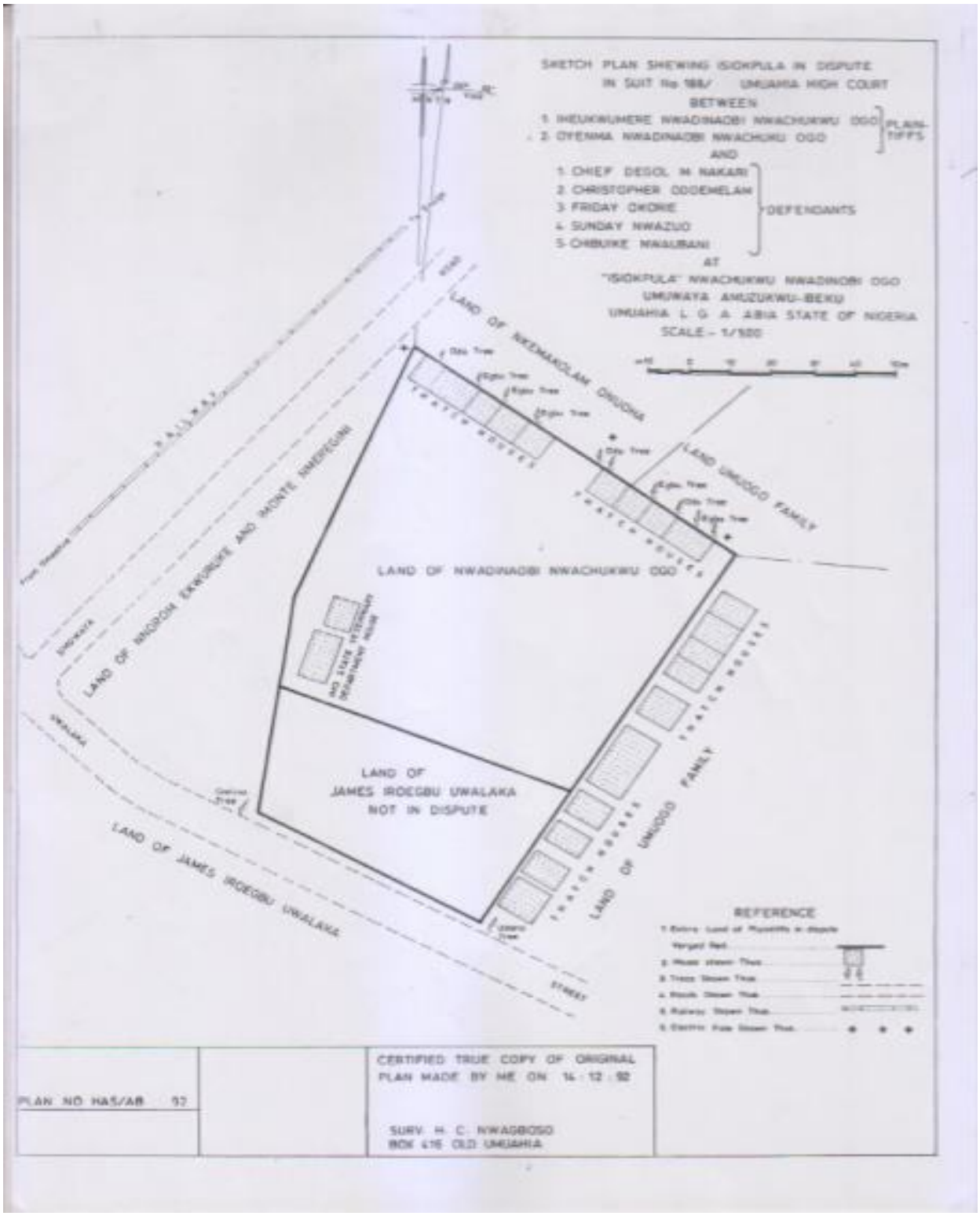
The only time that *Sarki* De-Gaulle had some sigh of relief was when Col. Ike Nwosu was made the Military Governor of Abia State. He called the meeting of Council of Ndi Eze of Umuahia and demanded that they should give him one *Sarki* of *Ndi Hausa* whom the Government should work with. This even took the people to court and they

[95] Ibid.

spent nine Months after which *Sarki* De-Gaulle was pronounced as the authentic *Sarki* of *Ndi Hausa* in Umuahia.

After this judgment the people that installed *Sarki* Hayatu changed his title to *Sarkin Fulani*. He still existed as *Sarki* but not as *Sarkin Hausawa* but as *Sarkin Fulani*. It is important to note that all the people that became *Sarakunan Hausawa* in Umuahia were all of Fulani in origin. *Sarki* Oseni was a Fulani from Azare, *Sarki* Adamu Oseni was son to *Sarki* Oseni, *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare was also Fulani by origin from Kano, *Sarki* Umaru Dogon Yaro was Fulani from Niger, *Sarki* Alhaji Abbo Garwa was Fulani from Cameroon, *Sarki* De-Gaulle was son to *Sarki* Mamman Na-Ikare, *Sarki* Muhammadu Marwa was Fulani from Cameroon. It was only *Sarki* Hayatu Adamu who was not Fulani by origin. He was Jenjo from Jen in Taraba who have been *Fulbenized* as J. H. Pongi would put it. His lingua franca though was *Fulfulde* even though he was not originally *Pullo*.

The reason why they were all called *Sarkin* Hausawa have to do with the fact of Nigerian colonial history. The colonialist categorise the nation into three major ethnic groupings with the Hausa dominant in the North, Yoruba dominant in the West and the Igbo dominant in the East. As a result the Igbo on their part therefore regard each person that comes from the North as Hausa no matter his ethnicity. It was therefore ironic calling *Sarki* Hayatu Adamu, *Sarkin Fulani* while originally he was not and calling *Sarki* Usman Digol "De-Gaulle" Mamman Na-Ikare who was Fulani by ethnicity as Sarkin Hausawa in a bid to solve the problem of legitimacy.


SKETCH PLAN SHEWING ISIOKPULA IN DISPUTE
IN SUIT No 188/ UMUAHIA HIGH COURT
BETWEEN
1. IHEUKWUMERE NWADINAOBI NWACHUKWU OGO
2. OYENMA NWADINAOBI NWACHOKU OGO
PLAINTIFFS
AND
1. CHIEF DEGOL M NAKARI
2. CHRISTOPHER OGOEMELAM
3. FRIDAY OKORIE
4. SUNDAY NWAZUO
5. CHIBUIKE NWAUBANI
DEFENDANTS
AT
"ISIOKPULA" NWACHUKWU NWADINOBI OGO
UMUKAYA AMUZUKWU-BEKU
UMUAHIA L G A ABIA STATE OF NIGERIA
SCALE – 1/500
LAND OF NKEMAKOLAM OSUOHA
LAND UMUOGO FAMILY
LAND OF NWADINAOBI NWACHUKWU OGO
LAND OF IBIGBOM EKWUBUIKE AND MONTE NWEFEGUNI
LAND OF
JAMES IROEGBU UWALAKA
NOT IN DISPUTE
LAND OF JAMES IROEGBU UWALAKA
LAND OF UMUOGO FAMILY
STREET
REFERENCE
PLAN NO HAS/AB 97
CERTIFIED TRUE COPY OF ORIGINAL
PLAN MADE BY ME ON 14 . 12 . 92
SURV. H. C. NWAGBOSO
BOX 416 OLD UMUAHIA

3.7 Conclusion

The reason for the presence of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia was at first not the cattle market i.e. trade. It was a later development as the first settlers were hunters and *yan koli* who used to sell beads and other items of beautification to the Igbo. The history of its establishment therefore, is necessary to determine the course of the history of the community as well as the nature of the inter-group relations in Umuahia. With the founding of the cattle market in Umuahia other issues came into play bordering on inter and intra group relation aspects. Of particular importance was the political organization of the community as well as the market. This was not an easy thing for the community due to the fact that personal interest was brought into the matter in the years following the establishment of the cattle market.

The cattle trading community in Umuahia provides one of the most significant examples in complex political organization and inter and intra group relations in Nigeria in general and in Eastern Nigeria and Umuahia in particular. This was a community that thrived in an area other than their place of origin. Though that was the case they contributed a lot in the development of Umuahia particularly in the economic sphere over a long period of time. The importance that colonialist accorded Umuahia stems from the considerable cattle trade in this town. This trade provided considerable revenue for the colonial state that they feared anything that would constitute a problem to the smooth running of the cattle market.

The cattle market in Umuahia was part of the economy of the town since its establishment in the early years of the 20th century. Before this time though, the

community has been carrying out its economic activities in the area through the Aro trade system and routes. The significance of the community lies on the provision of items of trade not available in the area. As a result they impacted on the area in terms of bringing additional items of trade such as clothing known as *akwa nmiri* in Igbo language.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRITISH CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF UMUAHIA 1900-1960

4.1 Introduction

The coming of the colonialists to the Nigerian area was predicated upon many factors one of which was the economic/commercial viability of the area. Upon their occupation of the Nigerian area, the British set about identifying locations of commercial importance and it was out of these considerations that Umuahia came to be conquered by the colonialists like any other town, kingdom, chiefdom and principality in Nigeria. From the beginning, the British colonialist had determined it would use all the possibilities within its capacity to conquer and subdue the various ethnic nationalities now referred to as Nigeria. This struggle to subdue started from the various attempts to remove all visible efforts to oppose their clandestine moves to impose, expand, and consolidate their grips over the territory.[1]

It was only a matter of time with the intensification of the activities of the Europeans all over Africa before they decide to have full control of the continent. The changing nature of the economy in Europe played a significant role in this direction; it was an intrusion on all facets of life of the people of Nigeria. Because of this, therefore, the people of the Nigerian area usually do not take this domination lying down. In order to have full control of the resources of the colonies there must be effective control of the colonies. This therefore served as the basis for the conquest of Umuahia by the British.

[1] Yunusa Kehinde Salami, September 2009, "The Political Economy of Nigeria and the Continuing Agenda of Recolonizaton: A Challenge for Critical Knowledge Production," in *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.3, No.3, (JPAS) http://www.jpanafrican.com Los Angeles, USA, p. 132.

This act no doubt transformed the area and made it more attractive for the establishment of permanent settlement by peoples from various parts of Nigeria.

4.2 Colonial Conquest of Umuahia c. 1896-1900

Colonialism is an economic phenomenon based on trade and production. Bende in the neighbourhood of Umuahia in Eastern Nigeria was significant as a terminus for the trade with the *Aro* as middlemen. Commodities which could not reach the southeastern Nigerian hinterland from the coast, and vice versa, through the *Aro* trade routes often got there through the Niger and its tributary, the Anambra. Two inter-related systems of currency were practiced on the river-ways by the indigenous people even before the nineteenth century according to C. C. Ifemesia.[2]

The year 1896 coincided with the transfer of the *Aro* fair from Bende to Uzuakoli: a fateful change from the dire consequences of which Bende was not to recover.[3] This fairs used to take place every 24 days in order to allow people attend other markets.[4] The change of the *Aro* fair from Bende to Uzuakoli occurred because the leaders of Bende cooperated with the British mission to the interior led by A.G. Leonard and F.S. James.[5] The people of Uzuakoli swiftly seized the opportunity to divert the venue of the fair from Bende to Uzuakoli. This was also the year that the first Europeans first came to Umuahia passing through to Bende. Before this time there were already some hunters and traders of Northern origin living in Umuahia and who used to frequent the Bende market and later Uzuakoli and some of the items of trade were ivory.

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[2] C. C. Ifemesia, 1978, *Southeastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: An Introductory Analysis,* New York: NOK Publishers International Ltd., p. 35.
[3] Ibid., p. 35.
[4] Ibid., p. 34.
[5] Ibid., p. 34.

However, the people of Uzuakoli were not hospitable to the strangers who came to trade in their area. When Uzuakoli took over from Bende[6] as the terminus of trade in Eastern Nigeria the people used to go and trade there and come back to Umuahia, but with this kind of disposition to strangers the importance of Umuahia as a commercial centre continued to grow. That was how by 1916 it had become a major distributing centre for many trading activities.

The use of cowries as currency also served as evidence of the presence of the people from the Northern part of Nigeria in the southeast. These mollusc shells had found their way to the Niger hinterland via the Sahara and the Atlantic.[7]

It was from about 1890-91 that the heavy hand of British colonialism started the quest for political and administrative control of Igboland. But the period between 1901 and 1917 witnessed series of wars and military demonstrations between the Igbo people and the British. Eventually, the British were able to overpower the Igbo area and the area was pacified. The confrontations between Igbo society and British colonialism produced far-reaching results. The imposition of colonialism at the beginning of the 20th century by the British produced economic effects that changed so many things not only in the Eastern part of Nigeria all over Nigeria.

The colonial conquest of Umuahia followed the same pattern as that of other Nigerian areas. A person never give up what they cherish most easily and nowhere is freedom more cherished than among the Igbo people who do not have a central authority

[6] Ibid., p. 37.
[7] Ibid., p. 37.

but practice what have been termed village democracy by some scholars.[8] There was no any serious combat that took place in record between the British and the people of Umuahia upon the former's takeover of Umuahia. But there were series of resistance that were launched by the people of Umuahia but in the end the British won.

After several military conquests, Igboland now became under British colonial rule. This was a style of government not very popular amongst the Igbo, hence the British were faced with a lot of protest and resistance, but Igboland still became a British Colony.[9] What remained was how they were going to govern it. This too was a very big challenge for the British, one that even as late as the 1930s they were not able to overcome.[10] We are referring here to the Aba Women's Riot; this was a direct challenge to the style of colonial rule that was adopted in Igboland.

In 1900 the area that was once administered by the British Niger Company now became the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Control of this area then got passed from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. By 1900-1914 the Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated. Then afterwards the Eastern Region was formed and subsequently was divided into several other divisions, districts and states.[11]

[8] See Elizabeth Isichie, *A History of the Igbo People,* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
[9] See Elizabeth Isichie, *A History*… ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

It is interesting to note the irony with the colonial system as observed by Mahmoud Hamman that even as it brought the people in a more coordinated commercial setting it only did so to further divide the people.[12]

4.3 Establishment of Colonial Rule in Umuahia 1900-1916

Though the Umuahia area was first 'opened up' c. 1900 there was resistance by the people and their chiefs. In 1916 a treaty was signed between one Chief Wogu on behalf of the people of Umuahia (Old Umuahia) and the British colonial government.[13]

With conquest comes the job of administering the conquered areas and this led to the reorganization of the previous socio-cultural setting of Umuahia to serve colonialism. By this period Umuahia had come fully under the British as one of the conquered areas in Nigeria and was constituted into a Disrict. Part of the doctrine of the Berlin Conference was that a colonizing power must have effective control over its claims. This intensified the colonial venture and the troubles of the indigenous peoples all over Africa.

In the Umuahia area just like in other parts of the Nigerian colony, the British sort to sign treaty with the people to cecede their territories to them. In a treaty that its whereabout was not certain and was not seen as a result of a fire which gutted part of the Bende Ditrict Office in around 1918 the colonial Government,[14] it is stated, recognized Chief Wogu of (Old Umuahia) as paramount Chief for "all Umuahia, the headquarters of the Olokoro, Ubakala, Ohuhu (Igbo) and Ibeku clans, and parts of Ngwa (Aba Division)

[12] See Mahmoud Hamman, 2005, "Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts," in A. M. Yakubu, et al, (eds.), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003,* Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University.
[13] NAE, OW 7257, UMDIV 3/1/734, Petition from Ukaegbu & others of Ibeku about change of the name Umuahia Township to Ibeku, 1937-1949.
[14] Ibid.

and the Olokoro area (Bende Division)."[15] The colonial Government promised him and his decendants a "permanent Paramouncy of rule, to respect the name of Umuahia and to make it an important seat of Government."[16] This treaty was alledged to have been signed in the year 1916.

All these issues however, came to light as a result of the petition by the Ibeku clan to change the name of the Railway Station from Umuahia Station to Ibeku Station considering the fact it was moved from Old Umuahia to its present site which is in Ibeku clan land.[17] That was when the son of Chief Wogu brought up the issue of the treaty.[18] In as much as this is a possibility considering the fact that it was in the practice of the British colonialists to sign dubious treaties with the chiefs of the people. At the same time the family of Chief Wogu of Old Umuahia may just be looking for cheap popularity.

During the construction of the Eastern Railway the people of Old Umuahia were of great help to the Railway authorities. As a result of the services rendered by Umuahia (Old Umuahia) to the Railway Authorities during construction work the name Umuahia was inscribed on a bell by the Railway to the Umuahia Native Court in appreciation of services rendered.[19]

> In 1915 as a token of our good services during the construction. Your predecessors (General Manager) decided to present a bell to the Umuahia Native Court; they requested to know the inscription necessary to mark on the bell. His Honour, Reginald Hargrove was then the Travelling Resident, who was accompanied with several Heads of Railway Authorities; the former expressed to the satisfaction of all present, that the services rendered to the Railway during the construction by Chiefs and the people

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

> of Umuahia are inexpressively appreciated by both the Government and the Railway Authorities and the Government particularly is contemplating to assist her in any way possible to elevate the name, therefore the name "Umuahia" should be inscribed on the Bell: this as a living monument is still lying in our court.[20]

In a petition to the colonial authority by the Elders of the Ibeku clan and Councillors to change the name of the Railway Station from Umuahia Station to Ibeku Station since the Railway is located in their land. They also made mension of how in about 1917 they extended "*the right hand of friendship to the Railway authorities when they could not stay any more at Umuahia* (Old Umuahia) *due to causes best known to the Raiway authorities.*"[21] The Railway Authorities did not disclose the reason why they had to change the location of their station from Old Umuahia to the land belonging to the Ibeku clan.

4.4 Umuahia under Colonialism 1916-1960

Elizabeth Isichie noted that "the key social and economic changes in the 19th century Igboland was the decline of external slave trade and vast expansion in the export of palm produce."[22] This, therefore, brought the coastal people into increased contact with the hinterland. With this development in Igboland, the first European ever to visit Umuahia did so in 1896, when a group passed through parts of Olokoro and Ibeku on a reconnaissance mission to Bende.

In Nigeria, between 1914 and 1915, British colonial administrators created three regional territories that explain ethno-genesis and later ethnic tensions: the Northern region occupied by Hausa/Fulani, the Eastern region inhabited by the Igbo, and the

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] See Elizabeth Isichie, *A History of the Igbo People*,… op cit.

Western region of the Yoruba. Within this divisive colonial structure, ethnic tensions emerged between these unequally developed groups primarily in the 1950s.[23]

The colonial tripartite division of Nigeria prevented a Nigerian nationalistic movement, manipulating geographical boundaries to reinforce separation between ethnic groups and transforming ethnicity into an identity by which to gain political power; this structure along with other administrative decisions emphasized ethnic nationalism and regional politics, resulting from significant uneven development within each region. The colonial division of Nigeria that reinforced ethnic groups, the rise of ethno-political consciousness, and the development of ethnic/regional political parties demonstrated that the British administration intentionally prevented the rise and success of Nigerian nationalism, instead promoting regionalism as a means to gain political power.

With the establishment of colonialism there developed with it a form of false consciousness in the form of ethnic identity as well as regional identity. From this time the peoples of Nigeria became aware of these supposed differences that existed between them. They started therefore to form communities living in different quarters or unions that saw to the welfare of their members. This brings out the issue of ethnicism, which in essence is the politicization of ethnicity.[24] Ethnicism as a serious social and political problem resulted from the conscious struggles from the national bourgeoisie to maximize the exploitation of the various region and ethnic groups in Nigeria to their various advantages. The lack of cohesion, which was a product of the fact that Nigerians were

[23] Nicole Lancia, "Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: The Realities of Regionalism," http://www12.georgetown.edu/students/organizations/nscs/capitalscholar/lancia2.html

[24] Yunusa Kehinde Salami, 2004, "Ethnic Pluralism and National Identity in Nigeria" in Coates Rodney D. 2004, (ed.), *Studies in Critical Social Sciences, Volume 2: Race and Ethnicity, Across Time Space and Discipline,* Leiden, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, p. 397.

made not to see one another as Nigerians but as members of different ethnic nationalities, made the Nigerian state to be easily prone to exploitation from outside through the connivance of the opportunistic members of the national bourgeoisie.[25]

The first preoccupation of any pastoral group was the forage or grazing land for their animals. To follow the migratory trends of the pastoral group, which was from north to south, one will see that it was just a matter of time before they found themselves in the Eastern part of Nigeria. They did go to the east at last and word usually spread easily among them since their migration was seasonal. In the process they got to discover the potentials that were present in the eastern part of Nigeria and in the Umuahia area in particular. As we are going to see also Igboland area also produces kola nut, one of the commodities in the long distance trade between the forest zone with Hausaland.

This trade was of great antiquity and can even be said to predate that of cattle trading. But this trade did not give the people opportunity to establish settlement unlike that of cattle trade. They operate under different levels. Therefore, an observation of the people engaged in the kola nut trade will reveal the fact that none of them actually established for himself a permanent residence at Umuahia. This was because the kola was being consumed in the North so that after purchase they will have to take back to the North as that was where the market for the produce was.

With the establishment of colonialism the British introduced certain policies that prompted the migration of the peoples of Nigeria into various parts of Nigeria. This happened as a result of the nature of colonial policies introduced by the British. These

[25] Yunusa Kehinde Salami, September 2009, "The Political Economy of Nigeria and the Continuing Agenda of Recolonizaton: A Challenge for Critical Knowledge Production," in *The Journal of Pan African Studies,* Vol.3, No.3, (JPAS) http://www.jpanafrican.com Los Angeles, USA, p. 135.

policies included imposition of systematic and universal taxation, compulsory use of a standard coin and currency, the establishment of new urban centres of trade and administration and the recruitment of forced labour. The above combined to disrupt the socio-economic arrangement in various communities in Nigeria.

The British were self-seeking in the introduction of the colonial policies. For instance, the taxation and coin currency policy were aimed at providing enough manpower for cash crop production. The emphasis on cash crop production was to provide raw materials for British factories. This made peasant farming materially unrewarding for many farmers. Therefore, the main concern of the colonialist was the maximum exploitation of the agricultural, mineral and other resources of the colonized areas.

The developments that took place during the colonial era everywhere in Nigeria were with the sole aim to help colonialism achieve what it came to achieve in Africa and Nigeria. Colonialism as an economic system of exploitation through plunder and coercion has a very long history in the world. Colonization as such was inherently a violent process of subjugation, exploitation, extraction and extermination; it was a complete overhaul of the society. When Africa was included in the capitalist world market, the exploitation of Africans and the exploitation of the raw material of the continent were organized.

Owerrri Province was constituted in 1914 following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria and the splitting of the Eastern or Calabar Province. Some of the districts in the Eastern Province were grouped together to form the

new Province. The districts were Aba, Ahoada, Bende, Bonny, Brass, Degema, Okigwi, Orlu, Owerri, Opobo and Afikpo. In 1915 Opobo and Afikpo Districts were transferred to Calabar and Ogoja Provinces respectively. The remaining districts were regrouped into four divisions and a district, namely, Aba, Degema, Okigwi, Owerri and Bende Districts. In 1931 Owerri Provinces was reorganised into six administrative divisions, namely, Aba, Ahoada, Bende, Degema, Okigwi and Owerri.[26]

The construction of infrastructures by the colonialists was mainly in favour of their commercial interests. Coal had been discovered at Enugu in 1906 and the nearest port through which it could be exported to neighbouring territories and to Europe was Port Harcourt.[27] Between 1913 and 1916, a railway line linking Port Harcourt with Enugu was completed and opened to traffic.[28] The rail line passed through Umuahia which was also a commercial centre for the Europeans and therefore, to help facilitate the produce trade in the area.[29] The rail line also served the livestock market from the North. Umuahia town has been known as an agricultural market centre since 1916. It is also a railway collecting point, which runs through the town, for the region's surrounding for crops such as: yams, cassava, corn (maize), taro, citrus fruits, and palm oil and kernels.

Writing in 1946 G. I. Jones described Umuahia as the distributing centre for the cattle trade from as early as the 1920s. In the colonial era, most animals destined to feed

[26] NAE, CALPROF: Proposals for Re-organisation of Native Administration for 1913-14. 830. E.816/1910-14/5/34
[27] Obinna Godwin Itite, 2007, The Small-Holder Oil Palm Project in Umuahia, unpublished dissertation, Uturu, Abia State University, pp. 31-32
[28] Ibid., pp. 31-32.
[29] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

the towns in Eastern Nigeria were trekked to the market, especially in regions without a railway.[30]

With the establishment of colonialism Umuahia was divided up into what the colonialist called Native Location, Crown Land and Neutral Area. In the process many people were denied of their land. All in all though the land in general belongs to the colonialists as the so-called native were made to pay rents on the land. And in relation to the construction or locating of any government institution or market the people were made to relocate to a different area. It was not the concern of the colonial authorities that the great grandfather of the occupiers had been living on the land for a long time.

4.5 Migrant Communities in Umuahia under Colonial Rule

Due the cosmopolitan nature of the town we can say that Umuahia was a heaven for migrant communities from far and near. Even among the Igbos the only group that lay claim to Umuahia could be the Ibeku clan and that is why the town is known as Umuahia-Ibeku. As we have seen earlier this is a group of seven villages or clans which surrounded the town of Umuahia.

The establishment of migrant communities in the Umuahia area was something that has been taking place even before the coming of colonialist. In the eastern part of Nigeria there was evidence of the presence of people coming from the north and living within the communities in areas such as Enugu, Okigwe, Abakaliki and so on.

[30] Blench, Roger, 1994, "The Expansion and Adaptation of Fulbe Pastoralism to Subhumid and Humid Conditions in Nigeria," in *Cahiers d'etudes africaines, Annee,* Vol. 34, Numero 133, pp. 197-212. Available at http://www.persee.fr

As it is there were several communities that were established in Umuahia of migrant status apart from the Cattle Trading Community. We have a substantial Yoruba community in this town also whose trade was mainly tailoring. The issue ultimately, is that of the difference in identity existing in our area of study and how it has shaped both inter and intra group politics and socio-economic relations. Osaghae's postulate on what he termed ethnic migrant empire building[31] in his discourse on the Igbo in Kano aptly applies to our area of study. In Umuahia the Cattle Trading Community was organized in a political setting under a *Sarki*. All the members of the Community who came to Umuahia recognized him as the *Sarki* until there was a division when Mamman Na-Akare was elected as *Sarkin Hausawa* in 1949. From this time on there exist two *Sarakuna* for the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia. Being Muslims the Community do not live anywhere without a leader, it was therefore out this belief that they have to organize themselves in such a political setting. The concepts of *Ardo* (leader) in Fulfulde and *Sarki* (King) in Hausa or *Eze* in Igbo are something that features very prominently in the socio-political activities of the Cattle Trading Community.

It is significant to note just like Osaghae did that this empire also exist side by side the Northern Union or what he calls "the conventional ethnic unions"[32] only in the case of Umuahia the Northern Union was the umbrella body that brings all the Cattle Trading Community together. The political activities of the Northern Union as well as the politics that goes around in the two camps or *fada* (palace) of the Fulbe and Hausa is what defined the intra group relations aspect of our study. The organization of the Cattle

[31] Osaghae, Egbosa E., 1994, *Trends in Migrant Political Organizations in Nigeria: The Igbo in Kano,* Ibadan: Institut Francais de Recherche en Afrique, IFRA, p. vii.
[32] Ibid., p. vii.

market also was not spared of the political maneuvering and intra-group relations going on outside of the market.

4.5.1 Categorization of Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. Migration can be permanent, temporary, voluntary or forced. It can be international or internal. Migration can occur as a result of push and pull factors. Push factors are those which force a person to move. This can include drought, famine, lack of jobs, over population and civil war. Pull factors are those which encourage a person to move. These include a chance of a better job, better education, and a better standard of living and so on.[33] Our concern is for human migration. "Human migration is movement (physical or psychological) by humans from one district to another, sometimes over long distances or in large groups."[34]

Human Migration is where people move from one country to another to live there, or stay there for a long period of time. There are many different types of Human Migration. Here are some of them: Internal Migration, External Migration, Emigration, Immigration, Population Transfer, Impelled Migration, Step Migration, Chain Migration, Return Migration and Seasonal Migration.[35]

Human migration denotes any movement by human beings from one locality to another, often over long distances or in large groups. Humans are known to have migrated extensively throughout prehistory and human history. The movement of populations in modern times has continued under the form of both voluntary migration

[33] Learn on the Internet, 2008, "What is Migration?", available at http://www.geography.learnontheinternet.co.uk/topics/migration.html
[34] "Human migration", November 2010, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_migration
[35] Migration Studies: Internal Migration, www.ini.smo.uhi.ac.uk/migrationtypes/internal_migration.htm

within one's region, country, or beyond, and involuntary migration (which includes trafficking in human beings and ethnic cleansing). The people who migrate are called migrants, or, more specifically, emigrants, immigrants, or settlers, depending on historical setting, circumstance, and perspective.[36]

Migration has been a part of history since the start of mankind. Migration is of many types and categories depending on the reason that made the individual to move from one place to the other. In our case we are dealing with what we will like to call occupational migration. The members of the Cattle Trading Community settled in Umuahia for the commercial purpose that the town fulfilled for them. This categorization has its reason for the fact that the members of the Cattle Trading Community lived in Umuahia as hunters, traders, all economic categorizations not to mention the all important; trade in cattle. The people that came to Umuahia, Eastern region at a point discovered that the people were in need of the beef and that was how this trade came to overthrow all other activities of the community.

Human migration has taken place at all times and in the greatest variety of circumstances. They have involved ethnic, national, class, and individual levels. Causes have been climatic, political, economic, religious, or simply for love of adventure. Its causes and results are fundamental for the study of ethnology, of political and social history, and of political economy.

The pressures of human migrations, whether as outright conquest or by slow cultural infiltration and resettlement, have affected the grand epochs in history, under the

[36] New World Encyclopedia, 2010, "Human Migration," available at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Human_migration

form of colonization, migration has transformed the world, as for example in the settlements of Southern Africa, Australia and the Americas.

4.5.2 Types of Migrations

There are two main types of migrations: domestic or internal migration and international. In domestic or internal migration people move within their homeland; be it from one town to the next or across the country. This may take the form of moving from one level of density to another such as rural to urban (or vice versa). International migration involves crossing international borders. International migration can occur over relatively short distances or can involve moves to entirely different continents such as from Asia to Africa. Migration is generally considered a permanent action, although some people migrate to other places for rather long periods of time (months or years) rather than permanently.[37]

In our case once again we are dealing with domestic or internal migration on the whole. But we are not ruling out the fact that some of the members of the Cattle Trading Community come from outside the Nigerian area. In fact there were those who come from places like Cameroun, Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso and so on to establish permanent residence at Umuahia. On the general level these people were very few though. We are therefore looking at internal migration of people coming from the northern part of Nigeria to the eastern part to explore the commercial advantages present in the Eastern Provinces.

[37] New World Encyclopedia, 2010, "Human Migration," available at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Human_migration

4.5.3 Factors Responsible for Migration and their Outcomes

People may want to move for all sorts of reasons, the reasons people move away from a country are called Push Factors, and the reason people move to a particular country are Pull Factors. For Push Factors these can be; not enough jobs, famine (lack of food), drought, slavery etc. For the Pull Factors these can be better living conditions, better medical care, education etc. Some people stay in a different country for several years but others may stay there for life. People can choose to move, which is called Voluntary Migration or they can be forced to move, which is called Involuntary Migration or forced migration.

Push and Pull factors are the things that make people either migrate to a country, or migrate away from it. A Push factor is a force or distress that makes someone move away from a country. A push factor relates to the country of which the person moves from. A Pull factor relates to the country the person is moving to. It is a benefit that attracts people to the country.[38]

The following are some of the Push Factors:

1. Not enough jobs
2. Few opportunities
3. "Primitive" conditions
4. Desertification
5. Famine/drought
6. Political fear/persecution
7. Loss of wealth
8. Natural Disasters
9. Poor medical care
10. Death threats
11. Slavery
12. Pollution
13. Poor housing

[38] European Communities, 2000, *Push and pull factors of international migration: a comparative report,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, p. 32.

14. Landlords
15. Bullying
16. Discrimination
17. Poor chances of finding courtship.[39]

Quite a number of these have played a role in the migration and subsequent establishment of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia in the period under study. Numbers 1-8 are the most significant in respect of the establishment of the Community in Umuahia.

The following are some of the Pull Factors:
1. Job opportunities
2. Better living conditions
3. Enjoyment
4. Political and/or religious freedom
5. Education
6. Better medical care
7. Security
8. Family links
9. Industry
10. Better chances of finding courtship.[40]

These factors are some of the reasons for migration and they can all be grouped into the following signifying both push and pull factors which may influence people in their movements (sometimes at the same time), including:

1. Environmental (e.g., climate, natural disasters);
2. Political (e.g., war);
3. Economic (e.g., work);
4. Cultural (e.g., religious freedom, education).[41]

Human migrations, initiated for whatever reason, have affected the grand epochs in history, changing forever the demographic landscape of lands throughout the world, bringing, on some occasions, innovation and mutual benefits, and on others destruction

[39] Ibid., p. 32.
[40] Ibid., p. 33.
[41] National Geographic Society, 2005, "What is Human Migration?", Human Migration Guide (6-8), www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions

and suffering. In the Umuahia area the communities that were established as a result of these migrations have had so many impacts on the lives of the people of the town and even beyond. They in turn also have been impacted upon in many ways ranging from the improvement of their economic status to the social mingling brought about by the establishment of the communities in such close proximity.[42]

4.6 Inter-Group Relations in Umuahia under Colonial Rule

Umuahia provides one of the most interesting case for the study of inter-group relations in eastern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria in general. This is with good reason and it is all as a result of the fact that Umuahia is also one of the cosmopolitan towns in Nigeria a status it came to occupy as a result of the commercial activities that used to take place in this area. This therefore led to the coming of peoples from different parts of Nigeria to carry out their activities and eventually to settle and trade. Economic factors are therefore of paramount importance in this respect.

To do this there must be intermingling of peoples. On many facets there was the existence of interdependence. This is even more pronounced when we take the economic needs of the people as well as their political practices into consideration. The geographical and the economic realities of Nigeria allows for greater cultural, political and social cross fertilization in Nigeria. These realities include that no one society will be able to produce all that it needs. As a result therefore, there must be inter-change of these products as one society produces it own with another society. This is what drives history

[42] European Communities, 2000, *Push and pull factors*… op cit., p. 40.

and migration and make the study of inter-group relations in Nigeria both possible and interesting.

Therefore, inter-group relations in Umuahia follow the same pattern and it is also replete with many factors which make the study both interesting and necessary. Interesting in the sense that the cattle trading community in Umuahia was one community that have thrived for many years to the extent that there was mutual understanding in terms of the social, cultural, political, and religious practices of the different peoples that made up Umuahia in general.

In the Umuahia area there was the existence of strong political and by implication legal relationship that existed between the people of Umuahia and the Cattle Trading Community. According to Alhaji Yusuf Bello there was a time when the people of Umuahia used to report cases to the Chief of the Cattle Trading Community. He in turn will hear these cases and pass judgment. To the extent that during colonial rule any D.O. that was posted to Umuahia will first of all report to the Chief before going to his office.[43] One is not saying that the Umuahia people have no apparatus to take care of their legal needs but the logic lies in the fact that the Community has a more structured political organization. And since it was in existence in the midst of a segmented community it attracted the attention of the colonialist. The colonialist has had a lot of problems trying to "pacify" the Igbo in general. The existence of this kind of relationship in no small measure raised their hopes that in the end the Cattle Trading Community will help them in making the Igbo more compliant. It was a welcoming prospect on the part of the colonialists.

[43] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, interview at his home on the 15th of September 2009 in Kaduna, Tudun Wada.

According to Alhaji Yusuf Bello before and in the period of colonial domination the Igbo used to bring their cases to be tried by the *Sarkin Hausawa* in Umuahia.[44] To this end the British contemplated introducing Sharia law in Eastern Nigeria.[45] In order to do this a conference was called by the British colonialist of all the Sarakuna in Eastern Nigeria with some from the North on how Sharia law should be introduced in the Eastern Provinces.[46] This conference was to take place in Enugu. An invitation was extended also to Sarki Adamu Oseni of Umuahia to attend.[47]

This is a significant development in the bid of the colonialist to be able to adequately control the Eastern Province through the system of "Indirect Rule" as obtained in the Northern Provinces. The aim of the colonialist was to introduce the working system of colonial administration of the North to Eastern Nigeria. In order to do this they tried very much to maintain peace in the cattle trading community even when they have two sarakuna (chiefs) in the community.[48] The colonialist also included members of the cattle trading community into some of the boards and other electives offices in the Eastern Provinces.

This was evident during the political fracas that rocked the community in 1949. It reached a stage where Sarki Adamu Oseni called on the colonial authorities to "deport" Sarki Mamman Na-Akare.[49] The colonialist refused because they were afraid to divide

[44] Ibid.
[45] NAE OW 7863, UMDIV 3/1/774, Sarikin Hausawa Umuahia Ibeku, 1949-1953.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

the community and risk losing the tax from the other faction. They refused to deport him because he was an elected member of a board representing Umuahia Township.[50]

4.7 Taxation and Revenue in Colonial Umuahia on the Cattle Industry

Under the cattle control rules, 1951, Umuahia Ibeku, the local Authority Umuahia Ibeku, is empowed to collect one shilling per head on all cattle entering Umuahia Ibeku by rail road. The annual revenue from the sorce is conservatively estimated at £2,500.[51] The Township Ordinance, Cap. 216, Part IV, Section 50 provides that all such money collected in a Third Class. Township shall be paid into general revenue.[52] The Planning Authority are therefore applying for this revenue to be allocated to the Umuahia Ibeku Planning Authority in furtherance of this scheme which is based on the assumption that the application will be granted.[53]

In addition to the shilling per head cattle tax the Planning Authority propose to license all cattle brokers and auctioneer using the kraal premises for the purpose of selling cattle. The license fee will be £36 per annum and estimated to produce £720 per annum.[54]

In order to start the scheme of constructing the new cattle kraal the local cattle dealers have deposited a voluntary contribution of £1,200. This, it is hoped, will provide the perimeter fence to enclose the site and so facilitate the operation of the scheme.[55]

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[50] Ibid.
[51] NAE OW 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

The question of revenue payment and remittance also came up during the time when the colonialist planned to construct the cattle market. In order to accomplish this scheme of constructing the cattle market on the 8th of May, 1948, Mr. R. Angeloni (District Officer, Bende), had discussion at Umuahia with the Serikin Hausa regarding the proposed cattle kraal scheme for Umuahia.[56] Mr. Angeloni outlined the scheme and pointed out that its main object was to develop the local cattle industry by providing improved rail, kraalage and water facilities.[57] The scheme would be financed at its inception by a loan from the Nigerian Local Development Board and that was proposed to levy a charge of one shilling per head on all cattle entering Umuahia whether by rail or road.[58]

The *Sarkin* Hausa was asked to give his views on the project, it being stressed that the coorperation of local cattle dealers was necessary to ensure the success of the scheme.[59]

The *Sarkin* Hausa stated that this scheme, or one similar to it, had been discussed some time ago by the then Senior District Officer, Bende (Mr. V. K. Johnson) and that the cattle traders not only welcomed the scheme but were anxious for its commencement.[60] He stated that cattle dealers in the North of Nigeria were well aware of the great possibilities for the expansion of the cattle trade at Umnahia and were in fact most anxious to increase their cattle export.[61] The cattle traders at Umnahia considered that the fee of a shilling per head on cattle entering Umuahia was fair one and there

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

would be no objection at all to the levy.[62] The *Sarkin* Hausa considered however that fees should be recovered from authorized cattle brokers only, firstly because the men accompanying cattle were only brokers whereas represent the actual owners and secondly, by collecting fees through authorize brokers it would obviate evasion of payment by cattle entering Umuahia by road.[63]

Below are some tables to show some of the statistics of the revenue collected and estimates for the future:

Table 1

CATTLE TRADE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME – UMUAHIA IBEKU

Statement No. 1

ANTICIPATED ANNUAL REVENUE

Stage of Scheme	Annual Revenue from Cattle tax under Cattle Control Rules, 1951.	Annual Revenue from Brokers Licence Fees	Voluntary Contribution by dealers	Total Annual Anticipated Revenue	Remarks
Initial	-	-	£1,200	£1,200	
First Year	£2,500	£720	-	£3,220	
Second Year	£2,500	£720	-	£3,220	
Third Year	£2,500	£720	-	£3,220	
Fourth Year	£2,500	£720	-	£3,220	Recurring

Source: NAE OW 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Table 2

CATTLE TRADE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME – UMUAHIA IBEKU.

Statement

No. 2

ANTICIPATED ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

Head	Sub-head	Item	Detail	Initial Stage	First Year £	Second Year £	Third Year £	Fourth Year £	Fifth Year Onwards £	Remarks
I			Staff – Personal Emoluments.							
	1	(1)	Kraal Master at £96 per annum	-	96	96	96	112	120	
	2	(1)	Head Labourer at £32 per annum	-	32	32	35	35	38	
	3	(6)	Sanitary Labourer at £24 per annum	-	144	144	144	156	156	
	4	(1)	Night Watchman at £32 per annum	-	32	32	32	32	32	
	5		T.A.R.P. at 12½%	-	38	38	38	42	44	
II			Miscellaneous.							
	1		Tools and Materials	-	10	1	1	1	1	
	2		Signposting	-	-	5	5	5	-	
	3		Tree Planting	-	-	5	5	5	-	
	4		Office Equipment and Furniture	-	-	-	-	65	-	
	5		Printing and Statioanry	-	50	50	50	50	50	
			Total Ordinary	-	402	403	406	503	437	
III			Special Expenditure.							
	1		Cost of water @ 1/6d per 1000 gallon and 4000 gallons per day.	-	-	110	110	110	110	
			Total Special	-	-	110	110	110	110	
IV			Extraordinary Expenditure.							
	1		Perimeter Fencing	1200	-	-	-	-	-	)
	2		Installation of Water supply	-	2500	-	-	-	-	) Estimates
	3		Auction Mart and Pens	-	-	2000	-	-	-	) only, firm
	4		Cattle Pens	-	-	-	2000	-	-	) figures not
	5		Standings and Roads	-	-	-	-	2000	-	) available
	6		Maintainance	-	-	50	120	120	120	)
			Total Extraordinary	1200	2500	2050	2120	2120	120	
			Total Expenditure	1200	2902	2563	2636	2733	667	

Source: NAE OW 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 3

CATTLE TRADE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME – UMUAHIA IBEKU

Statement No. 3

ANTICIPATED ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Stage of Scheme	Anticipated Annual Revenue	Anticipated Annual Expenditure	Anticipated Annual Surplus	Remarks
Initial Stage	£1,200	£1,200	Nil	
First Year	£3,220	£2,902	£318	)
Second Year	£3,220	£2,563	£657	) Reserve Funds
Third Year	£3,220	£2,636	£584	)
Fourth Year	£3,220	£2,733	£487	)
Fifth Year	£3,220	£667	£2553	Offsets cost of Cattle Siding
Sixth Year	£3,220	£667	£2533	Offsets cost of Compost Pits
Seventh Year	£3,220	£667	£2553	) Offsets cost of Abattoir and
Eight Year	£3,220	£667	£2553	) final completion of Scheme
Ninth Year	£3,220	£667	£2553	Contributions to Township
Tenth Year	£3,220	£667	£2553	funds could commence here

Source: NAE OW 2747 Vol. III UMDIV 3/1/341, Umuahia Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

The colonial authorities had proved with these estimates that their sole business in Nigeria was for the economic exploitation of the wealth of the people through taxes and other policies.

4.8 The Construction of the Cattle Market by the Colonial Government 1947-1952

The assessment of the situation of the cattle trade and market in Umuahia by the colonial authorities was not encouraging. Umuahia is a distributing centre, the biggest in the Eastern Region, of the trade in cattle from the North.[64] Some 50,000 head arrive in Umuahia every year, about two-thirds by train and the remainder on the hoof, but the trade is ill-organised according to the colonial authorities.[65] What is required is a cattle kraal where the cattle on arrival can be accommodated, fed and watered, treated if

[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

necessary for disease, inspected and distributed. This project is at once in the interest of public health and of the local cattle traders.[66]

There are two so-called kraals in existence. These are very crude stockades for herding cattle and are owned by two prominent Hausa cattle brokers.[67] They are situated approximately one-quarter of a mile outside the township and are completely devoid of any essentials for cattle. To obtain water cattle are required to traverse the whole of the Planning Area in search of Pot-holes, stagnant pools etc.[68]

Railed cattle are off-loaded at the very heart of the township's business centre. To reach the two kraals cattle have to pass through the residential area congesting and fouling he highways en route.[69]

In consultation with the Veterinary Authorities the Planning Authority have selected a site of approximately 9 acres some three-quarter mile North of Umuahia Ibeku Railway Station. The site is eminently suitable for the purpose required as it is on sloping ground and is adjacent to the Railway track.[70]

The site will adequately contain the Pens, Paddocks, Compost Pits and Abattoir provided for in this scheme with provision for expansion.[71]

In the year 1947 the Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority drew up a proposal to develop and regulate the Umuahia-Ibeku cattle industry by the provision of efficient kraal and transport facilities for cattle entering and leaving Umuahia-Ibeku by rail and

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

road.[72] The project aims at the construction of a railway siding, unloading ramp, off-loading pen, level crossing and holding kraal to accommodate 500 head with adequate watering facilities. Compost pits to conserve manure for sale to farmers will also be constructed.[73] Statistics for the year 1945 show that 46,886 head of cattle entered Umuahia-Ibeku during the year:- of this number 29,228 arrived by rail and 17,658 on the hoof from Northern Nigeria and Bamenda. Approximately 2000 were slaughtered for local consumption, the remainder being distributed over a wide area in the Owerri, Calabar and Rivers Provinces.[74] Two years after this proposal the cattle trading community witnessed a balkanization which ended up splitting the community into two factions as a result of the election of a new *sarki*.[75]

Below is a table by G. I. Jones outlining the distribution of cattle from Umuahia to various parts of the Southern provinces:

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

Table 4

Distribution of Cattle from Umuahia

Destination	*Jan.*	*Feb.*	*Mar.*	*Apr.*	*May*	*June*	*Total half-year 1944*	
NORTH-WEST								
Onitsha . .	74	133	100	34	41	116	498	
Awka . .	. .	35	42	11	28	. .	116	
							___	614
WESTERN (ISUAMA)								
Nguru . .	680	493	445	346	375	325	2664	
Umuduru . .	24	9	39	88	89	68	317	
Orlu . .	. .	. .	109	34	30	47	220	
Owerri . .	5	17	10	6	16	13	67	
							____	3268
SOUTHERN								
Aba . . .	71	115	63	149	111	126	635	
Azumini . .	16	12	13	. .	9	19	69	
Port Harcourt .	208	151	134	109	155	214	971	
							____	1675
SOUTH-EAST (IBIBIO)								
Ikot Ekpene .	429	414	381	454	465	622	2765	
Abak . .	104	102	116	110	91	127	650	
Opobo . .	. .	12	19	27	20	26	104	
Uyo . .	28	12	. .	48	40	. .	128	
Calabar . .	77	44	57	99	72	27	376	
							____	4023
Unclassified . .	17	. .	13	. .	. .	9	39	39
Slaughtered locally	624	584	935	884	924	990	4941	4941
Total . .	2357	2133	2476	2399	2466	2729		14,560

Source: G. I. Jones, 1945, "The Beef-Cattle Trade in Nigeria," in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 16, No. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 35.

The project was proposed as a result of the revenue that the colonial government was realizing in the cattle market. The Umuahia-Ibeku cattle industry has an annual turnover value of at least half a million pounds under existing conditions,[76] a turnover the government hopes to improve though expanding the cattle market. Below are tables detailing the proposal as put forward by the Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority on the construction of a new cattle market:

[76] Ibid.

Table 5

COSTS

		£	
Demarcation and Clearing:		300	
Fencing:			
	Rails 10752 ft at 1/- per ft.	550	
	Bolts 940 at 4/d each	214	
	Labour at 8/- per ft of fencing	1600	
	Cementing posts and excavation	560	
Troughs:			
	2 Cement troughs 30 = 4 × 4		
	6 Cement troughs 10 × 15 × 4	120	
Flooring:			
	Clearing and levelling 6480 ft. yds	300	
	Excavating, stone and cement of flooring	1260	
Compost pits:			
	20 Pits 15 × 6 × 4 at £20 each	400	
Drainage:			
	250 ft of 19 inch drain		
	220 ft of 12 inch drain	75	
Feeder Road:			
	680 yards	45	
Add Contingencies:			
	Implements, Tools etc.		125
		Total	£5,545
Add first year's expenditure i.e. Rent, Salaries and Water			455
		Total	£6,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 6

APPENDIX

A

Table 2

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATES

Details	Head I Expenditure from grant of £2000	Head II Expenditure from interest bearing loan of £4000	Total Expenditure
	£	£	£
Cattle kraal 1st year	2000	2000	4000
Cattle kraal 2nd year	--	2000	2000
Total	2,000	4,000	6,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 7

APPENDIX

A

Table 2

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATES

Detail	Year I Expenditure from interest free loan of £2000	Year II Expenditure from interest-bearing loan of £4000	Total
	£	£	£
Cattle kraal 1st year	2000	2000	4000
Cattle kraal 2nd year	--	2000	2000
Total	2,000	4,000	6,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 8

APPENDIX A

Table 3

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATES

Detail	Year I Expenditure from interest-bearing loan of £6,000
	£
Cattle kraal 1st year	4000
Cattle kraal 2nd year	2000
Total	£6,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 9

APPENDIX A
Table 4

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME
ESTIMATES

Head	Sub-Head	Item	Details	1st year	2nd year	Total
				£	£	£
I			EXPENDITURE FROM GRANT			
	1		PRELIMINARY			
		1	Survey & Demarcation	20		20
		2	Clearing	260		260
		3	Rent	5		5
	2		MATERIALS			
		1	Rails and fastenings	752		752
		2	Implements and Tools	125		125
	3		CONTINGENCIES			
		1	Feeder Roads	45		45
	4		FENCING			
		1	Excavating and Cementing	560		560
		2	Labour	215		215
			Total Head I	£2,000	---	£2,000
II			EXPENDITURE FROM LOAN			
	1		FENCING			
		1	Labour	1595		1595
	2		KRAAL			
		1	Troughs	120		120
		2	Leveling floor area	300		300
		3	Excavating, stone and cement floor	145	1115	1260

		4	Drainage		75	75
		5	Compost pits		400	400
	3		STAFF			
		1	Salaries		267	267
	4		WATER			
		1	Water Rate		185	185
			Total Head II	£2,000	£2,000	£4,000
			Grand Total Heads I & II			£8,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 10

APPENDIX A
Table 4

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME
ESTIMATES

Head	Sub-Head	Item	Details	1st year	2nd year	Total
				£	£	£
I			EXPENDITURE FROM INTEREST-FREE LOAN			
	1		PRELIMINARY			
		1	Survey & Demarcation	20		20
		2	Clearing	260		260
		3	Rent	5		5
	2		MATERIALS			
		1	Rails and fastenings	752		752
		2	Implements and Tools	125		125
	3		CONTINGENCIES			
		1	Feeder Roads	45		45
	4		FENCING			
		1	Excavating and Cementing	560		560
		2	Labour	215		215
			Total Head I	£2,000	---	£2,000
II			EXPENDITURE FROM LOAN			
	1		FENCING			
		1	Labour	1595		1595
	2		KRAAL			
		1	Troughs	120		120
		2	Leveling floor area	300		300
		3	Excavating, stone and cement floor	145	1115	1260
		4	Drainage		75	75
		5	Compost pits		400	400
	3		STAFF			
		1	Salaries		267	267
	4		WATER			
		1	Water Rate		185	185
			Total Head II	£2,000	£2,000	£4,000
			Grand Total Heads I & II			£8,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1952.

Table 11

APPENDIX A
Table 5

UMUAHIA-IBEKU CATTLE KRAAL SCHEME
ESTIMATES

Head	Sub-Head	Item	Details	1st year	2nd year	Total
				£	£	£
I			EXPENDITURE FROM LOAN			
	1		PRELIMINARY			
		1	Survey & Demarcation	20		20
		2	Clearing	260		260
		3	Rent	5		5
	2		MATERIALS			
		1	Rails and fastenings	752		752
		2	Implements and Tools	125		125
	3		CONTINGENCIES			
		1	Feeder Roads	45		45
	4		FENCING			
		1	Excavating and cementing	560		560
		2	Labour on construction	1608		1608
	5		KRAAL	£8,000	---	£2,000
		1	Troughs	120		120
		2	Leveling floor area	300		300
		3	Excavating, stone and cement floor	185	1075	1260
		4	Drainage		75	75
		5	Compost pits		400	400
	6		STAFF	300		300
		1	Salaries		267	267
	7		WATER			
		1	Water Rate		105	105
			Total Head I	£4,000	£2,000	£6,000

Source: NAE/OW 2747 Vol. III 15-10-47/UMDIV3/1/341 Umuahia-Ibeku Town Planning Authority Cattle Kraal Scheme 1947-1953.

Despite the fact that it was the colonial authorities that hatched this project it was to be executed with the revenue gotten from the cattle market. Along the line the loan that was supposed to be secured for the project was not secured so it fell on the cattle dealers

to construct the cattle market themselves through the revenue and other contributions termed as "voluntary contribution".[77]

By 1950 it became clear that the colonial authorities were not willing to go ahead with the construction of the new cattle market. They stated in categorical terms that:

> We have been prevented from proceeding by the absence of funds.[78]

> The whole question remains entirely academic until the cost is known: it will however, remain astronomic and may prove to be prohibitive, as the Planning Authority has to pay for the bulk of the Railway construction (and maintainance?). Incidently members of the Planning Authority are unlikely willing to commit their resources to a cattle scheme while human amenities remain unprovided for.[79]

In a meeting held at Umuahia Ibeku on 1st May, 1952 to discuss Railway develpments, the Resident stated that no funds were yet available to implement the scheme of constructing a cattle siding at the Railway.[80] This was in connection to the proposal to construct a new cattle market. The project to build a new cattle kraal was first proposed in about 1947.[81] It was in the heat of these developments that Sarki Adamu Oseni later followed by Sarki Mamman Na-Akare approached the owners of the land selected by the colonial authorities to lease the land to them.

To put to rest the issue of the involvement of the colonial authorities to the project of constructing the new cattle market this was what they had to say:

> Nothing will ever be done about the cattle kraal, as long as we defer to the Veterinary Department's ideas which- Major O'Beney informs me- will involve the Planning Authority in tens of thousands of pounds, and are

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

> concerned more with cattle welfare than with administrative necessaty. We agree that if a start is made now, things may begin to happen. It so happens that the two Hausa leaders, whose feuds have gone on for so long many years, are now both encamped on the land acquired for the kraal. The sooner a Government Kraal is put up, the better.[82]

After all these, however, the colonial authorities were unwilling to put up any funds for the construction of the cattle market. This was their position at last:

> It was clear that the loan finance required for this project would not be forthcoming and the scheme was therefore recast on a 'Build as you earn' basis, starting off with £1,200 voluntarily contributed by the cattle trade, which is on deposit with the Bende Divisional Native Authority, and continuing the development of the Scheme out of earnings.[83]

This put to rest the question of the colonial authorities bid to construct the cattle market for the cattle trading community. The cattle traders had to take the initiative to acquire the land and start running their business. This was done as we have seen by the two Chiefs of the community.

4.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to note that with the development in the world in the form of Industrial Revolution the subjugation of Nigeria in general and Umuahia in particular was inevitable. As a result commercial activities were also revolutionized in the whole of Europe and the world over. The peoples of Europe were no longer able to buy all that was produced by the factories. And in order to avoid a major catastrophe they had to look for market elsewhere. The need to expand the market therefore arose. With this, the conquest of the Umuahia area was imminent. After the conquest, the colonialist went ahead to re-organize the society in general. This did not go well for both parties. In

[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

the process, there occurred many other developments such as urbanization. Urban areas were an attraction for peoples coming from outside or in this case migrant communities.

The transformation of Umuahia into a market outpost also attracted various peoples. This led to the establishment of permanent settlement by the peoples coming from far and near. We must however, take into consideration those factors that motivated the migration of these peoples in the first place. This way we will be able to understand not only the migrations but also the frequency of the migration as well as the new people that over the years have decided to make Umuahia home. We recognize also that Umuahia was not the only community or city in the eastern part of Nigeria that saw the establishment of migrant communities.

However, the establishment of the cattle trading community, though it too was not only in Umuahia, one will see that the Umuahia community was more vibrant in the sense it was the converging place for the other cattle trading communities in the east. This gave the market international status during almost all years of its existence. It was the same role that the Okigwe cattle market came to play after its establishment in the 1994 taking over from Umuahia.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN UMUAHIA 1960-1970

5.1 Introduction

> *African civilization is not measured by the heights of tall buildings but by the quality of human relation.*[1]
>
> -Owen 'Alik Shahadah

Post-colonial Nigeria have undergone many challenges when it comes to inter-group relations. Umuahia too had seen many of these challenges especially during this period. In this chapter we are going to look at these challenges and analyze them based on the outcome it has produced in Umuahia. It is very clear that even though the peoples of the Nigerian area have been in close contact with one another since pre-colonial days, British colonial activities have intensified these contacts by the creation of one country out of the different nations. Colonialism however created a kind of false consciousness among the various diverse peoples of Nigeria to the extent that even new identities were constructed and made to reflect the true nature of the Nigerian state in an erroneous manner. The basis of the colonial system was divide and rule. This aspect was perfected in the Nigerian area by the various colonial policies on social relations in the Nigerian area. This social relation was especially pervasive in the North where the *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada* phenomenon was introduced and perpetuated.

The situation in the Eastern Provinces was different, in the sense that there was the encouragement of mingling of the peoples of the Eastern Region with the "migrant" community especially those originally from the North. This was in the hope that the

[1] Owen 'Alik Shahadah, 2005, "Kingdoms of Africa," http://www.africankingdoms.com/

"natives" would adopt the system of the people of the North especially their elaborate and more "superior" political culture and organization. This would make the task of the colonialist easy, where they adopt their system of the so-called indirect rule. This will explain as we said earlier why any colonial official that was posted to Umuahia District first of all pay a visit to *Sarki* of the Cattle Trading Community i.e. *Sarkin Hausawa* of Umuahia.

5.2 Nature of Inter-Group Relations between the Cattle Trading Community and the Igbo 1960-1970

The period following the end of colonialism witnessed no serious change as such in inter-group relations in Nigeria. Yes, it was true that Nigeria had gained independence and that it was now being ruled by its people but most of the structures of colonialism were never dismantled but reinforced. The shape of Nigeria was already cast in the image that the colonialist had made. These structures now serve the leaders of Nigeria that took over from the colonialist. Evidence to this fact was the civil war of 1967-1970 which as we have seen had its roots in the colonial experience of Nigeria. The Nigerian Civil War was a response to one ethnic group against an action alleged to have been taken by another ethnic group. This is the basic fact of the cause of the Nigerian Civil War.

Nigeria continued to be together all these while however, as well as the fact that nothing changed in its configuration. Because the people still see themselves as belonging to the various regions and ethnic groupings, not Nigeria as an entity. There was total absence of patriotism on the part of Nigerians. The country as an entity was not their concern but their ethnic identity. Evidence of this was even bloated by Awolowo when he

said that Nigeria "is a mere geographical expression."[2] This was a fundamental defect in the way some people saw Nigeria and still continue to see it.

The nature of the relationship between the Cattle Trading Community and the people of Umuahia can best be described as one that has undergone many transformations. It is these transformations that we wish to study. This will enable us to understand and even describe the nature of the relationship between the two communities. Just like in many Nigerian cities the concept of settler/indigene dichotomy is present. There are those who were regarded as strangers or *mbiarambia* in Igbo. The members of the Cattle Trading Community fall under this category. It was not uncommon to hear Umuahia person talking about how they own the land. What you hear on these occasions is: *eba bu ala anyi; la ala unu*, Trans: this is our land; go back to your land. This was especially the case during and after the years following the end of the civil war.

In general the situation has never been the same over the years. The nature of the relationship can best be described as cordial in general subject to development in other parts of Nigeria. Especially after colonialism certain developments that have to do with the colonial history and experience of Nigeria began to manifest themselves in the form of the political practice of the country. These developments culminated into what some people especially in the Eastern Provinces called injustice to their people.

On the subject of socio-economic interaction my informant recounted how the Igbo are free and found in many places and he said that wherever you went and you did see an Igbo in that place you should leave the place.[3] This was being overzealous on his

[2] See Obafemi Awolowo, 1947, *Path to Nigerian Freedom,* London: Faber and Faber Publishers.
[3] Alhaji Ali Ogiwo, 51, interview on 10-09-2011.

part of course, but what he was trying to say was that the Igbo are a business minded people who travel far and wide to conduct their trade, any type of trade. He claimed also that there was no any other city that the Hausa enjoyed their stay in Nigeria than in Umuahia. This we believe was stating the obvious as people like Alhaji Inuwa Idem and Alhaji Yusuf Bello were of the same opinion.[4] So far our evidence has shown that that was the case, that they had more freedom in Umuahia to the extent of owning more than half the town before the outbreak of the civil war. The problem was that according to our informant they were not able to sale their religion to the people of Umuahia.[5] He blamed this situation to ignorance and lack of education or illiteracy.

This made the people to see Islam as the exclusive preserve of the Hausa that when one of the Igbo convert to Islam he was seen as someone who has become Hausa. This created a kind of discrimination on the part of the members of the Community towards the Igbo. The people of Umuahia wanted the rapport between them and the Community to be stronger to the extent as we gathered that the people of Umuahia used to refer their case to the Sarkin Hausawa for arbitration in the past.

Our informant was Igbo but a Muslim lamented on how this issue of discrimination had affected social relationship and the issue of the fact that his kinsmen regard anything Islamic as belonging to the Hausa, that when they see an Igbo Muslim they call him *Onye* Hausa or even a Yoruba Muslim they call him *Onye* Hausa, this signify that he has automatically become Hausa. This was a very serious problem as far as Islam which is the religion of the Community and the Igbo are concerned. This

[4] A. Y. Bello & Alh Inuwa Idem, group interview on 13-09-2011.
[5] Alh Ali Ogiwo, op. cit.

therefore affected social and cultural integration between the two communities. It however, did not prevent social relations and integration in the form of interchange of ideas and socio-cultural and economic practices.

This Hausa concept has prevented the Igbo from embracing the Islamic religion. The situation is like this: Islam was seen by the Igbo as a language group thing and he already had his language which he cherished so much. The Igbo is culture conscious to the extent that he would not allow anything that would affect his culture –*ome na ala*. This was the thinking among the Igbo. This not withstanding though some of the Igbo did embrace Islam especially those women that married from among the members of the cattle trading community. This conception created different levels of inter-group relations in the Umuahia area and Igboland in general.

On the issue of inter-marriage it was not reciprocal as the Igbo willingly give out their daughters out in marriage to the members of the community once they are able to fulfill the traditional rites i.e. *ome na-ala*. But for the members of the cattle trading community even if you are a Muslim but not Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri etc. it was difficult to marry from them. Recounting his ordeal when he was staying at Katsina Alhaji Ali was refused a wife because he was not Hausa though he was a Muslim.[6]

Before he married his second wife he faced the same problem to the extent that he saw it as a challenge and like he said he accepted the challenge and in the end he succeeded.[7] She was Fulani, the daughter to Alhaji Siddique, one of the prominent elders of the Community. His first wife was the daughter to *Sarki* De-Gaulle. In the end he

[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

claimed that the Igbo have no problem when it comes to these issues and are not fanatic to their religion, that even if they are now they saw it from the Hausa. They are easy-going human beings as he puts it.[8] The Igbo value their culture more than their religion and in terms of economy their trade is much more important than their religion. Whenever you have problem with any Igbo it would usually be because you tampered with their business or you went against the agreed contract. If not they give you as stranger more trust than their own people and this was because the Hausa were known to keep their word. This was to change though with time that now it is no longer the same. The culture of trust has now gone bad. He attributed this too to lack of education.[9] Everybody is just after money these days he concluded.

5.3 Aspects of Economic, Social and Political Relations in Umuahia

Johnson H. Pongri in his definition of inter-group relations sees it as the interaction between social groups (sex, class, ethnic groups, religious groups, etc) in large political set ups like countries or in smaller territorial organizations, such as regions. In a more enlarged way he defined inter-group relations as the interaction between social classes or groups (race, sex, class, occupational, religious, ethnic, communal, etc) in large political set ups like nations, territorial organizations such as regions or in small communal organizations like ethnic groups and the conflicts which arise from such interactions. It should be noted, he wrote, that inter-group relations also entail accommodation and integration processes which take place over a long period of time. However, in all political organizations, the process of integration and accommodation is

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

constantly threatened by various inter-group contradictions. Going further he posited that inter-group relations involve cooperation and conflicts. At a given time, he continued, preceding historical developments determine whether cooperation or conflict would characterize inter-group relations in a given geo-political area.[10]

From the concept "inter-group relation" one will see a clear picture of peoples interacting with one another. But that is not where it stops. The crux of the matter is that in the Nigerian area we are dealing with plethora of groups who have had varied aspects of historical processes and development. This was in light of the fact that Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups who have related with one another for a very long time before the advent of colonialism. One will therefore expect how they related with one another was built on the facts of the needs of the various peoples. It has been recognized by scholars that the various Nigerian peoples have had a long period of interaction between themselves. Their argument was built on the facts of geography as well as economics, social, religious and political.[11] In essence, no ethnic group in Nigeria was an island unto itself. This in effect is what inter-group relations is all about and what it is.

The people of Umuahia and the Cattle Trading Community have had a very long history of relating on many levels. Being an occupational community the economic aspect of the relationship is more pronounced than the social and political aspects. This was to be expected, but we should not lose the fact that these factors complement each other. One cannot exist without the other. A people of different cultures and coming from

[10] Pongri, Johnson H., 1987, "Political Development in Northern Adamawa 1809-1960: A Study in the Historical Development of Inter-Group Relations," unpublished PhD Dissertation, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U., p. vi.
[11] See Obaro Ikime, 2006, "Inter-Group Relations in Pre-Colonial Nigeria: A Call for A Re-Examination of Political Relations Among Nigerian Peoples in the Period up to c. 1850," in Obaro Ikime, History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian, Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc, pp. 17-39.

a different geographical zone do so based on the level of exchange. This exchange was of many kinds ranging from commodity exchange which is economic to social and political.[12] This was something that had been going on for a very long time since the beginning of time. One has no control over it and neither can it be eliminated or even controlled. This was because it was linked to the fact of the survival of man.

On the economic sphere the interaction was more pronounced in the sense that the primary role of the community was the trade in cattle with the people of Umuahia and their neighbours from far and near. Ever since the discovery of the commercial viability of the Umuahia area people engaged in buying and selling have been frequenting the area. It was in the process that some of them decided to establish permanent residence in the area. Economically the two communities depended on each other and in essence they benefited from interacting on this level.

Like most emergent Nigeria urban centers, Umuahia Town was compartmentalized after colonial domination. The Hausa Community lived closer to Gariki, in the Northern parts of town.[13] Middle-class civil servants clustered around the broad stretch between Bende Road eastwards, past School Road and until Chekwas Cinema, and southwards past Azikiwe Road all the way to Umudike-Ikot-Ekpene Road.[14] Most of those who were engaged in commerce either lived in the town proper, or "over rail" towards Uzuakoli Road. The indigenes lived mostly in their homesteads. The Government Reserved Area (GRA), where the Ridge Club, Premier's Lodge and Government Polo Field were located was a hub that linked the extensive Okpara Road to

[12] Hamman Suleimuri,
[13] Hank Eso, April 2011, "The Impartial Observer: Umuahia, circa 1964," KWENU: Our Culture, Our Future http://www.kwenu.com/moe/2011/2011/umuahia_circa_1964.htm
[14] Ibid.

Ibiam and Ridge Roads.[15] It was in that secluded and highbrow area with their ubiquitous guard dogs and luxuriant shade trees that many resident expatriates and their well-to-do Nigerians counterparts resided.[16]

Just as Umuahia was a storied town with many pleasant human-interest memories for its sojourners, it also had some unpleasant sides. Quite in contrast to its peaceful nature, Umuahia of the 60s also had certain dark sides; political thuggery was commonplace and over time, festered.[17] In those days, Umuahia was reputed as a place where hired political thugs, threw buckets of acid on the political opponents and their supporters without any qualms.[18]

5.4 The Development of the Igbo Chieftaincy System

The development of the Chieftaincy system in Igbo society is something that is worth noting particularly this was because the Igbo society have been perceived with good reasons to be a society with no central authority bringing all the Igbo people under one umbrella. Because of this fundamental reality of the Igbo society one would expect that there would not be any semblance of any political organization in any of its components. This must have developed as a result of contacts with groups that have central authorities. This is a good example and an evidence to show that the various Nigerian peoples have been having very cordial relationship with one another to the extent that some aspect of their political life was influenced by that of their neighboughs.

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

Traditional Igbo political organization was based on a quasi-democratic republican system of government. In tight knit communities, this system guaranteed its citizens equality, as opposed to a feudalist system with a king ruling over subjects. This government system was witnessed by the Portuguese who first arrived and met with the Igbo people in the 15th century. With the exception of a few notable Igbo towns such as Onitsha, which had kings called Obi, and places like the Nri Kingdom and Arochukwu, which had priest kings; Igbo communities and area governments were overwhelmingly ruled solely by a republican consultative assembly of the common people. Communities were usually governed and administered by a council of elders.

Although title holders were respected because of their accomplishments and capabilities, they were never revered as kings, but often performed special functions given to them by such assemblies. This way of governing was immensely different from most other communities of Western Africa, and only shared by the Ewe of Ghana.[19]

Umunna are a form of patrilineage maintained by the Igbo. Law starts with the Umunna which is a male line of descent from a founding ancestor (who the line is sometimes named after) with groups of compounds containing closely related families headed by the eldest male member. The Umunna (the most backdated form of parliamentary system in history) can be seen as the most important pillar of Igbo society.[20]

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

It would be difficult to define a single Igbo identity because of the group's heavily fragmented and politically independent communities.[21]

Before knowledge of Europeans and full exposure to other ethnic groups neighboring them, the Igbo did not have a strong identity as one people. Upon engaging in a close textual reading of Olaudah Equiano's 1789 narrative, historian Alexander X. Byrd argues that the Igbo identity had its origins in slavery, emerging in the "holding patterns" of coastal towns in West Africa.[22]

Before British colonialism, the Igbo were a politically fragmented group.[23] There were variations in culture such as in art styles, attire and religious practices. Various subgroups were set according to clan, lineage, village affiliation and dialect. There weren't many centralized chieftaincy, hereditary aristocracy, or kingship customs except in kingdoms like that of the Nri, Arochukwu and Onitsha. This political system changed significantly under British colonialism in the 19th century; Eze (kings) were introduced into most local communities by Frederick Lugard as "Warrant Chiefs".[24] The Igbo became overwhelmingly Christian under colonization. Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is one of the most popular novels to depict Igbo culture.

By the mid-20th century, a strong sense of an Igbo identity developed. Certain conflicts with other Nigerian ethnicities led to the Igbo dominant Eastern Nigeria seceding from Nigeria to create the independent state of Biafra. The Nigerian-Biafran

[21] Eziachi, 2009, The History Of Ndigbo- From The British Museum Record Perpective, http://www.nairaland.com/341707/history-ndigbo-british-museum-record
[22] Ibid.
[23] See Elizabeth Isichie, *A History of the Igbo People,* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
[24] See Afigbo, A. E., Warrant Chiefs,

war (6 July 1967–15 January 1970) broke out shortly after. The end of the war led to the defeated Republic of Biafra being reabsorbed into Nigeria.[25]

As in the case of most ethnic groups located in sub-Saharan Africa, the British and fellow Europeans identified the Igbo as a tribe. Chinua Achebe, among other scholars, challenged this because of its negative connotations and possible wrong definition. The suggestion was that the Igbo should be defined as a nation similar to the Cherokee or Japanese, although the Igbo do not have an official recognized state of their own.[26]

The arrival of the British in the 1870s and increased encounters between the Igbo and other ethnicities near the Niger River led to a deepening sense of a distinct Igbo ethnic identity, because they find many cultures especially those highlighted in the New Testament very common with their cultures and values. And Christianity preach of individual freedom marries exactly with Igbo sense of individualism in thinking an decision making, rather than one person dominance of others through royalty.[27]

5.4.1 Conferment

This is done to reward people who have contributed one way or the other in the development of the community. What was considered usually is age as those that were conferred with a chieftaincy title were expected to be the decision makers of the society. The belief of the Igbo is that the elderly were the wisest people in the society. They believe in this to extent that in the Ibeku clan the head of the political institution was

[25] Eziachi, Oct 23, 2009, The History Of Ndigbo… op cit
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

always the elder in the group of the seven villages. In this system therefore the leadership was always rotating between the seven villages depending on which village have the eldest man.

This was in the case of the original people of Umuahia, the Ibeku people and their political organization. When it comes to the level of incorporating peoples from elsewhere into the political machinery of the Ibeku people one will do well to note that certain factors play an important role. In Igboland we have evidence of conferring chieftaincy titles on peoples that were not originally from those places. Many criteria were considered in this respect one which was marriage, another reason being the level of one's contribution to the development of the community in question or the years that one lived in the place. We had mentioned age before as criteria for conferment; we will like to add wealth and power as another. This was bestowed not only on the original members of the community but even on migrant be they Igbo in origin or not.

There were many cases of this but we will like to cite two cases that involved the members of the Cattle Trading Community of Umuahia. One of the person was conferred a chieftaincy by virtue of being married to a daughter of a chief who had no male children was in the person of Alhaji Aboki Umar Bare at Mba-Itolu. Another person was Alhaji Yusuf Bello in Isi-Ala Ngwa.

5.5 Socio-Political Institutions in Umuahia and the Incorporation/Initiation of Individuals

The Igbo as a group are very "traditional".[27] Whatever they do is embedded in their tradition or what they refer to as *ome na ala* that is to say practices of the land or culture. The Igbo in general are acephalous or segmentary in their political organization. This means that there is no central authority who oversees the affairs of the Igbo. What they lost in the absence of a central authority they made up in the village kind of democracy.[28] These villages were headed by age grade organizations. The most important were the elders who occupy the various titles known as *ichie or ozo*.

The Igbo society in general does not favour the monopoly of power. From the practice and dealings of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia we can see they also imbibe this politico-cultural treat. This saw to the constant political division or polarization and duplication of political offices among the Cattle Trading Community from 1949. This political culture has been described by some scholars to be a kind of democracy as we have seen.

The political system of Umuahia was intertwined with the religion of the people this was because that was what sanctioned their socio-political organization in general. Writing on the subject of the socio-political system of Umuahia society one will discover that like the history of most pre-literate culture or tradition, Umuahia traditional or pre-

[27] Bala Usman, 2006, "History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Beyond Fairy Tales: Selected Historical Writings of Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman, Vol. 1,* Zaria: Abdullahi Smith Centre. The subject traditional or tradition as a term describing the ways or practices of Africans has been treated by Bala Usman in this article.
[28] See Elizabeth Isichie, *A History of the Igbo People,* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

colonial history suffers the problem of exact chronology or accurate dating.[29] In recent times, however, the development of a more scientific approach to history and historiography has evolved the multi-disciplinary techniques, which involves archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology, among other disciplines for estimating probable or likely dates when particular events in history occurred. This has opened more possibilities for reconstructing the history of the Nigerian peoples before the advent of colonialism. K.O. Dike, Obaro Ikime and a host of other historian have used this method to ascertain the history of the Nigerian peoples.

For the Umuahia area much archaeological research and excavations must be done for us to have a more accurate dating for their traditional history. It is in this vain and realization that we are going to look into the political, social and economic organizations of Umuahia.

The unit of political organization in traditional Umuahia was the village with its village assembly known as *'Amala'*. The usual meeting ground was the market square or *Ama* square or *Mbara* this was usually at the centre of the village in question. There was usually more than one *Ama* or *Mbara* with each village having big and small. Like in the case of *Afarata* (*Amuzukwu*) they had what they call *Mbara Ukwu* which means 'the big square'. The pattern of heading may be based on the oldest age group in the village or the most powerful individual in the village in terms of wealth; especially land, wives, cattle, goats, yam barns, oratorical, power and wisdom, irrespective of age.[30]

[29] Glad C. Apugo, 2005, The Railway System and Economic Development in Umuahia, Uturu: Department of History and International Relations, Abia State University, p. 26.
[30] Ibid., p. 27.

However, before one could be regarded as a male adult in Umuahia, it involves the fulfilling or performance of certain ceremonial rites such as *itu-anya*, *iwa-akwa*, etc after which a man would be accepted as having attained manhood and maturity. The attainment of this status brought with it the enjoyment of certain civic rights as well as responsibilities.[31]

Amongst the various functions carried out by the *Amala* are administrative, judiciary and legislative functions. For instance, the *Amala* normally decides what contributions to be made to the village funds, it enact and pass laws for the regulation of village/town markets, and it settles disputes and punish offenders. Most offences could be settled by the payment of some form of compensation to the injured party. But in the case of incest, the culprits were either sold into slavery or were required to pass through propitiatory or cleansing ritual (*Ikwa-ala*) to the *Ala* deity i.e. god of morality. The ritual was primarily performed with the belief that the *Ala* deity was appeased and, therefore, the threat of some calamities befalling the village where the crime was committed was evaded.[32]

These and other decisions helped to justify the existence of the *Amala*, thus making its decisions effective and final.

The age group and the *Okonko* society were another political arm of the society and the most important institutions in Umuahia.[33] Their function includes the maintenance of law and order. Apart from functioning as the executive arm of the *Amala*, the age grades also help to control internal conflict, that is, disputes among the different

[31] Ibid., p. 28.
[32] Ibid., p. 29.
[33] Ibid., p. 26.

communities and clans by enforcing strict disciplinary actions. Meanwhile, the *Okonko* society on its own part exercise immense authority and power that cannot be challenged by any non-members or commoner as they were referred to.[34] The society comprises of respectable and important members of the village. The *Okonko* society was a powerful body in the execution of final orders by the *Amala* and was recognized as the legislative arm of the government. Members could be easily known by their long walking sticks with copper rings on them which were common to them.

In the course of this research inquiry we found out that the different communities in Umuahia have identical socio-political institutions of governing their people, the same rules and regulations for the maintenance of social peace and harmony; and the same identical sanctions for punishment of such offences as idleness, falsehood, theft, murder, witchcraft, poisoning, adultery and incest.[35]

The major economic activity most predominant in traditional Umuahia was agriculture, and it was the shifting cultivation type of farming that was most commonly practiced. Every year, each village would decide which portion or area of available farm lands would be cultivated, preparation would be made in full swing with bush clearing which starts around mid-January with each family or kindred clearing its own portion of the farmland in the area where the village would be concentrating its farming activities for that year. Bush clearing was then followed after a few weeks by bush burning with the actual planting of crops between February and April.

[34] Ibid., p. 26.
[35] Ibid., p. 30.

Different crops were planted including yam and cassava, which were the major staple food in the area. Varieties of vegetables were also planted too such as *ugwu*, okro, etc. Then the crops were left alone during the rainy season period, which were between May-October after which they were then harvested. Most of the harvested produce was usually sold in the market by the women.[36]

However, among the people, the very keen traders and farmers equally developed interest in other economic activities such as blacksmithing, fabrication of all kinds of household appliances, goods as well as agricultural tools such as cutlasses and hoes. They are also highly developed in methods of palm-wine tapping, of harvesting fruits from palm trees, in methods of processing these fruits to extract edible palm oil and local soap known as *Ncha-Ogbe*.[37] The women, on the other hand, achieved a technically specialized skill in clay works especially skill in pottery and local brewing of gin.[38]

The social activities of Umuahia also involved special festivals such as marriage, merry-making (*nmemme*), masquerade (*Ekpo*), yam festival (*iri-ji*), and birth (*ime-izu*) festivals. All these festivals have periods and seasons and are performed in the same way throughout the various communities in Umuahia. For instance in *Afarata* (*Amuzukwu*) there is this *ekpo* known as *Daa Mbe-orie* who used to come out every four years. There was also other *ekpo* who used to come out every year scattered all over the communities in Umuahia. Every community have a particular date that there *ekpo* will come out. This

[36] Ibid., p. 32.
[37] Ibid., p. 32.
[38] Ibid., p. 33.

will allow for other communities to attend each others' festival. Other festivals could take up to thirty (30) to fourty (40) years for them to be repeated.[39]

5.6 Marriage and Inter-marriage in Umuahia: The Case of the Cattle Trading Community and Igbo of Umuahia

Inter-marriage between the two communities was never a recurring incident but their existed quite a number of inter-marriages between the two communities. The members of the community used to not only marry from the people of Umuahia but also in other Igbo communities all over the eastern part of Nigeria such as Owerri and so on. In looking at the subject of marriage and inter-marriage as it affects these peoples we shall look at the institution of marriage in Umuahia as the yardstick for the region. In doing this we shall recount the practice of the people of Ibeku. This is because as we said somewhere in this study the Ibeku clan played one of the most significant roles in the life of the cattle trading community in Umuahia. In light of the fact that there was a lot that was similar in the way the various communities in Umuahia practice their social, political, economic and religious life we shall look at the Ibeku system.

We would like to observe that whenever any member of the cattle trading community of Umuahia indicates interest to marry a daughter of Umuahia or any other community in Igboland he was granted this request provided the prospective bride was willing to go ahead with the marriage. The parents of the bride to be usually would ask their daughter: do you know that the person you intend to marry is Hausa- in essence Muslim; do you wish to marry him all the same. This was usually done in secret of course after which the groom to be will be expected to come and fulfill the traditional rites.

[39] Ibid., p. 35.

When she agrees she was allowed once the man was willing to fulfill all the traditional rites. Through this means a good number of the members of the cattle trading community married Igbo ladies. All these ladies were in essence converted to Islam with just a few going back to their former religion after separation or after being widowed.

People have conceptualized marriage in their own different ways to serve their purpose. Culturally, marriage is an agreement to live together by a man and a woman, with consent of their families, after the fulfillment of the necessary traditional rites and testified to by some members of the kinship group.[40] Marriage is a universal phenomenon. It is a means for the replacement of members of the society. It is a recognized way of ensuring the growth of the human race and also serves for companionship. In Ibeku, marriage is seen as some sort of cultural patterns that sanction parenthood and provide a stable background for the care and upbringing of children. Marriage like family is a group affair. It is an event for life between the principal partners, that is, husband and wife as well as members of both families.[41]

Regardless of modernity, marriage is not the exclusive affair of the very individuals wishing to get married. Therefore marriage in pre-colonial Ibeku was done within the context of the kin group. The institution of marriage was/is held in very high esteem in Ibekuland. In Ibeku marriage is important. It served as a network for kinship links that bound lineages together. It helped to recruit new members into one's family and help create alliances. Through families giving out their daughters in marriage the

[40] Orji, Ndubuisi, 2004, Aspects of the Socio-Cultural History of Ibeku, 1900-1970, Uturu: History & International Relations, Abia State University, p. 16. See also Aghaji, J. C., 1977, "Trends in Igbo Marriage and Divorce," A Paper presented to the workshop on Igbo culture, organized by the Institute of African Studies, UNN, p. 14.
[41] Orji, Ndubuisi, 2004, Aspects of the… Ibid., p. 14.

people of Umuahia saw their in-laws as brothers or sisters. This explains the popular adage *"Ogo mmadu bu nwanne ya"* meaning "one's in-law is his brother" and *"Di bu ugwu"* meaning "husband confers honour."[42]

In general the marriage between the members of the cattle trading community and the people of Umuahia and the Igbo in general normally was celebrated on two levels, the family of the bride and the family of the groom. While the bride' family will carry out their own ceremony on the traditional manner the groom's family will do their own following the Islamic tradition. In this process the two families were expected to participate in some of the ceremonies by each other. As for the bride, following the Islamic tradition for her to be given in marriage there must be a *waliyi*, i.e. a representative who will give her out in marriage. In most cases a representative was gotten among the cattle trading community who was familiar with her either as a result of the fact that he was marrying one of her sisters or her family appointed him to fill in this gap.

5.7 Conclusion

It was just a matter of time after the discovery of the potential that the Umuahia area has before many activities were carried out in the area. The nature of Nigeria is such that the intermingling of its peoples was inevitable. Occupying different geographical areas with different climatic and environmental conditions it was not long before they discover that they needed one another to provide them with what they need which was

[42] Orji, Ndubuisi, 2004, Aspects of … Ibid., p. 16.

limited by the areas that they occupied. This is true of all human settlements and this necessitated exchange among peoples with the economic factor taking the lead.

Post colonial Nigeria provides one of the most interesting themes when it comes to the study of inter-group relations. Nigeria had just attained independence. Within the spate of these years the colonial experience of Nigeria manifest itself in a manner never before known. It was a fact that Nigeria was divided into many bits by the colonialist based on ethnic coloration and this was to play a role in the developments that took place in Nigeria between 1960 and 1967.

This experience of Nigeria especially on the political arena was to change the nature of inter-group relations in Nigeria; Nigeria was no longer the same as it used to be just sixty years earlier. Before colonialism citizenship in Nigerian communities was by residence[43] not by the so-called tribe or ethnic categorization or by being an indigene.

These categorizations obscure the true essence of the historical process in the society. This historical process of social relations and cultural and economic relations is what defines human activities. Human activities are the focus of all historical inquiries. This must therefore be given due considerations in historical reconstructions.

The credit system and credit recovery also strengthened the ties of inter-group relations in the area and boosted the economy of the area in terms of a diversified economy. Another factor was the issue of the area covered by the people in the market

[43] See Usman, Y. B., 1999, *History and the Challenges to the Peoples and Polities of Africa in the 20th century, The 1999 Dike Memorial Lecture,* Lecture Delivered at the 44th Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, University of Abuja, Monday 22nd November, 1999. And also Mahmoud Hamman, 2005, "Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts," in A. M. Yakubu, et al, (eds.), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003,* Kaduna: Arewa House, ABU.

going into the villages to recover their money and the process other opportunities open up for them. The cattle market and trade helped in establishing relationship over a wide area of the Eastern Nigeria and the Niger Delta. Customers come from over these areas and with them other people who benefit from this trade as transporters and people who help in loading the cattle into the Lorries.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CATTLE TRADING COMMUNITY IN UMUAHIA 1966-1994

6.1 Introduction

There is no doubting the fact that inter-group relations suffered a mortal blow as a result of the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970, especially in this area that served as the theatre of war. The issues that led to the outbreak of the war were embedded in this area. For the most part, the factors that led to the outbreak of the war were not resolved in its entirety even after the war. The war created more problems on the inter-group arena than solution. The war therefore created a kind of new perspective for the parties i.e. the Igbo in general, the people of Umuahia in particular and the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia.

The Nigerian Civil War had one of the most devastating effects on inter-group relation in Nigeria. The area that was most hit was the Eastern part of Nigeria being the theatre of war and home to the Igbo on whose territory the State of Biafra was declared. This war also was as a result of the complex nature of the Nigerian state following its formation by the colonialist. The shape that Nigeria took followed a pattern that only served the interest of the colonialists to ease the huge amount of money that they were spending to run Nigeria.

In history, the Nigerian project was not the first time a nation was formed to include different linguistic and ethnic nationalities. In Africa, the Zulu were able to do

this under Shaka in the period of the Mfecane in the 1820s.[1] The process in Nigeria was sudden, arbitrary and artificial to say the least. The objective behind it was for the economic advantage it provides the colonialist as well as for administrative convenience for the British who always want to minimize cost in running their colonies. However, one important historical fact about the Nigerian area was that the different peoples had been in constant contact with one another exchanging various things ranging from ideas as well as material things. From time to time there was misunderstanding between them touching on economic imperatives but never because of the fact that they speak different language or were not of same ethnic groupings, a colouration that conflict in Nigeria was to take after Nigeria's colonial experience. Colonialism only thrived in an atmosphere of division.

6.2 The Nigerian Civil War: Causes and Impacts, 1966-1970

The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War, July 6, 1967–January 13, 1970, was a political conflict caused by the attempted secession of the southeastern provinces of Nigeria as the self-proclaimed Republic of Biafra.[2] Created as a colonial entity by the British, Nigeria was divided between a mainly Muslim north and a mainly Christian and animist south.[3] Following independence in 1960, three provinces were formed along ethnic lines, the Hausa and Fulani (north), Yoruba (south-west), and Igbo (south-east). Ethnic tensions increased after a military coup in 1966 led by, an Igbo, which was followed by a northerner-led counter coup a few months later. Aguiyi-Ironsi

[1] Elizabeth A. Eldredge, 1992, "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, C. 1800-30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered," in *The Journal of African History,* Vol. 33, No. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-35.
[2] http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Nigerian_Civil_War
[3] Ibid.

was killed and widespread reprisals were unleashed against the Igbo. Fearing marginalization within the state, on May 30, 1967 the Igbo-majority province declared its independence as the Republic of Biafra.[4]

The conflict was the result of economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions among the various peoples of Nigeria. There is no denying the fact that the causes of the Nigerian civil war were exceedingly complex. The different political systems among the peoples of Nigeria produced highly divergent sets of customs and values. These tradition-derived differences were perpetuated and, even enhanced by the British system of colonial rule in Nigeria.

The British political ideology of dividing Nigeria during the colonial period into three regions North, West and East led to the development of economic, political, and social competition among Nigeria's different ethnic groups on a proportion never before known in the Nigerian area.[5] For the country was divided in such a way that the North had slightly more population than the other two regions combined. On this basis the Northern Region was allocated a majority of the seats in the Federal Legislature established by the colonial authorities.[6] Within each of the three regions the dominant ethnic groups, the Hausa and Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo, respectively, formed political parties that were largely regional and ethnic in character: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the North; the Action Group in the West (AG) and the National Conference of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the East. Although these parties were not exclusively homogeneous in terms of their ethnic or regional make-up, the later disintegration of

[4] Ibid.
[5] T. M. Tamuno, 1980, "British Colonial Administration in Nigeria," in Obaro Ikime, (ed.), 1980, *Groundwork of Nigerian History,* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Plc., pp. 393-409.
[6] Ibid., pp. 393-409.

Nigeria results largely from the fact that these parties were primarily based in one region and one ethnic group. To simplify matters, these can be referred to as the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo-based; or Northern, Western and Eastern parties.[7]

There were two major causes of the war the immediate and remote causes;

The military governor of the Igbo-dominated southeast, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, citing the large-scale massacres of Christian Igbo living in the Muslim north due to the coup and counter coup of September, 1966. This led Col. Ojukwu to proclaim with the Southern Parliament the secession of the South-Eastern Region from Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra, an independent nation on 30 May 1967. The war later began 6th July 1967 and ended on 13th January 1970.[8]

The conflict was the result of economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions among the various peoples of Nigeria. Some scholars also believe that, Nigeria was an artificial structure initiated by the British which had neglected to consider religious, linguistic, and ethnic differences.[9] We will like to say though on our part that the British were well aware of this unique situation of Nigeria and actually utilize it to their advantage in their efforts to maximally expropriate the resources of the country. Nigeria

[7] http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Nigerian_Civil_War
[8] Ikuomola Adediran Daniel, "The Nigerian Civil War of 1967 and the Stigmatization of Children Born of Rape Victims in Edo State Nigeria," A Paper Presented at the International Conference Of Rape in Wartime: A History to be Written, Institut Historique allemend, Paris: University of Paris 1 – France May 11th-13th, 2009, p. 4.
[9] Ukoha Ukiwo, June 2005, "On the Study of Ethnicity in Nigeria," in CRISE Working Paper No. 12, Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), University of Oxford, p. 7.

which won independence from the British in 1960 had at that time a population of 60 million people consisting of nearly 300 differing ethnic and cultural groups.[10]

The Nigeria Civil War which lasted between July 6, 1967 and January 13, 1970, was fought between the Federal Government of Nigeria and those of the Eastern Region which had unilaterally declared itself the Republic of Biafra. Nigeria declared war on Biafra to force her back to Nigeria.[11]

The following have been identified as some of the remote causes of the Nigerian Civil War depending on the perspective of the writer involved. The factor of the diverse nature of the Nigerian state played one of the most significant roles in determining the conclusions of these scholars and laymen alike. In essence just as the subject of inter-group relations is complex the subject of the Nigerian Civil War is also complex. This is because it touches on the subject of citizenship in Nigeria. It is all about justice and the people getting what was due to them. A nation is supposed to give a people a sense of belonging and fair representation free from corruption and highhandedness. The Nigerian Civil War as we are going to see was a direct impact of the colonial experience of Nigeria. The causes of the Nigerian Civil War therefore can be categorized into remote and immediate as we had earlier pointed out.[12]

Among the remote causes of the Nigerian Civil War include the 'arbitrary' amalgamation of different entities and peoples with different languages and cultures by the British under the name of one country Nigeria. This fusion or merging together of the

[10] See Madiebo, A. A., 1980, *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War,* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
[11] Ejiogu Joshua C., 2005, The Impact of Nigerian Civil War on Mbieri Community, Uturu: Department of History and International Relations, Abia State University, p. 24.
[12] Ibid., p. 24.

various peoples by the British was primarily for administrative convenience and uniformity of the British. The British also did not make an effort to wield the country together and unite the heterogeneous groups of people.[13] Some scholars see the amalgamation as a mistake in the various policies of the colonialist.

We can say with an outstanding degree of confidence that the colonial policies that were enacted in Nigeria were responsible for many of the problems of the Nigerian state. These problems are not, however, a direct result of the 1914 Amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of colonial Nigeria. Following historical antecedents the Amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates was not out of place let alone a mistake. Peoples of the Nigerian area for many centuries have been living together and interacting through various socio-economic, cultural and political means that their eventual coming together to form one country was imminent and not out of the picture. One must admit though that the configuration might not have taken this exact shape but a greater part of the Nigerian area as it stands today would have been one country.

Nigeria is not the only multi-cultural and multi-religious country in the world and neither is homogeneity a recipe for no crisis in a country, Somalia is a good case study. The structure of government as well as the structure of the economy is such that does not suit the true nature of Nigeria with its diverse cultures. Points of disagreements or problems cannot be attributed to one cause or factor alone. The most significant problem of Nigeria is that of leadership and corruption in high and low places of government and even on individual bases, policy inconsistencies, lack of good governance, and

[13] Ibid., p. 24.

nonchalant attitude of the government and masses to what concerns them. The question, therefore is, how are these, a result of the 1914 so-called mistake?

Another remote cause of the Nigerian Civil War was national consciousness. In spite of amalgamation, there was no effort to promote national consciousness and oneness. There was no effort towards nation-building. Ethnicity and ethnicism was the predominant culture and political attitude, which made the federal parliament to be reduced to an inter-ethnic battlefield.[14] There was also the encouragement of religious differences in favour of the Northern Region by the British. As a result there was the unequal division of the country which was another remote cause of the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. The division of the country into four unequal regions (Northern, Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Regions) created a feeling of instability in the midst of the people. The Northern Region alone was more in size and population than the three southern regions combined together. This made the other regions to feel that the Northern Region was out to dominate the rest of the country.[15]

Another remote cause of the War was the general corruption and rigging of elections during the first republic. Nigeria experienced a very high degree of corruption. This situation did not allow people to develop strong feeling of patriotism for the country. Also, the continued rigging of elections made some sections of the country lose faith in the ability of Nigeria to rule itself. They therefore cultivated the desire to pull out.[16]

The Nigerian Civil War was preceded by series of crisis, all of which contributed as the immediate causes. Among these were killing of Igbo people and Easterners in the

[14] Ibid., p. 24.
[15] Ibid., p. 24.
[16] Ibid., p. 26.

months of May, June, July and August 1966 in the North. These killings contributed more than anything else in the outbreak of the War. Lt-Col. Chukwuemeka O. Ojukwu who was the then Military Governor of the Eastern Region called upon Igbo in all parts of Nigeria to return home. Ojukwu made great propaganda about the Igbo killings and called upon Igbo to rise, to defend themselves against what called the "Nigeria Vandals".[17] It was obvious that Ojukwu was preparing the people of Eastern Region for imminent secession. General Gowon on his part decided to act quickly before it could become too late. In order to bring a feeling of unity to Nigeria and to weaken the Eastern Region's solidarity, he created 12 (twelve) states in Nigeria on 27th May 1967. Three days later, on 30th May, Ojukwu declared Eastern Region of Nigeria, Sovereign Independent State of Biafra.[18]

Furthermore, the coup d'état of January 15th, 1966 and counter coup of July 29th 1966 was another immediate cause of the war. This was in fact one of the most important factors.[19] The coup d'état of January 15th 1966; which was perceived as having ethnic colouration was planned by Igbo officers of the Nigerian Army.[20] Those killed during the coup were mainly from Northern, Western and Mid-Western Regions. No one from the Eastern Region was killed. This made people from the Northern Region to feel that the coup was planned to further the ends of the Igbo people. Also on 29th July, the same year there was a counter coup planned and executed by Northerners in the Nigerian Army.[21] The coup was equally bloody and many Igbo officers in the Nigerian Army were killed including the then Head of State, General Oguiyi-Ironsi. It was planned to revenge the

[17] Ibid., p. 27.
[18] Ibid., p. 27.
[19] Ibid., p. 27.
[20] Ibid., p. 27.
[21] Ibid., p. 27.

coup of January in which several Northerners were killed.[22] It was this coup that brought General Yakubu Gowon to power.

However, the height of all was the declaration of the Eastern Region on May 30th, 1967 as an Independent Republic of Biafra. This declaration of Biafran Republic by Lt-Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu was the last straw that broke the camel's back. Thereafter, on 7th July, General Gowon declared war on Biafra in order to force her back to Nigeria as one entity.[23]

This war was an acid taste for inter-group relations in Nigeria and in Umuahia in general. This was because of the fact that Eastern Nigeria of which Umuahia was a part was the theatre of war. The impact of the war therefore was more pronounced in this region. It was also during the course of the war that Umuahia became at one time the Headquarters of the Biafra state. This did not only have political implications but also psychological implications as well. It inevitably also affected inter-group relation in this area. By this time it was only the trade in cattle and the economic benefits derivable through it that was sustaining the inter-group relation. The fact that before the outbreak of the war the people of Umuahia and the cattle trading community were living peaceful life was also very crucial in even allowing the people to come back to Umuahia after the war in 1970. It was on record that during the war it was only in Umuahia that Northerners were not killed as they were protected by the people of Umuahia unlike in other parts of the Eastern Nigeria.[24]

[22] Ibid., p. 24.
[23] Ibid., p. 25.
[24] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55 and Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, group interview at Okigwe, 13-09-2011.

This indeed was a very significant development as far as inter-group relation is concerned in this region. To be able have to this kind of understanding between two Nigerian peoples with different cultural, linguistic, religious, social, political world outlook is very important in this present situation of Nigeria.

Not only were political and social aspects of life dislocated; disruption of psycho-social wellbeing occurred at the intra- but also at the inter-ethnic level. This means that although the Igbo were the hardest hit in the war, other Easterners also suffered this social dislocation. On the inter-ethnic pedestal, it engendered a much more strained relationship between the Igbo and their neighbours. On the intra-ethnic level, the neighbouring ethnic minorities suffer from antagonisms and acrimonies arising from shifting allegiances during the war. Those ethnic minorities who supported the Biafran secession and those who did not still have strained relationships. The war created leadership tussle in many communities as displaced educated elite returned and tried to supplant the home-based leaders. Struggle for chieftaincy or traditional leadership is still a very delicate and distablising factor in many Igbo communities today.

The Kalabaris till date still see themselves as Nigerians and Biafrans as a result of the two sides of the fighting lines the groups found themselves during the war. The dethroning of some traditional Chiefs in this area who fled their homes to safety and thereby were accused of having sold out by showing allegiance to Biafran still causes squabble and social tension among the local inhabitants.[25]

[25] Tobe Nnamani, 2004, Biafra in retrospect: Still counting the losses (II), available at http://www.kwenu.com/publications/nnamani/biafra_retrospect2.htm

As A. E. Afigbo notes, early accounts of the relationship between the ethnic groupings in Nigeria painted a one-sided picture of incessant wars and barbarous acts of unparalleled nature.[26] On the contrary, Afigbo, as he tries to reconstruct the events of those early times, fully demonstrates that trade and inter-ethnic relationship including inter-marriages actually thrived on a large scale in the pre-colonial times.[27] The war did not only revive antagonism and enmity where they existed but at the same time, it strained cordial interrelationship that existed between various segments in Igboland prior to the war.[28] The impacts of the Nigerian civil were not to stop manifesting themselves even many years after the war. This was partly because of the devastation that it caused and partly because the government did not do all that it should do to bring about an end to the problems that caused the war in the first place.

6.3 Aftermath of the Civil War

After the Nigerian–Biafran War, Igboland was devastated. Many hospitals, schools, and homes had been completely destroyed in the war by the Nigeria forces. In addition to the loss of their savings, many Igbo people found themselves discriminated against by other ethnic groups and the new non-Igbo federal government.[29] In desperation, some Igbo subgroups, such as the Ikwerre, started disassociating themselves with the larger Igbo population after the war and this was encouraged and rewarded

[26] See A. E. Afigbo, 1972, *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1891-1929,* London: Longman Group Limited.
[27] Tobe Nnamani, 2004, Biafra in retrospect: op cit.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Eziachi, Oct 23, 2009, The History Of Ndigbo- From The British Museum Record Perpective, http://www.nairaland.com/341707/history-ndigbo-british-museum-record

immensely by the central government as a means of curbing a future Biafra. The post-war era saw the changing of names of both people and places to non-Igbo sounding words such as the changing of the name of the town of Igbuzo to the Anglicized Ibusa.[30]

Due to the discrimination, many Igbo had trouble finding employment, and the Igbo became one of the poorest ethnic groups in Nigeria during the early 1970s and thousands of them, especially the middle class migrated enmass, especially to the United States for better life.[31] Igboland was gradually rebuilt over a period of twenty years through well orchestrated age group organizations, Town Union organizations and community clubs nd mandatory community levies and the economy was again prospering.[32]

This led to new factories being set up in southern Nigerian cities like Nnewi, Aba, Onitsha, Owerri and Asaba.[33]

Very few Igbo people eventually took government positions, although many were engaged in private business and constituted and still constitute the bulk of Nigerian informal economy.[34] And still control an estimated 70% of Nigerian micro economic wealth. Recently, there has been a wave of Igbo immigration to other African countries, Europe, and the Americas.[35]

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

6.4 The Return of the Community from "self-exile" 1970

With the end of the Nigerian Civil War and the commitment of the part of the Nigerian government especially with slogan of "No Victor, No Vanquished" it was not long before the people started coming back to Umuahia. Some of the members of the community did not even go far though they scattered all over Nigeria. Some people stayed at Makurdi, Otukpo, Auchi, etc.[36] some were following the Nigerian army as they moved deep into the eastern part of Nigeria in their conquest of the area. With the declaration of the end of the war there was further influx of not only the original settlers but even new ones.

Sarki Adamu Oseni who was the Sarki during the outbreak of the war stayed at Kaduna when he and other members of the community were taken out of Umuahia by the Nigerian Army. In 1970 when the war ended he visited Umuahia but only to sale his assets in form of landed properties and other things.[37] These included his house at No. 7 Eket Street/No. 8 Cameroun Street as well as the Mosque occupying No. 5 Eket Street.[38] On arrival and making his intentions known to the people about selling the Mosque other members of the community that had no intention of going back to the North decided to buy the Mosque. They therefore, contributed money and paid *Sarki* Adamu who gathered his money and family and left for Kaduna.[39]

It is important to note however, that the war was not a barrier to the movement of people in Nigeria. Even the during the population of the community received some boost

[36] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55 and Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, group interview at Okigwe, 13-09-2011.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

with some people migrating into the Igbo.[40] This was made possible by the fact that some of the Southern were captured by the Federal Army and they were able to secure the place and made it possible for people live in. most of those came where also traders who used to sell things to the soldiers. There were also those who wanted to join the army during the war but who were either disqualified or their parents did not approve.

The year marked 1914 marked the beginning of era in the history of the community being the year that cattle trade started in a large scale. Before the establishment of the cattle market the people were engaged in trading in items such as clothing, items of beautification, etc. cattle trade before this time was on a small scale and the cattle used to be brought to Umuahia via Abakaliki. The trade was to grow steadily until the outbreak of the civil war. Also the year 1970 as we have said marked the beginning of an era which ended in 1994 with the relocation of the cattle market from Umuahia to Okigwe. The years in between 1967 and 1970 was the period that the cattle trade was disrupted as a result of the civil war following the coup and couter-coup of the year 1966.

6.5 Challenges faced by the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia 1970-1993

With the end of the Nigerian Civil War a new way of interaction between the peoples of Nigeria developed. This was when perception of the two people changed. There was no doubting the fact that the people of Nigeria began to see one another in a new light. Business was however, not affected by the change in attitude of the people.

[40] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55 and Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, group interview at Okigwe, 13-09-2011., Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri.

The challenges that the people had to face were on the area of social interaction as well as political representation. Socialization and political interaction took a different shape.

During the war some members of the community were captured by the Igbo, especially girls and were forced to marry their captors.[41] One case stands out, but there may be more. There were also several cases of houses belonging to the members of the community being confiscated and they could not do anything about it. There were also cases of credit being advanced by the members of the community that could not be recovered due to one reason or the other. There were however those who were sincere enough to bring back what they owed members of the community as a result one transaction or another before the war. This was the situation of things up till the 1980s when things began to go back to normal in terms of acceptance and trust in the social and economic arena.

By the 1980s Umuahia cattle trading community and market had regained it lost glory. What was most important in this respect was the international status that the cattle market was to take.[42] By this time people from all over West Africa used to come to Umuahia either to trade in cattle or in other businesses including butchery or *fawa* in Hausa or in other business conducted by the members of the community. These are the people who are engaged in roasting the meat into the popular *suya*. Some of these trades include also *koli*. This trade as we have seen earlier was among the trades that brought the firsts settlers to Umuahia.

[41] Ibid.
[42] Alhaji Yusuf Bello, 55 and Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 56, group interview at Okigwe, 13-09-2011, op cit.

In essence therefore the challenges were to manifest themselves both in intra and inter-group levels as it were. Social relations were to change also as well as the economic relations. The political organization of the people was to be affected too in a way that was to affect all facet of the community. Things were no longer the same, all however had their causes in the way things had developed in the previous years.

6.6 Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia 1970-1994

These are important variables in the study of inter-group and intra-group relations and one that the scholar must not ignore. It is therefore, out of this realization that we decided to look into the issues in details; especially in this chapter and section. We did so in order to be able to link it with the changing nature of inter-group relations in this part of Nigeria. This is a significant period in the history of inter-group in the Umuahia area and the eastern part of Nigeria in general. Because this was the period that followed after the Nigerian Civil War which saw the eastern part of Nigeria playing host as the theatre of war. The effect of such a role is not farfetched. The dimension that the war took from the very beginning was to lead to the mistrust and tension that existed between the two Communities under study. It was therefore to affect the way that they related with one another in the long-run.

For various reasons ethnicity has been a major subject in the social sciences for the past several decades. It has become a source of debate in the field of political economy, where many scholars have investigated the relationship between ethnicity and

civil war, growth, institutions and violence using econometric tools.[43] This recent spurt of activity has not, however, been accompanied by significant efforts in pinning down ethnicity as a concept. With the recent exceptions of Fearon and Laitin and Gil-White, scholars have avoided asking hard questions about what exactly ethnicity is and how it is different from other terms in the social sciences like "caste" and "race."[44] It is in light of this realization that we wish to discuss the concept of ethnic group and other related concepts.

6.6.1 Ethnic Group

An ethnic group is a human group bound together by ties of cultural homogeneity. Complete uniformity, of course, is not essential; but there does prevail in an ethnic group a high degree of loyalty and adherence to certain basic institutions such as family patterns, religion, and language. The ethnic group often possesses distinctive folkways and mores; customs of dress, art and ornamentation; moral codes and value systems, and patterns of recreation. There is usually some sort of object to which the group manifests allegiance, such as a monarch, a religion, a language, or a territory. Above all, there is a consciousness of kind, feeling of association. Ethnic groups are artificial and constructed rather than natural and eternal, and, just as they can be created, they can also be destroyed or, fragmented and deconstructed. Ethnic groups are fluid and endogenous to a set of social, economic and political processes.[45]

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[43] Green, Elliott D., March 2006, "Redefining Ethnicity," London: Development Studies Institute London School of Economics, Paper prepared for presentation at the 47th Annual International Studies Association Convention, San Diego, CA.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Chandra, Kanchan, 2001, "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics," APSA-CP, 12, 1, p. 7.

An ethnic group may even regard itself as a race, a people with common ancestry; but the fact of such common descent is of much less significance than the assumption that there is a blood relationship, and the myths that the group develops to substantiate such an assumption. Ethnic groups, of course, are not all alike, and none would embody all the features we have enumerated. Some will emphasize certain of these characteristics to the exclusion of others. Religion may serve as an important object of allegiance to one and be of little importance to another. Furthermore, ethnic groups are dynamic. The folkways may change, the institutions become radically altered, and the object of allegiance shift from one trait to another, but the sentiment of loyalty to the group and the consciousness of belonging remain as long as the group exists.

An ethnic group may or may not have its own political unit; it may have had one in the past, it may aspire to have one in the future, or its members may be scattered through existing states. Political unification is not an essential feature of the group.[46] In the case of the Nigerian area we have more than 450 known ethnic groups and it was in this light that Obaro Ikime declared that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nation.[47]

The term ethnic is such a complex concept that it cannot be expressly defined. Many factors must be considered and that was why James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin decided to provide just a working definition:

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[46] Mobolaji E. Aluko, October 8, 2001, "Monday Quarterbacking: Ethnicity, Conflict Resolution and the Nigerian State," Burtonsville, Maryland, available at http://www.vanguardngr.com/news/articles/2001/September/17092001/f2170901.htm

[47] Obaro Ikime, 2006, *History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian,* Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc., p. xx.

> We call a group "ethnic" if the membership is reckoned by descent and the members imagine their group as conceptually autonomous. That is, the idea or concept of the group does not depend on the existence of other groups.[48]

They did this after looking at some of the definitions as provided by other scholars and putting them to test. One stand out, that of Anthony Smith where he says that an "ethnic community":

> is a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity.[49]

Expanding further on the definition James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin cited Abner Cohen after saying that other lists might include a common language or common religion. For instance, Cohen says that:

> an ethnic group is an informal interest group whose members are distinct from the members of other groups within the same society in that they share a measure of ...'compulsory institutions' like kinship and religion, and can communicate among themselves relatively easily.[50]

Fredrik Barth posited that the term ethnic group can be used to designate a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction

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[48] James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin, 2000, "Ordinary Language and External Validity: Specifying Concepts in the Study of Ethnicity," This paper was for discussion at the LiCEP meetings October 20-22, 2000, at the University of Pennsylvania, p. 16.

[49] Ibid., p. 10., Also as contained in Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, (eds.), 1996, *Ethnicity,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 6.

[50] Fearon, James D. & David D. Laitin, 2000, "Ordinary Language and External Validity: Specifying Concepts in the Study of Ethnicity," This paper was for discussion at the LiCEP meetings October 20-22, 2000, at the University of Pennsylvania, p. 10., See also Cohen, Abner, 1969, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 4.

4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.[51]

Finally, an "ethnic group" refers to a group larger than a family for which membership is reckoned primarily by descent, is conceptually autonomous, and has a conventionally recognized "natural history" as a group.[52]

6.6.2 Ethnicity

Ethnicity in Nigeria is such a complex phenomenon that such simple definition could not carter for it. This is because the factor of common homeland does not always apply in most of the territories in Nigeria. Some ethnic groups in Nigeria are scattered in various villages sharing different states of the country. The Igbo people could be regarded as representing one ethnic group unlike the Cattle Trading Community who are of Northern Nigerian origin who could be regarded as made up of many ethnic nationalities.

Ethnicity can be defined based on three core elements namely; common decent, common history and common homeland.[53] Just like many other concepts, the term ethnicity has been affected by the very historical process that has produced it in the first place to the extent that it was being regarded as a minefield.[54] Ethnicity has now become a universal concept but its definition still remains subjective, subjective in the sense that the definition of ethnicity relies on the situational basis of case studies. In this light therefore, ethnicity has been viewed to be like "a plastic and malleable social construction, deriving its meanings from the particular situations of those who invoke

[51] Fredrik Barth, 1969, "Introduction," in Fredrik Barth, (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference,* Bargen-Oslo & London: Univeritets Forlaget & George Allen & Unwin, pp. 10-11.
[52] Cohen, Abner, 1969, *Custom and Politics*… op. cit, p. 20.
[53] Elliott D. Green, March 2006, "Redefining Ethnicity," Paper prepared for presentation at the 47th Annual International Studies Association Convention, San Diego, California, p. 1.
[54] Ibid., p. 3.

it… ethnicity has no essence or center, no underlying features or common denominator."[55]

Ethnicity may be defined as "the employment or mobilization of ethnic identity and difference to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation."[56] Discussing this definition further Ukiwo said that it identifies two issues that are central to discussions on ethnicity. The first according to him was that "ethnicity is neither natural nor accidental, but is the product of a conscious effort by social actors."[57] The second being that; "ethnicity is not only manifest in conflictive or competitive relations but also in the cooperation."[58]

Among the core elements of ethnicity one stands out as a means through which we can eliminate the systemic conflict bedeviling Nigeria. This element is common history. Nigeria and its peoples have had many reasons and occasions over the centuries to interact with one another. This interaction was on various levels which made up the shared history of all the peoples of the Nigerian area. By implication therefore, the social and historical process Nigeria was halted before maturation because of British colonial activities. In itself the British colonial activities was also part of the shared history of the Nigeria people. The overall policy and objective of the colonialist was for the collective exploitation of the resources of the Nigerian area irrespective of ethnicity.

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[55] Anthony Smith, 1998, *Nationalism and Modernism,* London: Routledge, p. 204. Also Immanuel Wallerstein, 1987, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," *Sociological Forum,* Vol. 2 No. 2.
[56] Osaghae, E. E., 1995, *Structural Adjustment and Ethnicity in Nigeria,* Uppsala: Nordic African Institute, p. 11.
[57] Ukiwo Ukoho, June 2005, "On the Study of Ethnicity in Nigeria," Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, p. 4.
[58] Ibid., p. 4.

6.6.3 Ethnic Conflict

What is "ethnic conflict?" Some scholars define it narrowly as a type of social competition that "typically involve(s) large amounts of violence and often particularly vicious forms of violence".[59] This kind of "extreme prejudice" that results in competition and elimination going hand-in-hand leads to genocides, pogroms, "ethnic cleansings" and other kinds of mass destructions of lives. A more useful and broad definition quoted by Berry and Tischler is due to Coser which defines conflict as "*a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals*".[60] In the same book, Bernard is quoted as writing that "conflict exists between groups when there is a fundamental incompatibility in their values, goals, interests, etc."[61] Thus Coser and Bernard's definitions allow competition without elimination, where the "reduction of the status of one's opponents" - through non-war, non-riot means such as picketing, boycotts, ridicule, laughter, plain insolence and occasionally, through the ballot - would be the limited objective.[62]

One of the most important points touched on by Berry and Tischler is the question of whether "*group reactions (conflicts) merely represent the total of the individual reactions to a particular series of events, so that the action of a group is the expression of the views of its 100, 500 or 5 million members*" and therefore whether "*improving the*

[59] Samuel Huttington, "Civil Violence and the Process of Development", in "Civil Violence and the International System", *Adelphi Paper 83*, London: IISS, 1971, p.13.
[60] See Cohen, Abner, Jan., 1965, "The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 8-20 Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/1157315
[61] Ibid., p. 11.
[62] Ibid., p. 15.

individual interpersonal relations of the members of each group will improve or eliminate the potential for conflict." Quoting Bernard, Berry and Tischler state that:

> In brief, a thousand friendships between members of two groups - German and American Scientists, for example, or a thousand love affairs between soldiers and forbidden enemy women - will not add up to a friendly group relation. Nor conversely, will a thousand quarrels between American tourists and French taxidrivers add up to a Franco-American conflict.
>
> Nor would a thousand "Omo Yoruba" gentlemen marrying a thousand Igbo "nwanyi oma" damsels necessarily add up to a friendly inter-group relations![63]
>
> The verdict therefore seems to be that:
>
> group conflict must be analyzed from a group perspective; it is not merely the outcome of thousands of individual prejudices and disagreements.[64]

Obviously such individual agreements will aid in resolving the conflict, and conversely such individual disagreements will hurt its resolution, but they are generally not the *cause* or *cure* of the conflict.[65]

Conclusively, thus, it therefore becomes clear that what we have for races is not a scientific definition, but a social - or even sometimes strictly legal (in fascist states) - definition of race, while for ethnic groups we have a social and dynamic definition with underlying political ramifications.[66]

One important factor in the formation of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia is religion, regionalism (geography), language and ethnicity. Pongri sees ethnicity and religion as a source of conflict or integration in many towns, regions and

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[63] Mobolaji E. Aluko,… op cit.
[64] Mobolaji E. Aluko,… ibid.
[65] James D. Fearon, August 11, 2004, "Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence," Stanford: Department of Political Science Stanford University, p. 2.
[66] Tellis, Szayna and Winnefeld, 1997, *Anticipating Ethnic Conflict,* Rand.

nations because they provide easy ideological instruments for mobilization of the masses to promote or defend political, economic and social interest of individuals or groups. Thus, he concluded; in a way: "Ethnicity and religion are powerful instruments for either integration or disintegration in inter-group relations."[67]

Though the contradictions that were present in the interaction between these two peoples were not that sharp, but the coming of colonialism and the Nigerian civil war the relationship took a different dimension altogether. In fact there appear marked changes in the way the peoples perceive one another. Colonialism as such did not make much of a difference as the events that led to the outbreak of the civil war which came to be North versus East or Igbo versus "Hausa".

It is clear from our study of the two peoples and on ethnicity in general that ethnic distinctions are not a matter of biology but rather are conventions determined by politics and history.[68] A striking stylized fact, concerns the production or reformulation of ethnic groups in response to changed political boundaries. For instance, a great many ethnic groups in Africa did not exist as such prior to the colonial period. The groups now called the Yoruba or the Kikuyu (to give just two examples) are amalgams of smaller groups that spoke related dialects but had no common social or political identity.[69] The sense of Yoruba and Kikuyu ethnicity, identity, and political interest developed in the context of the new colonial states, which enlarged the field of political and economic competition

[67] Johnson H. Pongri, 1987, "Political Development in Northern Adamawa 1809-1960: A Study in the Historical Development of Inter-Group Relations," unpublished PhD Dissertation, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U., p. 4.
[68] James D. Fearon, August 11, 2004, "Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence," … op cit., p. 2.
[69] Ibid., p. 4.

and oriented it towards colonial capitals.[70] The Igbo as an ethnic group presently also was a recent development emanating from the activities of the Europeans on the African continent. K.O. Dike in his book *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* and *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria 1650-1980*, with Ekejiuba, elaborates more on this issue.[71] A number of other scholars too have touched on this issue where they noted that prior to the 18th century the term Igbo was derogatory that it referred to slaves.[72]

Considerations based on ethnicity especially, is a gradual process rooted in the historical experiences of a people. The fact of the matter in Nigeria at the present is that we cannot dismiss the significance of ethnicity and religion in determining the actions of the peoples of Nigeria. We cannot deny the existence of the Igbo as an ethnic group with common political aspirations different from that of the Cattle Trading Community with origin from North.

The only thing that is permanent in the world as the historians would say is change. As time goes on and on the face of the developments taking place there was bound to be some changes in the way that the people view each other. This was made possible by colonialism and the policies that they fashioned out to govern Nigeria.

5.6.4 Changing Nature of Inter-Group Relations in Umuahia 1970-1994

Nothing was to remain the same always, change must always come and that is why the saying: the only thing that is permanent is change itself. It was in view of this

[70] Ibid., p. 4.
[71] See K. Onwuka Dike, 1956, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Also Dike, K. O. & Felicia Ekejiuba, 1990, *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria 1650-1980: A study of socio-economic formation and transformation in Nigeria,* Ibadan: University Press Limited.
[72] David Northrup, 1972, "The Growth of Trade Among the Igbo Before 1800," in *The Journal of African History,* Vol. XIII, No. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 223.

fact that between 1970 with the end of the war and 1994 when the cattle market was taken out of Umuahia certain aspects of relation manifests themselves based on happenings in other parts of Nigeria. Events in other parts of Nigeria were to also affect inter-group relations and one of the factors that contributed to the changing nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia. Even though there was increased migrations all over Nigeria these peoples still maintain high level of contact with people back home which led to the easy exchange in information and other things. At no time were the peoples of the Nigerian area isolated from one another and also no time were they in constant contact than and mutual mistrust than in this period.

When colonialism brought the people under one country it opened up other opportunities that led to the greater intermingling of the peoples of the Nigeria, but only this time not as independent principalities but as counterparts. Because of the cultural difference that was present among the peoples of Nigeria it was impossible to find a crisis that does not have an ascription that was not right. Whatever happened must be interpreted to suit one purpose or another all however are primordial in nature, taking into consideration what was not true.

The year 1970 saw Nigeria in an oil boom that was later to become a catastrophe due to the fact that it was not managed well. The years following the oil boom were devastating for Nigeria; the 80s saw Nigeria in serious economic crisis. This economic crisis affected the people of Nigeria greatly. It led the government to take action. Starting with Shehu Shagari, Muhammadu Buhari and lastly Ibrahim Babangida, they all came up with some policies from Austerity Measures to Structural Adjustment Programme to tackle the economic crisis. Some of these policies were to aggravate the problem the

more. In the process throughout the 1980s and early 1990s Nigeria witnessed series of violent communal conflicts especially in the North. By this time a good number of Igbo were living in the North and they had been maintaining contact with people back east.

Because of the economic crisis which was the precursor to the crisis in the first place, the Igbo, who were shop owners in the North, were the major victims. Contrary to the causes of the civil war though, these upheavals had religious undertones also and as such some of them were labeled religious.

5.7 Conclusion

One cannot begin to comprehend some of the lasting impacts of the Nigerian civil war until he engages in the study of inter-group relations. One can only make sense of these impacts better when he picks eastern Nigeria which served as the theatre of war as his case study. The reason for this conclusion is not farfetched, because the civil war was an acid taste for the Nigerian project. Many countries have had to fight civil wars especially in Africa after gaining flag independence. These civil wars were as a result of the machineries put in place by the colonialist through their policies, especially the policy of divide and rule.

After taking over the political and economic apparatus of the colonies, the colonialist further divided and sub-divided the peoples of Nigeria on a formula that was sure recipe for mistrust and tensions. This created a kind of false consciousness among the people that one of these divisions was out to get the other. During the years before independence and the period we can call the decolonization period in Nigeria the politicians or “nationalist” did not help matters at all where they were advocating and did

formed political parties that were ethnically and regionally based. This was sure to cause problem in the future and it did.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELOCATION OF THE CATTLE MARKET AND THE NEW OUTLOOK IN UMUAHIA 1994-2000

7.1 Introduction

The lifeblood of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia was the cattle market. Its location is also a very important determinant of the continued existence of the Community in an area. The market is usually located at the out sketch of the town. Urban development was one of the factors that led to its relocation by the government and by the people themselves over the years. On this particular occasion it was relocated to Ubakala, a village located in Umuahia South Local Government Area. It is important to note that even before this current move by the government to relocate the cattle market to Ubakala, the community through it leader as from 1986 had been pressurizing the government to relocate the cattle market. Sarki Abbo has been pushing for the government to give them a new site for the cattle market. Had the government hided his advice the market may not have been taken to Okigwe in Imo State.

The location of the cattle market had been changed several times but it was all within Umuahia to and especially within the villages of the Ibeku clan since its establishment in around 1895. The reasons for the relocation had been either because of urban development which in itself was as a result of the establishment of the market in that area bringing people to live close by. The town will therefore grow to meet the market which will force it to relocate. It has also been relocated as a result of the intra-group politics in the community.

On this particular occasion (1994) it was proposed by the Military Administrator of Abia State to be relocated to Ubakala. This decision was arrived at after consultation with the leaderships of the community, along the line though the intra-group politics was to play a significant role in not making it realistic. Several areas were inspected such as Ofeme, before Ubakala was finally chosen.[1] This was also the first time that the market was relocated to a place outside of Ibekuland, for the cattle market had always been within the Ibeku clan villages. There was as a result a connection between the people of Ibeku and the cattle trading community because of the long time that the people spent together. Over the years then they had come to be socially compatible to the extent that quite a number of people of Ibeku especially those that earn a living in the cattle market which were many can speak the Hausa language too without being even once to the North.

This was possible only because of the long time that the peoples had been living together and because of the understanding that existed between them. The Fulfulde language was another language that was spoken by though a small number of the people. This language was particularly spoken by the butchers who were in constant contact with the cattle traders. This is a very significant development, one that had played a very important role in fostering a cordial relationship between the people of Umuahia and the cattle trading community. The cattle trading community had over the years become synonymous with Umuahia town to the extent that the level of acceptance of the members of the community into Umuahia and later Imo State and Abia State affairs was one of the highest in the East.

[1] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 54, interview on 09-12-2011.

7.2 Establishment of Ubakala Cattle Market by the Abia State Military Government

The government after reviewing the location of the cattle market in Umuahia which had been there since 1950 decided to establish another market away from the hustle and bustle of the township which had developed to meet the market. Many factors were considered in consultation with the leaderships of the community in choosing a location. The government had been receiving complaints from the members of the community and from other residence of Umuahia about how inconveniencing the cattle market in the middle of the town had became. That was when it decided to establish the Ubakala cattle market to include the abattoir too which had also became a serious case of hygiene being located in the Umuahia main market. There was another slaughter house at the cattle market which was serving those who were engaged in doing business of cooking in the cattle market.

After finishing the preparations for the relocation of the market several dates were given in which the market will have to go move to Ubakala. Many of the dates came and went without the people relocating. When the government got tired of giving the community concession it therefore resorted to threat and it issued an ultimatum that come 15th May, 1994[2] the people must leave and failure to do so will be met with severe action. It was the military and they have spoken so they people obeyed but only to relocate to Okigwe on that same date.

As we have stated already there was an abattoir in the Umuahia central market which was serving the entire town. Because it was not far from the cattle market those

[2] Affidavit of Mr. James Iroegbu, Sworn to at the High Court Registry Umuahia, 15th November, 1995, in Suit No. HU/123/92, in the High Court of Abia State, in the High Court of Umuahia Division, Holden at Umuahia.

that slaughter at the central market usually had their cows trekked sometimes in their tens or hundreds to the abattoir. This was also part of the menace that the cattle market had become at Umuahia and it was appreciated by both the members of the community and other residence of Umuahia. The trekking of the cattle to abattoir was done usually around six pm when the people were coming back home and they used encounter problems with the cattle to the extent of being injured or even killed. Because the cows were many it used to disrupt traffic and cause serious hold-up. Not to mention the tens and hundreds of cattle that used to be trekked to other neighbouring villages and the tens and thousands of cattle that were loaded into Lorries, Trucks, Trailers and pick-up vans to other cities and town in the East and South-south.

In the average the number of cattle that were brought to Umuahia over the years had more than quadrupled from ten thousand (10,000) per annum in 1928[3] to more than fifty thousand (50,000) in 1994. The population of the cattle and the town had grown without any commensurate effort to expand or relocate the cattle market since 1950 when it was relocated to Amuzukwu (Afarata) village. The place therefore became not only an eye sore but the worst case of hygiene especially during the rainy season which used to be very long in Umuahia.

When the government took the decision to relocate the cattle market it consulted with the leadership of the community. The community was also by this time divided into two camps with one camp headed by *Sarki* Digol and the other camp headed by *Sarki* Hayatu.[4] Two sites where inspected and chosen as the possible places to locate the cattle

[3] NAE, OW: 385/21 RIVPROF 8/9/322, Owerri Province Hausa Settlements, 1921-1930.
[4] Alhaji Hamman, op. cit.

market one was the Ubakala site which was located off the express way to Aba and Port Harcourt and another one at Ofeme village on the express way to Okigwe and Enugu. Upon seeing the two sites the community was divided as to which one to choose but in the end the Ubakala site was chosen because it was away from the express road and therefore there was no danger of accident occurring due to the high way. The government therefore went ahead to endorse the Ubakala site and subsequently moved to clear the place to make it conducive for habitation. At first all were in favour of the decision but along the line the preparations were high jacked by a few people who ended up with more stalls than was available for distribution. This did not go well for especially the *Sarki* Hayatu faction and some of them therefore moved to look for an alternative site. For instance *Sarki* Digol alone allocated up to ten plots to himself.

According to A.Y. Bello in the heat of the move to relocate the cattle market to Ubakala by the Abia State Government, there occurred misunderstanding especially between him and Sarki Digol. It was also as if the Military Governor had promised him something if he was able to make his people relocate, because on one occasion they were summoned by the Governor himself among whom were Alhaji Bako, Alhaji Aboki. Upon going to see the Governor they met *Sarki* Digol already seated. Before they could even settle down the Governor pointed at A. Y. Bello and said "so you are A.Y. Bello, I give you twenty four hours to pack your cows and leave."[5]

Their search brought them to Okigwe in Imo State. At Okigwe there was a piece of land that was given to the Muslim Council to build a mosque and a school.[6] But the

[5] A. Y. Bello, 55, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.
[6] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 54, op. cit.

land was not developed only a small mosque was built on the land when those that represented the faction headed by *Sarki* Hayatu in the person of Alhaji Musa Reza, Alhaji Aboki Umar Bare and Alhaji Yusuf[7] got to Okigwe they decided to make this site the cattle market pending when the government will build a permanent site for the market.[8] The presence of the mosque must have been one of the attractions for the choice of the site though other mosques were later built in the cattle market. This place was therefore made the cattle market taking over from Umuahia.

Meanwhile in the Ubakala site many social amenities were provided or were slated to be constructed by the Military Government.[9] Though one will not say they were enough but many were abandoned especially when the Community showed no interest of relocating to Ubakala. This move by the majority of the community was to affect inter-group relations in Umuahia in the sense that the presence of the cattle market was one the factors that had been sustaining the cordial relationship between the people of Umuahia and the community. This market was no longer there and therefore the presence of the people was not felt like before. It was therefore somehow easy to cultivate resentment against the community in the long run.

It is our belief that the cattle market had fostered good inter-group relations over the years in Umuahia. The economic as well as the social benefits of the market to the town was many. Over the course of the history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia there was no any single violence against the members of the community even

[7] Ibid.
[8] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 54, interview on 09-12-2011.
[9] A. Y. Bello, 55, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.

during the civil war of the ethno-religious type that had characterized crisis in Nigeria after the colonial era.

7.3 Establishment of the Okigwe Cattle Market in 1994

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Military Government the people, however, had a different understanding of the reason behind the move by the government to relocate the market away from the centre of town to a rural area.[10] Again the exercise was also high jacked a few people who allocated themselves the best and majority plots. There was also the question of being used to the town by the Community for this was a market that was established in this area even before colonialism took full root in Nigeria. As early as the 1920[11] the cattle market at Umuahia was the distributing centre for the Eastern and South-south areas of Nigeria as well as the entire Southern Provinces of Nigeria. It was therefore not an easy decision by the majority of the community to move to Okigwe.[12]

With the identification of the site came the task of clearing the land and the building of stalls and offices by the people. Plots were allocated from the *patomas*, to the highly placed members of the community, to groups and associations as well as for school and mosques.[13] One can say that everyone was given his due and that was how the Okigwe cattle market came to exist completely taking over from Umuahia which had played host to the cattle market since around 1895. As we have seen also the relocation of the cattle market did not lead to the relocation of the community at all. The members of

[10] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 54, interview on 09-12-2011.
[11] Polly Hill, 1966, "Landlords or Brokers: A West African Trading System (With a Note on Kumasi Butchers)," in *Cahiers d'etudes africaines,* Vol. 6, Isssue 23, p. 351.
[12] A. Y. Bello, 55, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.
[13] Ibid.

the community used to go to Okigwe from Umuahia to attend the market and return.[14] Everything was intact as far the community was concerned. They saw no reason to make Okigwe home because they considered Umuahia home enough. Most of the people that were sleeping in Okigwe were mostly the *palke* who brought his cattle for sale and the *gainako* who tend the cattle. The *yan kasa* in Hausa or *amaala* in Igbo referring to those that were born in Umuahia occasionally sleep at Okigwe.[15]

They used to go Okigwe and come back home to Umuahia after the days' business. This was the situation of things until 28th February, 2000 when the community was forced to leave Umuahia as a result of the ethno-religious crisis that had engulfed some parts of the North later spiraling to the East with reprisal attacks in Aba, Umuahia, Owerri, Onitsha etc on the "Hausa".[16]

It is important to note that this was not the first time that Nigeria had experienced ethno-religious crisis, especially in the North. What is significant was that it has never resulted to reprisal attacks on people of Northern Nigeria origin living in the East and particularly in Umuahia, by implication the community.[17] We should remember that during the civil war it was only in Umuahia that Northerners were not killed; in fact they were even protected by the Igbo whom they were living with.[18] The community was at home to the extent that by the year 2000 crisis, the community believed that they were safe in Umuahia and rightly too. It was not the people of Umuahia who first launched an attack on the community. The Bakasi Boys from Aba were the ones who came after

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Alhaji Hamman, op. cit.
[17] A. Y. Bello, 55, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.
[18] Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 66, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.

attacking the Northerners at Aba to attack those at Umuahia. Before this time no one member of the community believed that they could be victims to the attacks. It was therefore a surprise to them when it happened on that fateful day in February 2000.

7.4 Relocation of the Cattle Market to Okigwe 1994-2000

This takes place as a result many reasons and factors but it is important that we recognize the fact that the Military Government under the Governorship of Col. Ike Nwosu and its actions were largely responsible for making this possible. Let us also recognize the fact that the cattle market which was usually located in the out sketch of the town, the town had developed to meet up with the cattle market, therefore the relocation of the market became inevitable. Considerations of the relocation started when the cattle when purchased and were being trekked to their various destinations disrupt traffic and were causing series of problems to the resident of Umuahia town. It was only logical to look for an alternative location to cite a new cattle market.[19]

But majority of the members of the Cattle Trading Community had other agendas. They therefore used many means ranging from persuasion, propaganda and even what we consider to be superstitions to make the rest of the Community not to relocate to the Ubakala where the Military Government of Abia State gave them. This was despite the fact that the new site was to serve both as a cattle market and an abattoir. This was to ease hassles and cost of transporting the animals to the abattoir which used to be in the Umuahia central market. Ubakala is a distance of an estimated 6 to 7 kilometers from the

[19] A. Y. Bello, op cit.

centre of Umuahia town unlike Okigwe that was even located outside the State in Imo State and a distance of an estimated 65 kilometers from Umuahia town.

On the 15th May, 1994, the Abia State Government under the leadership of Col. Ike Nwosu relocated the cattle market at Umuahia to Ubakala.[20] It was this same date that the Okigwe cattle market started and became functional. The rationale behind majority of the members of the Community deciding to relocate the cattle market to Okigwe can best be explained as we said earlier by the sentiments that they were harbouring. These sentiments were all as a result of the polarization of the community into two opposing camps. This was to play a significant role in relocating the market to Okigwe.

In the process of the relocation to Okigwe many factors were employed to convince the members of the cattle trading community and some were outright fabrication. For instance their was this reason ascribed to what the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello had said about locating the cattle at Otukpo at the border between the East and North Regions. That he had told them they should never go backward. Looking the Ubakala site it was on the going to Aba, further into the Eastern region. This was a common story being spread in the market to disuede people from going to Ubakala. The extent to which these stories helped in making the people to chose to go to Okigwe instead of Ubakala was evident in citing the market at Okigwe. However, we can also see the desperation of the group that wanted by all means not to go back to Ubakala based on the injustice done to them in allocating the shops and stalls to the people.

[20] Statement of Claim, in Suit No. HU/123/93, in the High Court of Umuahia Judicial Division, Holden at Umuahia, 1993.

7.5 Aftermath of the Relocation of the Cattle Market Out of Umuahia 1994-2000

This move created a big strain on inter-group relations in Umuahia as we have already explained. What is important to note here is that even after the relocation of the cattle market to Okigwe a greater number of the members of the Community still remained in Umuahia. Some segments of the people of Umuahia see this as an affront while others see it as a welcome development.[21] Even as the cattle market contributed to the economic development of Umuahia and was a constant source of revenue for the government there were still those who do not see this. This was because they felt that they were not directly affected by the cattle market. For those whose livelihood was from the cattle market this was a devastating development as the cost of doing business increased with them traveling over a long distance to buy cows to slaughter.[22]

It was a disaster as this increased the price of beef and other products that were easily gotten through the Community. The disaster was to manifest itself in the nature of inter-group relations in the town. Though the relocation of the market did lead to relocation of the per se their presence was no longer felt as before when the cattle market was still in the town. The outcome of the relocation of the cattle market therefore did not spell well for the two communities that have been together in harmony for a very long time then. This conclusion is not hard to arrive at as it was to become true with the sacking of the community in 2000. Majority thereafter went back to the North to settle and all took back their families back to the North, just the men therefore remained in Okigwe this time since the market was no longer in Umuahia.

[21] A. Y. Bello, op cit.
[22] Ibid.

The belief within the cattle trading community of Umuahia was that no matter the deteriorating nature of inter-group in Nigeria the situation in Umuahia was never going to change. The reason for this belief is not far-fetched. Nigeria is known for bloody ethnic clashes especially from the 1980s. There was never a case of reprisal attacks in Umuahia in all the instances of the violent ethic clashes. This belief was responsible in making the members of the community not even entertain any fears of being attacked by their "host". The members of the cattle trading community were very confident of the inter-group situation in Umuahia. This is because people regarded themselves as being one as a result of the long period that they have been living together.[23] The general opinion was that the people are safe in Umuahia. According to Dee Friday he has this to say in relation to how long the members of the community have been living in Umuahia: "*o te la ka Hausa bi soro na Umuahia*."[24] Translated roughly it means: "it's been long Hausa people have been living in Umauhia". This long period of interaction is enough to relax the mind of the people not to talk of the absence of hostilities between the two people.

Also in our interview with people like A.Y Bello and Alhaji Inuwa Audu Idem they also told of how no any Northern community in the Eastern part of Nigeria that had benefited in their stay in the East than the cattle trading community at Umuahia.[1] In all major cities and even in the villages there were pockets of people of Northern Nigerian origin in the Eastern part of Nigeria. They live in those places and conduct their business there but all refer to Umuahia for any issue. For instance even when Owerri was the capital of Imo state when Abia State was not created the Amir-ul-Hajj come from

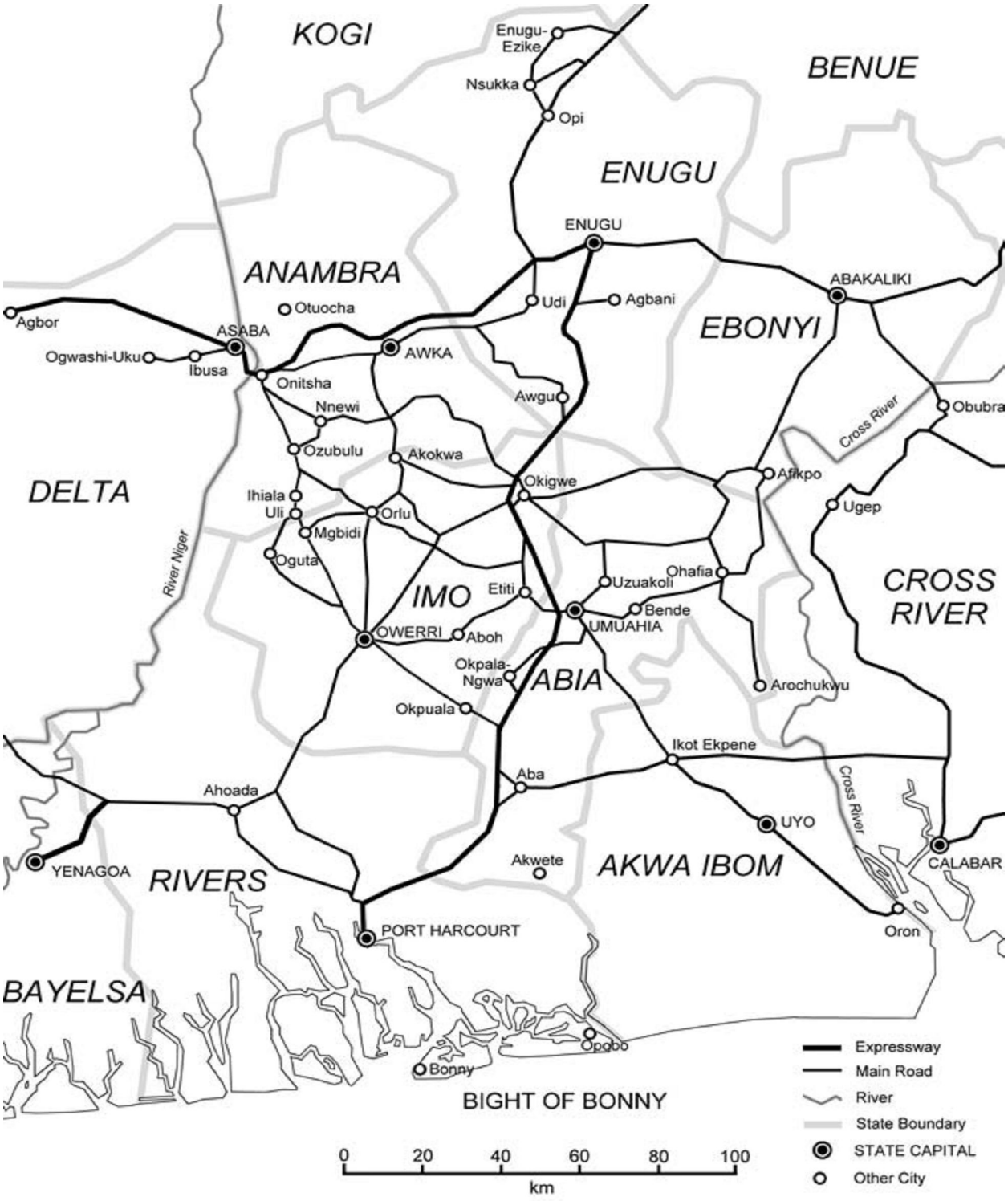
[23] Dee Friday Onwudinjo, Umuahia, 2011.
[24] Ibdi.
[1] A. Y. Bello & Alhaji Inuwa Idem, 66, interview at Okigwe on 13-09-2011.

Umuahia among the cattle trading community there. The Muslims at Owerri and any other town and village in the former Imo state come to Umuahia for their Hajj fare at Umuahia. The man in charge of the Muslim Pilgrime Board was for a long time Alhaji Danazumi Sharubutu who is now late. The Imo State Government also used to sponsor members of the community to the Holy Land to perform Hajj. The Abia State government was to take over this responsibily also still under Alhaji Danazumi Sharubutu before his death. By the year 2000 it Alhaji Yusuf Bello that was the chairman of the Muslim Pilgrime Board. He resigned however immediately after the year 2000 crisis.

The move by the members of the cattle trading community to relocate the cattle market from Umuahia in Abia State to Okigwe was made in part to spite the Abia State government. It was also a means of the expansion of the frotiers of the community in the Eastern part of Nigeria. This was because even with the relocation of the cattle market the people still remained in Umuahia only going to Okigwe to conduct their business and come back to Umuahia. There were many of the members of the cattle trading community who never slept at Okigwe since when the cattle market was moved to Okigwe and many reasons can be advanced for this action. This move did not go well with the people of Abia State as a major source of revenue was lost and this was the beginning of the problem of the community. But also with this movement the frontiers of the cattle trading community was extended in Eastern Nigeria.

As we have indicated several reasons can be advance to explain why the people refused to relocate entirely to Okigwe. Compared to Umuahia Okigwe was a virgin land as the first few years there were cases of snake bites involving not only human being but also the animals. The fact that the people were used to the Umuahia environment to risk

complete relocation to Okigwe. It was also just a little above 45mins drive from Umuahia to Okigwe. Umuahia was also an urban area bigger than Okigwe and the members of the cattle trading community were used to urban life. At Okigwe one could not get all his essential needs.



Source: Axel Harneit-Sievers, 2006, *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century,* Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

7.6 The "Sharia Riot" of February 2000

In February 2000, the state Governor of Kaduna State made attempt to adopt Sharia legal system in the state in answer to the yearnings and aspirations of the Muslims for Sharia to govern their existence as Muslims. But their Christian counterparts vehemently resisted the move. The Christians trooped out in large number under the aegis or auspices of Christian Assocaition of Nigeria (CAN) to protest against the system.[25] The protest according to reporting was peaceful until 12.00pm when violence erupted at the central market. What precipitated the violence was not ascertaine; the Christians claimed they were attacked first by their Muslim counterparts, while Muslims asserted that the Christians started the crisis by killing a Muslim and burning of a Mosque situated at Kano Road.[26]

For three days, there was total breakdown of law and order in the state capital and a 24 hour curfew was imposed on the capital and its environs.[27] The fracas was characterized by killings, maiming, arson and looting throughout the period in the capital except Barnawa settlement in the southern part of the state capital which was spared.[28] The crisis spread to Zaria, Kachia and other towns in the state. The police disclosed that 609 people lost their lives to carnage while about 100 persons were injured.[29]

[25] Yusuf O. Ali, 2003, Crisis Management in Nigeria, Annual Lecture of the Post-Graduate Students' Association of the University of Ilorin.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) said mass burial was given to unidentified bodies totaling 325 Christians who lost their lives in the mayhem.[30] Apart from this figure, it was reported that some of the victims were buried by their relations while some were burnt beyond recognition and some thrown into river Kaduna. The Muslim community claimed that over 100 Muslims were killed in the crisis.[31]

It is worthy of mention that, when the bodies of some of the victims arrived at their hometown in the eastern part of the country, reprisal attacks were unleashed on other ethnic groups especially Hausas.[32] Aba was the starting point of the attacks, it later spread to Umuahia, Owerri and Uyo.[33] About 300 persons seek refuge in the military barracks throughout the eastern region while the crisis lasted.[34] This researcher and his family after spending seven days hidden by their Landlady were transported to the Owerrinta Navy barracks.[35]

It is beyond argument that the effect of the violence in Kaduna could be perceived by the reprisal attacks in the Eastern part of the country and there was the fear at the time that the entire country may be engulfed.[36] However, this culminated into sporadic mass movement of people to their places of origin. By the end of the crisis just a handful of the members of the community remained in Umuahia. Those that came back after the crisis however, left their families in the north and only come to the eastern part of Nigeria to carry out their trade. However, gradually now the community has expanded into three

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Group interview, Alhaji Y. Bello, Alhaji Inuwa, Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 2011.
[36] Yusuf O. Ali, op. cit.

major eastern cities of Umuahia, Okigwe and Lokpanta conducting the business of cattle trading.

Monday, 28th February year 2000 is a day that this researcher and many others who were affected by it will never forget in a hurry. The day started like any and every other day, an ordinary day. It started with the normal every day routine as we used to have, little did we know that it would turn out to be one of the most disastrous of all the days of our lives and probably for the rest of our lives we would never witness such a disastrous day full of mayhem and destruction of lives and property. This was in Nigeria that saw the many parts of Nigeria plunging into one form of conflict or the other.[37] That without a conflict abating in one part of Nigeria another part will just take up. From Lagos to Kano, Kaduna to Umuahia, Aba, Onitsha and this is to mention but a few of the places that witnessed one form of brutal conflict or the other and all of them very destructive in terms of lives and property.[38] And worst still these conflicts dealt a very deadly blow to the once shaky trust that existed between Nigerians made up of many different ethnic groups and religions.

This day, Monday, 28th February 2000 was a day that changed the lives of many people of northern Nigerian extraction resident in Umuahia,[39] the Capital of Abia State in particular and Nigeria in general. This is a story of what can be regarded as man's inhumanity to his fellow man, a day that man turned to beast and descended against his

[37] Gofwen, Rotgak I., 2004, Religious conflicts in northern Nigeria and nation building: The throes of two decades 1980–2000, Kaduna, Human Rights Monitor; Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, The Resurgence of Sharia Issue in Contemporary Nigeria 1999-2009, in Benue Valley Journal of Humanities, Vol. 9 No. 1&2, January-December, 2010.
[38] Agwu, C. O. T., 2009, "Religious conflicts in Kano and Kaduna states," In Ikejiani-Clarke, Miriam (ed.), *Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader,* Ibadan, Spectrum Books, pp. 518–531.
[39] Isaac Terwase Sampson, 2012, "Religious violence in Nigeria: Causal diagnoses and strategic recommendations to the state and religious communities," in *African Journal on Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 12, Issue 1, p. 107.

kind in the most brutal of ways maiming and killing, not to talk of the destruction of properties worth billion of naira that took many years to be built. It shows how man can employ brutal violence to settle the most trivial of issues. This riot or conflict or whatever thing one choose to call this madness saw to it that people became refugees in their land. They were no longer safe. They risk losing their lives if they venture out in the streets. The methods employed by the rioters was very carlous and barbaric for, they first of all slaughter their victim and eventually set him or her ablaze.[40] If you are a lady they will first of all rape you and then kill you and set you ablaze.[41] The events were not sweet to recount. But for the purpose of history it is important to tell it so as to avoid another occurrence.[42]

Though some people may explain the situation based on trivial issues it was a situation that can be attributed to a time bomb waiting for a long time to explode especially since the Nigerian Civil War. The recent development in many parts of Nigeria that have to do with attacks on people of Nigeria of Igbo extraction. The conflict in Kaduna is the precursor for the conflict in Umuahia.[43] This, however, is a conflict that has many perspectives and this is because it involves many people across the broad spectrum of Nigeria who were affected by the conflict in different ways.

For years after the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970 the two communities have been living together as one, sharing many things in common and that was why when talks of possible attacks got to some of the members of the community they could not even bring

[40] Group Interview, Okigwe, 2009.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Anugwom, Edlyne Eze, December 2008, "Contested Terrain: Economic Migration, Islamic Sharia Law and Ethno-religious Conflict in Nigria," in African Study Monographs, 29(4): pp. 159-181.
[43] Iwara, U.E. 2006, "Religious violence in Nigeria: Causes and consequences," *Sophia: An African Journal of Philosophy,* 8 (2), pp. 153–157.

themselves to believing it. They were therefore taken by surprise. In fact most of them were saved by their neighbours and their landlords or landladies who were Igbo.[44] They were kept in their houses some of them for as long as seven days where they were been fed day and night. It was a development that most of them shiver when they remember and would not even like to be reminded about. For a very long time after the riot and after they have been saved they do not even want to talk about it because it used to be as if they are not yet safe. It has become like some kind of psychological trauma.

Monday, 28th February 2000 was the day that reprisal attacks were carried out on people of northern Nigerian descent who were residents in Umuahia.[45] It started from Aba and later spread to Umuahia where many people were also killed. The previous week that is on Monday, 21st February 2000 a similar incident had taken place in Kaduna town and the target just as in Umuahia were people who are believed to be strangers in the land or who are not from the same religion. In Umuahia the targets were Hausas and the definition of Hausa in Igbo means all the people from the northern part of Nigeria, it does not matter whether you are a Fulani man a Kanuri man or even a Kataf man and a Christian.[46] Once you are from the north you are a Hausa man and you are therefore target for elimination. The atrocities that took place during this time are beyond description both in Umuahia, Aba, Kaduna, Kano, Shagamu and many other parts of Nigeria.[47]

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[44] Alhaji Hamman Suleimuri, 2011.
[45] Amnesty International, December 2000, Nigeria: Time for justice and accountability, AI Index: AFR 44/14/00.
[46] Group interview, Umuahia and Kaduna, 2010.
[47] Udoidem, S. 1997, "Religion in the political life in Nigeria: A survey of religion-related crises since independence," In F.U. Okafor, (ed.), *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Nigeria,* pp.152-183. Fourth Dimension, Enugu.

But as it would happen also Umuahia was peaceful until the coming of the Bakassi Boys from Aba to meet with some undesirable elements did the people were attacked. What happened in Umuahia was a result of reprisal attack on what took place in the previous week at Kaduna in what have become known as the Sharia Riot of 2000.[48]

The significance of this event to the understanding of the history of the cattle trading community in Nigeria is paramount. Each member of the community has one or two stories to tell in relation to the event and of their travails throughout the period of the crisis. There were those who had to trek from Umuahia to Okigwe to escape being killed. They undertook this journey by travelling through the *go-go house forrest* and when they were no vehicle on the main road they will use the main road. Those that were not able to go out of Umuahia were hiden by their friends who were Igbo and are not happy with what was happening.

7.7 Conclusion

The community and the cattle market as we have seen were to become so deeply rooted in Umuahia that it was difficult to relocate the market. But for the iron hand of the military the market may not have been relocated when it was relocated. The government had issue quit notice after quit notice but the people did not bulge. They were however forced to relocate when the military governor in the person of Col. Ike Nwosu threatens to deal with them.

[48] Anugwom, E.E. & P. Oji 2004, "Ethnic and religious crises in Nigeria: A review of past and present dimensions," In M. Okwueze, (ed.), *Religion and Societal Development: Contemporary Nigerian Perspectives,* pp. 143-168. Merit International Pub, Lagos.

Before this time they had delegated some of their own to go and for an alternative site possibly outside Abia State. That was how they came to the Okigwe site which had already being allocated to the Muslim Council to build a school and mosque. The mosque had already being constructed and must have been what attracted the people to choose the place. The place was then for temporary cattle market before a cattle market is built as the Government of Imo State promised then as well as the local government. They were all after the revenue which the cattle market was to bring the area and with the establishment commercial activities also picked up in the area.

As we have seen also this was to affect inter-group relations adversely. This a contributing factor to the changing nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia. Before this none of the member of the community ever dreamt that a day would come when their stay in Umuahia will come to an end. That day was to come on the 28th February, 2000 when riots broke out that led to the most violent attack on the people ever in Umuahia.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

The work explained the history of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia from 1895 to 2000. This is a period of one hundred and twenty five years. By estimation this may appear to be very long but in the history of a people that have contributed to the development of and the promotion of inter-group relations in Nigeria this period is too short. This is by all means a conservative estimation, because cattle trade was not the primary occupation that first brought the people to Umuahia. The cattle market picked up and became famous with time. The study has outlined those factors that led to the people establishing a settlement in the Umuahia area. This can be seen in the analysis provided in the passages above.

The temptation or rather the tendency in this section is usually to give chapter by chapter summary. Inasmuch as this is also possible we feel it appropriate to give a general summary which sees the Community as fulfilling a task of satisfying the need of a people as well as theirs. This became necessary based on the environmental and climatic difference in the areas that the two communities occupy in the Nigeria area. It also explains the theories that have been adopted for the study.

We have examined the history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia and the factors that served as motivators in the establishment of the community. In doing this we have adopted and used quite a number of theoretical frameworks. This is because inter-group relation is a complex phenomenon particularly in the Nigerian area that is

made up various ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are not living in isolation with one another. Another important factor is the geographical factors that determine the kind of product that an area can produce. This fact therefore made interaction inevitable. In this vein therefore one expects that widespread intermingling of the peoples of the Nigerian area. Since there was economic and socio-cultural exchange between the people one will expect minimal conflict. Conflict can only take place when it was a means to an end, it should not affect or disrupt relations of any kind.

The colonialists and their apologists would want us believe that the various Nigerian peoples have never co-existed in harmony in the pre-colonial period. Has this been the case migration and inter-group economic, social and political relationship would not have featured at all in the traditions of origin as well as in the cultural practices of the peoples of the Nigeria in whatever respect. Cultural cross-fertilization among the Nigerian peoples is something that is conspicuous. This is not to talk of the economic relationship in the form of long distance trade whose success depended on the considerable peace that was prevalent at that time between the peoples.

Colonialism as we have seen created a kind of false consciousness among the Nigerian peoples which served in obscuring the real historical experiences of the Nigerian peoples. But with this study we have come to the realization that the claims of the colonialist were fallacious to say the least as well as downright misrepresentative. This can be backed by the British colonial policy of divide and rule where segregated quarters were designed for the various segment of the Nigerian peoples. This division was on the level of ethnic difference as well as religion. Colonialism helped in

entrenching these divisions to the extent that lately in the history of Nigeria ethnic interests have become synonymous with the nation.

While our study recognizes these facts its focus was on those areas that the people have cooperated in the form of economic exchange. In looking at this we studied the cattle trading community in Umuahia and of their relationship with the people of Umuahia as well as how they related with one another. The study hence was about the inter-group relation as well as the intra-group relation of these communities. These aspects give us the opportunity to understand not only the history of the cattle trading community in their journey in Umuahia but also to see how they lived together with their 'host' community.

Through migration motivated by the potentials that was present in the Umuahia area the people started to come first to hunt, trade and then to graze their cattle and then to sell their cattle as well as other goods. As the situation changed so also was their needs to remain in Umuahia to conduct their business increased. At a point they decided to establish a settlement, the foundation of this community had its origin in the discovery of the area by the first people to come to the area and to take word back home as to its potentials.

In the end a permanent settlement was established and as time goes on the community continue to grow with more people joining it. With this kind of organization comes the need to organize politically. This was one of the first things that the community did. The organization was very elaborate to the extent that some of the members of the Igbo community use to bring cases to the Sarki of the community. The

colonialist saw some potential in this organization to the extent that whenever a colonial official was posted to the area he first report to the Sarki or pay him a visit.

The community that was established was one of the most vibrant in the eastern part of Nigeria. The cattle market that they were able to establish was of international standard because people from all over West Africa come to the market to patronize it. Over the course of their living in Umuahia they came to establish a very cordial relationship with the people of the area cutting across social, economic and cultural and inter-marriages.

As it happened the relocation of the cattle market from Umuahia to Ubakala by the Military Governor of Abia State and the refusal of the community to move there and instead relocated to Okigwe in Imo State was to affect the nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia. This change led to the violent attacks on the community as a reprisal to the crisis in the North in which many Igbo were victims. This was the first time over the years that the people had spent in Umuahia that such a thing happened. Even during the civil war no member of the community was harmed in Umuahia as they were even protected.

8.2 Conclusion

We have sustained the thesis that the fundamental problem of inter-group relation in Nigeria stems from a state structure designed to extract surplus and suppress agitation from Nigerians during colonialism. This was done through divide and rule tactics of the colonialist. This same structure has been retained by the power elite, no attempt was made on their part to re-examine the Nigerian state as constructed by the British. The

British had in 1899 revoked the charter of the Royal Niger Company. By 1914, it completed the process of bringing together several hundreds of ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups and communities which then had attained different levels of economic and political development.[1] To this end even the Nigerian constitutions appears to be contradicting itself in the sense that at one time it was talking about citizenship and at another time it was talking about being an indigene. These were two different categorizations with the later having parochial tendencies.

These strategies produced a state structure that was to become the servant of imperialism and all those metropolitan interests which owned their existence of the continuance of imperialism.[2] This state structure did not necessarily emphasize integration. Rather it encouraged specialized regional production to meet the needs of the metropolitan economy, Shively noted this when he observed that Nigeria: like most colonies was not constructed for internal coherence but rather for the administrative convenience of the British.[3] With such a balkanized social formation, the state assumed the status of a supreme institution that was capable of intervening, forcefully in most cases in the three major regions i.e., the North, South and West.

The Nigeria ruling class inherited this state structure without any form of modification or moderation. They rather became so preoccupied with the use of the state paraphernalia for accumulating surplus without going through the processes of producing

[1] Martin Ikechukwu Ifeanacho & Josephine Nwagwu, January, 2009, "Democratization and National Integration in Nigeria," in *Research Journal of International Studies*, - Issue 9, p. 15.
[2] Ekekwe E., 1986, *Class and Slate in Nigeria*, Lagos & London: Longman, p. 26.
[3] Shively. W.P., 2003, *Power and Choice: An introduction to Political Science,* 8th edition, New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, p. 62.

surplus. The resultant contradiction was an institutionalized myopic and visionless ethnic centered leadership with separatist and particularistic political outlook.[4]

The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this study is the fact that the Nigerian peoples were never isolated in all the epochs of its history. There was significant amount of intermingling in various fields between the peoples of Nigeria. This took place through various types of migrations as well as the economic and social relationship that existed between the various Nigerian peoples. Another conclusion is the fact that the relocation of the cattle away from Umuahia to Okigwe was to affect inter-group relations in the area.

African history in general had faced many challenges from many angles. Any theme, subject and aspect of African history that one picked had been affected or rather afflicted. Efforts have been made, however, right from the time of the European claims that Africa has no history, by Africans and those Europeans "sympathetic" of Africa to prove to the world that Africa and indeed Africans have a history. The question then remains; was the history worth studying? Even when it was accepted that Africa have a history worth studying, the notion was that, the history of Africa was the history of the presence of Europeans on the continent. At every stage of the challenge that African history had faced there emerged scholars both of African and non-African decent to fight for the Continent. Prominent among these people was K. O. Dike in Nigeria. His *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* was path breaking, even a classic in this direction.

[4] See Nnoli, O., 1979, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria,* Enugu: Fourth Dimension.

It was a war of some sort, of ideas and of wits and for the continual survival of the continent as an independent entity. At all these stages one had wondered why that was the case. How come the Europeans pride in their history and the Africans has no right to do so? How come other people have the right to a history and others do not? This answer is not hard to find. The African continent was and still is a subjugated continent, an undeveloped continent, a dependent continent and above all an exploited continent. The African continent has been denied many things by right; to deny it history is no big deal to the Europeans who stand to benefit from such denial.

These issues therefore open our minds to the study at hand and to the understanding of the work in general and of the place and people in the study. The level of cooperation that existed between the Nigerian peoples was very commendable. As we have seen in this study there was serious interdependence between the peoples of Nigeria. Even the climatic variation in the country was in favour of interaction.

These realities of the colonial experience and legacies in Nigeria helped in defining inter-group relations in the Nigerian in general and in Umuahia in particular. This fact however did not prevent the people from interacting economically in which case issues like ethnic difference did not feature at all. There were specializations though in terms of the kind of economic activities that the different peoples undertook. This fact formed the basis of our study since exchange must take place between these peoples. This was going on even before the coming of the Europeans, who must play on an imagined division to enter into the scene.

Our work is not unmindful of the fact that the term Igbo as ethnic categorization was a fairly recent one. This was pointed out by Dike and Ekejiuba in their study of the Aro as cited by Bala Usman. Our use of the term takes into consideration the present realities of our time. It is important to note though that what we consider to be real may not necessarily be so if we are to subject them to historical scrutiny. History as a study is about the objective past and this is our vocation. What we present in these pages is nothing short of that.

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Appendix 1 -Map of Umuahia

Appendix 2 - Map of Ibeku Clan territory

Appendix 3 - Sketch of the cattle market 1950-1994 in Umuahia