

COLONIALISM AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AUTHORITY IN CENTRAL TIVLAND 1912 - 1960

By

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I hereby declare that this Thesis has been put together by me and it is the record of my research. It has not been presented to any other institution for a higher degree.

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DEDICATION

To Dzaiyol, my mother, Terna, my wife, Kpamor and (Junior) Wuese my children, who have sacrificed immensely for my education and suffered hardships from my long and sometimes intermitent absence from home and responsibility, the loss of which remain irredeemable.

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Finally, a huge thank you is due to Mrs. F. Raji of History and Mrs Jatto (Geology) for helping with the typing inspite of their pressing duties and family needs.

ABSTRACT

I argue that Colonial rule in Central Tivland affected the people in such a manner that it was responsible for the transformation of these people from producing for societal use to production for colonial consumption and export, an activity that emphasised cash crop production, to facilitate this colonial economy, the super structure had to be affected. It was consequently transformed to provide and legitimise colonial exploitation. This was done by a marginalization of the existing class structure in leadership during pre-colonial times and the emergence of a new class alignment suited to the new scheme of things.

However the kind of class arrangement that now emerged was not a logical development of the peoples history and a dependency culture was therefore erected, This resulted, at the granting flag of independence. in the emergence of petty bourgeois politicians who were not able to organize society along lines that could avert the disasters of the Tiv crisis of 1960 and 1964. For, the conflict of interests that arose between and among the emergent social classes during colonial rule, were moderated by the colonial state. The state had contained such revolts and the extended tradition of revolt by cruel suppression. By 1960 however, the new class that controlled the state was • incapable either at the regional level or the local level to

moderate these social affairs because of the ahistorical and illogicality of its emergence.

This study covers the whole epoch of colonial rule in central Tivland. Chapters One and Two are concerned with defining the area and scope of study and an examination of the debate on colonial rule at the theoretical and conceptual levels. Chapter Three attempts to examine the extent and depth of the transformation in terms of land, economy and labour up to 1935. This chapter shows the kind of class forces that were in existence before colonial rule came to marginalise them.

Chapter Four treats a general overview of the impact of colonial rule on the political system and the establishment of colonial administrative apparatus- which heralded the creation of new class conjunctures while Chapter Five is interested in how the family and household in Central Tivland were themselves affected with the result that colonial over rule wrecked havoc on the values and attributes that had remained tradition, thus preparing the ground for petty-bourgeois party politics, treated in Chapter Six, which is also the concluding chapter. The Post Colonial violence which, shook Central Tivland and echoed all over Tivland in 1960 and 1964. were themselves a logical development derived from the illegitimacy of colonial rule on the people.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.P.U.	-	Birom Progressive Union
C.M.S.	-	Church Missionary Society
C.S.E.R.	-	Centre for Social and Economic Research.
C.W.T.	-	One hundred Weight, an equivalent of 4 quarters of a pound.
D.O.	-	District Officer.
D.R.C.M.	-	Dutch Reformed Church Mission.
Ibs	-	Pounds. ~~SIX~~ Ounces makes one pound.
I.H.R.U.	-	Idoma Hope Rising Union.
I.T.U.	-	Igbirra Tribal Union.
I.J.A.H.S.	-	International Journal of African Historical Studies.
J.A.A.	-	Journal of African Affairs.
J.A.L.	-	Journal of African Law.
J.A.H.	-	Journal of African History.
J.H.S.N.	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
J.E.H.	-	Journal of Economic History.
K.I.L.	-	Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U., Zaria.
M.B.P.P.	-	Middle Belt Peoples Congress Party.
M.Z.L.	-	Middle Zone League
N.A.K.	-	National Archives Kaduna.
N.C.N.C.	-	National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons.
N.H.R.S.	-	Northern History Research Section.
N.P.C.	-	Northern Peoples Congress

R.C.M.	-	Roman Catholic Mission.
R.N.C.	-	Royal Niger Company
T.P.U.	-	Tiv Progressive Union.
S.N.P.	-	Secretary Northern Provinces
U.A.C.	-	United Africa Company
U.M.B.C.	-	United Middle Belt Congress.
W.A.F.F.	-	West African Frontier Force.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

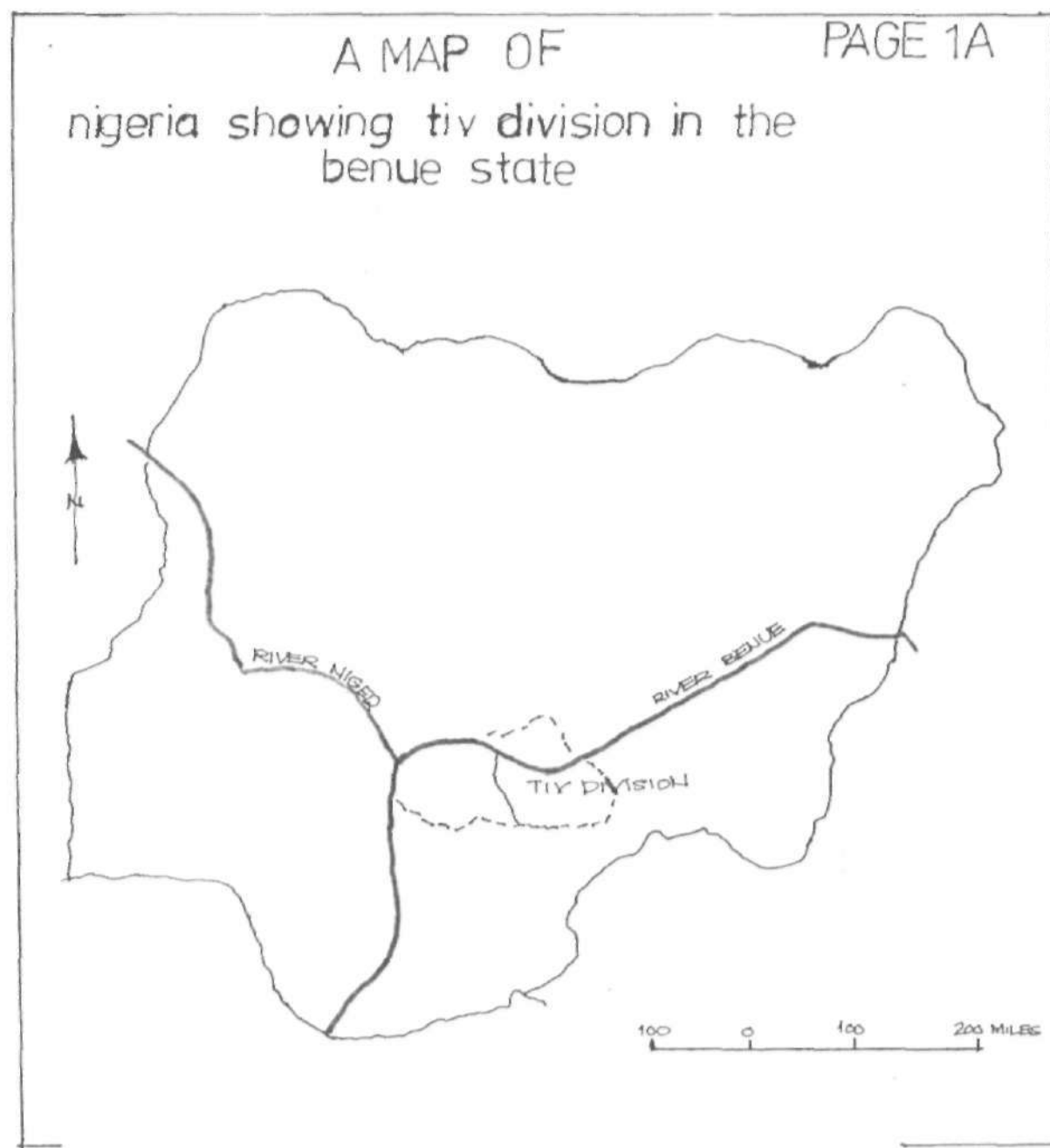
1.1 The Area: the People; the Scope of Study.

Tivland is a large geographical and historical entity, located today in such a way that the Tiv are found predominantly in the present Benue State, parts of Plateau and Gongola States. A study of the history of the Tiv people in its entirety as a nationality is no doubt desirable and have its obvious strong points, but in this context, beyond the scope of this work. We are concerned here with the Tiv who have lived in what is today Benue State area ever before its creation and by the time of colonial intervention.¹

To define what we mean by central Tivland, it is important to know the geographical spread of the entire Tivland during the colonial era. This however can better be done with the aid of a map (attached overleaf)

-
1. Colonial intervention for us here in Central Tivland began in 1912. However, the presence of traders and other explorers dates back to 1854 during the time of Baikie. See Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwana and Benue in 1854, London Frank Cass 1966.

MAP I



SOURCE — FEDERAL MINISTRY OF LANDS
AND SURVEY MAKURDI

On January 1, 1900, a Protectorate was declared over Northern Nigeria. The Tiv and all other nationalities in the Benue Valley, including those in the Bauchi, Muri and Adamawa emirates came under the authority of Resident William Hewby and was called Benue Province.

In August 1900,² Benue Province was divided into two separate administrative units - the Lower and Upper Benue. All Tiv districts (then called Munshi) north and South of the Benue, Westward from the Katsina-Ala River together with some parts of Zaria Province. South of Latitude 9° came under Major Burden with headquarters at Akwanaja.

Before 1912, all districts in Western and Southwestern Tivland³ were placed under the nominal control of the Southern Nigerian Government. By 1914, all of them reverted back to Muri Province. These included the clans of Shangev-Tiev, Gaav and Mbatlav⁴. The Tiv therefore came to be ruled as part of Muri Province with two administrative centres at Abinsi and Katsina-Ala.

2. Northern Nigeria Gazette, Op.Cit P.126

3. Before 1933, when the British Colonial administration in Tivland became obsessed with the idea of the creation of a central location as an administrative headquarter, all parts of Tivland were known by the Four Cardinal Points: North, South, East and West.

4. Only the Mbatlav Clan is of interest to us here which has come under our central Tivland.

In 1918, the Colonial Administration united the Tiv people with other nationalities South of the Benue (Bassa, Igala and the Jukun) to form the Munshi Province⁵. In 1926, Benue Province was created and the newly created,⁶ Munshi Division which included the non-Tiv speaking peoples in the Southern districts of Lafia emirate with administrative headquarters at Abinsi became incorporated into it. In the same year, the eleven clans of Ikurav-Ya, Turan, Mbagen Kusuv and Shorov⁷, Tongov, Shitire north and south, Ugondo, Ukan, Utur and the people of Katsina-Ala were brought under the authority of the Aku Uka by Richard Palmer⁸.

In 1933, these clans were withdrawn from the authority of the Aku and in the same year, Tiv Division was created, bringing together for once, all Tiv people under one administration. From 1907⁹, when colonial administrators, tax assessors and collectors were travelling in certain

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5. Makar T. 'A History of Political Change Among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th centuries, Ph.D ABU Zaria 1975 P.223.
 6. See also Makprof AR/PEP/F3 Annual Report and Returns, Benue Prov. 1932.
 7. Only Mbagen, Kusuv and Shorov fall into our category of Ityor in Central Tivland today here.
 8. Richard Palmer was the Lieutenant Governor incharge in 1926. See SNP 1160 vol.1 Palmer to Monk 24 July 1926 NAK.
 9. Dorward thinks that by 1908 Tivland had been taken over by the Colonial administration. See his "The Subjugation and Penetration of Tivland 1874 - 1908. (Un Pu. MS. in SOAS from 7/6/1960 No. A H/60/20)I contest this position. For the mere fact that certain colonial officers traversed and mapped Tivland did not mean that colonial occupation had become a fact for the Tiv. In fact, Mbakor clan was only traversed and assessed for tax in 1912. See Mbakor clan by I.G. Gunn, SNP 17/13 27931 NAK. And Makar, OP Cit Says that most parts of Tivland only came under British sway in 1914.

parts of Tivland, especially those nearest to the Jukun, mapping and establishing geographical boundaries, Central Tivland was not yet an issue. It was not until 1933 when Tiv Division was created that the issue of establishing a central location for the administration became important. Thus for the British, what became Central Tivland was merely a geographical expression informed by the concern to locate the administration in the most centrally convenient place. The site of Gboko was chosen and construction work on Gboko town, located on the boundary between Ipav and Mbayion clans, therefore commenced¹⁰.

For our purpose here, the area under study gained the designation Central Tivland first of all for its location in terms of centrality. Tortema confirms this position when he states that Gboko is 'situated almost in the centre of Tivland. Most of the divisional boundaries fall within the range of 65 miles from here with the exceptions of the districts of Udei, ... Ityoshin, ... and Ikurav-Ya'¹¹. There exists however, certain traits and relationships among those clans found here that sets them apart from other Tiv. Historically, these clans know themselves as descendants of

10. See Tortema J.K. "The Establishment and Growth of Gboko", B.A. Research Essay 1974, Zaria.

11. Ibid. P.2.

[illegible]

In terms of demography, the Ityar (clans) mentioned above were not as populous as those in Southern Tivland, the Kunav,¹⁶ nor as sparsely populated as the Iharev, Masev and Shitire to the north, West and East of Tivland respectively.¹⁷

The nature of the peopling of this area had peculiar implications for the manner in which economic activities were carried out. Land was not scarce, but there were no unoccupied vast stretches of 'bush' as the colonial administrators made us to believe.¹⁸ Land either belonged to one clan or the other and certain special relationships were determined before, say, a stranger from other parts of Tivland was permitted to Va shir (sojourn), settle and work the land.¹⁹

Makar, Tortema and Orkar²⁰ have argued that large scale migrations, at least as regards whole sections and clans, had become greatly minimised in most parts of Tivland

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16. Bohannan, Laura and Paul, Tiv Economy p.4. They have estimated that the population in Southern Tivland was something like 550 persons per square mile, and that in the Eastern part ranged from 30-40 persons per sq. mile.
 17. Estimated population figures abound in tax assessment reports in the Kaduna Archives. Tortema Op Cit p.1 says too that this area of relatively low population density extends to the northern and western parts of Tivland whose soil is still fertile.
 18. Dorwards D.C. "Ethnography and Administration". A Study of Anglo-Tiv 'Working Misunderstanding' in JAN XV, 3 (1974) P.460.
 19. This position was related to me by many informants, one among whom was Terzungwe Akende of Ipav, Gboko.
 20. Makar, T, 1975 Op.Cit Chapt. 2, Orkar J.N. Op Cit Chapter 3 Tortema J.K. Op Cit pp. 1 - 5.

Kpar¹² and are therefore of the Kparev "Super Clan."¹³ Kparev had three children, Jengbagh, Jechira and Kwande.¹⁴ Of these, only the Jengbagh are found in this central location. The descendants of Jengbagh¹⁵ include Mbatierrev, Mbayion, Mbakor, Yandev, Mbatlav, Mbagen, Ipav, Shorov and Kusuv. All of these clans, with the only exception of Tombo, who are also descendants of Jengbagh, but whom it is not clear why they are not linked up on the genealogical charter with the others, comprise today's Gboko Local Government Area.

All Tiv understnad each other in spite of the dialectal variations that exists in their spoken language. In addition to this, there also exists discernible differences among the different 'super clans' in terms of tonation between the Kparev and other Tiv which are present in all but the most urbanized of them.

-
- 12 See the genealogical charter that explains the descendants of Tiv. Kpar is supposed to be one of the grand sons of Tiv through one of his two sons, Ipusu together with Shitire and Ukum. While the others whom according to Akiga Sai, include the Iharev, Ugondo, Nongov, Ikurav, Ikorakpe, Masev and Tongov. See Akiga's Story, East, R(ed) 1939, p.50.
- 13 According to Orkar's Classification, other "super clans" include the Masev, Iharev, Shitire and Ugondo. J.N. Orkar, "The Pre-colonial History of the Tiv C.1500 to C.1850. (Unp. Ph.D.) Dalhousie University Canada, 1979. The super Clans" are the biggest segments that the Tiv can be divided into.
- 14 This position was also collaborated by informants from Yandev, especially Iana Adugu.
- 15 See Feasey, Report on Mbatierrev district July 1937 26005 NAK.

by 1990, except perhaps among the Iharev to the North and Shitire/Ukum to the East. Thus, in terms of massive population movements, at least by the time of the arrival of the British at the turn of the century, central Tivland had become fairly stabilized. This position may be strengthened by the fact that the Tiv generally tended to be more enthusiastic in migrating into their non-Tiv neighbours lands rather than that of their fellow Tiv.²¹

It is reasonable in the circumstance to suggest that migrations of the sort that could have profound demographic or geographic difference, affecting those clans in central Tivland during the colonial period, can be ruled out. It can therefore, be maintained with a degree of certainty that territorially and otherwise, what today constitutes central Tivland is representative of what it was at the beginning of the colonial era. (See map of Tivland).

The period 1912 to 1960 has not been chosen arbitrarily. For, although, there exists disagreements as to the actual period of the inception of colonial rule in Tivland, one feels that the subject of study should dictate the scope, just as much as the scope determines the direction of such a study. Thus periodization in history should not consist in the shallow

21. This position was confirmed by Paul and Laura Bohannon, in their work Tiv Farm and Settlement 1954, London. Among other probabilities, my informants suggests that the Tiv tended to migrate into other peoples land rather than theirs because they were numerically superior to these neighbours. Information supplied by Tsavnannde Agema and Others.

and arbitrary chronology of years for its own sake. The colonial phenomenon for central Tivland became a fact in 1912²², while for other areas of Tivland to the east, contact with colonial agents began by 1900²³. In fact according to Makar, the penetration of Tiv country started from about 1907, but that it was not until 1914 that "almost all the Ityar in Tivland had been brought under the minimal control of the British"²⁴. For us here, the mere fact that the British traded or travelled in Tivland, or even fought some Tiv who resisted the way in which their yam farms were destroyed for telegraph construction,²⁵ did not mean that they had been colonized. It was only when taxes were levied and apparently collected, a tradition which the Tiv did not apparently practice prior to the colonial time, can one say that colonialism for them too had become a fact.

The upper chronological limit of 1960 is more obvious given that colonial rule historically ended that year. However, one realizes that the structures and institutions that colonialism created survived beyond 1960, the period of political independence.

22. GUNN I.G. Mbakor Clan SNP 17/3, 2793 NAK. For this clan, which is also one of the districts in central Tivland today, British presence was only established in 1912.

23. See Lugard's Report on the Munshi campaign, July 1900. CO. 446/10/25250 quoted in Makar T. Op.Cit p. 219.

24. Makar T. Op Cit p. 230.

25. See Obaro Ikime, "The Pacification of the Tiv 1900-1908" JHSN Vol.VII No.1 1973 P.104. And The

Colonialism is therefore a very central concept to this research. For the research itself is about colonial central Tivland; how the phenomena affected the area in terms of social and political organization which became essential for the organization of production. The questions that we ask today inform our scope both in terms of time and space.

1.2. The Central Issues to be Addressed.

At the general level, people, or rather man, is interested in knowing where he is in time and space, why he is where he is and why certain things happen the way they do. This makes man an inquisitive and curious being, a curiosity that is guided by his past, an understanding of which past in turn equips him with a world view and therefore his perception of such happenings. Thus man is a superior being in the world not just because he is one with brains, muscles and instincts, but principally because man is guided by the past he himself has created by the application of his labour power to production in order to procreate and sustain life.

The point at this general level is the fact that every human being is governed by a world view, a perception of life that guides his action and therefore, his own objective historically and his relation or sets of relations to other people and interests in society. This

is not optional. Everybody possesses such a world view which is not determined at birth but acquired through the process of socialization in society.

An understanding of the nature of the problems of Nigeria today has to begin with its past, an understanding of this past as an objective historical process. This is where history comes in. At one level, history is the study of the past which helps to throw light on the nature of the present and therefore enables man to relocate himself and chart a course for his actions both in the present and in the future. A subject of historical investigation is therefore more often than not, informed by issues of the present, issues of relevance.

Today, and not infrequently, the uninformed are heard to say that scholars should stop passing the buck by blaming colonialism for our national problems. That Nigerians are the problem themselves, and are responsible for not building a society where justice, equality and marked concrete social progress is attained. That two and a half decades after colonial independence is more than ample time to restructure our economy and society to serve our needs for the better.

This sort of position can best be described as Naivete.²⁶ For this may appear, superficially, a valid

26. See Lenin's "A Letter to Apollonia, reproduced in Yash Tandon, (ed) Debate on Class, State and Imperialism, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1982.

assumption and in the circumstance reasonable. But one has to reinforce the fact that it took colonial capitalism over half a century to leave to us the legacy of dependence ²⁷and underdevelopment. That it was political independence and not economic liberation that was bequeath^{ed} to Nigeria in 1960. There exists a world of difference between economic and political liberation and the seeming philanthropic charity of colonial capitalist independence, which still leaves a people tied to the dictates of the capitalist system. The nature of the classes to whom political power was handed over is a manifestation of how our past history as a colonial entity has defined our society today, and continues to determine our relationship with the capitalist West, a relationship that did not begin after independence.

27. Theotonio Dos Santos "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America in H. Bernstein (ed) Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today (Middlesex, 1973) p. 76 has offered a definition of dependence: "A conditioning situation in which the economics of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development. In either case, the basic situation of dependence causes these countries to be both backward and exploited."

This rather long detour has been necessary to provide a backdrop behind which the nature of the problem to be investigated in central Tivland will be situated. This research will be interested in understanding the nature of authority structures that were created during the colonial process, and which have made it possible for the continued preponderance of this unequal relationship of exploitation, dependence and underdevelopment for Nigeria as a whole, and central Tivland in particular; to what extent the emergence of a class society was hampered or engendered by colonialism in central Tivland.

Most studies done on the Tiv to date, have been largely preoccupied with either the structures of colonial administration or the fruitless exercise of enumerating and counting the achievements of colonial rule in the areas of education, missionary work, creation of colonial infrastructures and administration.²⁹ The dominant view of colonialism here has been from a limited perspective and did not take into consideration the fact of the global nature of capitalism at its various stages and its manifestations in specific epochs, and an embracing conceptual framework was not employed in appreciating the nature, type and essence of colonialism as it affected the Tiv.

The result has been the wrong impression created, that colonialism was something out there, given, and whose termination by 1960 had turned a new chapter of

28. See for instance the work of Gbande D.D. Pre-Colonial Trade and Settlement in the middle Benue, M.A. Thesis, APU Zaria, 1982.

29. See also most of the works of Dorword, D.C. quoted in this work and cited in the Bibliography.

politics and ushered in indigenous political actors in Tivland and elsewhere. The nature of the classes and class structures that emerged during this era, classes which replaced and marginalized the pre-colonial ruling elites, but which were in turn marginalized by the colonial capitalist structures, are not brought out. These same classes that became very central in the authority patterns and their changing contents have not been adequately studied in any of the works on the Tiv that I am aware of.

Certain questions become relevant here, and one understands the fact that sometimes it is much more difficult to ask correct questions than to proffer the proper answers: what was the nature of the authority patterns that colonial capitalism was faced with in central Tivland? How did it transform or failed to transform these patterns in the attempt to create an ideal situation necessary to pursue the interests of an exploiter system? What new authority groups emerged in this process? In what ways had economic production in colonial central Tivland become facilitated by the changes effected in the realm of the state and the ideological sphere? What is the real purpose and meaning of the creation of the offices of the District Heads, the various clan heads, the graded courts and the office of the Tor Tiv in 1947?

How far and to what extent did the various groups of the commercial, bureaucratic and political elites

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come into position of leadership, even if this leadership was subordinated to the colonial rulers? Were these groups definite enough to be tagged classes? To what extent were they a marginalized or underdeveloped class of leaders? In addition, what historical process explain the emergence of personalities like Tarka, J.S. in Tiv body politic? What common interests do they share? Finally, given these developments during the colonial period, is it scientific to refer to these people by concepts such as "egalitarian", 'Classless' and "corporate Tiv", such terms that imply amorphous unity and uniformity on the Tiv nationality? These and other questions I feel have not been adequately analysed and answers profered to them, nor have they been subjected to historical scrutiny from a scientific perspective of materialist dialectics.

It is generally agreed among academics that an empirical research that is complimented by a strong theorectical foundation allows for a better appreciation of the issues involved from a more embracing view point. The next chapter will thus attempt a rigorous appreciation of some of the varied theorectical and conceptual issues that have been advanced on colonialism with a view to highlight some of the more obvious limitations of the works done on the area.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL, AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: A CRITIQUE OF STUDIES ON TIVLAND.

- 2.1. In every important research work, a particular theory or sets of theories the researcher employs, either consciously or unconsciously, determines the nature of the questions he asks and therefore the answers he gets. It is only after all the possible inter-connections are identified can the investigation be said to have a direction. Thus the type of conceptual literature and concepts¹ a researcher employs, whether objective or subjective, are of great importance in determining his perspective and analytical framework.

Previous writings on this area have employed suspicious bourgeois frames of reference which in the final analysis have amounted to the use of empiricism as a framework. It has become increasingly clear that the applications of such frameworks alone are inadequate in trying to get a totally embracing understanding of

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1. "All concepts are abstract in a very specific sense: they are defined by the place they occupy and the function they perform within a determinate field of concepts, a problematic. Concepts are formed and have their existence within knowledge. They are not reducible to or derivable from any set of "given" or "real" conditions. The concept of the feudal mode of production, for example, is not generalization from a specific set of historically "given" feudal societies...on the contrary, this concept or any other mode of production is the product of theoretical work." This is an extraction from Barry Hinds and Paul Q. Hirst Pre-capitalist Modes of Production, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London 1975) pp. 1 - 2. For each and every concept used in this research, attempts will be made to define them within the context they are used.

the historical process. Emphasis has to be shifted from this kind of historical study. The idea is to give substance to the available materials.

For our purpose, we are taking the class approach² to analyse the history of central Tivland between 1912 and 1960. This will mean employing the historical materialist approach as a conceptual framework. This method of analysis was developed and used by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in their studies and have been proved to be effective as the only philosophical tool that has answered all questions that have defeated orthodox and bourgeois philosophers.

Theories seeking to explain society have always abounded. But historical materialism, founded over a hundred and thirty-five years ago, is a living creative theory capable of developing and enriching itself by general conclusions drawn from historical experience.³

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2. Nicos Poulantzas, New Left Review, 78, 1973 pp. 27-54. "On Social Classes", has defined social classes as "groups of social agents, of men principally defined, but not exclusively, by their place in the economic sphere... a social class is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices, i.e. by its place in the ensemble of the division of labour which includes political and ideological relations. Their place corresponds to the structural determination of classes, i.e., the manner in which determination by the structure (relations of production, politico-ideological domination/subordination) operates on class practices - for classes have existence only in the class struggle."
 3. ABC of Dialectical And Historical Materialism. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 295.

It does not only explain the past and the present, but enables us to foresee the future and take an active part in the process of history.⁴

This philosophy, historical materialism, has employed the most central law which guides all objective life i.e. the law of the unity of opposite tendencies.⁵ According to this law, all objective things have two opposite tendencies which are independent and at the same time struggle against each other. This unity of struggle determines the life of things and pushes their development forward.⁶ This law is both the Marxist world out-look as well as a methodology.⁷ As a world outlook, Marxism regards all things as the unity of opposites in accordance with the law of self-movement and development of objective things. As a methodology, it uses this law as a dialectical method of analysis so as to know and change the world. It was on the premise of this law that Marxism developed the theory of the evolution of classes through struggle and leaps.⁸

Marxism sees process and development through the struggle of opposites and contradictory forces and traces decisive historical conflicts and changes to roots in the mode of production.⁹ These are known as the class struggle. Thus Marxist investigations and analysis are

4. Ibid.

5. I owe this understanding to A.M. Babu's Introduction to Yash Tandon (ed) Debate on Class, State and Imperialism. Op Cit. p.1.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. The concept of mode of production, see John G. Taylor, From Modernization to Modes of Production 'A critique of the sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment. Macmillan Press, London, 1979.

concerned with contradictions, class struggle, modes of production, the economic base and its superstructure.¹⁰

Marx's mode of analysis sought to capture the social process as a social unit in such a way that the analyst should be talking about interaction and synthesis of the social, political, and economic as a single framework that observe the society in motion.

An analysis of authority patterns in central Tivland in the colonial era is thus concerned with the superstructure of society. However, it is to be understood that this super-structure and the sphere of the state ^{only} is not predicated on the economic base of society, but that both of them demonstrates mutual dialectical interaction between the elements making up the organic structure which makes the society. The application of this mode of analysis to the central Tivland case is important here because colonialism as a phenomenon aimed at transforming pre-capitalist mode of production. In other words, what really caught the interest of colonial capital was not the economic base. But first, predominant values, ideology and social organization of this pre-capitalist social formation¹¹ had to

10. Ibid.

11. Social formation is a Marxist concept which designates a complex structure of social relations, a unity of economic, ideological, and in certain cases, political structural levels in which the role of the economy is determinant. It is determinant in the sense that the conditions of existence of the dominant relations of production assign to each of the levels a certain form of effectivity and a mode of intervention with respect to other levels. See Bary Hinde and Paul Q. Hirst, Op Cit p.13.

be tempered with and changed in the process of the reorganization of production for international capital.

The colonizing power took over the instrument of the state, in most cases, violently. The indigenous ruling classes were either eliminated, marginalized or turned into colonial state agents. The state sphere was remodeled to suit colonial needs, new laws enacted, changes in the ideology, ideas of right or wrong were deliberately made and people, consciously or not, were made to loose their own values in order for the invaders to survive.¹²

We employ deliberately the scientific historical materialist mode of analysis to examine issues raised in this research because it provides for the objective comprehension of the nature of society and the way it changes in such a way that one can determine this process of change on a regular basis.¹³ We shall now consider some of the two dominant views on colonialism as it relates to our discussion of the colonial process in central Tivland. This will help us to be more clear of our differences in terms of approach in relation to existing literature on the Tiv in the colonial phase.

Some Views On Colonialism.

The essence of the colonial phase of African history lies in the fact that the history of colonial Africa is one in which the pre-capitalist social formation is

12. Chinweizu, The West and The Rest of Us. Nok Publishers (Nig) Ltd., 1978, most of chapter 4, but especially. pp. 75 - 78.

13. A.M. Babu, Op Cit p.2.

subjected to the penetration of capitalism at the stage of monopoly;^{of} Societies that were quite sufficient in their production needs, even if the level to which they turned nature to serve them was not mechanized. What was important was that productive forces were developing, and at different levels of development at that; some highly stratified, others less so, and yet others in the communal mode of production.

However, colonial capitalism penetrated these social formations, had their previously articulated practice disarticulated and rerouted within the orbit of capital so as to enhance its expanded reproduction world-wide.

It is the position of this study that whatever research carried out on the colonial phase, whether on the colonial economy, conquest, colonial rule or decolonization, the basic reality of this phenomena can only be revealed if these studies bring out the material conditions that necessitate the reproduction of the needs of colonizing capitalism.

Two dominant positions, diametrically opposed to each other, and each looking at colonialism from divergent perspectives have come to appreciate the nature of the effects of colonial capitalism on the Third World in general and Nixeria in particular. We shall appreciate a few from both sides of the divide so as to help make up our minds which of the views is the most tenable and proven to be correct.

Lugard's Dual mandate¹⁴ has been held to be authoritative in various quarters on British colonial policies to such an extent that many subsequent British colonial governors of Nigeria actually based their colonial policies on certain aspects of this book. The book has thus come to be regarded in certain quarters as a source book by some generations of African and non-African historians of the colonial history. It will thus be appropriate to begin with this book.

The essence of Lugard's book centres around British colonial administration in Africa i.e. Indirect Rule, a system he says is essentially British but 'adapted' to suit particular societies. In Northern Nigeria, the Emir, he said, was to preside over the 'Native Administration',¹⁵ with District Heads under him, with a Native treasury and Judicial Council to back him up so that he can have 'absolute' authority over his people. In this way, Lugard believed that the colonial administrative system would least tamper with traditional political and cultural institutions. Over the emirs were to be the District Officers, Residents, Governors and the Governor General, in a system of Indirect Rule.¹⁶

14. Lugard, Lord F. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London, 1922) p. 58 especially states the "moral obligations" to the subject races as distinct from the "material obligations."

15. Ibid. p. 200.

16. See Lugard Op Cit pp.94-103. See also Y.B. Usman, "History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th centuries" 1977, A.B.U. Zaria.

Where the British found no such structure as those in the emirates to graft indirect rule upon, as in the Ibo Society, they created warrant Chiefs.¹⁷ In Tivland, the system the British met did not meet with the ideal so district heads were initially created, and later 5th class and 4th class Chiefs were appointed.

But the fact remained that the emir, the Warrant Chief or the District Head no longer had any 'authority' of his own. He had become a colonial 'agent' since the colonial conquest. It was not tradition that determined who was appointed chief. Those so appointed could not control nor dispose of surpluses produced; they had no final say on land matters;¹⁸ no right to an armed force, nor could they possess guns, except 'illegally'. The tax they could collect was decided by the colonial authorities¹⁹ and the monies meant for the Native Treasury, to be spent according to colonial specifications, and in line with government budgetary approval on construction or maintenance of dispensaries, schools, roads and court houses etc. They could not legislate, but were allowed to enforce government legislation. Their salary was fixed. There was nothing direct about colonial rule. In

17. A.E. Afigbo. The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1891-1934 (Longman) 1973. This work is the most authentic study on the area up to-date that I am aware of.

18. Lugard Op Cit. p. 208.

19. Ibid pp. 231 - 255.

fact nowhere could colonial authority exist without these African auxiliaries.

There was, however, a reason for shifting the administrative burden to reliable Africans. This lowered the financial and manpower cost of empire. Politically, it helped the new order to reach some measure of accommodation with the conquered African elite whose order was being replaced. By this method too, the conquerors were able to provide low cost security for European missionaries, traders and other persons who would create the necessary institutions and infrastructure for exploiting African resources.²⁰

However, being taken by Lugard's 'Indirect Rule', most studies on the colonial phase of African history wasted a lot of energy debating around this concept, neglecting the fact that colonialism came not to govern as an end in itself. The debate steered clear of issues to dwell on the 'Civilizing Mission' and the non-existent economic advantages to the colonized.²¹

Lugard however, did not mince words when he stated in his often quoted passage why Europeans were in Africa:

Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital, and energy have not been and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of

20. See Chinweizu, The West And The Rest of Us. Op Cit. P. 70.

21. David K. Fieldhouse, The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the 18th century, 2nd ed. Macmillan 1982.

the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfil this dual mandate.²²

The problem as to whether the 'dual mandate' was fulfilled at the end of the colonial era has led to two opposed and differing shades of opinion. On the one hand is the view which sees colonialism as actually leading to economic development of the colonised areas. The other alternative view perceives colonialism as the major contributing factor to the underdevelopment of these areas.²³

According to the first proposition,

The first impetus for rapid economic change derived mainly from the colonial period. The logic, administration and scientific infrastructure essential for promoting change likewise had its beginning in this era.²⁴

This school of thought represented above is happy to point to the fact that the economic impact of colonialism is to be found in the principle of the market. That by 1900, independent expansion of the market in Africa had become impossible because of internal constraints to growth.²⁵ It took foreign intervention to resolve the imperfections and remove the obstacles to expansion of the

22. Lugard Op Cit p. 617.

23. See Bonat Z.A. "Theoretical And Methodological Considerations in the Study of Development: Conceptualizing the Economic Impact of Colonialism - An Essay in historiography", pp. 1-2.

24. See P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, "Economic Achievements of the Colonizers: An Assessment"; also quoted in Bonat Z.A. Op.Cit p.2.

25. Bonat Z.A. Op Cit p.2.

market. This is a position that is shared by Hopkins and other Vent-for-Surplus theory fellow travellers.²⁶

Thus to Hopkins, because of the "open economy"²⁷ of the colonial era, markets were expanded and production stimulated. This generated economic activity, which in turn generated more goods for exchange, increased incomes of nations, individuals and governments which enabled provision of infrastructures and the institution base for this development.²⁸ Thus the direct link between the expansion of the market and development.

Hopkins concluded that the colonial economy ushered in modernity in West Africa, entrepreneur skills developed; there was substantial growth in provision of public infrastructure and modern manufacturing sector. The colonial period was a "dynamic economic phase", facilitating the evolution of the "modern market economy".

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26. See Hopkins A.G. An Economic History of West Africa, London 1975 pp. 4-5. The Vent-For-Surplus theory was first published by H. Mynt, "The Classical Theory of international trade and underdeveloped Countries" in Economic Journal 68, 1958. There is also Helleiner: Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth In Nigeria. Yale University, 1966, and Hogendorn "The Vent-for-Surplus Modern and African Cash Agriculture to 1914", and Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origin and early Development, A.B.U., Press, Zaria. 1978.
27. Hopkins Op Cit p. 168. The colonial economy was 'open' because it kept raw materials flowing out and kept the door open for manufactured imports to flow in.
28. Bonat Z.A. Op Cit p.2.

Thus, to Hopkins, growth indices of rising export volume and imports were equated with development. The problem with Hopkins as with all the other Vent-For-Surplus theorists is that he failed to go beyond the figures and indices to examine colonial production structures, mode of surplus extraction and appropriation. To him and the others, therefore, colonialism equals development.

On the other side of the divide are those theoreticians,²⁹ beginning with V.I. Lenin, Paul Baran, popularized by Theotonio Dos Santos, Walter Rodney and Samir Amin. These are those who have decided to view colonialism from the perspective of political economy and dependency theories. These major theoreticians perceive colonialism as the major contributor to the underdevelopment of the Third World Countries through the same process of incorporation into the world capitalist market and the subsequent exploitation of the colonies by capitalism through the establishment of dependent³⁰ relationships.³¹

29. V.I. Lenin: Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism. Paul Baran, The Political Economy of Growth. Pelican Books Ltd. Middlesex 1973.

T. Dos Santos, "The Crisis of Development Theory and the problem of Dependence in Latin America" in H. Hernstein (ed) Underdevelopment and Development. Op Cit. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Dar es Salaam, 1972.

30. The concept 'dependency' has been defined by Theotonio Dos Santos in "The Crisis of Development Theory...." Op Cit.

31. Bonat Z.A. Op Cit.

Because of exploitation of the colonial world by Western capitalism, whether Mercantile, Industrial or Capitalism at the imperialist stage, a situation of underdevelopment, retarded and perverse growth was generated, giving rise to underdeveloped or dependent capitalism in the colonial world.³²

The general consensus of these radical theoreticians is their conclusions that the nature of relations of dependence between the Third World nations and the metropolitan capitalist countries will prevent the emergence of capitalist relations of production of the type that Europe and the United States experienced. This will continue to deepen the relationship of exploitation and underdevelopment. The logical solution would be to sever ties, both politically, but especially economically with Western Capitalism and to construct an alternative system based on the socialist relations of production.

These are by all means not the only scholars who have profered explanations on the colonial question and dependency. However, all other positions that have been advanced fall on either side of the divide: those who view the phenomena from the positive perspectives and those who believe and show dialectically that the only thing good about colonialism was when it went away. These latter have traced the changing character and development of capitalism through its mercantilist, monopoly and

32. See here Giovanni Arrighi and J.S. Saul "Class Formation and Economic Development in Tropical Africa" in H. Bernstein (ed) Op Cit. pp. 290-3.

imperialist stages and concluded that colonialism was a logical resolution on a temporary basis of the crisis of capitalism.³³ The extension of capitalism in this form into the Third World produced its kind of development that classical and orthodox capitalism did ^{not do} for Europe and the West. It could only reproduce underdevelopment in the peripheries. All other theories on the contrary get stuck with their inability to resolve the question of poverty in these peripheral nations inspite of their obvious wealth in both human and material resources.

It is from this perspective that this research will view the nature, meaning and character of the colonial phase in Central Tivland. Unlike Ade Ajayi, we shall not ^{be} bugged down by the obvious limitation of empiricism and conceptual deficiency which compelled him to assert that colonialism was a mere 'episode' in African history which must be seen as "not a complete departure from the African past but as one episode in the continuous flow of African history".³⁴ Colonialism distorted the people's history with lasting consequences resulting in the kind of social, political and economic milieu in which we find ourselves today as a nation.

Any position on the contrary is unhistorical and

33. See Wilmot, P.F. In Search of Nationhood: The Theory And Practice of Nationalism in Africa. Lagos (1979) pp. 97-99. For a general treatise on imperialism, see also Harry Magdoff, Imperialism: From Colonial Age to the Present. Monthly Review Press London, 1978.

34. Ade Ajayi, "The continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism", in Ranger T.O. (ed) Emerging Themes of African History: Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians. Dar-es-Salaam Oct. 1965, Nairobi East Africa Publishing House, P.149.

undialectical.

2.3. An Assessment of Previous Works on the Area.

Although this study's primary concern is with central Tivland, other works that have been done on the area, which have as their focus either parts of Tivland or the whole of Tiv society, and which have some relevance to my ~~focus~~, will be briefly reviewed here. It is hoped this assessment will make for a clearer understanding of what the problem with previous studies on the Tiv consist ~~in~~, and in the process, help reinforce the need for another look at the phenomenon of colonialism among a Nigerian people.

Those who have researched on this area are numerous. They range from colonial administrators to colonial anthropologists and historians. They include for our purpose those monographs by the Bohanans, David Craig Dorward, Tesem Makar, Justin Iorbee Tseayo, David Dogo Gbande and Akiga Saai. These are not the only researchers available on the Tiv. Others of relevance will be discussed in due course.

All of the monographs by these writers have certain limitations that are very basic. One important such limitation, central to all of them generally, is that none of these works have attempted to approach the history of this area from a class perspective. The point must be quickly made that it is not enough to understand that classes exist in society and are products of historical motion, but that these classes are not fixed, immutable and given entities. Nor is

it enough to assert that the proletariat, peasantry, bourgeoisie and other classes and strata exists, but to show their particular historical form, experience and substance where they do exist. This way, one would be able to demonstrate the superiority of the class analysis over the non-class approach.

There is little doubt that by the beginning of the 20th century, the Tiv can no longer be treated as a corporate, non-class, clan-based tribal society, assuming a cohesion, unity and uniformity of a nationality.³⁵ Thus any study that does not start

35. One is aware of Marx's Polemic but historical opening sentence in The Communist Manifesto to the fact that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." See Marx, K. Manifesto of The Communist Party, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1977 edition p.35. One is also aware of Amilcar Cabral's position on this question on the development and motion of history on the basis of classes. His position that in Pre-class Societies in say Africa, there was history and that in a possible classless Communist Society, there will be history, is tenable. Thus in any of these other societies, then the motive force of history is the mode of production - the level of productive forces and the system of ownership characteristic of that group. See Amilcar Cabral, Unity and Struggle, PAIGC Heineman (London 1980) pp.124-125.

with an appreciation of the class nature³⁶ of this society (at whatever level of development) and treat its history from such an understanding, at least during the period of colonial rule, is bound to draw conclusions that are not representative of the real historical process among the Tiv. And this constitutes the most fundamental limitation of those studies done on the Tiv.

Secondly, a good number of these works have had to rely almost exclusively (except Makar and Akiga) and with apparently little critical appraisal, on colonial sources. We shall attempt an assessment of these more closely in terms of their scope, theoretical perspective and empirical basis; type and use of sources; major arguments and propositions and finally, assess the significance of these works in relation to Tiv society today.

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36. Amilcar Cabral's insight into the emergence of Classes and their role in society will illuminate the centrality of these in human development: "...In the general evolution of mankind and each of the peoples in the human groups of which it is composed, classes appear neither as a generalized and simultaneous phenomenon throughout all these groups, nor as a finished, perfect, uniform and spontaneous whole. The formation of classes is basically the result of progressive development of the productive forces and the way in which the wealth produced by this group-or usurped by other groups - is distributed. This means the socio-economic phenomenon. Class arises and develops as a function of at least two essential and interdependent variable: The level of productive forces and the system of ownership of the means of production." See Cabral Op Cit p. 123.

2.4.

The Bohanans

Both Laura and Paul Bohanan were American anthropologists who worked among the Kunav of the Southern Tivland for a period of 26 months between 1949 and 1953. They have published between them either individually or together, very extensively on the Tiv.³⁷

Put together, these works are not only significant by their sheer numbers, but they have in certain respects predominated research on Tiv society, politics and economy. However, for our purpose here, their writings presents some problems to us. This is because they tend to have a rather timeless and static quality about them which tended to imply a state of immutability in the pre-colonial phase and even in the colonial era in which they lived and wrote.³⁸

37. Some of their important works for us here include The Tiv of Central Nigeria, Op Cit, Tiv Economy, Tiv farm and settlement, (London 1954), "The Political and Economic Aspects of Land Tenure and Settlement Patterns Among the Tiv of Central Nigeria" D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1951.

38. Dorward says of them "... They came looking for the 'Real' Tiv, an approach which tended to impart a timeless quality, remote from any historical context, to their description of Tiv institutions and society... Theirs was the "reality" through which academics and outsiders have since come to perceive the Tiv..." See Dorward D.C. Ethnography And Administration: A Study of Anglo-Tiv Working Misunderstanding in J A H, xv, 3 (1974) pp. 474-478.

This is essentially a problem of methodology as well as over reliance on informants, for the Bohanans themselves had arrived in Tivland when the colonial administration had made important alterations in the way of life of the Tiv people in the areas of social and political organization as well as the economy. They hardly really observed what was happening around them. According to Dorward, "This oversight can possibly be explained by the fact that they (the Bohanans) never observed traditional Tiv economy, did not have access to or were unaware of the relevant documentation and relied heavily on oral evidence."³⁹

However, one considers this to be neither the case of oversight nor a question of over-reliance on oral evidence as such. The fact of the matter is that the Bohanans were employing paradigms and conceptual frameworks through which they viewed Tiv society and through which categories they expected every fact of Tiv social, political and economic life to fall into place. If such did not happen, they were quick to implore critics to employ the "cannons of their professions"⁴⁰ - i.e. social anthropology to give a

39. Dorward, D.C., "Pre-colonial Tiv trade and cloth currency" in International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.9, 1976, P.589.

40. See the Review of Bohanan's Justice and Judgement Among the Tiv. By Arnott, D.W., "Council and Court Among the Tiv - Traditional Concepts and Alien Institutions in a non-Muslem Tribe of Northern Nigeria" in Journal of African Law Vol.2, 1958, pp. 19-25.

critique of their works. In other words, if one may be allowed to run an analogy, according to the Bohanan, if you must criticize a system of production, say capitalism, you should employ the tenets of capitalist philosophy and ideology to criticize that system. Certainly, no appreciable progress will be made since the limitations of that ideology will also define the extent to which such a critique can go.

Bohanan himself says the anthropologist is interested in learning "genealogic rites, techniques, manners, esoterica"⁴¹ Thus, they tend to emphasize the issue of religion and culture⁴² as the basis on which to understand Tiv conceptual system of life. This 'culture' and 'tradition' they saw as static and unchanging. Thus, in their book, Tiv Economy, they carry on the task of analysing Tiv tradition and culture, methods of farming etc. in a colonial situation as if it was natural and colonialism did not significantly affect or change their attitudes and values.

As a result of their theoretical orientation and world view, the Bohanans tended to employ western

41. Bohanan, Paul and Laura Tiv Economy, Op Cit, Chapter 1.

42. See Bohanan, Paul and Laura, The Tiv of Central Nigeria. Ethnographic Survey of Africa edited by D. Forde, 1953, pp. 81-93.

yardsticks to regimentalize and compartmentalize Tiv social, economic and political existence. Thus in their organization and presentation one finds them constantly dividing chapter headings under such stereotypes as "History and Traditions of Origin", "Social Organization and Political Structure"⁴³ etc. This sort of fragmentation does not make for a coherent understanding of Tiv society, nor penetrate their historical reality or even understand the nature of class forces or mode of production that determined historical motion.

It was not the Bohannans who attributed the concepts egalitarianism and statelessness⁴⁴ to the Tiv, but they popularized and lent credence to these concepts as much as to make no difference. They insist that "it is dangerous for any man to become prominent; he is immediately the target of mystical and physical malice. Tiv egalitarianism is more concerned with whittling everyone down to the same size than giving everyone the same chance".⁴⁵ This type of position

43. See Bohanan, Laura and Paul, Tiv of Central Nigeria, Op Cit.

44. Colonial administrative records in the Kaduna Archives are full of such presumptions.

45. The Bohannans; The Tiv of Central Nigeria, Op Cit p. 31. Also Bohanan Paul, The Political and Economic Aspect, -Op Cit., p.150.

denies the fact of historical motion leading to class or group or strata differentiation in spite of evidence to the contrary and irrespective of historical transformations and beginnings of class formation among the Tiv even by the 19th century, when there was clearly a case of the rulers and ruled.⁴⁶

Apart from the obvious limitations of language in communication, in understanding the inflectives of the people among whom they worked, the Bohannans hardly acknowledged their sources of information. It is therefore not easy or possible to confirm the stories they relate, especially those concerning pre-colonial Tiv society.

Finally, in terms of scope, the Bohannans worked mostly among the Kunav of Southern Tivland. However, they tended to generalize their findings to be applicable to all Tiv elsewhere in Tivland. This tends to obscure a lot of details that are at variance with other areas in Tivland.

In their book, Tiv Economy, in which the Bohannans assert that the "Tiv are primarily interested in land as the spatial dimension of social

46. See Makar, T. Op Cit pp.192-197. Also Y.B. Usman "Political Economy and Political Community: The significance of the 19th century". National Seminar on the National Question in Nigeria, Abuja, 4-9 August, 1986, P. 17.

relationships; its impact in any 'property' system is secondary", does not reflect Tiv social reality. Tiv attachment to land, as any other agriculturists, goes beyond just "social relationships", which only explain and not define the historicity of their existence. Issues affecting land go right down to defining their own existence as a people and as a nationality.

Man's relationship with nature, (i.e. land) and his application of labour power produces food, which is central for his survival, before any other forms of relationships. Other forms of relationships that emanate from this primary need to survive can only be secondary in importance. For all production and relations of production that subsequently emerge are accountable to man's need to survive. To exist, man has to eat. This, above everything else, is primary.

The Bohannans have not been able to go beyond the Western stereotypes of classifying Tiv agricultural production as purely of a subsistence nature⁴⁷ even in the face of the compelling evidence of Tiv commodity production for the colonial market of such crops as shea nuts and ivory before 1906⁴⁸ and

47. Bohannan, Paul and Laura, Tiv Farm and Settlement, London 1954; Bohannan, Paul and Laura, Tiv Economy, Paul Bohannan, 'The Impact of money on an African subsistence Economy'. *Journal of Economic History* XIX (1959) 451-503.

48. Dorward D.C. "An Unknown Nigerian Export". *Tiv Bennisseed Production, 1900-1960* (London 1975) P.433.

benniseed from 1908⁴⁹ while production of soya beans started from about 1947.⁵⁰

For the Bohannans to have refused to acknowledge, this important development is to deny the increasing commoditization of the Tiv economy and the overriding reliance that came to be placed on money, which development further defined a new set of social relations of production leading to class differentiation. Thus to deny accomoditization is in keeping with their ideal of the Tiv. Even in places where they made reference to the production of benniseed, they saw it more in terms of planting "only enough benniseed to pay tax".⁵¹

In their use of Tiv concepts, the Bohannans are sometimes inexact. In his treatise on food which translates for him as Yiagh in Tiv, Bohannan in his Doctorate Thesis⁵² over stretches his comprehension for what the Tiv conceive of as Yiagh. To him, "yiagh usually translates as foodstuff or food crops, though it also covers the more basic notion: 'the food aspect of subsistence'. Yiagh can be applied to food in the belly, food in the pot, food in the granary (or the granary itself), to food growing on the farm (or to farm itself) or to land which is lying fallow." Tiv

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid. P.449.

51. Bohannan, Paul L., Tiv Economy, Op Cit., P.62.

52. Bohannan, Paul "The Political and Economic Aspects of Land Tenure and Settlement Patterns Among the Tiv of Central Nigeria", D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford, June, 1951. P.73.

word for granary is Wuna, where Yiagh is stored. Fallow land (ihyande) and Farm (Sule) have concepts that define them as distinct from yiagh.

Bohannan's 'deep' knowledge of Tiv language is questioned when he uses the anomalous plurals utar and ashieda in place of the regular ityar and ushieda (territories and witnesses).⁵³ Also the use of vowels at the beginning of the common mba prefix, implied by the use of phrases like "an Mbaduku girl", "an Mbagishi man" is surprising. These mistakes may not be foundational since they do not claim to be linguists, but it does reflect the level of which their limited understanding of certain concepts could impair the final out-come and conclusions of their studies on the Tiv.

2.5. David Craig Dorward.

Dorward's thesis on the Tiv, A Political and Social History of the Tiv People...⁵⁴ is of important significance for this research. He has also published five⁵⁵ articles of direct bearing on the Tiv. Although

53. Bohannan, Paul, Justice and Judgement, Op Cit pp. 2 and 34.

54. Dorward, D.C. A Political And Social History of the Tiv People of Northern Nigeria 1900-1939, Unp. Ph.D. London, 1971.

55. Dorward, D.C. "The Subjugation and Penetration of Tivland 1874-1908", (1960). "The Development of British Colonial Administration Among the Tiv 1900-1949" (1969), "Ethnography and Administration: A Study of Anglo-Tiv Working Misunderstanding" (1974). "An Unknown Nigerian Export: Tiv Benniseed Production, 1900-1960" (1975). "Pre-Colonial Tiv Trade and Cloth Currency" (1976).

Dorward shares some of the limitations with the Bohannans, he is a historian and therefore disciplinary approach cannot constitute a limitation for him. He has made important contributions especially in the area of piecing some of the colonial administrators' private and public stands on issues of public policy that concerned the Tiv, some of whom he personally interviewed.⁵⁶

One of Dorward's important limitations consist in his choice of sources and the use of some of those sources. In chapter V of his dissertation, Dorward admits that the main source of information for his investigations on the Tiv consists mostly of interviews with colonial administrators and the use of other colonial sources, written or otherwise. This is certainly of important significance for his findings upon which he based his general conclusions.

Going by his choice of and use of sources, Dorward writes more on the relationships between the colonial administration and the Tiv from the view point of the administration. His thesis is thus very rich on the attitudes, impressions and conceptions of the colonial administrators and individual actors including the biases that informed their actions. Such a study will

56. An example is W.A. Malherbe, whom Dorward interviewed in Pretoria in 1973. See Dorward, "Pre-Colonial Tiv Trade and Cloth Currency" in The International Journal of African Historical Studies IX 4(1976) P.585 foot note 34.

certainly not penetrate to any meaningful depth the social and political history of the Tiv from whose point of view Dorward ostensibly set out to write.

Chapter IV of the thesis paid especially close attention to the colonial administrators who worked among the Tiv during the early period of occupation. However, one finds little that is said about the usual violence that accompanied colonial occupation of Tiv territories.⁵⁷ Rather, Dorward is at pains to play up the efforts these occupying authorities made to avoid violence.

In fact, Dorward insists⁵⁸ that "opening up" of Tivland embarked upon by Gordon under Ruxton in 1910⁵⁹ consisted in a walk across Tivland. Further, that Ruxton was against levying of taxes on the Tiv because they had no tradition of taxation and payment of tribute. That this should wait until the benefits of colonial roads, justice, open markets and greatly increased trade had been felt.⁶⁰ In effect,

57. T. Makar has so detailly documented this fact in his "A History of Political Change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th centuries." Unp. Ph.D. A.B.U., Zaria, 1975 P.

58. Dorward, D.C. A Political and Social History. Op Cit. p.154.

59. We do not accept that the Tiv, at least those of Central Tivland had been "subjugated" in 1910. The year 1912 is much more appropriate. See I.G. Gunn, Mbakor Clan SNP 17/3 27931 N A K.

60. Dorward D.C. "British Colonial Administration..." Op Cit. P.321.

taxation should not be levied on the Tiv until the effect of Pax Britannica⁶¹ had been felt by the people.

This kind of position obscures the real intention of colonialism and reharshes it in terms of the age old stereo-type of a civilizing mission. This is of course false, as subsequent developments have shown. The attempt to focus on these individual actors in the colonial set up to the almost total exclusion of an appreciation of the overriding interest of colonial capitalism tend to reduce the whole phenomenon to a question of the personal qualities and indispositions of these individual actors. Thus, the illogical conclusion that if there were good actors, colonialism itself was a rewarding and worthwhile experience for the colonized.

In his "An Unknown Nigerian Export" Dorward has traced the development of two important cash crops in Tiv economy. He attempts to show the resourcefulness of the Tiv in modern market conditions and his adaptability to such market conditions. However, what he has also by implication brought out is the nature of the colonial tax policy that in the final analysis dictated for the Tiv which crop to produce for export and at the expense of food production.

61. See R.M. Downes Tiv Religion, Ibadan University Press, 1971, p.5.

When famine occurred, the colonial administration was quick to point out that the Ibo influx into Tivland and their exportation of food crops was responsible for the scarcity.⁶² Dorward's over reliance on colonial sources blinded his analysis to this very obvious historical fact.

Dorward also characteristically attributes the reasons for the abolition of exchange Marriage, not to the need to open avenues in which the Tiv will be compelled to generate more revenue by increased production for colonial capitalism, but ostensibly to pay bride price. This by implication will also raise the tax rates as well as increase cash crop production for export. Dorward ignores this understanding but instead reasons that abolition of exchange marriage was demanded by younger generation of Tiv who, having earned enough money, were demanding for independence from the tyranny of elders who controlled women.⁶³ But Dorward was aware that the elders, through their control of family labour, controlled most of the proceeds and surpluses after tax.

62. Dorward, D.C. An Unknown Nigerian Export. Op Cit p. 444. Also Monk, Annual Report, Benue Province 1926 NAK SNP K 106 Vol. III. Such however, was not the only incident of such wanton colonial disregard for domestic needs of the people. For instance, in 1944, Tiv farmers in the Chilli growing areas were denied the logical economic decision to grow chillies which paid more in the domestic market when colonial agricultural officers deliberately withheld the seed and forced them to produce Benniseed. See Dorward Op Cit. p. 448.

63. Ibid. p.451.

So following his logic, they should be the ones to demand for abolition of exchange marriage if the issue rested on the question of new found wealth! Dorward clearly side-tracks the issue. For there was more to the issue of exchange marriage in terms of the social control by the elders, a strong hold the colonial administration aimed at breaking.

Finally, although Dorward has shown the extent to which local agents of British trading companies cooperated with the local agents of British colonial government, he has failed to link the system of production for a capitalist market which aimed at repatriating the profit outside Tivland to where the linkages worked in favour of the metropolises. The statistics on price levels he shows⁶⁴ indicate that although the Tiv were the producers, it was British colonial capitalism that benefited, thus laying the foundation for an underdeveloped economy.⁶⁵ One is here inclined to agree with the Bohannans that the Tiv only produced to pay taxes,⁶⁶ so that they could be left in peace. However, it was not possible to leave them alone. Not only was their social and political organization tampered with, they were now

64. Ibid. p.441.

65. In this regard, Dorward belongs to the vent-for-surplus theorists among whom are to be found A.G. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa (London, 1973) Polly Hill, The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana (Cambridge 1963) G.K. Helleiner, Peasant Agriculture and Economic Growth in Nigeria (Homewood, 1966).

66. Bohannan Laura and Paul, Tiv Economy, Op Cit. p.62.

The author's arguments appear to fault colonial rule solely on the basis of the fact that it had initially failed to correctly identify and share power with the 'legitimate' leaders of the land - the elders. It is this limited perception on the theoretical conception of colonial capitalism which led the author to breathe a sigh of relief prematurely when in the 1940s after a series of 'reorganizations', the so-called legitimate leaders were fished out and power supposedly shared with them.⁷⁰

Part three of the thesis treats the establishment of British rule in Tivland. Here the author's centre thrust is that the creation of new administrative units which were not a logical sequence of developments among the Tiv served to damage traditional cohesion and dislocate traditional political structures.

Part four is a treatise on Western education, christianity and modern politics. The conclusion is that a combination of these three institutions completed the dislocation process of the traditional society and allowed disaster to be visited on the people when the elders, now alienated from their people in the wake of the new authority structures created by colonialism, became increasingly incapable of holding society in check

70. See Makar *Op Cit.* pp. 343-395. On p.366, Makar insists that "As far as the Tiv were concerned, the Downes Scheme was a partial return to the traditional order of things and definitely the people would not have rebelled against it".

the way they understood how. This position, it is reinstated in the epilogue, took expression in the form of the Nande Nande (Burning) crisis of 1960 and the Atemityo of 1964 to conclude the dissertation.

Certain positions of the thesis border on unscientific understanding of the colonial question. Colonialism, whether by the French, Belgians or British, sought and to a very large extent, succeeded in destroying 'tradition'. For capitalism, it is often forgotten, is an enemy of tradition.⁷¹ What survived after more than half a century of colonial rule in Tivland, as elsewhere, was the form which was in any case articulated with imperialist institutions of domination.⁷² So the first thing is that when making reference to 'tradition', a concept that featured rather repeatedly in the work, one has to be more precise which tradition, reference is being made to, so as to avoid falling into the mistake of talking tradition to be unchanging and static. This is unhistorical.

71. Usman, Y.B. "History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th centuries". Zaria., 1977.

72. Usman, Y.B. "Political Economy and Political Community: The Significance of The 19th Century." Paper presented at the National Seminar on The National Question in Nigeria, held at Abuja, 4-9 August, 1986.

It is the position of the author that the lack of understanding of Tiv religion and its significance on the part of the British colonial administration led them to make bad administrative mistakes.⁷³ This may well have been the case, but what is at the centre of this apparent lack of understanding was not the religion itself. The colonial administrators could only be expected to 'understand' Tiv religious beliefs in so far as this understanding facilitated the realisation of the objectives of colonialism. But where these beliefs were inimical to the realization of these goals for a colonial society and economy, then one can hardly make a point for the colonizers through an unwitting insistence that they did not 'understand'. For to explain this development in terms of the British lack of understanding of the tenets of Tiv religion and therefore, the nature of society would be to miss the points. For the mere fact that after the 1930s, the British had an already apparently smoother administration in Tivland (not that crises were eliminated)⁷⁴ cannot be attributed to their better understanding of the workings of Tiv Society, an ignorance of which most colonial administrators and writers on the Tiv exhibited

73. Makar Op Cit, P.331.

74. There occurred certain crises and social upheavals that took rather expressive form. The Haakaa or Namakaa Movements, the Nyambuan, the Nande-Nande etc. All these were major political expressions and reactions of Tiv to the colonial situation. We shall consider them later on.

but to the fact that most of the important structures of the traditional economy and the superstructure, had been, dislocated or rendered irrelevant in the face of the forceful rendition of the capitalist mode of production. The introduction of a money economy, abolition of the exchange marriage and the effects of colonial education, facilitated by the onslaught of the christian religion, are some of the features of colonialism that served to abolish tradition and institutionalised capitalist relations, and in the process, gave rise to new classes with differing interests.

7. Justin Iorbee Tseayo.

Tseayo's Conflict and Incorporation⁷⁵ is a valuable work on the Tiv for this period (1912-1960). He looks at the issue of integration of the Tiv into the larger Nigerian society and the problem it created, after independence, as having roots in the colonial past. He also identified the problem with the nature of shared rewards, and sees the central bone of contention in the sense of the emirate North versus the minority polities. He also explains the violence in Tivland in the 1960s in the rejection of the 'emirate North' by these polities.

75. Tseayo, J.I. The book, Conflict And Incorporation is actually his reworked Ph.D. Thesis.

This last position however, is not clear. The author has by this explanation precluded any other explanation for the violence. The fact that the violence in Tivland could have been lent expression by the subordinate relationship which existed between the Tiv nationality and the northern emirate through the derogatory actions of the colonial administrators is plausible. However it will be stretching the argument too far if the tension that built up leading to the outbreak of the violence itself is also explained in this vein.

Such frame of analysis denies the issue of centrality of internal factors explaining the forces of change, or at best ascribes to it a minor role. This follows the Dent's tradition of explaining away the problems of Tivland from the perspective of minority majority politics,⁷⁶ thus steering the debate clear of identifying the internal dynamics of and the emerging class forces in Tivland with differing and contradictory political and economic interests, which defined a new set of values in society.

An understanding of the Tiv crisis of 1960 and 1964 has to be rooted first in the development of strong interest groups and class forces, with its subsequent

76. Dent, M.J. "U.M.B.C. A Minority Party" in J.P. Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics, London 1966.

antagonisms. It is situated within this framework that an adequate explanation can be made for the role petty-bourgeois Party Politics played and the extent and level of external influence which aggravated this Schism. Such an explanation will be more scientifically founded should one observe that although the heightening of tension was an intra-class thing in origin, the actual violence of burning and looting took place mostly among the rural peasants and the urban Lumpen.⁷⁷

Important here too is the fact that one cannot gloss lightly over the decisive role of colonial disunity in promoting ethnicity as one of the problems of 'independent' Nigeria.

Once the issue becomes clear that the Tiv society had developed beyond the point of 'tribes', of 'us' versus 'them', of 'corporate' Tiv body as against a 'corporate' emirate system, in times when clear interest groups had emerged, even if not yet in concrete terms of a "class for itself", at least of a "class in itself",⁷⁸ then one finds problems with Tseayo's

77. These Makar calls the vagabonds Op Cit p.535, the dispossessed p.531 and motor touts and beranda (petty traders) who were restless and heavy drinkers who "made prostitution to prosper" P. 533.

78. Mao Tsetung, Five Essays on Philosophy, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, First edition, 1977 pp. 9 and 10.

conclusions.

Tseayo's other important limitation consists in his source. One understands that the source materials available to the researcher, and the interpretation he gives to these, determines the perspective of the study undertaken. A close study of Tseayo's sources, especially the oral interviews, reveals the author's bias (to the almost total exclusion of the majority of the rural poor) in favour of the political elites and the Native Authority administrators and bureaucrats. The rest of the people, mostly peasants whose general pattern of behaviour a sociological enquiry is undertaken to fashion out a theory on integration in a political process, is largely ignored or not acknowledged.

The implications for the strength and the conclusions reached on the basis of such a theory is obvious. Those category of Tiv people the author interviewed belonged mostly to the privileged emergent class of bureaucrats and politicians who had either been nominated or elected into the regional or Federal Houses of Representative between 1951 through to 1966. Undoubtedly, these constituted the opinion leaders and influential groups in urban society. However, to ignore the rural peasants, among whom the momentous events took place, and whose action determined the direction of such events and changes as there were,

and who were themselves influenced by these changes, is hardly creditable of a scientific enquiry. The study therefore smacks of class bias, even as Tseayo supposedly pledges a non-class approach.

2.8. David Dogo Gbande.

Gbande's work⁷⁹ is of direct bearing on the period of this research, the only difference being that his focus is on a subject other than a class analysis of the historical process in the lower Benue Valley area. He attempts some explanation of the relations between the Jukun and Tiv nationalities before and during colonial rule. His major weakness however, is his application of the vent-for-surplus theory to the underdevelopment of the region even though this theory is supposed to support development and not the contrary. This theoretical misapplication Gbande is apparently not aware of. However, by applying it either consciously or unconsciously, Gbande denies that development does not occur at the level of exchange, but at the level of production and the attendant relations of production of such a mode of production.

79. Gbande, D.D. "Trade and Settlement in the Middle Benue Basin: 1850-1960". M.A. Thesis, Zaria 1982.

The work thus fails to appreciate the fact that the material base of society in the final analysis determines the nature of the super structure, including the nature of the state and the ideological sphere. That, at the root of social progress is humanity's inherent need for the reproduction of life and the production of the means to sustain that life. These two basic elements of relationship constitutes the foundation of all societies at all times.⁸⁰ 'Trade and Settlement' as such cannot but be an expression of the level of production and the all important question of who controls the surpluses that is generated. This work therefore fails to address the central issue of the history of the area under colonialism thus failing to lay the basis for an understanding of these processes after colonial independence.

Gbande's faulty yardstick of analysis leads him to some unhistorical conclusions. For instance, his position that it was the "meagre capital inherent in self-sufficient food producing societies coupled with lack of exposure to the outside world which accounted for the absence or slow spread of markets in Tivland".⁸¹ And that this exposure was to "wait

80. Usman, Y.B. "Political Economy". Op Cit P..11.

81. Gbande, D.D. Op Cit p. 47.

Apparently, in his bid to come up with an acceptable thesis on the contributions of colonialism to the upliftment of the region, Gbande finds it necessary to paint a picture of the pious, disinterested mediator role of the civilization-bearing colonial system. However, the very fact of the colonial conquest itself, both in Tivland and elsewhere, does not support a thesis that the British had peaceful intentions.

To forcefully require a people to pay allegiance to a foreign Queen, loose their sovereignty, pay taxes and tribute, a tradition even colonial administrators agree was alien to the Tiv; to be subjected to alien laws and to decisively change a ^{people's} way of life is in itself, an act of violence.⁸⁶ Moreover, the violence visited upon the Tiv by British imperialism has been documented in various works including those of Makar and Obaro Ikime.⁸⁷ One is therefore inclined to conclude that Gbande has not located the level at which the debate on colonialism has been scientifically articulated.

Finally, one finds it intriguing that after showing that the Tiv had cohabited with their neighbours

86. See Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth. Penguin Books, (Great Britain) 1963, pp. 27-75.

87. T. Makar, Op Cit. pp. 203-270. Obaro Ikime, The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest. Op Cit.

and that trade in pre-colonial Middle Benue was flourishing, giving rise to mutual cultural intercourse, Gbande could in the same breath, give the impression of a chaotic and hostile atmosphere among those peoples and imply that only 'colonial peace' could restore stability and thereby make for marked economic progress.⁸⁸ This amounts to a case of extensive reliance, without a critical assessment, on colonial sources.

2.9. Akiga Saai.

Rupert East edited Akiga's manuscript in 1939 and captioned it Akiga's Story. This is an important source book for the Tiv in the era before and during colonial rule. The original manuscript was written in Tiv Language which East not only edited but translated, a translation that has been mauled by East's repeated tampering with or omissions, ostensibly to satisfy his European audience. He says in his introduction to the Story:

"The extracts which have been translated and reproduced in this book form only a half of the original manuscript. They have been chosen not so much for their intrinsic merit as for their general interest to Europeans".⁸⁹

88. Gbande, Op Cit. pp. 165-171.

89. Rupert East, Akiga's Story: The Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members. Oxford, (London) 1939. p.7.

Mention must be made here too of the fact that whereas Akiga made no secret about his intention to write the history of his people, East has derogatorily tagged the work, after mauling it, as 'Akiga's Story'. Thus, implying that Akiga could have been writing anything except history. To quote D. Westerman who wrote the preface to the book:

Akiga set out to write the history of the Tiv. He has not succeeded in this, because the Tiv, like most African tribes, have no history in our sense of the word".

At the level of substance too, Akiga's history of the Tiv contain some important limitations. He himself had a strong christian influence on his world view, which view in turn influenced his perception of Tiv society of the time of his writing. He generally saw salvation in Church missioneries (D.R.C.M.) and by implication, colonial rule. He was thus prone to extolling colonial virtues where non existed.

Akiga's work, however, still remains the most important source book on the Tiv, especially since he says his research took over twenty years of collecting oral information.⁹¹ Part of his research scope has been based generally on how the people viewed colonialism in the face of the momentous

90. Ibid. p.6.

91. Ibid. p.2.

changes that were transforming a society of which he was very much a part of. However, he carried out this work "in order that the new generation of Tiv, which is beginning to learn this new knowledge, should know the things of the fathers as well as those of the present generation. For everything that belongs to Tiv is passing away, and the old people who should tell us about these things, will soon all be dead." ⁹²

Akiga's work is thus a very important source on Tiv reaction to colonial rule, even as one takes into account the work's objective limitations.

We have given a general high-light and introduction to some of the issues which need to be addressed in this research. We have indicated the area this research is interested in, the problem as we understand it, the theoretical and conceptual framework that we think will best point out these questions and rigorously attempt some explanations. We have also tried to explore the various polar and bi-polar positions held about the colonial phenomenon. Finally, this chapter has examined the debates as contained in various other works that have been done on ^{the} Tivland generally, and which has some direct bearing on the scope of this research.

By highlighting some of the limitations in existing literatures on this ^{subject}, we have served to augment the necessity of this research, and intend to throw some

92. Ibid. p.2.

light on the neglected approaches that are open to research on the Tiv. Our particular attention will be focused on Central Tivland where it is hoped that a greater depth of analysis will be more stressed and built upon.

We can now proceed to examine the nature of the structures that existed at the time of the hoisting of colonial institutions of domination on the Tiv, especially in the area of land and labour, and how economic production was affected and to what extent. This, it is hoped, will help us better to locate the level at which relations of production in the colonial set-up defined the nature and direction of historical motion and the nature of classes which emerged.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. TRANSFORMATION OF AUTHORITY OVER THE ECONOMY OF
CENTRAL TIVLAND C.1912-1935

In the preceding chapter, emphasis was placed mainly on the various theoretical limitations, among other shortcomings, inherent in existing literature on the Tiv especially in the colonial era. This chapter will attempt to recapture the nature of the pre-capitalist socio-economic formation in Central Tivland, paying particular attention to those political and social structures which ensured the complete explanation of Tiv Cosmology within its environment. We shall then explore the extent to which this forceful attempt at introducing an alien economy in the early phase of the colonial administration, led to (certain areas of) conflicts and, therefore, necessitating adjustments which in turn led to changes in the social formation and authority¹ basis of the existing authority structure of the pre-colonial socio-political formation.

3.1. ECONOMIC PRODUCTION IN PRE-COLONIAL GENERAL TIVLAND

The economic base of any society and, its mode of production, in the final analysis, determines the political and juridical super-structure, the forms of social consciousness, ideological relations, the

1. Authority, in its limited most immediate sense, can be said to be a body of legal power or rights derived either from office or character or prestige and to which people generally accept or look up to. It could be a body of rules usually resolving around individuals or group or strata or class.

social structure of society, the family and everyday life.¹ It is thus pertinent, in trying to understand other relationships that make up the totality of pre-colonial central Tivland, to have a general grasp of the main economic production activities as a background against which other relationships can be understood.

We are therefore concerned to know what was produced, who produced it, whether surpluses were produced in the process and the overall relationship between the producers and non-producers. In other words, we are talking about the relations of production. We undertake this task from the conscious position that the forms social and material production take, gives rise to specific historical developments in specific contexts. And that for central Tivland, role differentiation on the eve of colonial conquest had become a historical fact of a society in the embryonic stage of class formation.

3.2. The Concept of Land Ownership and Agricultural Production.

The land question is about the main-stay of peoples existence. How it is exploited and controlled and the socio-political milieu in which this is done

1a. Volkov, M.I. (ed.), A Dictionary of Political Economy, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985.

is at the basis of any analysis of a class society. For the Tiv of Central Tivland (although not exclusively), land was and has remained the most basic means of production on which all other economic activity depends. For as Mangwat has attested, "even secondary and tertiary economic pursuits such as services and manufacturing,...(are) not carried out in the air."²

Thus land, as the principal means of production, and its control and distribution among the productive forces of society, are of crucial and central importance to any kind of agricultural production and it certainly can be linked to the many ways in which agricultural production is organized.³

In most pre-capitalist societies (including especially that of the Tiv), land was collectively owned and no single individual had the right to corner land except what society permitted through the myriad of communal social relations. Even those in authority had just enough of that authority to share the land among other members of the lineage that settled the territory.

2. Mangwat, M.Y. "A History of Class Formation in the Plateau Province 1902-1960. The Genesis of a Ruling Class". 1984, Zaria, p.8.

3. Manase Tsambatsi, G.R. "The Kano Peasantry under Colonial Rule 1903-1966" M.A. Ibadan, 1985, p.78.

Land among the Tiv is not (private) property and to sell it, even if one contemplated it, would amount to selling a genealogical position.⁴ Makar⁵ elaborates further on the question of land ownership among the Tiv. To him, land is regarded as a natural property of a family group but not the property of a single individual and that one was always ready to lay ones life on the line should ones claim to ones genealogical portion of land be threatened. Each family group considers its ancestors land as a natural endowment where except when loaned to them, no person outside that family group can claim a share in that land.⁶ Nor could the group dispose of land, which is regarded as a natural legacy of the ancestors.⁷

There was, however, another level to which land ownership could be exercised. And this was at the level of control and usage. According to my informant,⁸ one could cultivate the land and

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4. Bohannon, P. *Tiv Economy*, Longman, Green and Co. Ltd., London 1968, P.8. Bohannon is essentially correct in this regard.
 5. Makar, T. "A Scoail and Political History of Tiv in the 19th and 20th centuries". Ph.D. A.B.U., Zaria, 1975. Foot note 1, p.105.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Oral Interview, Terzungwe Akende, Ipav, Gboko August, 1987.

lay claim to the cultivated farmland and its products but not own it on an individual basis unless within the structure of a lineage that tradition and custom has lent credence to, and his claim of first settler status to such territory. It is at this level that Tseayo asserts:⁹

allocation of farmland to adult members and control of their labour was in the hands of the head of the family group among the Tiv and no other person could interfere. This control reflects the responsibility of the head of the family group to its members.

This ensured that every adult had a right to a farm within the territory of his agnatic lineage but within boundaries liable to social control which emphasized the relationship between man and his fellow man.

However, Gbande, failing to see this important connection decided to "disagree with this view."¹⁰ He contests the suggestion that the responsibility of the village head of ensuring that each male adult got enough farmland for his wives should be construed to mean that he had any "exclusive rights to the control and distribution of land."¹¹ Gbande's quarrel

9. Tseayo, I. Conflict And Incorporation in Nigeria: The Integration of the Tiv. Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria 1974, pp. 21-22.

10. Gbande, D.D. "Trade And Settlement in the Middle Benue Basin: 1850-1960". M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1982 P.43.

11. Ibid.

is with the fact that a village head's control over land and labour of members of his village would over-extend his authority over the villagers bordering on tyranny¹² since land and labour were the most important forms of capital for economic production in Tivland.

In so doing, Gbande has failed to contend with the fact that what is crucial for production (and possibly accumulation) is not access to land, but accessibility to labour. Everybody had access to land, at least communal land.¹³ Moreover, by this argument, Gbande barely stops short of denying

that surpluses were created, and that certain people were in a more favourable position to appropriate these surpluses. However, even Bohannan does not deny existence of the sweeping rights of the compound head:

There is no person or individual or group of persons who have rights to a piece of cultivated land, superceding the rights of the compound head...¹⁴

To deny existence of this differentiation between one group and another as far as the system

12. Ibid. p.45.

13. Emeagwali, G.T. "Class Formation in Pre-colonial Nigeria" Chapter 4 of the Text, T. Falola and J. Ihonvbare (eds) Class, State and Society in Nigeria (Forthcoming).

14. See Bohannan, P. "The Political And Economic Aspect of Land Tenure And Settlement Patterns Among the Tiv of Central Nigeria", Ph.D. Oxford 1951, p.57.

of production relations is concerned, is to agree with people like Charles Keil who insists that "in any division of the world's peoples into class and classless categories, the Tiv belong with the latter."¹⁵ This, by no circumstantial mistake, happens to tally with Robin Horton's position.¹⁶ We shall examine Horton's categorizations more closely later on. But for now, suffice it to note that such a categorization places a kind of timeless and static quality on the history of the people. There could not be a more a-historical position.

Among the Tiv, the whole society was organized according to clans¹⁷ or Ityar (singular Tar) in pre-colonial times. Certain socio-economic and political units could be discerned, which themselves corresponded to the level of economic production of a communal society. Within a single clan of say Mbakor, there existed two or several kindreds, depending on the size of the clan.

15. Keil, Charles, Tiv Song, University of Chicago Press Ltd., London, 1979, pp. 8-10.

16. Horton, Robin, "Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa", in Ajayi, A. and Crowder, M. History of West Africa Vol. One, Longman group Ltd. 1971, pp. 78-119.

17. SNP 17/17048, Tiv (Munshi) Clan Organization, 1932.

The organization of a kindred may be described as follows:

1. The household i.e. a collection of compounds under an orya (compound head).
2. The family group i.e. a collection of closely related households under an elder (or u vesen) and
3. The kindred i.e. a group of related households under a principal elder - supported by a council of elders of the constituent families.¹⁸

This is actually an over simplified representation of the socio-political units.

An appraisal of the most primary unit of organization, the household unit, will reveal that there emerged in pre-colonial central Tivland, specific trends and patterns with respect to the appropriation of the products of surplus labour leading to a growth of dependent relations within the socio-economic formation.

At the level of the household, the compound head had rather sweeping powers. He decided on almost all matters, whether political, social, religious or economic, but of course in consultation with other members of the household. He

18. Makar, Op Cit p.66.

exercised dual authority in the Ya Council; was its chairman as well as its mouth-piece and chief executive.¹⁹ He decided on which sites to erect buildings in the compound, directed the marriage affairs, chose and allocated new farm sites, and generally coordinated the farming activities of members of the household. This was not all, he also doubled as a religious priest in a variety of akombo (witchcraft) while also in possession of the knowledge of which herbs could treat which type of sickness.²⁰

Though the compound head together with the other elder members of the household determined access to the means of production, distribution of land among various members, the fields to be cleared and generally coordinated farming activities, their role in the actual production process itself was negligible compared to the dependents within the compound, who were the major source of labour supply.

The orya practically had access to the labour of dependents who may be wives, children, males and female relations or even those who out of their

19. Makar, Ibid. p.69.

20. Oral interview, Terzungwe Akende, May 15, 1987, Ipav, Gboko.

own volition, moved into his compound. With such rather sweeping powers and important roles to play on the part of the Orya, relations within the compound were themselves characterized by respect and obedience for the compound head, and his authority was enhanced and consolidated by religious sanction. For he played a very central role in religious matters in the ya.

The economic basis of central Tivland, as elsewhere, has remained agriculture. It was the agricultural work and produce, and the relations of production that emerged from these activities that sustained the social and political institutions, the levels at which our interest in authority change, are located.

Central Tivland produced a great variety of crops including millet, maize, yam, groundnuts, rice, sweet potatoes, guinea corn, tobacco and cassava. These according to Akiga,²¹ were later day discoveries. The earlier ones at about the time the Tiv were generally settling down in the Benue Plains in the later half of the 17th century, included such food crops as Alev (beans) 'Ahuma' beans, 'Anumbe' yams, cocoa yam, Pearl millet and

21. See East, R. Akiga's Story: The Tiv Tribe As seen by one of its members. Oxford University Press, London, 1939, pp. 66-82.

bulrush millet. In addition to these relatively staple crops, there were also "luxury crops" that were planted in one's 'spare' time. These included sweet potatoes, bambara nuts and groundnuts. According to my informant,²² any Tiv person who has eaten a meal of foodstuffs other than the staple food will deny that he has ever eaten. With the establishment of colonial rule in the second decade of the 20th century, Benniseed, which had been used mainly as sauce, and later in the 1940s, soya beans, became the two most important economic export crops.²³

The point has been made before, that the basic unit of production was the household which often contained several families.²⁴ Production was so ordered that it defined all the various stages of the year into agricultural phases. It was either burning time, bush clearing, cultivation, tilling, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing or storing time.²⁵

On another level, crop rotation, on a wider period span and longer duration is carried out. Although instead of being thought of in terms of

22. Oral interview, Sept. 1987, Iana Adugu of Yandev.

23. Dorward, D.C. "An Unknown Nigerian Export." *Tiv Beniseed Production 1900-1960*, J.A.H. XVI 3(1975) p. 449.

24. Mangvwat, M.Y. *Op Cit* p.11.

25. Netting, R.M.C. *Hill Farmers of Nigeria*, London, 1970, p.64, Quoted in Mangvwat M.Y. *Op Cit*, p.12.

years, it is discussed in terms of phases through which a particular farm goes in order to complete a rotation cycle.²⁶

In this order the Tsa (fallow land), is land that has been farmed once. In other words, it is any piece of land between the time the final second-year crops of the rotation are removed from it until it is again prepared for yams.²⁷ The Ihyande is cleared ground in which grass has been pulled out preparatory to making new yam mounds. The ground becomes avom (mounds) and turns to sule (field) after yams have been planted.²⁸

All cultivated land can be called Itiev. It becomes Akuur (old field) when yams have been harvested and on which land guinea corn, among other things, could be planted. After guinea corn is harvested, the land becomes Tsa (fallow) again.²⁹

Agriculture, as a matter of fact, was so central an economic activity that the people considered it a 'resting' period when not directly involved in farm works. However, as has been pointed out elsewhere, "it was during this 'resting' period that equally important supplementary economic activities were undertaken."³⁰

27. Ibid. — 26 Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid. See also Akiga, Op Cit pp. 83-90.

30. Mangwat, Op Cit. p.17.

The control of meat by the elders and compound heads, was another important instrument to ensure that respect and obedience in society was maintained.³¹ Thus hunting, fishing and rearing of livestock were important activities that complemented farming for the Tiv during these 'resting periods'. During the dry season months of between December and February, a lot of hunting is done characterised by bush burning.

Hunting was organized into two types/ ^{by the close of the 19c.} The first one in which rats, grass-cutters and antelopes are hunted for, was done on a small scale, usually a hamlet. For the Toho Nanden, (bush burning)³² the number of people involved here was irregular. Up to as many as 30 to 40 men or as few as 5 - 10 gather at the opposite end from where the fire is started.³³ The second and more elaborate big hunt was planned for over a year or two and covered several miles, involving several villages of 200 or more people of special skills.³⁴ This was called the Ibem. The prize catches in this big game hunt

31. Oral Interview, Gever Aka, June, 19, 1987, Uchi, Mbakor.

32. Hagher, I. "The Kwagh-hir: An Analysis of a Contemporary Indigenous Puppet Theatre and its Social and Cultural Significance in Tivland in 1960s and 1970s." Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1980 pp. 98-99.

33. Ibid. p.98. Oral Information confirms this point.

34. Ibid.

were mostly lions, leopards, deers and boars.

Sometimes, tragedies occurred and people died either by stray poisoned arrows, or were killed by stampeded wild animals or worse still, were burnt alive by the fires that could no longer be controlled. One of the first acts of colonial administration's exercise of their control over the people was to abolish the Ibem,³⁵ something the elders took an exception to very strongly. For apart from the high sense of adventure, courage and skill that were portrayed in the hunt, success enhanced one's claim to respect and authority. It was also a mark of being in possession of powerful Tsay which also assured the quality of one's leadership position in times of crises.³⁶

Hunters exchanged their slain quarries for articles of their profession - swords, knives, spears, arrows and bows. The skins of the animals came handy when treated and used for bags, strings (for bows), sheaths, ropes and drums. More often than not, the skin was also eaten.

Fishing was done by both men and women, (but mostly by women) to suppliment the meat hunted for in the bush. For livestock, dwarf cattle, sheep,

35. See Archival notes and oral interviews of Iyorkegh Afatyo, Gboko, July 19, 1987.

36. Oral interview, Nomikyegh Asor, Ugbema, Mbagen, 22nd June, 1987.

complete totality. For as Marx made clear in
The German Ideology.

"... Men must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history'. But (since) life involves before everything else, eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing, and many other things, the first historical act is, therefore, production of material life itself..."³⁹

Thus, though the Tiv are farmers, they also produced and traded what they ate and wore; they built their own houses and made most of their weapons. This very important fact of life, of a complete livelihood, the colonial administration discovered when they came into contact with Africans:

The West Africans if left to themselves, rely on the products of their own fields and woods, excepting for such articles as salt and iron. They can feed themselves with home-grown and home manufactured cotton, with grass and with skins. They can erect their own dwellings with branches and grasses and much collected on the spot. They can gather and make their rough utensils from local clay, and their crude implements of wood or imported iron. ⁴⁰

The other realm of economic production is related to the aspect of industrial production. The production of cloth by weavers; smithing and smithery; building, carving, pottery including

39. 'The German Ideology' cited by Bottomore and Rubel, in Karl Marx, Selected Writings in sociology and Social Philosophy (1963), p.75.

40. Alan McPhee, The Economic Revolution in British West Africa (London, 1971) p.9. Quoted in Z.A. Bonat, "Theoretical and Methodological Considerations in the Study of Development..." Op Cit.

leather works, woodwork, dying and brewery. Although this other realm of economic production was done only in the so-called 'resting' period in between farming activities, it was high up on the agenda of colonial capitalism and was marked out for as immediate destruction as possible.

Pottery, weaving and smithery were especially highly developed and of great importance. Pottery was a part-time occupation of mostly the womenfolk, who produced a great variety of types and sizes. Hagher⁴¹ has recorded some important ones. The zwar is used for storage of grains and beer. The Tyumugh, a long necked pot with a small opening for storage of oils. The Ityegh, which is the commonest of the pots used for cooking family meals and storage for drinking water. The Buufu is used for smoking fish, meat and also as a sieve for washing and preparing locust beans which is used as spices, nune and gbaaye. Atsuwa are small pots for cooking of soup and gravy. Agbande are plates and Ichenge, the frying pan for frying groundnuts, bambara nuts, benniseed and in later days, garri.

The importance of pottery works did not end with the demonstration of artistic skills in building, coupled with the imaginative application of the human intellect to the environment in attempts to gain

41. Op Cit. P. 99.

mastery over nature. Individual activity was carried out by the application of developed techniques of fire works. Important however, in relation to pottery, is also the use of these bits and pieces that have been left over the years by archaeologists in attempts to date early settlement sites, and to generally widen the horizons of our knowledge of Tiv history.⁴²

The weaving industry was another area of the economy that was relatively highly developed in pre-colonial Tivland, and which became so wide-spread as to be widely accepted as currency.⁴³ Attention on discussion of the cloth industry has centred mainly on the nature of the contribution of the industry in the area of trade as currency employed by the pre-colonial Tiv and their neighbours, while little is said about the apparent accumulation of wealth that resulted in and was self-evident, and the implication of this on the evolving authority structure, its changing forms and patterns,⁴⁴ even to the exclusion of the suggestion of a clear case of embryonic class formation.

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42. Igirgi, A.D. "Archaeological reconstruction of Pottery of Mata Hills." M.Sc., Ibadan, 1987.
43. Dorward, D.C. "Pre-colonial Tiv Trade And Cloth Currency", Op.Cit. p.580.
44. Ibid.

The Tiv grew cotton of a very high quality, of twanny and very strong yarn that they used in weaving. Ruxton was aware of this and more:

In Munshi (Tivland)...they manufacture a special, long strip (of cloth) which is sold to Hausa traders in very large quantities for the purpose of being made up into women's under-clothing (Fatali), the sale of which extends all over the protectorate (Northern Nigeria). This 'Munshi' cloth is also largely used for rough, short gowns for talakawa (Hausa commoners) and the strips form the principal form of currency amongst the Munshi themselves. It thus comes about that the cotton crop is a large one, owing to its being the form in which they accumulate wealth, to the large export, the suitability of the soil, the density and labouriousness (sic) of the population.⁴⁵

That the Tiv were great weavers is a fact that is attested to by Gordon C.F., D.O. incharge of Tivland in 1907. Says he:

Spinning and Weaving; these are big industries, Munshi cloth being in great demand. There are several species of cloth, the principal one being a big white coarse cloth woven in narrow strips and sewn together. It is very durable. Others in demand are transparent cloth woven in one piece and a small blue and white cloth of a finer nature than the first woven in one piece. It is very strong. Dying; many villages have dye-pits. The best known cloth, however, is not dyed. The transparent cloth is dyed, being dipped in a bunch which gives it a most bizzare piebald appearance. ⁴⁶.

⁴⁵. Ibid. P. 581.

⁴⁶. Gordon, C.F. Notes on the Munshi Tribe, SNF/5313 N.A.K. 1907. Also quoted in Dorward Op Cit pp. 581-2.

Hausa long distance traders were mostly interested in this undyed white cloth either in long coils or in strips sewn together to form the Tugudu cloth.⁴⁷

The Tugudu was divisible simply by removing the thread that linked the different strips together. In this way, one had units of exchange whether in "twenty" strip-piece (Ikundu), ten strip-piece (the Pueikondo). These together with the thirty-strip (Ikundugber) which according to Dorward,⁴⁸ formed the standard units of Tiv cloth currency, "fulfilling each of the requisite characteristic and functions of money - a durable, divisible standard of value, mode of exchange, and means of payment and of accumulation of wealth."

That was not all, "...good quality atsar could be accumulated from marketing to form pueikondo (sic) and Tugudu, which could be used to purchase prestige goods, such as slaves, cattle, title, beads, iron and brass rods, or large quantities of salt... Tugudu also operated in the kinship sphere, as a means of payment for (Kem Kwase) a woman, 'purchase' (Kwase u sha u i ka) a wife, or postpone the completion of an exchange marriage."⁴⁹

47. Ibid. p.582.

48. Ibid. p.583.

49. Ibid. p.583.

In fact the local trade was so popular that early colonial administrators were worried as to the viability of demand for European goods in competition with the "native cloth (which was) so much stronger and more suitable to the country."⁵⁰ This indeed was a highly developed industry with linkages in other sectors of the pre-colonial economy, but which the colonial administrators and Trading Companies found disturbing and which had to be eliminated by all means. The British Cotton Growers Association (BCGA) did their best to destroy this industry by introducing and forcing indigenous farmers to grow imported cotton seeds, even though they realized it was of inferior quality in relation to the needs of the people.⁵¹

Those Tiv who controlled the cultivation, production and marketing of this cotton cloth no doubt were people of means. These were "the big men like Kogi of Turan",⁵² whose wealth enabled them to acquire instruction and initiation into the various rites, to provide feasts and other acts

50. Gordon, C.F. Op Cit SNP 5313/1907, N.A.K.

51. Ibid.

52. Dorward, "Pre-colonial Tiv Trade and Cloth Currency", Op Cit, p.588.

of hospitality associated with a big man. "Such an individual's reputation as a wizard enabled him to exert influence over an area far wider than his own nuclear group, or Tar while witchcraft... power imparted a measure of coercive authority...
..."⁵³

The cotton industry had given the initial impetus (among other forces) to industrialize. There was thus no question of underestimating the value of such an industry and as had happened in India under British colonial rule, where the elaborate Indian cloth and linen industry was similarly destroyed.⁵⁴

To trace those who controlled this lucrative and expensive industry among the Tiv, is not impossible. For the basic unit of all production (cloth production included) among the Tiv was the household or the Ya. Those who controlled production and distribution in the ya in the final analysis, were the Orya (household head), the Ashagbaior, ('big men') and later, the Utor Agbande.

The wealth such people accumulated were clearly visible in their way of dress and the manner

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

in which they held themselves at festivals and other ceremonial occasions. Although among the Tiv there was communal ownership of land, some people had more access to labour than others. Councillors, elders and other notables emerged and played various roles in the political, legal and religious superstructure of the society. In most cases, these notables were not directly involved in production and were easily identifiable.⁵⁵ In central Tivland these people wore colourful and expensive Anger cloth. The Ashagbailor (wealthy men) engaged in lavish feasting of visitors, used salt rather than the potash used by the poor, and engaged in community dances which reflected their status.⁵⁶

It was the Utor Agbande (a 19th century phenomena in the evolution of leadership among the Tiv),⁵⁷ whom one saw indulging in music of praise singers, displaying iron tongs and flywisks. These privileged strata, it was, who controlled a retinue of wives, dependants and slaves, a phenomenon which, according to Emeagwali, should be viewed not only as symbolic, but also as a central factor in their accumulation.⁵⁸

55. G.T. Emeagwali, Op Cit. pp.20-21.

56. Ibid.

57. Dzeremo, B. "The evolution of leadership among The Tiv to 1947", B.A. Dissertation, Unijos, 1981.

58. Emeagwali, Op Cit. p. 21.

Akiga also recognized the fact that cotton was the "origin of all wealth among the Tiv." The cloth that was woven with this cotton were given "to the head of the family to weave into cloth. With this he bought cattle and looked after them in his village."⁵⁹ What this boiled down to, is the fact that even in the weaving industry, the determining factor was that of labour. An elder who had accumulated a number of wives had a labour force to keep him supplied with thread and thus enjoyed an economic advantage. Moreover, cloth could be used to purchase slaves. Slaves were an important means of securing labour where the ready availability of land "made the development of a free market unlikely, whatever the cultural ethos regarding the sale of labour."⁶⁰

It is self-evident in this analysis of the cloth industry that the production of cloth for sale and for domestic consumption, involved decisions regarding the allocation of land and labour. And this was the realm at which the Tiv elders, the 'big men' and Utor (Chiefs) played the important role that set them apart from the mass of the producers as a class of rulers, as distinct from

59. East, R. Akiga's Story, pp.343 - 344. Also on p.310. Akiga's concludes that "Sometimes a poor man would become rich entirely through his wife."

60. Dorward, Op Cit. p.586.

those who produced the wealth. This can hardly be said to be an egalitarian society as Bohannan⁶¹ and his fellow road travellers would rather we believed. For a society in which slavery was a fact, it is dubious to insist on egalitarianism, a concept which Makar for want of words, dubbed simply as "foreign."⁶² Nor can this society be described as stateless and classless as Horton and Keil would rather we accept.⁶³

For, according to Engels,⁶⁴ the state arises in the first place because of the existence of classes in society, and because of the tension, friction and irreconcilable differences that exists among these classes. The state thus serves to hold these antagonisms in check and it is controlled by the most powerful and economically dominant group. One cannot talk about the absence of the state and by implication some form of government, while at the same time acknowledging the existence of some dominant groups.

How then does Horton arrive at his classification of the Tiv as stateless? He started by giving a four point definition of statelessness.

62. Makar, T. Op Cit p.433

63. Horton, R. "Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa" in Ajayi and Crowder (ed.) Vol. One 1971 pp. 72-113. Keil Charles, Tiv Song. University of Chicago Press London 1979.

64. Engels, F. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Progress Publishers 1978 edition, Moscow.

1. That there is little concentration of authority.
It is difficult to point to any individual or limited group of men as the ruler or rulers of society.
2. Such authority roles as exist affect a rather limited sector of the lives of those subject to them.
3. The wielding of authority as a specialized, full-time occupation is virtually unknown.
4. The unit within which people feel an obligation to settle their disputes according to agreed rules and without resort to force tends to be relatively small.⁶⁵

Armed with this definition, Horton concludes that the Tiv are a stateless people (as are the Ibo and Lodogaa). But these theoretical attributes does not hold brief for the Tiv of central Tivland in historical terms.⁶⁶ An examination of the nature of Tiv pre-colonial socio-political organization has helped to dispell this notion. For the lineages, the Tar council and the household were, among others, centres of political authority. If one were to accept Horton's definition, one would be forced to conclude

65. Horton, Robin, Op Cit. p.72.

66. I owe this understanding to M.Y. Mangvwat's class discussion with his undergraduate students.

that the Tiv society was a chaotic one in pre-colonial times. Moreover, it is also curious that Horton implies this situation was still tenable in colonial Tiv society in the 19th century when the Utor Agbande phenomena had become an important political innovation worthy of note throughout Tivland, those leaders whom the British found and acknowledged in their numerous archival and other records.⁶⁷

The Tiv social system was based on the councils. There were several levels of councils which took binding decisions in Tiv societies. The respect and obedience which these councils commanded derived from the three main source of seniority, religion and the regulation and control of production and distribution.

Horton's assertion that the Tiv society was stateless can at best be accepted as half truth. For even if his four point definition is accepted as valid, to say that the Tiv were stateless is to deny the socio-economic process at work which were changing the society. Statelessness itself tends to suggest a static and unchanging condition which denies history.

67. See for example, Dewar, K. "Ukan and Ikov Clans" of the Tiv tribe in Ukan District Intelligence Report, SNP 17/3 24554. See also T. Makar, Op Cit. pp.142-202 Chapter V.

Such a position also tallies with the way most Europeans tended to compare the nation states in Europe in the 19th century with those societies in Africa. They tended to view the presence or absence of well organized polities as a measure of "civilization". This is certainly not justified because in Africa, there were small political units which had relatively advanced material and non-material cultures. For instance, the Ibo of Nigeria and the Kikuyu of Kenya who never produced large centralized governments in their traditional setting.⁶⁸ Both possessed sophisticated systems of political rule based on clans and (in the case of the Ibo), on religious oracle and "Secret Societies". Both of these were efficient agriculturists and iron workers, the Ibo having been brass and bronze manufacturers since the 9th century A.D.⁶⁹

The Tiv, who reportedly⁷⁰ entered the present area in the 18th century, and whose numerous population⁷¹ required much land for settlement; processes which entailed the displacing of peoples who had

68. Rodney, Walter, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Dar Es Salaam, 1972 p.56.

69. Ibid.

70. See Makar, Op Cit, Chapter 1 and also Orkaa's work, Op Cit.

71. Gbande's extrapolation is 800,000, see Gbade, Op Cit.

already occupied the Benue Trough, established contact with those autochthonous groups. The need to protect and expand Tiv settlements led to the development of social institutions which cut across the various lineages. The Tiv at even the post clan stage⁷² of development can at least be described as a politically segmented people. The British however acknowledged the existence of ashagbailor or recognized "principal elders", "big men" and drum chiefs of varied ranking with specific functions to perform.

3.4. Structures of Accumulation in Pre-colonial Central Tivland: Organization and Appropriation of Labour Surpluses.

The control over land and its resources is exercised by people who relate to one another in this process, whether within the family, the clan, the village or in the market-place. The nature of this relationship of people to the means of production characterises the manner in which production is socially organized and how the

72. I share Mangvwat's position that the Tiv, Ibo and Fulbe peoples had a history which could be divided into 3 stages viz: pre-clan, clan and post clan periods, which are all products of history. And that by the 18th century they had all arrived at the clan stage and processes were at work within the clan separately and collectively to supercede the clan social organization. (Mangvwat's class discussion with undergraduate student, 1985.)

products of social labour are appropriated. It is at this level that the issue of social production arises.⁷³ And when one is talking about the changes in the authority structures of society, one has to take into cognisance the nature of the relationships between those who produces and who appropriates those products. In pre-colonial central Tivland, there was a clear case of class formation, represented in the nature of production, the division of labour and the different forms of surplus appropriation that emerged on the eve of colonial conquest.⁷⁴

In Tivland, the use of slaves in production was not generalized but there is evidence for the existence of slaves. In fact slavery was not a distinct mode of production as such, but an important element in the range of servile status. According to Gbande, slaves constituted part of the labour force of the household, and are a clear necessity in the case of aspiring members of the community who seek to acquire the title of Tor Ruam (Food Chief).⁷⁵

73. See Yahaya Abdullahi - "Peasant Agriculture and class formation in Nigeria" in Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria since Independence, Zaria, 1983, Vol. II edited by M.O. Kayode and Y.B. Usman, p.496.

74. See G.T. Emeagwali, Op Cit.

75. Gbande, Op Cit. P.121.

Abuul Abenga⁷⁶ is said to have owned as many as a 1,000 slaves.

A man became a slave either by being captured in a fracas war or a skirmish, or through sale by his agnates. In most cases, only criminals were sold, but sometimes, "expendables" (e.g. children born of unmarried women) were sold in order to acquire wealth. Capture of foreigners as slaves was a normal occurrence.

Generally however, slaves were not treated in the strictest sense as commodities in feudal societies of the type of Hausaland. However, the important fact is that they remained slaves (ikpan) and could be owned by the leading elders of the household. He, it is important to acknowledge, was an additional labour in the process of accumulation to the elder whose household it was he belonged. An owner entrusted the slave into the hut of one of his wives, as part of her labour group.

The remarkable thing about a slave in Tivland was that a good owner would provide a wife for a slave. The spouse also being a slave, her children were also slaves, who could be disposed of at the

76. My informants all agree that Tor Abuul Benga of Ukan was a formidable man who commanded respect even beyond his clan in Ukan. Because he refused to desist from the practice of slavery, the British had him arrested and detained in Abinsi until his death in 19...

owner's will. This was different from other members of the society who could only be sold by consent of either their Igba or Ityo.⁷⁸

However, because there were no actual slave estates, slave labour, inspite of the wide spread application of the term in central Tivland and elsewhere, was of little significance in the history of the people. One could attribute formalised slave labour only to highly developed feudal societies. But in central Tivland, although the phenomenon of slave ownership was a fact, it was only so in so far as it enhanced the labour potential of individual elders of important distinction.

In this wise, according to Mangwat,⁷⁹ a slave was difficult to define, for they were actually war captives of not exactly inferior status or subhuman beings. They only became detestable beings by the designations to which they became attached as trade articles and the nature of the manual jobs to which they were put. They were more part of a household than slaves of the feudal definition.

78. Ibid.

79. Mangwat, Thesis, op.cit. pp. 26-28.

However, in spite of the fact that there were slaves in Tivland, a clear demarcation line should be drawn between those who were not slaves in the real sense and those who had access to the means of production and the fruits of surplus labour, and those who had access to the means of production and the possibilities of accumulation. These latter formed a large percentage of the population in the 19th century, and constituted an important factor of the productive elements in the population, and were central in the accumulation process, even if they did not share in the power display in society. Although they contributed a lot in the total produce, their share in the distribution of surplus was negligent and restricted. They constituted a class.⁸⁰

This was a class that participated in the production of surpluses that was appropriated by other groups, notably the 'bigmen', principal elders and by 1900, the ator agbande. This group invested in power, using gifts and other trade goods (from the surplus) to attract followers, purchase slaves and extend political influence.⁸¹ These were the ones who represented the possessors of wealth and power in central Tivland and indeed the rest of Tivland.

80. G.T. Emeagwali, Op Cit. p.21.

81. Dorward, "Pre-colonial Trade...", Op Cit. p.588.

The other important level of labour organization was the level of the age grades (the Kwav). This refers to a group of men whose association is explained in terms of their common age,⁸² which came into being gradually and informally, but mature at about age 18 to 20. Older men organized

to work on their patches of land and mostly provided the kwav with only feeding. The proceeds of this farm however went to elders alone.⁸³ In most cases, the kwav were under an age-set adviser to whom they looked up to, in matters that required knowledge of certain local custom. These of course were elders and in most cases either atoragbande or an orya (house-hold head) who could call out these age-sets to hoe their farms. He was also entitled to a part of any game killed by any member of the age set.

The age set phenomena was only found among men and not women. Women only related to them in the context of which their husbands were themselves related. In most cases, the members of these kwav had helped the husbands in other activities including the process of marrying them.

82. L. and P. Bohannan, Op Cit. P.47.

83. Oral interview, Yina, Ikenge, Gboko May, 1987.

They assisted the wife in the event of her husband's death, in rebuilding her huts and hoeing her farms.

These general activities by the age-sets may appear to over-rule the principle of individual accumulation, especially as they consist in helping each other in their economic pursuits. However, the fact that they were represented and directed by certain elders precludes the idea that they were beyond certain social controls under the directorship of the leaders of these communities. They, in this respect, only represented certain labour units at the disposal of the authority pivots in society to enhance their wealth, their prestige and their power. The point to be noted at this level is that there existed significant accessibility to accumulated surpluses on the part of the compound heads and other leaders of the society. And as to be expected, some of them inevitably abused these previlages.⁸⁴

In addition to the fact that these authority centres at which the elders controlled these economic production in the form of household helps, slaves and age-grade labour, there was yet another important level at which they were very instrumental

⁸⁴. Mangwat, Op Cit. P.23.

in helping to enhance their authority. This was in the area of religion. Indeed, there was a close relationship between prominent elders and the phenomenon of Tsav⁸⁵ a clear indication of the manipulative use of religion in favour of those to whom the monopoly of this religious practices, including the all important practice of treatment of sicknesses, was sanctioned. Such elders were those with enough authority to acquire such skills from all others, and who invariably provided leadership in society.

Labour^{Power} served to exchange for other goods, such as feeds, grains, metals and iron works, beer et al., and nobody was said to be unemployed. The concepts of unemployment and laziness, although not entirely new, came to have expression and content only in the colonial era. How much labour one controlled determined how much wealth such an individual or strata or even such a household, and by implication, the head of such a household, controlled. And, it has become clear, that the control and appropriation of surplus is crucial in identifying the

85. For what of a definition, we refer to Tsav as "aspects of the supernatural". According to R.M. Downes, Tsav cannot be defined. It can only be explained. For to attempt to define Tsav would be attempt to define a concept that is illusive and mostly in the abstract and the super real. See Downes, R.M. Tiv religion, 1971, p.

ruling class of any social formation.⁸⁶ This surplus appropriation gave rise to differential accumulation of wealth which defined the level of emergence of such class and semi-class communities in Central Tiv land in pre-European times.

This general situation was what the British, more or less, met at the time of hoisting of colonial rule on Central Tiv-land between 1912 and 1914. Colonialism therefore either encouraged these structures or restructured them where possible, or better still, dismantled them where they were found obstructing colonial goals. For in most cases, colonial administrators found the political system, emanating from the pre-colonial production structures intrinsically unsuited to the demands of colonial rule.⁸⁷

Household heads, the so-called bigmen and "principal elders" controlled the production of family products. By implication therefore, they controlled the surpluses that were produced. This enhanced their position among the Tiv, in addition to traditional relics and custom. They supplied the

86. Issa Shivji, Class Struggle in Tanzania, London, 1936, p.6.

87. See for instance, Z.A. Bonet, "Colonialism and Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A case study of Zaria province 1902-1945". Paper presented to the Centre for Social and Economic Research, A.B.U., Zaria, 1986.

drinks and food at festivities, wore the most expensive dresses and sometimes came to markets and such festivities on horse back.

Thus even if one cannot make a marked distinction between the various groups that were emerging, one can at least discern some difference between the mass of the actual producers, and the few who did not actively engage in the process of production beyond directing of production, but who were obviously better dressed and were held in high esteem.

The household heads and lineage chiefs represented one socio-economic status as against the generality of ordinary members. Both the compound head and chiefs enjoyed certain social status positions which were not legitimized by traditions of origin (which every elder was capable of recounting), settlements, migrations and occupations of specific territories of land. In addition to this, they could lay claim to the mastery of akombo and Tary, implying a clear case of religious control and manipulation for their own benefit.

These "traditions"⁸⁸ belonged to the controlling lineages, those dominant groups in the communities.

88. We pointed out in the preceding chapter that "Traditions" are not immutable and that in most case, opinion leaders determine what is tradition and what is not. Thus what gets passed down in most cases as tradition is the views of the dominant class.

They were regarded as the most knowledgeable people around who settled disputes, controlled the supply of meat, determined who married who and generally ruled.

The political structures of central Tiv-land on the eve of colonial invasion and domination was one that can be clearly discerned. The communal mode of production was wide-spread and dominant, eliciting certain specific characteristics in the sphere of the political superstructure, some of which changes had turned towards the creation of chiefs most of whom, according to Makar, the British met by 1912.⁸⁹

3.5. The Colonial Conquest of Central Tivland, 1912-1914.

There exists confusing and conflicting claims as to how and when Tivland fell under colonial control.⁹⁰ For us however, control and establishment of colonial rule only became a fact with the effective colonization and taxation of such a place. For central Tivland, all records, both archival and secondary, show that taxes were collected only after 1913.⁹¹

89. Makar, Op Cit. Chapter II.

90. See the works of Dorward, Tseayo, Makar and Gbande, Op Cit.

91. See Maltby, Tombo clan, SNP 172p 1913. Also Rowe, Ipav District Assessment Report, SNP 373 p. 1913, among others.

For the rest of Tivland however, European influence and capitalist penetration started even before 1900. These activities consisted generally of sailors like Baikie, W.B. in 1885, and in the 1880s, traders who established trading posts at Bomasha, Abinsi, Gbereve and Tiga, all of them in Central Tivland.⁹² Then, the nature of the relationship between the British and the Tiv even at this early contact, was tinged with deadly suspicions. The British, they kept emphasizing, wanted to trade. Of course, so did the Tiv, who had been involved in this type of exchange before. However, either due to trade disputes or mistakes made on both sides as a result of an acquaintance that had not been developed, but which even at this early period was an unholy and unequal one, a number of deaths occurred, of Hoyland and Griffiths, who were company agents of the West Africa Company.⁹³ The British took revenge to burn and raze to the ground whole Tiv settlements in retaliation. This was incomprehensible. If, like the elders insist,⁹⁴

92. See Ferryman Mockler, Up The River Niger p. 65. London 1892, O.U.P.

93. See Makar, Op.Cit. pp. 103-152.

94. Tiv elders generally believe that a just revenge is a natural and welcome thing. Thus the Biblical saying "an eye for an eye..." is considered very Tiv. Oral discussion with Terese Tange, Tombo, August 15. 1987 in Ghoko.

the British had killed two Tiv in retaliation, this situation could have been, even if not excusable, at least understandable. However to destroy whole settlements, kill children and women, who were not even to blame in the first place, was akin to a declaration of war.⁹⁵ This event however, was the first in a series of terroristic activities aimed at intimidating and cowering the Tiv, which dogged the early Anglo-Tiv relations, and which informed the nature of the conquest and establishment of colonial rule in the second decade of the 20th century in Tivland.

By January 1900, the Tiv of Iharev had engaged the new colonial authorities in battle, when they objected to the destruction of their farmlands. This was a compliment to the powerful capitalist commercial interests that had demanded entry into Tivland by establishment of trading bases and trade relations with the Tiv, via a network of stations along the Benue and Katsina Ala Rivers.⁹⁶ As if warned by some premonition of the danger posed by these trading companies with regard to their

95. Makar Op Cit. pp.120-170, also insists that this could only be an act of war.

96. Dorward, D.C. "The Development of British Colonial Administration Among the Tiv 1900-1949" in African Affairs, (London) Vol. LXVII p.316.

97. Dorward, D.C. "Ethnography and Administration", Op.Cit. P.459. Also Dorward, "The Development of British Colonial Administration..." Op Cit. p.317.

independence, the Tiv, especially those along the riverine areas of Tombo and Katsina Ala, attacked these stations, forcing the company to abandon all trading posts except that in Abinsi. But even this was destroyed in 1906 during a skirmish between the local Tiv and the Hausa trading community.⁹⁷

The Abinsi incident rekindled British determination to subjugate the Tiv and was viewed as another example of the intractable character of the Tiv. Lugard, convinced that a decisive victory was required to put the Tiv in their place once and for all (especially as earlier "punitive patrols" had all but failed to over-awe them), began to organize a large military operation. He intended to destroy the Tiv military spine at one stroke. This however, was constrained by four important but unrelated facts of history.

Firstly, the Tiv had no standing army with which to engage the British in a standing battle. They just kept withdrawing as the British advanced, thus frustrating them the more, only to counter-attack in guerrilla style⁹⁸ on individual initiative.

97. Dorward, D.C. "Ethnography and Administration", Op Cit. p.459. Also Dorward, "The Development of British Colonial Administration..." Op Cit. P.317.

98. Oral interview, Tsevende Adugu, IPAV, August, 1987.

Secondly, in Britain itself, the new under-secretary of state for colonies, Winston Churchill, feared that military operations might prove politically embarrassing to the new liberal government.⁹⁹ Churchill and Lord Elgin, (the new colonial secretary), thus ordered that military objectives be restricted to safe-guarding freedom of navigation on the Benue and punishing the Tiv of the Abinsi incident.¹⁰⁰

Thirdly, even this limited campaign had to be halted and the large military force evacuated to go and fight the Satiru uprising in Sokoto. Then, finally, Lugard himself resigned as governor of Northern Nigeria without achieving his objectives of being credited with the title he so coveted: the "vanquisher"¹⁰¹ of the Tiv.

Although, all these were happening outside Central Tivland itself, and these Tiv were not even aware of the forces that were acting, albeit unintentionally, to postpone their conquest, reports from these outer fringes were constantly filtering in, serving to effectively create the right atmosphere of awe, fear and consternation at the approaching British patrols.

99. Dorward, D.C., op.cit., p.317

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

After Lugards departure, but especially faced with the novel problem of fighting a people reputed to be warriors, but also savage and cannibalistic in nature¹⁰² and who could not be routed in a single campaign, the so called theory of "peaceful penetration"¹⁰³ came to gain ascendancy. This thesis is attributed to Gordon and popularized by Dorward in almost all his writings on the colonial subjugation of the Tiv.

Captain Charles Forbes Gordon became Resident of Kuri Province in 1906 and was immediately interested in the "unsettled district" of the Tiv who were reportedly refusing to pay tax to colonial agents in and around Wukari. Gordon then sent in Lt. Stone to ensure that the Tiv paid their taxes and also not disrupt trade on the Benue. Stone's findings were that the Tiv were not to blame but the "... bastard Jukun and river riff-raff".¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile the Commandant of W.A.F.F., Colonel Lowry Cole had reported to the colonial office that the Tiv were "excellent Cultivators"¹⁰⁵ and that the Abinsi

102. Dorward, D.C. "Ethnography and Administration" Op Cit. P.458.

103. This Thesis is associated with Gordon and Ruxton, and popularized by Dorward.

104. Dorward, Ph.D. Thesis, Cp.Cit. P.140.

105. Ibid.

campaign had failed to uncover a single case of cannibalism. And moreover, "... the Hausa Traders... who have been as far as Katsina Ala, state that there are no Munshi (Tiv) cannibals at all."¹⁰⁶ The Tiv, he went on, could easily become "peaceful and industrious subjects," a position that clearly contrasted with what Lugard, now in retirement, was peddling about the Tiv in London.

This was the context in which Gordons "peaceful opening" Policy position had its birth. According to Dorward, Gordon began the "opening up" . . . without having fired a "single shot".¹⁰⁷

It is on record that in July 1909, a garison and administrative post were established at Abinsi in readiness for the push into Western Tivland, scheduled for the 1909-1910 dry season.¹⁰⁸ These were to use Abinsi and Katsina Ala as bases of operation from which patrols could then move into all other parts of Tivland. This show of force was hardly a "peaceful" move. This was moreso if one were to remember that the corner-stone of Gordon's policy was to compel the Tiv to embark on such novel and detestable experiences as payment of taxes to the

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid. P.142.

108. Ibid.

colonial administration. As a matter of fact, most of the praise for Gordon by colonial administration consisted in the fact that by 1914, virtually all parts of Tivland were paying taxes one way or the other, even though there had been comparatively little investment in military weapons and soldiers that Lugard had planned.

But the question is, does history bear out this assertion that Tivland was colonised without violence and blood-shed? Especially given that colonial subjugation required a complete surrender of a peoples' sovereignty, not only over their land and labour, but even over their very livelihood and entire existence, is it conceivable that such an act can happen to even the most primitive of societies without protest? How come then, that besides the question of logistics, the Tiv, less numerous than the other Northern Nigerian communities, were not brought under colonial domination as easily? These questions can be answered only in the course of the exposure of the grand design of colonial domination and its manifestation in particular contexts. This is however, not possible here. Suffice it at this level, to contest the position that Gordon never committed any act of aggression in his business of bringing the Tiv under colonial rule.

Moreover, since colonial documents are so bereft of information relating to these acts of aggression, the only other recourse is in the oral information available on the area itself.

According to informants¹⁰⁹ Gordons escorts shot and killed three persons in the district of Ityuruv and wounded a fourth, whose leg was later amputated, on a flimsy excuse. The news of this killing spread quickly. This made people to fear to tangle with Gordons Troops.

It was of course not in Gordons interest that such acts become common knowledge, for as early as 1907, he was complaining "These (Hausa) hunters are:

not desirable elements as there is little doubt that they spread rumours of the punishment that will come when the Administration is prepared to administer the country (Tivland)"¹¹⁰

Gordon's efforts, even if one was to accept that he opened up Tivland to British imperialism "without having fired a single shot",¹¹¹ his efforts were largely limited to those Tiv living

109. Information is gathered from Makar's interviews with elders in the district of Ityuruv See Op Cit. P.234.

110. SNP 5313/1907, N.A.K. Notes on The Munshi Tribe by Assistant Resident Gordon.

111. This is also Gbande's position. Says Gbande, "without having Fired a single shot, the first step had been taken in the opening up of Tivland to British imperialism" Op Cit. P.164.

between Wukari and the eastern bank of the Katsina Ala river. The responsibility for "opening up" those parts of Tivland we are concerned with here, West of the K. Ala, fell to Ruxton under whom Gordon had worked as an Assistant Resident in his capacity now as the new Resident of Muri Province.¹¹²

Ruxton also supported this position of Gordon's on the idea of peaceful penetration and had even convinced the new governor, Sir Percy Girouard, of the wisdom in governing the Tiv through "direct" colonial administration.¹¹³ The plan had to be abandoned when Lord Elgin of the colonial office declined this on the basis of the fact that the exchequer was already spending beyond the budget for colonies.¹¹⁴ Ruxton thus had to abandon his "peaceful penetration" plans. Shortly after this, in January 1908, both Gordon and Ruxton went on leave¹¹⁵ and more strenuous efforts to penetrate central Tivland was not to be until 1912-1913. This was left mostly to the discretion of Touring

112. See Dorward, D.C. Thesis Op Cit. pp.145-148.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

Assistant Residents and their political officers who travelled in the areas with varying sizes of escorts, mapping the areas and assessing the population for purposes of taxation.

For the British too, only when an area had been effectively reduced to a taxable unit did they consider their control over such an area total. All Assistant Residents whose responsibility it was to bring the districts in central Tivland under the heel of colonial rule, without exception, attested to the fact that the Tiv had not been assessed for taxation before, nor did they have any tradition of payment of tax to any authority previously.¹¹⁶ Between (mainly) C.F. Rowe and F.E. Malthy, most districts in central Tivland were assessed and taxed, thus effectively linking them to the British imperialist economy.

Things were not always smooth for the tax collectors, the political officers and the Residents. In Mbatlav clan where C.F. Rowe reports that:-

116. See Captain C.F. Rowe, Muri Province: Munshi Div., Tombo West District Assessment Report April, 26 1913, SNP 10, 374 P.1913. N.A.K.

These people had never, so far as I can learn, previously been visited and have not been taxed before,¹¹⁷

The head man of Mba-Anuwe section, one APU, refused to pay the tax, or even collect from his section. He was arrested and detained for a "few days till the tax was completed."¹¹⁸ In fact, in Mbatlav district, the people were so impoverished by payment "in kind" and taxed beyond their taxable capacity¹¹⁹ that they were forced to pay the tax in female cows. And my informants insist that no Tiv man would ever surrender a fertile female cow unless it involved a matter of life and death.¹²⁰

Some just simply refused to pay if the political agents came to collect without an escort of soldiers. Rowe reported that in Yandev district, his political agents in advance were driven away with threats, but the people showed readiness to pay immediately he appeared on the scene, undoubtedly in fear of his soldiers (escorts). In Tombo, the political agent was attacked and Rowe had to move in to "deal with the

¹¹⁷ Ibid.
¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Information by almost all elders who were interviewed and who insisted that a cow, apart from representing wealth, was also a prestige possession which could be disposed of only in cases of marriages, group dances or important ceremonies.

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reported attack."

The tax payers were also made to carry their tax some hundred or so miles to either Katsina Ala or Abinsi for eventual evacuation. This potorage was itself considered part of the payment for the tax. This kind of double exploitation led Resident Ruxton to question Rowe; "the 500 carriers were doubtless Munshi tax payers carrying their own taxes into Divisional Headquarters without remuneration?".¹²²

There were protests however. In Mbatierrev, Rowe recorded his consternation at the indiscretion of forced porters who just "threw down their loads and dispersed into the Bush."¹²³ In Tombo, Mbalagh clan, a hut in which taxes collected were stored was set on fire, by unknown persons.¹²⁴

This shows the level of resentment people felt to the appropriation of their produce as well as their labour power.

121. See Rowe, C.F. Assessment Report of Tombo West District SNP 10/374 1913, N.A.K.

122. C.F. Rowe, MURI Province, Yandava District: Munshi Division Assessment Report, SNP 297P 1913. N.A.K.

123. See C.F. Rowe, Mbatierrev District Assessment Report.

124. See Akiga Manuscripts, P.290, in D.C. Dorward Thesis, Op Cit. P.174.

There was an apparent collusion between the colonial government when it become relatively stabilized by about 1915-1916, and the colonial trading companies, to dispossess and further impoverish the people. For instance, colonial government agents who collected taxes in kind initially, forced the tax payers to transport it to the company depots on the river banks, (in this case, the Niger Company, based at Abinsi, and the John Holt and company), and while government agencies paid £6.15 per ton to the companies, the Tiv producers were offered £6 per ton or 6 shillings per C.W.T. but in goods, which were generally things for which he had no interest nor desire. This was the complaint Rowe received from the district officers of Mbatlav in 1912.¹²⁵

In view of this, Rowe became worried that the correct desire for trade will not be created if:

"attractive trade goods of fair value or better still by cash payment" are

not made, then all attempts by political officers to:

125. Rowe, C.F. Muri Province, Batiav Clan Assessment Report by; S.N.P. 10, 530 P.1913, N.A.K.

"encourage trade (are) generally ineffective if not ridiculous.¹²⁶

In the very first year of assessment and collection of tax in kind, Rowe collected enough among 'the Mbatia which he sold to the company traders for £222.10.0 "on the spot" in 1912.¹²⁷

A combination of such acts of collusion on the part of both the colonial administration and the colonial trading companies, constituted violence. It is therefore curious that Dorward, and later Gbande, could not find a contradiction between these obvious acts of violence and the so called Gordonian peaceful penetration.

Thus the early attempts by the British to create certain administrative Structures were aimed at working out the best, most cheap and convenient way in which the colonial economy could function. The debate was certainly not whether colonial rule should be direct or indirect. The British had to employ the structures that existed in so far as they facilitated the smooth operation of colonial objectives. In fact, no where has colonial rule been 'direct'. It has always had to employ local agents who had influence among their people but

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

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who were themselves under the control of the colonial administration.

Charles Temple succeeded Bell, first as acting governor for Northern Nigeria between 1911 and 1917 and as Lt.-governor after the Amalgamation from 1914.¹²⁸ As far as he was concerned, rising revenue figures was clear testimony that the native administration was making speedy progress. He insisted and got the provincial administration to introduce direct taxation in Tivland in 1912 even while he had noted in 1911 that:

... the natives managed to get along very fairly before we started to interfere with them and so there must be something to say for whatever system was in practice or allowed by them. Our object should be... to avoid the overstraining of the staff in attempting to introduce reform, excepting only in certain cases where it is impossible to avoid doing so...¹²⁹

Taxes, however, irrespective of the novelty of it, had to be collected, and Pressurized and terrorized, the Tiv produced and sold some 16,240 lbs of seed cotton to the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) during the first 6 months of

128. Dorward, D.C. Thesis, Op Cit. p.160.

129. Temple Charles, Minutes SNP 1317, 1911

1913 and paid almost 5 tons of this in tax.¹³⁰
60 per cent of revenue collected from Tivland
(in kind) in 1913 amounted to £5742.1s.9d.¹³¹
Most of this tax was collected in kind and then
sold to either those Hausa traders who followed
the colonial administrators around,¹³² or were
transported to the depots to be sold to the
trading companies. The Hausa traders purchased
especially iron bars. But for other commodities
like guinea corn and benniseed, between June and
September, 1912, the administration had to post-
pone further collection of tax in kind due to the
difficulty of disposing of those already in stock.

While re-selling to the Niger Company the
colonial officers were in effect performing the
role of commercial middlemen. Rowe was to
complain in 1913 that the commercial firms were:

... utilizing the political officer
as their "district agent, buyer,
Storeman and Shipper."¹³³

130. Ruxton, Quaterly Report, Muri Province
June, 1913, NAK SNP 583, P.1913. Doward,
"An unknown Nigerian Export", JAH XVI 3
(1975) P.436.

131. Doward, Ibid. P.438.

132. Ibid. P.439.

133. Rowe, Assessment Report, Abinsi, urban
2 April, 1913 SNP 401 P/1913 NAK quoted
in Doward, Op Cit. P.439.

This of course removes all doubt as to the collaborative nature of and reasons for British attempts at control of colonial estates all over the world, including the Tiv of Central Tivland. Revenue in Munshi Division which had, at the beginning of direct taxation, stood at £1,549 in 1912, rose to £8,062 in 1914 and then to £9,026 in 1916. Finally, in 1918, when every clan came under assessment, the Division officer confirmed that the entire revenue for 1917 was up to £11,738.¹³⁴

To be able to reap such benefits of colonial gains, the administration had to ensure that not too many hitches were placed in their way. So the question was, what kind of administration could best permit this appropriation? The answer to this question will conclude this chapter for us. For the British were able to make certain important changes in Tiv society.

Colonialism brought in ordinances that upset Tiv society. As it were, while the economy was undergoing some drastic changes, the superstructure could not itself remain unchanged. As the elders put it to one district officer.

134. Freemantle, Annual Report, Muri Province, 1917 SNP, 198, P.1918. Quoted in Dorward Op Cit. P.440.

the whiteman forbade Kor (the Sasswood Ordeal), he prevents hoyo (communal activities against whitches) he deprecates Ibem (communal hunting) and now he has forbidden yamen ukwase (exchange marriage) and you say you want us to follow our own customs. Tar vihi yo (the land is ruined.) 135

On the whole, the nature of conquest and occupation of central Tivland was such that the British found no such convenient 'sole' family on to which they could hoist colonial administration readily. The early colonial administrators therefore had to experiment with certain administrative structures at this early stage.

When Charles Temple became the governor of Northern Nigeria ^{between} 1911-1917, he found himself at a cross-road as to how to handle the administration of the Tiv. For Lugard had been unable to achieve his aim of a complete, final and decisive victory against the Tiv before he retired in 1906. And after Lugard, Sir Percy Girouard (1906-1911) was himself persuaded by the argument presented by Assistant Resident in charge of Munshi Division, and reinforced by the Resident of Muri, Captain Upton Fitzherbert Ruxton. The central argument here was for some form of direct administration,

135. See Downes, R.M. Tiv Religion, P.14.

rather than "Indirect Rule", at least "until the authority of the elders had been enhanced to the point where they could control the younger members of the tribe".¹³⁶ This position was rejected by the colonial office under Lord Elgin, who argued that the involvement in direct administration would involve too many European staffs and additional funds which the British exchequer was not ready to make available.¹³⁷

This impasse was disturbing for the colonial administrators on the scene, and their fears are justified by Dorward who felt that to "leave things this way was not good enough since chaos may result."¹³⁸ Dorward went on to assert that once again, the initiative for an administrative policy was to come from Gordon. Gordon therefore suggested that because indigenous centralised political institutions were not available among the Tiv, Tiv elders should be prompted to elect kindred headmen whom the colonial authorities will "recognize" as the Native Authority of the kindreds they represented, while the other elders acted the position of an

136. Dorward, D.C. Thesis, Op Cit. P.145.

137. Ibid. P.146.

138. Ibid. P.149.

advisory council. This principle of elected officials finally led to the creation of "clan heads."¹³⁹

Ruxton interpreted this to mean the creation of chiefs and concluded that the institution of chieftaincy was a product of the unsettled conditions prevalent in Africa prior to the phenomena of colonialism. But that since the advent of colonialism, chiefs and chieftaincy had become an anomaly and therefore, any move to create chiefs was a retrograde step, "since all executive power is (sic) in our hand."¹⁴⁰

Sir Henry Hesketh Bell who succeeded Girouard as governor failed to impress his reservations of the plan for a native administration through the kindred councils, even though he believed that it was more African to have chiefs.¹⁴¹ This kindred council (ijir) administration therefore came to be the first official British colonial policy for the administration of Tivland.

"any system which requires for its working, the assumption that the affairs of the individual native family should as a general rule be dealt with in detail by European officers and not by elders or chiefs of his tribe, must break down."¹⁴²

139. Gordon to Ruxton, Sept. 16, 1908. SNP 471/1909, N.A.K. Quoted in Dorward Op Cit. P.150.

140. See Ruxton Quarterly Report for Muri Province, Dec. 1908 SNP. 471/1909 NAK.

141. Bell, Minutes, March 4 1904 S.N.P. 471/1909.

142. See Temple to Ruxton, Aug. 11, 1911 SNP. 1317/1911, NAK Quoted in Dorward D.C. op.cit p.162.

With the new governor at complete variance with the kindred council system, which had been designed to mediate primarily in disputes within the kindred, the ijir became irrelevant.

Temple, in 1911, had made this much clear in his communication with Ruxton to the effect that the private interests of the Tiv was not of primary concern to the British administration.¹⁴³ The administration had in mind now a sort of hierarchical system of clearly defined headmen who could be held responsible for local taxation. From 1912 therefore, colonial administrative officers began to create headmen who could be employed as spokesmen/tax collectors and Native authorities for the clan and the kindred tax units.¹⁴⁴

The way and manner in which colonial administrators went about selecting and appointing the kindred headmen was predictable. Generally, it was the elder who proved the most willing to cooperate in matters of tax collection that was selected and could retain his place. Any reluctance to enforce the collection of tax was viewed with all seriousness by the colonial authorities. A number of kindred heads

143. Ibid. P.169.

144. Rowe, Annual Report for Muri province, 1913 SNP 15p/1914 N.A.K. Also Rowe, Assessment Report Bayorno, Jan. 16, 1913 SNP 149 p/1913 NAK.

constituted a "clan" or district council. The idea was therefore to create a situation whereby certain persons who were more amenable to the colonial administrative policies were put forward as candidates for the leadership of the clans or districts.¹⁴⁵

However, it was only among those relatively younger generation that the British could find those with whom to work, for among the Tiv, political authority normally was vested in the older men. These tended to control and dominate discussions at the council meetings even as they were very reluctant in collecting tax on behalf of the colonial government. The elders were an important strata in the traditional political process and to immediately and completely marginalize them would have created problems for the early British administration. They were therefore, selectively appointed utor or 'clan' heads and supplied with staff of authority as 5th class¹⁴⁶ chiefs. These "Chiefs" were rewarded with an annual stipend based on a small percentage of the tax collected from the clan.¹⁴⁷

145. The Fifth class Staff was the lowest level in the official administrations hierarchy for chiefs. The first three grades of Native chiefs were reserved then only for Muslim Emirs. See Dorward Thesis, Op Cit. P.172.

146. See Capt. Downes, Report on Reorganization of Mbayion District, 4th May, 1935, Gboko MAKProf 1272 NAK.

147. Ibid

The choice of those to be bestowed with such honorifics was not just arbitrarily done. These were in most cases, people who, although young/middle aged, had at least some reckoning within society. Most importantly however, one had to show that he was ready to collaborate with the administration in matters of general administration, tax collection, and accept authority of the white man without question.

Even in instances where such people who were appointed were not recognized Ashagbailor, or big men, etc, the ever present menace, wrath and intolerance of the district officers helped to brow beat the dissenting Tiv into line. These relatively younger men were trained and couched, to be elevated to positions of district heads. In this way, both direct taxation and the offices of the district heads, were simultaneously imposed on the Tiv.

It has been emphasized in this chapter that colonial control over the political affairs, and subsequent domination was not done for the sake of it. The primary concern of the colonising authorities was how to tune the pre-capitalist economy to produce for capitalism without seemingly getting too involved in both funds and manpower with

the local administration, yet making this society to conform to the demands of the new colonial situation. In this way, the British were able to create a crop of leaders, who were dependent on the same British system to survive, both politically and economically, having no power base themselves, among the people as such.

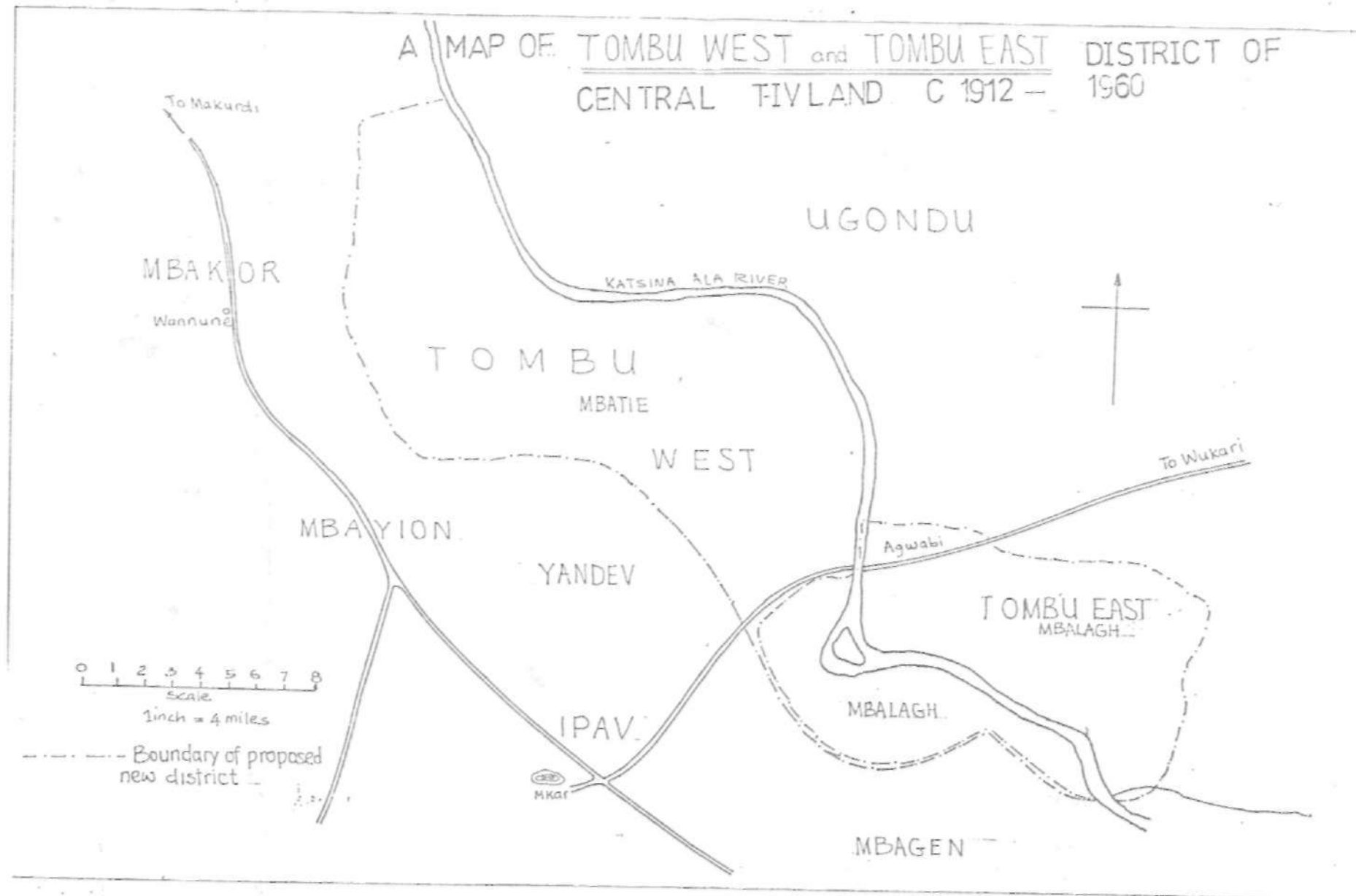
Colonial Rule had brought in ordinances that upset the Tiv and created an atmosphere of such disorganization in which the British were ready to build and consolidate a dependent socio-economic situation. The next chapter will try to examine the ways and manner in which the British consolidated their rule, tightened economic measures by a firmer control of the political system and institution.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. COLONIAL RULE AND THE CHANGING POLITICAL SYSTEM
SYSTEM 1917-1960: AN OVERVIEW

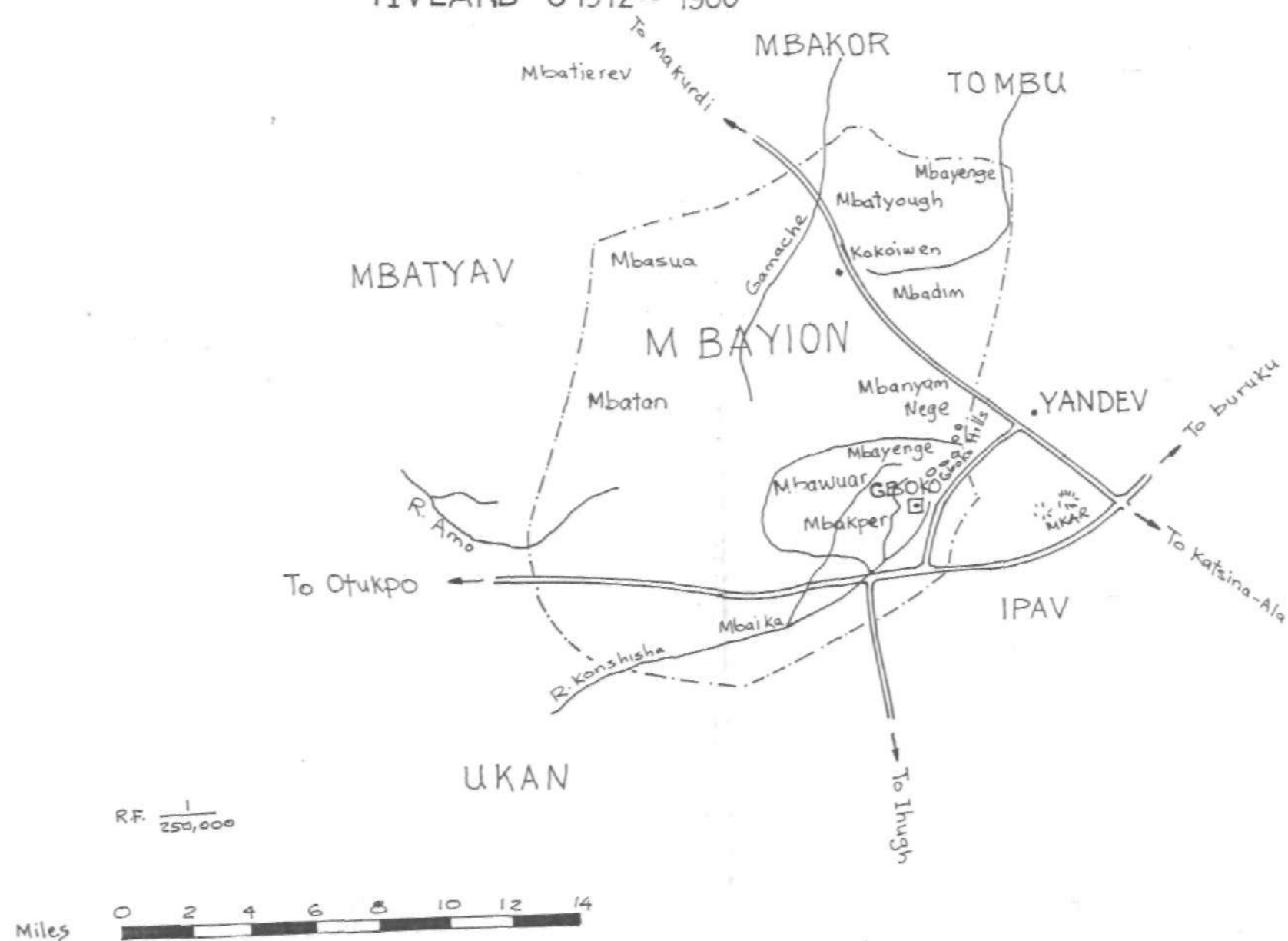
Certain political and social institutions during the six decades of colonial rule in central Tiv-land were affected dramatically. The irony though is that even while these political and social institutions apparently survived, they nevertheless remained in the state the colonialists found them, while in certain respects only their roles changed. There was an element of superficial continuity which colonial administrators wanted to maintain. Alongside with the transformation of these institutions, the patterns of life of those Tiv in leadership also changed, even while the farce of this superficial continuity was being played out.

We discussed in the preceding chapter the first decade of colonial rule and how it was used to lay the basis of colonial society and economy. Both the precapitalist and capitalist modes of production were to be articulated with an increasing preponderance of the capitalist mode. This was carried out by a two-pronged method of introduction of land, labour and fiscal policies, which went hand in hand with transformations in the administrative set-up.



A MAP OF MBAYION DISTRICT OF CENTRAL
TIVLAND C 1912 - 1960

PAGE 130 B





is the time of colonial administration in Tiv land that Dorward called the era of ignorance,¹¹ and Makar also sees it as the first phase in which the British did not understand the Tiv¹² thus giving rise to new "reorganizations". My findings however, have shown that the British, at no time, did show any ignorance in matters relating to why they were in Tiv-land and indeed the whole of Nigeria. Examples of what happened to such leaders that showed some kind of nerve in resisting colonial hegemony abound as was the case with Tiende of Tombo and Apu of Mbatlav. Those Tiv on whom the mantle of leadership came to fall, whom the British were certain they could work with, thus came to form, in the final analysis, the main difference between and represented a distortion, of the pre-colonial classes, which came to dominate affairs towards the tail end of colonial rule in central Tiv-land. Those who became actively involved in aiding the colonial administration in ruling became great names among the Tiv, even if they had no such influence previously. This was the case with Kucha¹³ of Mbayion, who has a whole settle-

11. See Dorward, Thesis Chapter V. PP. 179-208.

12. See Makar, Thesis, Chapters VII, VIII, IX.

13. C.F. Rowe said of him - "Kucha had no nominal authority... it is however, an authority to be built upon as in all matters of fetish he is recognised head" SNP/10/a-49 P/1913. Assessment Report Mbayion District, N.A.K.

ment named after him today, while in Mbatierev, Mbayiman, it was decided, had nominal authority, but could be made to have more authority with British support.¹⁴ In Mbakor district, Annune was officially appointed District Head in 1917,¹⁵ while in Tombo, it was Kurbaka and in Mbatiaav it was Akpagher¹⁶ as District Head. All these people, out of relative obscurity came to prominence with the aid of the British, and their family names came to dominate Tiv political configuration during the tail end of colonial rule mainly because of the props given them by the British. One would thus have problems with Makar's conclusion that these Tiv of the time or their children did not become central in Tiv Political affairs, because of later day re-organizations. Infact in all the districts in central Tivland, those early District Heads the British appointed are renowned names today. In Ipav, it was Gatie; in Mbagen, it was Chia Chire while in Yandev it was Babua, a man who had no traditional authority at all.¹⁷

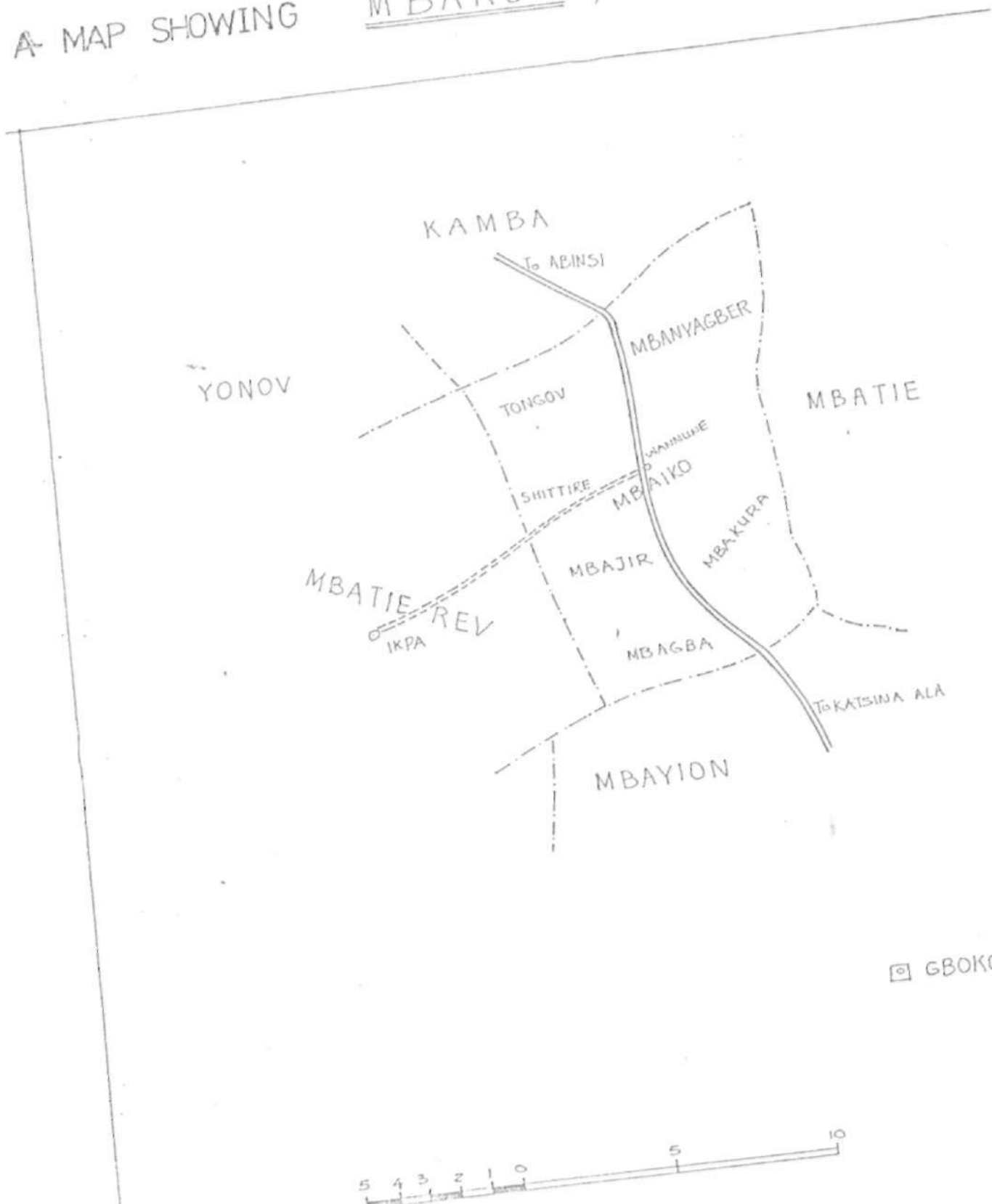
When between 1911 and 1917, Charles Temple succeeded Bell as colonial governor, first for Northern Nigeria, and then for both the North and the South, He came to favour the Emirate Structure as was modified by the British administration via the district heads after the Amalgamation, for this system seemed to have best

15. Ibid. P. 279

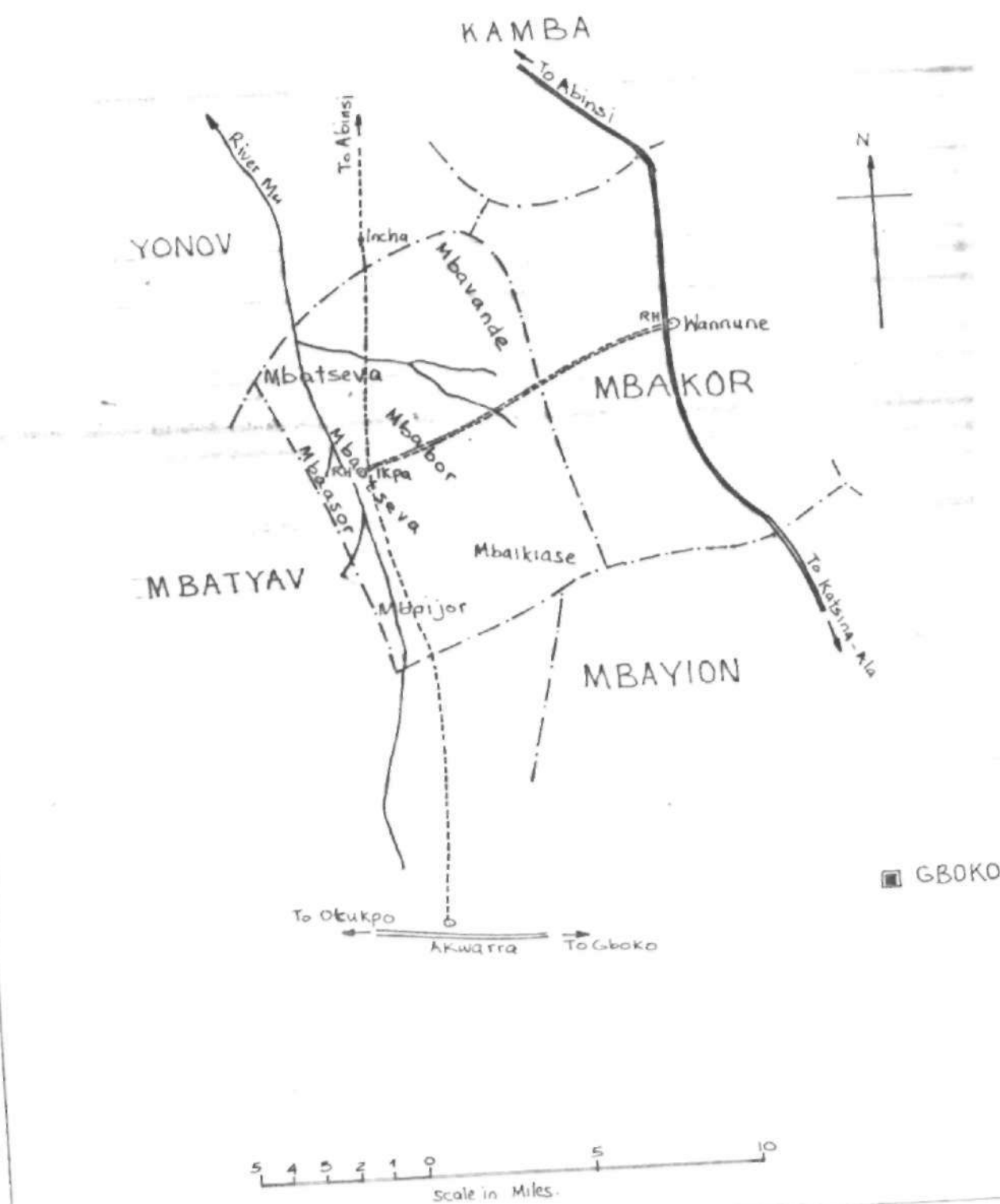
16. Ibid. P. 291

17. Ibid. P. 280.

A- MAP SHOWING MAP V MBAKOR DISTRICT PAGE 132A
C. 1912-19



A MAP SHOWING MIDLAND TIVLAND C. 1915 CENTRAL TIVLAND



Source: Map 17, 1915, N.I.K.

kindred level. This meant that what was now desirable, as a ploy to cut down on administrative expenses, was the reordering in a hierarchical nature, a system of distinguishable headmen who could act as spokesmen, tax collectors and native authorities for the clan and kindred tax units.²¹

Between 1914 and 1927, several administrative changes were carried out. These "organizations" and "reorganizations" heralded by Palmer and Freemantle however, did not redefine the substance of colonial administrative policy in central Tivland. For in each case, the District Officer in charge was interested in identifying the elder with the most influence who would not question too critically, the collection of taxes, as the Kindred head.²² These kindred heads were then brought together to form "Clan" or district councils.²³ This was the British aim of either encouraging certain elders, or creating some where none that suited their purpose existed and in widening the scope of authority of these kindred heads so they could be accorded respect and be eventually elevated to the position of "Clan" or

21. See Ruxton, Quarterly Report for Muri Province, June, 1913 S.F. 583 P/1913.

22. See Dorward, Thesis Cp.Cit. P.170.

23. See almost all Assessment reports between 1912-1913 in the National Archives, submitted by Residents and the District Officers.

district heads.²⁴ The District head institution was so designed as to produce local authorities whom, while respected and in most cases, feared because of the open support they received from the British, would maintain subordinated relations to the colonial government.

Part of the problem the early British administration faced was that they believed younger men with "strong personalities"²⁵ would be much more effective in enforcing their demands for tax. This attempt to ignore the elders, or to marginalize them in the scheme of things more than anything else, accounted for the initial administrative problems the British faced.²⁶

Colonial government did not forget that its general aim was to weaken the grip of the ruling classes, such as existed, on the productive class; the peasant class. And this was done not only in the "reorganizations" and "Constructions"²⁷ but in both

24. See also Dorward, Thesis Op.Cit. P.170 Ruxton, Quarterly Report for Muri Province, June 1913 NAK SNP 583P/1913.

25. Ibid. P.170. See also Rowe Annual Report for Muri Province 1913, NAK SNP 15P 1914. And Rowe, Assessment Report Bayorno, Jan. 16, 1913 2149P/1913.

26. See Auchinleck, Shitire South Oct. 30 1913 SNP 836P and Malthy Tongobo. Dec. 22, 1912 SNP 142P/1913 Quoted in Dorward Op.Cit. P.171.

27. T. Makars position that these problems and subsequent reorganizations as carried out by the British only showed that "the British officers had no common political program as to how the Tiv people should be governed" misses the point. See T. Makar Op.Cit P.303-4.

the Political and judicial arms. While political reorganizations created a dependent political culture which the British were happy to call indirect Rule, the judicial reorganization created courts and other coercive arms of government which helped in maintaining the stability necessary for exploitation.²⁸

In the traditional setting of Central Tivland, executive authority was vested in the elders as a collective. However, the British came to call such district heads as were appointed Tor which came to be translated Chief. By the 1930's the Tor had become an entrenched honorific, beginning with the fifth class chief, the lowest in the official administrative hierarchy, and who were paid a percentage of the annual tax in-take from their areas of jurisdiction.

2. THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL.

Having subdued Central Tivland by establishing a tax collection system of administration, the colonial agents became preoccupied with issues of law and order. This was designed however in such a way that it was all the law for them and in preservation of the colonial structure, and all the order for the Tiv people. It became also clear, that in the place of the administration of justice by tradition and custom, certain judicial

28. See Manase Tsambetsi, Op.Cit P.72. We shall discuss more on the judiciary in a short while.

structures had to be erected. The first of these acts was the establishment of graded courts. Until the advent of the British, the judicial and administrative authorities of Central Tivland, barring minor variations, were not neatly separable. Disputes were settled by the elders of the family group, the kindred or the clan, depending on the gravity of the cases.²⁹ This system was very adequate for the maintenance of harmony among the Tiv, and for regulating other aspects of existence including production and distribution of wealth.

After 1919,³⁰ graded native courts were established all over central Tiv land. These were mainly grade 'D' courts which consisted of the District Head as President and officers as members.

In most cases, such district heads became notorious for autocratic practices against their fellow clans-men. For instance, in Ebagen, Ahom was reported to have kept other people's wives and wards who came to him for litigation and for turning them into his mistresses and other immoral acts.³¹ All these reports that reached the District officer were not acted upon until Ahom started stealing the tax money. Only then did the District officer, Gunn have him replaced by

29. Adangbe Adugu, Informant Inay, Gboko August 1987
See also, Intelligence Report by P.K. Moddocks, SHP 27, 558, Dec. 2 1936.

30. See Gunn, I. I. Intelligence Report 12 August, 1935, SHP 17/3 Gboko, HAK.

31. Ibid.

Akume as District Head. Gunn now said of Ahom "He is no longer fitted to hold a position of responsibility and even if the Mbaatiko elders had elected him their spokesman I could not have felt justified in recommending their choice."³²

In Mbatieriv, in 1934, almost 16 years after the court has been in existence the district head and president of the court, one Adzagire, and its members were found to be "utterly corrupt" and the court was³³ reportedly in a "deplorable state of affairs."³⁴ Tiv elders gave some reasons to account for such, among which were that it was none of their business to see to the purging of corruption since it was government that had nominated the district heads and as government officials they were to be feared.³⁵

With the inception of the District Head institution, acts of corruption, by these district heads became common place. Now, even though these were not

32. Ibid.

33. Mbatieriv District Intelligence Report by Feasy July 1937 File No. 26005 SNP, NAK.

34. Ibid.

35. Discussion with my informant Terzungwe Akende, August, 1987.

entirely new, they came to assume a very disturbing proportion since it became wide-spread among the district heads and their retinue of tax collectors, and other salaried officials like scribes, dugurai, messengers and court presidents. The people of course could not now exercise their traditional authority against such "white mans Chiefs", the Tor Uke.³⁶ In fact not only did the elders hand-off criminal cases, they also refused to arbitrate in civil matters, and decided to unload all these on the shoulders of the court.³⁷ Some of the wealth these people accumulated through graft and the influence they came to command tended to define their new status in the socio-political hierarchy. For, while they were definately not in the same class as their British overlords, they occupied an important stratum in the appropriation of wealth of the producers. These district heads in most cases too, came to appoint their own assistants independent of the opinion of the other elders in their district. This of course served

36. The very first District Heads appointed and given staffs of office as 5th class chiefs, by the British were called white mans chiefs by the Tiv (Tor Uke or Tor Batur) See for instance Mark Prof 1272, Report by Capt. Downes on Re-organization of Mbayion District, 4th May, 1935 Gboko.

37. Memorandum from the Resident BN. Province to the Sec. Northern Provinces Kaduna 1935 June 24/31 SNP NAK.

to enhance their prestige, increased the basis of their authority, wealth and class stability.

By 1935, the colonial administration had come to the conclusion that the administration of the place was creating serious friction and that certain reorganizations were necessary. This was informed by not only the dwindling revenue that was accruing to the British Coffers and which was wrongly taken to be the result of famine and epidemic disease by British colonial historians,³⁸ but in reality by the fact that there were beginning to become evident, certain aspects of the British values in especially education and religion, which were now affecting the Tiv and changing their views of the colonizing authorities. Thus by 1937, and beyond, the intelligence reports from the field officers were proposing reorganizations at the level of native Authorities.³⁹ Firstly, in the "new" scheme of things, the "Clan Councils" comprising all the kindred council of the Tor. Secondly, each kindred council was to become a surbordinate Native Authority. Third, a spokesman was

38. See Dorward, DC, "The Development of British Colonial Administration Among the Tiv", 1900-1949, JAH, VOL. P.327.

39. See Gunn I.G. Mbakor Clan of the Tiv Tribe
Tiv Division Benue Province: Intelligence Report.
SNP 17/3 File 27931, 1937 N.A.K.

to be elected the representative of the clan council. A situation which was not basically new since any such "election" had to be approved by either the District Officer or the Resident. This situation also called for each kindred to have a spokesman. Even this new reorganization did not erase the fears of the colonial administration of Tiv reaction to them. Resident Feasey in 1937 expressed his fears to the effect that "Gbaaondo was elected without dispute... but I fear he is a puppet put up to shield the die-hard elders from direct contact with the administration."⁴⁰ In 1938 therefore, Gbaaondo was substituted for Uchi as clan administrator.⁴¹

This whole force of reorganization thus had no real basis. The colonial agent at the local level still determined what happened on the political scene, a situation that had, in the first place promoted the problem, which they sought to resolve by reorganizations. These "reorganizations" moreover, broke down when the British tried to employ the succeeding systems as a tool to impose social and economic changes through the elders who did not have such authority. And as Dorward has

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

pointed out⁴² the British therefore Vigourously promoted the acquisition of personal power by individuals who were ready to cooperate with them. This led to the rise of the district heads and other patriarchs. This situation therefore, came to be the genesis of the new colonial class society. Fundamentally, it was the economic system that produced the kind of ruling class that colonialism bequeathed to the Tiv of Central Tiv land when foreign rule was terminated in 1960. However, this was facilitated by colonial education, steeped as it was in the Judeo-Christian ethics and essentially Western values that served as its foremost instrument.

4.3 COLONIAL EDUCATION, IT'S DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTION

The objective of colonial education was the maintenance of the colonial order and the entrenchment of the colonial superstructure. It was aimed at a careful cultivation of the mental potentials of the colonized people, and especially with the collaboration of European administrators, traders and other persons, help create the necessary institutions and infrastructure for exploiting Africa's resources. Among other things, the colonial order demanded

42. See Berger, J. "The Development of the British colonial Administration Op.Cit P.333.

unquestioning obedience to white men. Thus the schools such as came to be established, whether run by missionaries or colonial bureaucrats, taught not only reading, writing and arithmetics but also stressed the teaching of church devotional hymns so as to fill their subjects with submissive christian attitudes.⁴³ Thus in the colonial superstructure the area of cultural links and domination, were left to colonial schools ^{to} condition the African mind as to the superiority of European values.

In Tivland, the situation in general, was no exception to the rule. In fact as early as 1907, the Sudan United Mission began educational work in Benue province in Umuisha and later, moved their headquarters to Wukari, and by 1911, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission had established a base in Tivland. In Central Tivland, it was not until 1923 that a school was built at Mkar⁴⁴ in 1917; the first "pagan" school was opened at Annune and by 1937, about 40 Native Authority schools⁴⁵ were recorded in the province. Of this number seven elementary schools were operated by the Native administration, while the "voluntary agencies"

43. See Chinweizu, The West and The Rest of Us.
Op.Cit. Chapter 44.

44. Chamberlain J.W.V., Annual Report on Education
Benue Province File No. 98, Vol.II Mar Prof. 1910,
1937 H.A.K.

45. Ibid.

of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission had between them a total of 32 schools by 1939.⁴⁶ The proliferation of these schools especially the non-secular, mission schools in Tivland, at a time when colonial agents were grappling with the problems of how best to administer the people, was not coincidental. For while the colonial government was creating the Native Authority Institution to facilitate the appropriation of surpluses, colonial education and the missionaries served to reorganize the cultural ethos of the African, which tended to weaken their identity. Infact, ~~the~~ defence of what the administration in Tivland, and against which a prominent member of the Tiv community at the time complained,⁴⁷ Rupert East, also a prominent member of the British colonial administration, opined that it was necessary in order to bring order amongst these "turbulent people" to invent an administrative machinery which while it was an experiment was more a necessary expedient.⁴⁸ Thus permanent features of a colonial process were to be built by the administration of colonial education.

46. R.M. Downes: Notes on procedure: Tiv Divisions, Benue province 1939. 1401 Mark Prof. N.A.K.

47. This was Akiga Jasi, who was writing the History of the Tiv. See Rupert East, Akiga's Story P.404.

48. Ibid.

Education, right from the onset, was not the obligation of only official colonial authorities. The Church especially the Sudan United Mission, but later also the Roman Catholic Church, were closely involved in the promotion of education. In fact, the role of the church in education, both in terms of redirecting the thinking of the fiv through preaching and teaching of "new" values lasted through out the colonial period and even beyond, and has come to have a profound colouration of the world view of a large percentage of the educated elites that emerged after the colonial period.

The missionaries, themselves a part of the ruling class by virtue of the functions they carried out, were thus engaged in "conquering the minds."⁴⁹ of their converts through their missionary activities, complemented by education. Their teachings and preachings were designed to create disaffection between those who believed in the "new faith" and those who were not converted christians.

These acts were aimed precisely at the destruction of a people's values, especially on the part of the Roman

49. Bonat Z.A., "The colonial phase of the under-development of Zaria Province 1902-1945, M.A. Thesis, 1985.

Catholic Mission⁵⁰ of the Augustinian order which we noted earlier had begun work in 1919. Besides the Catholic Mission, the Dutch Reformed Christian Mission was the other most important Mission that operated in Tivland. Both missions had what appeared to be the singular objective of ensuring that the people jettison their traditional religious beliefs in favour of the "new" faith. However, in reality, this was only to prepare the minds of the people to accept colonial superiority and therefore, domination. These missions thus set about tampering with the peoples most important social and political institutions viz, the family system, marriage, performance of religious rites and rituals. These three aspects of the social life, it must be noted, determined the milieu of the Piv and were the "most vital" aspects of the people.⁵¹ This discussion forms the basis of the following chapter. For here, it is note-worthy that

50. My informant, Yina Ikenge, May, 1987, interview at Gboko. He says the Latin language of preaching was not only completely meaningless, but also intimidating since the converts most of the time, did not even know what they were reciting.

51. See Nkar, Op.Cit. P.413.

right from the onset colonial authorities recognised the fact that only if they broken down the cohesion of Tiv society at all levels, not just at the level of economy alone but simultaneously at those of the social and political realms could their role of "civilizing mission"⁵² be more effective.

We are interested in the missions in this chapter mainly because the three main-streams which introduced colonial education in central Tiv-land were the missions of the Roman Catholics, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and of course official colonial authorities. However, for central Tivland, the latter contributed the least in terms of the opening up of schools until after the 1950s. Thus the most "educated" Tiv of the late colonial era and a good number of the immediate post colonial period were graduates of the mission schools.

In 1922, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission loated a school in Tombo at Sevav and in 1922,⁵³ the Mkar settlement which was made up of a hospital, a leper settlement and a school were founded. By the 1950s the DRCM had

52. It has long been established in various works on the colonial period that the British French Belgians Portuguese, all came to Africa and elsewhere in Asia and Latin America for reasons that had nothing to do with humanitarian considerations. See for instance Rodney, Walter, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Dar es-salaam 1972 and Chinweizu, The West And The Rest of us. Nok publishers (Nig) Ltd., 1978.

53. See Annual Report on Education, Mak Prof. 4/1-98 Vol.I N.A.J. also Quoted in T. Makar Op.Cit. P.416.

quite a number of schools spread all over Tiv land, and were teaching mainly vernacular, both reading and writing, with the singular desire to get them to study the Bible, while at the same time, imbining them with Western values and culture which were designed to erode their confidence in their own heritage. They were not very keen on the teaching of the English language and other subjects.⁵⁴

Between 1919 and 1949, the Roman Catholics had a total of fifty schools in Benue Province and several of these in parts of Tivland as well as in Gboko.⁵⁵ The colonial administration opened up schools via the Native Authority first in Annune in 1917. These had their curricula as reading, writing and farming as well as handicrafts. Native authority schools aimed at training people who would in turn act as subordinate staffs to the British colonial administrators.⁵⁶ In 1922, the Katsina-Ala Boarding school was founded and a number of other Native primary schools followed in 1928⁵⁷.

Those who acquired such education as was available came to view life as certainly easier especially since their economic status became enhanced even if not in

54. Annual Report on Education, Benue Province File No. 98 Vol.II Mak Prof 1410, 1937.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Mak Prof 1401^c 1949 NAK.

material terms, at least it accorded them the respect that came to be attached to such jobs in government and other such related services. From about the 1950's therefore when the "gains" of colonial education was no longer in doubt, people generally tended to have problems of drawing a dividing line between Christianity, colonial education and economic and political advancement.

It was from these crop of "educated" elites that the indigenous ruling classes and the native administrative bureaucrats were to be found. This class had in their fold, among the Tiv, the British appointed district heads, whom the Tiv referred to as the Utor Batur (British chiefs). There were also the officials at their courts the village heads, the clerks, the produce inspectors, tax collectors, treasurers, the dugeri, the teachers and forestry officials.

The nature and quality of these educated elites whom the colonial ruling class incorporated into the ruling structure was defective. A passing study of colonial sources show that for one, the pre-occupation of these educational syllabi was with moral and religious instruction.⁵⁸ And that by 1938, no post-primary

58. This position is also shared by Mangwat, Ph.D. Thesis, Op.Cit., P.111.

institution was found in central Tivland.⁵⁹ Again, in 1937, R.K. Gardiner, an educationist had reason to complain of complete lack of understanding on the part of the Tiv when he gave a lecture on **Citizenship in political science**. "The audience" he hypocritically complained, even though "consisted almost entirely of educated members, it was unable to understand the implications of majority rule or to accept the principle that all men have equal rights."⁶⁰ Gardiner went on to add that he believed that situation could be redressed if teachers spent more time describing how Nigeria was governed.

By 1939, colonial touring officers were complaining that all educated Tiv felt they automatically qualified for a salaried position once they went to school.⁶¹ In their opinion, the bulk of the people taught at school should return to their farm lands, villages and their families. Given that the number of schools that were available were negligible in relation to the entire population, it is instructive to note that colonial authorities, while aware

59. Mak Prof 1401^c 1949 N.A.K.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

of the necessity to acquire a more secure base as well as a small subordinate administrative cadre, they were nonetheless clear in their objective of getting people to produce as much as possible. This increased production of the "cash crops" suited colonial arithmetics perfectly.

The point has been made, that colonial education was a central and powerful weapon in the hands of colonial agents which fostered the formation of classes. For colonial capitalism needed a sub-ruling class to perpetuate, rationalise and legitimise the capitalist mode of production. It was education for subservience and the type of skills and ideas it cultivated among the Tiv people facilitated domination and exploitation. The acquisition of colonial education thus came to determine social and economic elevation and eventually, those who benefited from it came to develop into a distinct class of the petty bourgeoisie, who served the numerous colonial institutions of domination. Thus the Native Authority, in conjunction with the missionary churches, colonial education, came to shape the nature of the society in central Tivland. These came to form an important segment of the sub-ruling classes and their political influence was centred mainly in the rural areas. These were the people who became the dominant political elites in the

era of politics on the eve of colonial disintegration. Their ideas, their thoughts and their actions, schooled in the falsehood of colonial make-believe, came to sow the seeds of disunity rather than the opposite among the people at the termination of colonial rule in 1960. Their low level education, coupled with their ethnic and religious colouration gave rise and credibility to minority politics in Tivland and elsewhere in the middle Belt. This sub-theme will be taken up again in more detail in chapter Five.

5.0. COLONIALISM AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The preceding chapter discussed the structures that colonialism erected and which were central to the survival, dominance and legitimization of colonial ideas among the Tiv of central Tivland. These included the institutions of district heads, the judicial councils and colonial education. These institutions of the colonial order prepared the society for the full integration of the economy of this area into the capitalist mode by turning ^{the pre-}colonial economy to produce for it. To accomplish this aim, these colonial institutions distorted the logical evolution and development of the pre-colonial social formations and social classes and in its place or along side it, created new classes, which came to influence the politics of central Tivland.

While these institutions were being established however, certain developments in Tivland were being negated and areas of conflict often arose. For the colonial administrators met certain institutions among the Tiv that provided the basis for the continued resistance to change from a society producing to sustain an alien and exploitative economy. These indigenous institutions included such social practices as the marriage system, pre-money forms of labour like the age-sets, and the cohesiveness of the family and house

hold. These the British colonial administrators set about dismantling so as to facilitate an accommodation with the emergent colonial economy and society. But precisely because these attempts aimed at dislocating the fundamental cohesion and totality of the way of life of these people, certain tensions resulted into frictions and conflicts. These were represented in the Hoyo revolts, the Namakaa or Haakaa and the Inyambuan movements.

Thus the contention in this chapter is that, the establishment of a colonial economy went hand-in-hand with the disruption and transformation of the society. As political policies at the realm of the superstructure affected the economic base of colonial Tivland, so also did these policies tend to tamper with and reshape the social relations resulting in conflicts between the old and the new forces in society and the dissolution of the traditional society.

5.1. TRANSFORMATION OF AUTHORITY PATTERN OVER MARRIAGE:
THE ABOLITION OF EXCHANGE MARRIAGE.

The Tiv had various forms of marriage in pre colonial times. There was exchange marriage or (Kwase Musan) yamen sha ishe, there was marriage by capture or Iye, marriage by purchase or Kwase u sha uikya, the kem marriage and marriage by elopment.¹ To European chroniclers, the existence of these various forms of marriages spelt a

1. Most of these marriages are recorded by Laura and Paul Bohannon, "The Tiv of Central Nigeria" in Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Daryll Forde (ed) 1953, pp.69-72. See also East, Rupert, Akiga's Story op.cit. pp.99-175.

society that was in a "state of considerable confusion",² since it was "unusual to find amongst any one people, examples of so many types of marriages in existence."³ This however, represents an example of how Eurocentric historians and other writers tended to measure African Cultures, traditions and other forms of social organization and, infact, their way of life, by standards of Western values. Solzhenitsyn⁴ discovered this while in exile in the United States when he complained that:

The mistake of the West... is that everyone measures other civilizations by the degree to which they approximate Western civilization. If they do not approximate it, they are hopeless, dumb, reactionary and don't have to be taken into account.

Such obviously wrong assumptions tends to assign the histories of Western societies to the undeveloped economies of Africa, thus denying that African societies have a past that is worthwhile. Thus East, representing European administration's view of what they thought of the various forms of marriages, attributes the state of confusion Tiv society found itself in, not to the disrupting influences of colonial dislocation.

The point is that not all marriages were practised in all parts of Tivland, some predominated in some areas,

2. See East, Rupert, Ibid. p.99.

3. Ibid.

4. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Russia's Nobel Laureate, in exile in the United States, interview with David Aikman, Quoted in Weekend Concord p.8, Sept. 23, 1989.

while others were carried out in other parts. Still, some, at least more than one, were carried out in any one area. These marriages served to integrate society into a cohesive whole and provided the leverage that was needed by the elders and the indigenous ruling classes to wield their authority over younger men. One of the surest ways to undermine the authority basis of the indigenous ruling classes was if they could loosen their hold on society and the younger men. Thus in 1927⁵ aided, goaded and advised by the missionaries, who were having problems with converts, some of whom were being refused wives,⁶ the colonial administration decided to declare all other forms of marriages except that by bride-price, illegal.

Of all the marriage types that were abolished, the one that Tiv elders lamented most was marriage by exchange. This was a method of obtaining a wife by giving ones sister to the girls brother, or more exactly, the system by which one group exchanged one of its women for a woman of another group.⁷ Exchange marriage was an institution of central importance to the organization of the entire Tiv tribal and social structure in

5. See East, Rupert, op.cit. pp. 162-163, pp.167-168.

6. Interview with Yina Ikenge, op.cit. Also see "Conflict Between Christian and Pagan Marriage Customs" Memo from D.O. Tiv to Resident, Benue Province, 15th Aug. 1933 Makprof 2962.

7. East, Rupert Akigas Story p.99.

pre-colonial and early colonial times. The belief that was prevalent was that the fertility of the soil and women and the very survival of the nationality depended on exchange marriage and the rites associated with it.⁸

Most Tiv elders agree that marriage by exchange proceed all other forms of marriages and had deeper roots in society than the later marriage types. And, according to Akira, besides the fact that this was indeed an older and entrenched form of marriage, exchange marriage was the only way that a parent may ensure the continuity of his family in both the male and female lines even though the Tiv trace their lineages and generations through their male children.⁹ Thus even though exchange marriage fulfilled the primary function of obtaining wives, in reality, it was much more than that.

As it has been pointed out earlier, marriage by exchange was not the only form of marriage among the Tiv, however, it was the only kind of marriage that represented a deeper meaning for them beyond just procreation. When the colonial administration decided to abolish all other forms of marriage, the exchange marriage also inclusive, central Tivlands social cohesion was drastically affected to the roots. Even British colonial officers realised the importance of exchange marriage enough to know that it was

8. Ibid. P.100.

9. Ibid.

the "only real form (of marriage) by which a woman became a full member of her husbands family."¹⁰

However, when it suited them and when they sought excuses for why the marriage by exchange had to be abolished, the British came to complain that Tiv marriage customs especially the exchange type was too complicated¹¹ and that "75% of court cases both civil and criminal, are matrimonial in origin."¹² They felt that the Tiv had to be extricated from their marriage customs if the stratification of their society was to take place faster and the old classes to give place to the new colonial classes. Colonial administrators were therefore also apprehensive of Tiv marriage customs and in the 1930s, began to grumble that among the Tiv, "matrimonial matters occupy all of their thoughts and took most of their time".¹³

So a combination of reasons compelled the colonial administration to prohibit marriage of any kind among the Tiv except that by bride price, and accompanied this with ordinances and "marriage rules" which allowed not only the use of money in marriages but also provided all kinds of grounds for marriage and divorce.¹⁴ And it henceforth became compulsory

10. "Handing over notes: Northern Area of Tiv Division" by K.J. Bryant, GBODIV 553, 1933, NAK.

11. Ibid.

12. Letter by Maddocks to J.G. Lenox GBO Div 1933 NAK.

13. Letter from ADO I/C/K. Ala Div. to Resident Munshi Province, MakProf 3/4 AR/ANT/P/1. NAK.

14. See MakProf 1486, Registration of Marriages, memo from D.O. Tiv, R. Downes to Resident, Benue province, 13 Aug. 1939. NAK.

that marriages be registered for a fee and that dissolution should also be for a fee. Some Lucrative avenues were therefore created for extorting prospective husbands by the N.A. officials who normally had to pay both official and unofficial monies to marry.¹⁵ But most importantly, young men were now able to use the available opportunities in marriage especially, to evade traditional obligations and sanctions to move society in directions that the elders inevitably resisted. One out-come of this trend was that younger men, with more money in their pockets, could afford to act independent of the elderly crop, and tensions of social transformation led to several bouts of witch-hunting, and goaded by efforts to move beyond the traditional system, made tsav to gradually become dominantly identified with its less good and evil forms.¹⁶

Very soon, the British themselves saw cause to complain when Maddocks wrote to Lenox that:

"there is far too much divorce" and that the "elders continually complain about the looseness of the modern girl... which has resulted in a wide - spread casual prostitution that was unknown in Pre-British times".¹⁷

15. Ibid.

16. See Downes, R.M. Tiv Religion, a review made by James O'Connell in Savannah Vol.1, 31, 1972-74.

17. See GBODIV 553, Op.Cit.

In addition to prostitution, people tended to encourage divorce, especially guardians, where they felt there was a suitor ready to spend more on a girl that had already been given out in marriage. For the guardian was certain to gain even if he was compelled to refund the former husbands money. The practice of exchange marriage, it goes without saying, did not allow for such kinds of double dealing and certainly the colonial money economy that was introduced had a lot to account for this new-found desire to accumulate wealth for its sake, some of its side effects being prostitution. This completely reversed the same arguments the Dutch Reformed Church Mission who had originally pushed for the abolition of all other forms of marriage among the Tiv including marriage by exchange on the grounds that the youths were unable to get wives and that women were unable to marry according to their religious inclinations.¹⁸ They argued that this State of affairs led to impermanence in marriage and immorality.¹⁹ Thus the same reasons that colonial administration argued were responsible for marriage problems in Tiv tended to be reproduced after the abolition of exchange marriages and the introduction

18. East, Rupert Op.cit. P.168.

19. Ibid.

of marriage by bride wealth. But by this very abolition even though it facilitated the moulding of a new colonial society along lines that the British desired, "the basic foundation of the Tiv social system was abolished."²⁰ In its place, there has been created the commercialization of the marriage contract with its attendant problems but also, as an indirect way of promoting individualism as against the communal nature of Tiv traditional life.²¹ Money therefore came to dominate exchange and material possession became the yardstick for measuring strata differentiation and prominence in society. Thus in central Tivland, and elsewhere in entire Tivland, the abolition of exchange marriage had far reaching consequences, the gist of which was to speed up the disintegration of Tiv traditional society to allow for the fostering of a class society along lines of a budding capitalist community. Class differentiation as a result became the more sharper.¹ The process of class formation and the emergence of new classes and strata which had emerged in precolonial times and which had concentrated in themselves wealth and political power over and above the elders, were destroyed, and sometimes even denied their wide spread existence

20. This is the view of one senior colonial administrator of the period, Mr. E.S. Pembleton, in 1933. 'Quoted in East, R. Op.Cit. P.168.

21. Ibid.

in Tivland by the British colonial agents.²²

Such leaders as the Utor Agbande like chia Chire of Mbagen, Aba Kume of Ipav, Abuul Benga of Mbagwa and Dajo of Ukum, concentrated wealth and power in their hands and Abuul Benga is reported to have possessed a private army while other hired Hausa-Jukun mercenaries under Dankaro and such adventurers from the emirates.²³

5.2. TRANSFORMATION OF AUTHORITY: THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSE-HOLD.

What was now becoming very clear during the stabilizing decades of colonial rule in Tivland was that the introduction and propagation of colonial institutions of the church, the courts, Native Authority and colonial education, and the land and land-tenure policies led to certain developments in central Tivland, resulting on the one hand in a conflict of values and allegiance between the old and the new forces in society and on the other hand, the society as a whole against the colonial order. Thus structures of authority were being fundamentally affected and reshaped. At the level of society generally, such established pre-colonial institutions

22. Y.B. Usman, "Political Economy and Political community: The significance of the nineteenth century". Paper presented at the National Seminar on "The National Question In Nigeria", Abuja 4-9 August, 1986, P.17.

23. Ibid.

like marriage types and constructs that did not facilitate colonial rule, were dissolved by colonial decrees and injunctions. At the individual level, families and households were also affected by these institutions and transformed. Fundamental changes had begun with transformations in land and land tenure immediately the conquest of Tivland was a fact and a reality. Lugardian colonial land policy²⁴ led to land alienation and a gradual but purposeful shift from communal land ownership with group or individual use to individual ownership.²⁵ The colonial era then forced a monetary economy on the Tiv at the level of the operation of the market principle from 'pre-market'²⁶ forms of distribution and exchange. Thus the penetration of the rural precolonial economy came to affect the family cohesion and family structures. The heads of household increasingly found it difficult to control their households. Younger people who had acquired some rudiments of colonial education such as there was, the

24. See Chapter III footnotes 2 and 3.

25. See Chapter III, where a more detailed discussion has been undertaken.

26. See for instance Menase Tsambatsi "The Kano Peasantry under colonial Rule circa 1903-1966", M.A. Ibadan, 1985, p.212.

influence of the church in confusing and weakening traditional values, served to set up these younger people in rebellion and a general contestation of the authority of these pre-colonial ruling classes, whose authority bases had been eroded with such colonial policies as the abolition of traditional institutions like marriage precepts. These young people either broke away to found their own households or went to the emerging urban centres, especially Gboko, to set up stores as traders or become those lumpen proletariat that Makar calls "dispossessed" and "Vagabonds"²⁷, Some Tiv left Tiv Division entirely for other parts of the country, either as road gangs, miners or as casual and agricultural labourers.²⁸

Such Tiv wage labourers when they came back, no longer depended on the compound head to have plots of lands allocated to them or get them wives along traditional lines where bride price could do it much more easily. Some of these youths who had remained in Tiv land but who were now increasingly independent owing to the commoditization of the economy and the

27. See Makar T., Op.Cit. PP.423-424, P.450 most of these "Vagabonds" ended up as thieves in those towns they had gone to work and with the advent of politics, became professional thugs.

28. Laura and Paul Bohannon, "The Tiv of Central Nigeria" Op.Cit. P.50.

introduction of money, among other things, preferred to head their own households thereby serving to at the same time, "Liberate" labour power thus coercing it into service.²⁹ By such multiple-winged colonial policy, the grip of the indigenous ruling class on the people of central Tivland was weakened.

An average household in Central Tivland by the 1930s contained on the average 17 to 18 people.³⁰ These people were in pre colonial times, engaged in various economic activities from which social relations are derived. It was from the household that such leaders as the "big men" - (Ashagbailor) the reputable elders (Nomor) and the utor Agbande emerged. These leaders over-saw the economic and other activities of the people in a particular community.³¹ These leaders, to a reasonable extent, provided security even though they certainly appropriated the surpluses produced by the younger people and the women folk. Testimony to this fact is that, at least family cohesion and household unity was maintained when the abolition of certain forms of traditional marriages, among others, were outlawed by colonial injunctions and over rule. The

29. Frank Andre Gunder, Dependent Accumulation And Underdevelopment (Macmillan, London 1978), P.142.

30. See the Bohannans, Op.Cit. P.17.

31. The activities that defined the economic and social existence of these groups and strata among the precolonial ruling elite has been attempted in Chapter II of this work.

reasons that were advanced by the proponents of destruction of precolonial institutions, among which featured very strongly "Immorality" and the absence of "healthy growth" of the tribes social and economic development³² were completely irrelevant once such changes were effected. For immorality, which Makar says is a world-wise phenomenon³³ was on the increase as a result of the expanding influence of colonial civilization. Some parents even decided that the best way to make the most gain out of their daughters was to remarry them two, three or more times to the suitor who will pay most.³⁴ Consequently, prostitution proliferated. Family unity and cohesion were thus eroded and with the disintegration of the family, the household lost the significance of the security it offered to communities. Big families were now becoming less numerous by the mid 1950s. Thus as colonial society grew and developed, the tendency for younger men within the Ya (household) to escape patriarchs authority for freedom elsewhere either as heads of their own households or in the Towns as wage

32. M.A. Malherbe, MakProf 4/1/357, N.A.K.

33. Makar, T., Op.Cit. FP.432-433.

34. K.J. Bryant, "Hand Over Notes." Northern area of Tiv Division 1933, GBODIV 553. N.A.K. See also H.S. Bridel, MakProf 2962 N.A.K. and GBODIV 184, 1949, N.A.K.

labourers, traders or vagabonds also increased.³⁵

Thus incidence of famine began to be experienced among the Tiv.³⁶ Individualism rather than collective responsibility or group responsibility whether of the family, kindred or the larger tar came to hold sway. According to Makar, these concepts then emerged in Tivland, that is, the concepts of individualism and egalitarianism, all of them foreign to the Tiv.³⁷

Tiv elders today maintain that loss of authority over their wives and children is directly responsible for the destruction of the family system. That once the authority of the head of the house is not heeded by occupants of the house, be they his children, wives or settlers, stability and general development becomes illusive. Most sectors of Tiv social and political life were being deliberately dislocated, while these dislocations in turn affected or influenced the development of certain attitudes, changes in belief systems and the distrust for the traditional values, by the younger men and women. For instance, the missionary teachings of

35. Oral Interview with Tsavnande Agema, Natu, Mbayion, Feb. 1987. Collaborated by Haa Gatie, whom Tsavnande says was a thief.

36. See D.C. Dorward. (Op.Cit.)

37. See Makar, Op.Cit. F.433.

the new faith and the monotheistic religion, in addition to their use of Western Medicines shook the peoples confidence in the power of the elders to claim total control in the realm of religion and medicine. There were now alternatives which could be exploited.

Just as the political and religious spheres were being affected, the economy was being restructured so as to make it impossible for the traditional ruling classes to maintain dominance. For the introduction of money as the sole legitimate means of exchange, and based upon which taxation was levied, young men who were in the services of either the colonial administrators or missionaries, such as cooks, messengers, gardeners, porters and tax-collectors, came to occupy new prestigious and elevated positions in the hierarchy of respect. Cash crop production became an important determinant of wealth and the values of food production for use in the household became a secondary factor, resulting finally in even its commoditization. Where-as it had been a shame to buy food on the market, it now became a fashion for even housewives to purchase other articles of food on market days.

Thus there began to be seen clear indications of a total break down of precolonial class society in the face of increased and deliberate reorientation along the lines that would best serve colonialism. The awe with which people held renowned personalities began to diminish as

values took on new meanings. And as Makar pointed out, even family names were almost obliterated as people came to take especial aversion to Tiv names in preference for Biblical or English names.³⁸ Thus the ideal Tiv family and household failed to survive colonial onslaught, and at best retained such values and precepts as survived only to the extent that "tradition does die hard".

5.3. TRANSFORMATION OF AUTHORITY OVER OTHER FORMS OF LABOUR: THE AGE-SETS

We have noted the evidence of existence of the fact that labour, and the application of labour power, among the Tiv, was of paramount centrality. With the household, the elders had their tasks and duties cut out by traditional precedents. While they were the custodians of those traditional values essential for the survival of society, they were also responsible for the administration of their nuclear families in conformity with accepted norms. However, even at this strata, there were those who were becoming unarguably increasingly prominent and who were representative of the embryonic class formation among the Tiv of central Tivland.³⁹ These were members of the ruling class in pre-colonial central Tivland who appropriated surpluses, performed religious rites, treated

38. See Makar, Op.Cit., P.428.

39. Laura and Paul Bohanna, "The Tiv of Central Nigerian", Op.Cit. PP. 46-9.

diseases, gave out hands in marriage, performed death ceremonies, had prestige, wealth and generally ruled.

There were also the women folk, among whom were the wives, young girls/women, divorcees and invalids, who performed various labour chores either on the farms, in the house or partook in craft production, fishing and trading. These however did not form themselves into any guild as such, but represented a very important labour unit, taken as whole, they were producers.

Still, another segment of the producer class, were the age-sets or age-grades known in Tiv as Kwav. There were mainly men of approximately uniform age groups, which did not include their women. Though wives of people who were Kwav regarded each other as having had special relationships. For even during marriage, those Kwav had played central roles in the wooing and the marriage festivities and other rites connected with marriage in pre-colonial times.

The phenomena was not wide spread elsewhere in Tiv-land as it was in central Tivland among the Kparev.⁴⁰ Whatever anthropologists say,⁴¹ the age-set phenomena

40. Laura and Paul Johanna, "The Tiv of Central Nigeria", Op.Cit. PP. 46-9.

41. Anthropologist are prone to reducing their studies to the level of descriptions without corresponding analysis that goes beyond superficialities. For instance, the Johannans are more keen on whether or not there were initiation rites and circumcision for new age-sets. P.46.

in Tivland was principally a production oriented device of a society that was very much aware of its group interdependence. And such seemingly communal production relations/activities operated to assign certain roles to individuals within the body of a pre-money economy.

Time was also to a large extent, and in addition to farm cycles, recorded through the counting of the number of age-sets; of which Kwav followed, which, and usually, almost all men of 30 years of age could name with startling accuracy the immediate junior and the senior sets.⁴² This implied that people, especially of the various sets, knew quite a lot about their locality and which knowledge greatly enhanced their level of cohesion. The cohesion negated individualism and exclusiveness and promoted egalitarian principles. This has been subjectively reported by colonial historians and anthropologists to such ridiculous extent that the essence has not been brought out. For instance, the Bohannans take this sense of cohesiveness for attempts by the Tiv to whittle⁴³ down their members so that none will tower above the other in matters of leadership, wealth and position. The logic of this kind of conclusion by official colonial ethnographic records and monographs is

42. Ibid. P.47.

43. Ibid. P.31. This position has been vigorously attacked by T. Baker in his Ph.D. thesis Op.Cit P.4331, Quoted earlier in this chapter.

to deny the existence of groups, strata and class among the Tiv. This kind of position therefore does the service of minimizing the high-lights of the negative influences of colonialism on the people in the realm of the disruption of the logical development of the peoples' history.

Besides collective farm work, age mates helped each other on construction of new buildings, where a member needed a new house for a new wife or where one moved house to a new location. Communal hunting and constructing of roads linking one community to another and other and other communal labour activities were usually carried out by age-sets and with enthusiasm. These were carried out without reliance on financial or other remunerations serve for the usual drinks of beer and supply of food. It should be emphasized that one of these labour activities were coercive but ^{in general,} there existed a sense of friendship and fostering of unity among the people.

However, colonialism saw to the destruction of this healthy and nation building efforts by the people in the area of cooperation through labour. For the organization of land and labour¹⁴⁴ was the main thrust of the

¹⁴⁴. This issue has been discussed in Chapter II, but is brought in here to reinforce the position that colonial rule did not at any time wish to retain those structures that did not contribute to its success. See Manase, Cp.Cit. P.82.

colonial state as it supervised the initial and necessary penetration of the pre-capitalist formations of central Tivland. So in place of such labour activities, forced labour was initially enforced and latter wage labour was introduced to run together with the former. This thus afforded colonial administration the cheap labour with which to put in place the infrastructure to enable them dominate and expropriate. Lugard justified the application of forced labour elsewhere in Nigeria to the unnecessary self defense that:

"The single duty which the law imposes upon the people without remuneration is the maintainance of roads and waterways."⁴⁵

It must be added here that these roads and waterways were built and maintained by colonial administration for the sole purpose of evacuation of produce and to facilitate communication for purposes of easy administration and/or tax collection. It certainly had no humanitarian content nor was it designed for an integrated development of the localities and communities. The end results of these disruptive tendencies manifested themselves during the dying days of colonialism but especially after independence when neighbouring communities could burn out each other during periods of heightened political tension. This could be explained partly by the nature of the divisive and individualistic tendencies that had been

⁴⁵. Ibid.

emphasized among the people with the dislocation of community building tendencies like the age-sets. This issue is the subject of the next and concluding chapter.

6.0. THE EFFECT OF COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OVER
CENTRAL TIVLAND: 1951-1960.

We have looked at some of the more central features through which Colonial rule affected central Tivland. Some of these effects had only just started becoming apparent as fundamental and deep rooted. However towards the end of colonial rule, and especially beginning with the period of experimentation with party politics, these areas and institutions that had been transformed became much more pronounced. It was also in this period that the real effects of an under-developed and marginalised indigenous political elite came to demonstrate the legacy that had been bequeathed to the area by 48 years of colonial misrule.

Thus colonialism Transformed not only the pre-colonial indigenous institutions but also the class relations and political institutions of central Tivland. Some of these new classes that evolved met with situations that not only alienated them, but made them irrelevant even in the traditional set up. For instance, those who had acquired whatever colonial education as was available, but who could not acquire jobs to go with it, became displaced. Thus the colonial situation in central

Tivland operated to create new classes while at the same time marginalizing both the indigenous exploiter classes and their producer counterparts. These were the ones who became actively involved in party politics in the last decade of colonial rule, and which is subject the focus of this concluding chapter.

5.1. PETTY-BOURGEOIS PARTY POLITICS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PETTY BOURGEOIS CLASS: 1951-1960.

The fight that had been waged by the colonial government since its inception against central Tivland on both the material and ideological angles was, by the end of the 1940s, beginning to have its desired results. At the level of economic production, the colonial government had compelled the people to take part in colonial economic activities which were dominated by the profit motive through forced labour, taxation, the introduction of a money economy and the creation of artificial scarcity.¹ These people were paid low wages for their toils and low prices for the cash crops they were coerced into producing while at the same time they were compelled to abandon production ^{based on} precolonial patterns. They therefore became caught in an economy

1. See also Nnoli, Okwudiba, Ethnic politics in Nigeria, Fourth Dimension, publishers, Enugu, 1978, pp. 1. and 2. who argues in the same vein about the general effects of colonial domination over Nigeria.

dominated by foreign ownership of the commanding heights of production, distribution and exchange.² This economic domination was complemented at the ideological level by the educational system and the christian churches which augmented the profit motive and encouraged individualism.³ Thus the bureaucrats of the Native authority, the emerging commercial class, the horde of colonial auxiliary workers and the Lumpen proletariat⁴ came to participate in varying degrees, in the affairs of the society, and later in the 1950s and 1960s, in the party politics that dominated the tail end of colonial rule.

The development of mission and essentially colonial education on the one hand, and the perpetuation of cash crop production, complimented by commerce on the other gave rise to class relations and social resources, which, according to Gavin,⁵ could not be incorporated into the patrimonial order, thus threatening its survival and cohesion.

2. Ibid.

3. This position was made clear in Chapter three.

4. Makar is of the opinion that these were members of a "dispossessed group", who were mostly attracted to missionary teachings. See Makar, Tesem, A.B.U., Zaria, P.423.

5. Gavin Williams, (ed) Nigeria: Economy And Society Pexcollins Ltd., London, 1976, pp. 4-5.

The main colonial institutions of domination and exploitation which sustained colonialism in Nigeria were the Native Authority, which comprised chiefs, etc, the Native courts, the Native treasury, prisons police and of course colonial education and the missionary churches. Through these institutions colonialism recruited forced labour; imposed and collected taxes; confiscated land, livestock and cattle; forced down prices and wages; and imposed a common currency on the people⁶ elsewhere in Nigeria as well as Central Tivland.

Thus you had an army of chiefs, scribes, police, messengers, judges, teachers dispensary assistants and attendants, forest guards, road workers, who all together formed a separate class in Central Tivland in especially the stabilizing decades of colonial rule.

Mangwat found out on the Plateau⁷ that even though their population was insignificant, their collective impact as a distinct class could not be ignored. They were the main beneficiaries of the new order, most of whose position allowed them to reproduce

6. I owe this specific elaboration to Mangwat, M.Y. "A History of Class Formation in the Plateau province 1902-1960: The genesis of a ruling class." Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1984. P.91.

7. Ibid.

their class by sending their children to schools, and whose children were thus put on pedestals to other greater opportunities. These were the people therefore, who came to command respect and during the times of party politics in the 1950s, came to play leading roles as a collective class. Mangwat has referred to this class as a "sub-ruling" one whose political behaviour tended to be different from that of the commercial sector of the colonial economy and whose political base was the rural areas.⁸

Thus indigenous ruling class wholly sided with the British against the peasantry and the urban workers, such as developed in the wake of capitalism. It was this class that the British were to groom as "gentlemen" and responsible men⁹ to succeed them at independence.

Beginning from the 1950s, rapid and radically new political developments and changes in central Tivland were such that they not only involved a shift from and the dissolution of the traditional society, but they also set into motion social and political upheavals. Certain political upheavals had themselves accompanied the violent march of the historical

8. Ibid. p.199.

9. See Z.A. Bonat, M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, OP Cit, P.544. It was through these that even when colonialism left in 1960, Colonial agents and governors still referred to as "Friends". See for instance Sir Briyan Sharwood-Smith's work, But always As Friends, London, (1969).

process in Tivland as a whole. For instance, the revolts beginning from the 19th century, were based on conflicts between the young and the old, the Mbatsav and non - Mbatsav.¹⁰ It was also revolts against property owners by the poor as well as against the ruling class by the ruled. The development of this tradition of revolt, beginning with the Hoyo¹¹ that took place during the first two decades of the 19th century, the Haakaa or Namakaa¹² which revolt occurred in 1929 as one of the numerous expressions of resistance to colonial changes, and the Nyambuan¹³ in 1939, which was a direct revolt against Tsav and especially the British administration. This was also a period in which the British had declared the abolition of exchange marriage.¹⁴ The British colonial

10. This is a generic term referring to people who were supposedly in possession of Tsav, (witchcraft)

11. Hoyo was a movement that was mostly led by members of an age set who served to police and bring in offending mbatsav to the elders for trial. See I. Hagher, "The Kwagh-Hir: An Analysis of a Contemporary indigenous Puppet Theatre And its social and cultural significance in Tivland in 1960s And 1970s." Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U., Zaria 1980. pp. 73 - 75.

12. The Haakaa or Namakaa was a crusade organized by the British in attempts to destroy the Tiv power base by seeking out and destroying Tsav artifacts. This was a desperate move by colonial administration in frustration at their inability to get society to produce for colonialism.

13. Nyambuan, was a revolt basically against series^{of} organization and reorganizations which were being carried out by the British in the name of reforms. To the Tiv, this erosion of social norms that had ensured cohesion meant that the "country/land had been spoiled". i.e. (Bature vinitar). This was their verdict.

14. See chapter 4 of this work, for the treatise on the abolition of exchange marriage.

agents with their messengers and police, mostly Hausa, were collecting taxes for the Queen with calculated brutality,¹⁵ thus making the exploited classes to be caught in between and leaving them no choice than to revolt against these coercive forces of oppression.

Although, the Nyambuan movement started in central Tivland,¹⁶ it manifested itself all over Tivland because of its topicality and general appeal in respect of the issues at hand. Since the inception of colonial rule in central Tivland, the land marks of revolts have been strewn with those briefly mentioned above. However, none was as violent nor as encompassing as the revolts in 1960 and 1964,¹⁷ after colonial

15. This is also Hagher's position, .
See Hagher, Op Cit., pp. 84-93.

16. Tseyo Thinks the movement was started by the Jukun in Wukari, see Tseyo J.I. Conflict And Incorporation in Nigeria: The integration of the Tiv, Gaskiya Corporation, A.B.U., Zaria, 1975. However, Makar insists it had its origin in Central Tivland, see Hagher, Op Cit. pp. 84-93. In fact as Hagher further points out, Nyambuan in Tiv means, "the meat is gone bad", and its significance is both proverbial and a practical defiance. It could not have been more Tiv in origin and conception.

17. Haroun Al-Rashid Adamu, "Atem Ityough: The Tiv Revolt of 1960-66" in The Pan Africanist, Vol. 1 No. 1. (March 1971) pp. 17-27. See also Remi Anifowose, Violence and politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience. Enugu, 1982.

independence, which was initiated by petty-bourgeois party politics.

As has been pointed out earlier, changes were reshaping Tiv society in general, changes which had been forced on the society in the wake of colonial rule. New classes had emerged, quite different in content from those that colonial rule met. The economy was now no longer producing for social use but for colonialism. Central Tivland especially, as the centre of administration, became hemmed in by taxes that kept rising even though the economic substance of the people in general had not changed appreciatively nor advanced noticeably beyond the subsistence level.. For instance, in 1959, tax was raised to £1.10.0d from 7s,¹⁸ a rate of rise which did not correspond to the rise in the living conditions of the people. The class that was worse off was the producer class, not the hordes of N.A. staff and other auxiliaries. The cash squeeze made it difficult for the people to marry and especially in the wake of the effects of the abolition of exchange marriage, payment of increased taxes and unemployment which was caused by a colonial education that could not supply jobs to go with the training, even as the people were alienated from subsistent farming. Such a situation was clearly unbearable. Ironically, Makar, writing in 1975 says of this period, "Things continued to function well because the utor and the traditional elders were

18. See T. Makar, Op.Cit. P.456.

still in complete control of affairs in the Ityar!"¹⁹
However whether such affairs could still be possible in the face of colonial domination is questionable.

In April of 1947,²⁰ following alleged demands by Tiv elders, the office of the Tor Tiv and his deputy were created. This was a dramatic twist of events, and a fundamental land mark in the transformation of authority pattern in Tivland as a whole, following the changes, both political and economic, that the colonial administration had imposed on the Tiv. For a centrally administered Tivland could only mean cheaper, and neater administration for the exploiting colonial rulers.

However, the position, advocated in other quarters, to the effect that the Tiv demanded a Tor Tiv and that the:

"Change was a natural one and was demanded by the traditional leaders themselves. The Tor Tiv like the Tor Agbande, was not imposed on the people".²¹

is not a correct assessment of the true state of affairs. For even as the Tor Tiv was being appointed, the same thing was happening among the other neighbours

19. T. Makar, Op Cit., P.459.

20. B. Dzeremo, "The Evolution of Leadership among the Tiv to 1947", B.A. Dissertation, University of Jos, 1981.

21. T. Makar, Op Cit., P.461.

of the Tiv. For instance among the Idoma, and the Birom chieftaincy titles were conferred on them, all in 1947.²² Thus it is more plausible to view this installation of a central figure head for the whole of Tivland by the colonial authorities as a major change of policy in response to the changing class character of the society. The office of the Tor Tiv therefore came to preside over Native administration in especially matters that were not routine. This was a complete reversal of the position that colonial administrators were wont to argue in the 1930s. For Lethem James, Resident in 1932 had argued successfully against the logic of a single munshi administration, single treasury, Federal Council, and President.²³ But by the late 1940's the situation had taken yet another turn and it became fashionable to argue that the Tiv themselves demanded for a Tor Tiv.

At the same time as these major administrative changes were being initiated in Tivland, which was affecting central Tivland especially, (by

22. B.J. Dudley: Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria. Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., London 1968, pp. 91-92.

23. "Benue Province changes in organization" 1932, Lethem James, minutes of June 1932, SAP 17/2 1729. N.A.K. James' reasons for chiding colonial administrators on the scene for suggesting such a scheme was that the Tiv were still too much of a "primitive minded people".

was floated in 1944,²⁷ The Igbirra Tribal Union (I.T.U.) was initiated in response to the authoritarianism of the Attah of Igbirra and the Native authority,²⁸ while the Birom Progressive Union, formed in 1945,²⁹ aimed at uniting all Birom in opposition to the Jos Native authority that was dominated by the Hausa. Thus like the T.P.U., these groups were mostly protest and oppositionist in nature and by the time of the 1951 elections into the Regional Houses of Assemblies they had transformed into or allied with the Middle Zone League (MZL) which won 12 seats in the elections. In 1952 the leadership of the M.Z.L. without proper consultation, allied with the N.P.C. thus discrediting it from the point of view of such groups as the Tiv Progressive Union, the Igbirra Tribal Union and others, who consequently came together to form the Middle Belt Peoples Party (M.B.P.P.) in 1953. One of the Tiv political elites from Central Tivland of the period, Gbile Gundu, became its president.³⁰ In June 1955,

27. Dudley, B.J. Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., London, 1968, pp. 91-93.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid. P. 94.

(after the federal elections), at a conference in Kafanchan, M.B.P.P. and the M.Z.L. merged into the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC).

These political activities and the formation (and dissolution) of political associations, and parties, even though were taking place largely outside Tivland itself, came to have very serious impact on the people of Central Tivland. For people who came to play very decisive roles in the petty bourgeois party politics of the UMBC even as it was organized under colonial tutelage, had a good sprinkling of politicians from Central Tivland. Among such personalities were people like Joseph S. Tarka, H.O. Abaogu, E. Gbile Gundu, A Abuul, Ugoo Iwoo in addition to other British sponsored chiefs.

Thus the logic of colonial rule which heralded and ushered in a new set of values, and new classes and class relations, at the same time gave rise to the development of petty-bourgeois party politics that finally erupted into violence after colonial rule in 1960 and 1964.

2. The N.P.C., The U.M.B.C. And Tarka's Political Power Base.

By the 1950's the Nigerian political scene had already started taking shape in the type of politics that would dominate ^{the} Post-Colonial Political Scene. The National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was founded in August 1944 initially with the aim

of exerting mass pressure on the British in order to accelerate the political development of the country.³¹ The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) was floated in 1951 through the active work of people like Dr. A.R.B. Dikko, who had been influential in founding the Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa in 1948.³² In 1951, the Action Group was floated by Awolowo and others and became preponderant in the Western Region, while the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) was founded in Kano by radical elements under the chairmanship of Aminu Kano.

In Tivland however, it was the NPC and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) that came to play key roles in the political process that dominated the tail end of colonial rule in the area, and which came to have profound effects on politics in Central Tivland after 1960. Infact, in all these, the UMBC, it became apparent, was the price tag. The Action Group the NPC and the NCNC, all courted or coveted the UMBC. However, the shifting alliances and the unfamiliar turf of bourgeois politics³³ did not settle down until 1957

31. Ogunsanya, G.O., The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939-1953, Lagos, 1973, P.74.

32. See Makar, Op Cit, P.469.

33. One is employing this concept of "bourgeois politics" at this point mainly because even those few political elites were organising according to British directions and pattern of politiking. Infact all over the country and especially in Tivland, the political elite whose highest level of education was symbolized by Tarka as a grade one Teacher, did not evolve a new creative political ideology or doctrine.

when J.S. Tarka succeeded H.O. Abaagu as the chairman of UMBC. Prior to 1957, politics of the new kind was generally an affair of the utor, tax collectors and district scribes. It had become apparent that economic gain and political power were synonymous and did enhance prestige.

We pointed out earlier that by the elections of 1951, party politics had not yet permeated to the rudiment of Tiv consciousness generally. Thus it was that even those who finally emerged victorious decided on their own either to ally with the N.P.C. or the N.C.N.C. However, by the time the N.P.C. was ready to forge local roots in Central Tivland, the fever for the creation of the middle Belt State had gripped the region.³⁴ And, naturally, the new crusade for a self-governing region had much more appeal and by 1957, when Tarka appeared on the political stage, it became an obsession ~~that~~ evolved into an effective programme of a mass party.³⁵ The N.P.C., being an establishment party, had a rather strong pull, ensuring that most of the Tiv members of the provincial House joined them. However, by the time of the elections to the Federal House in 1954, the new current of political awareness that was developing especially in

34. See Dent, M.J. "A minority Party - The UMBC" in Markintosh J.P., Nigerian Government And Politics.

35. Ibid.

relation to the fact that the Tiv had been denied a ministerial post, robbed the old members of victory. In fact, so many political forces were now coming into play. These forces were in the main vein, expressed in the traditional view point of justifying the rule of "eat and give your brother".³⁶ It was only partly owing to the fact that already the arrogance that was being displayed by the government party that dominated the Northern Region had started to rankle among the Tiv. At another level however, an intra-class struggle for position among the political elite which was becoming more clear, was unfolding. And this was more fundamental of all the forces that were generating the dynamics of the political process in central Tivland.

The emerging political scene in Tivland was complicated by another variant, which was itself a recurrent feature of the evolving political configuration of the time. This was the continuously shifting political alliances and allegiance. Thus while the first crop of politicians to be elected into the Regional House of representative almost wholly chose

36. This is a direct translation from the Tiv "ya kwagh na an ingbian". This so called traditional rule subsequently became irrelevant when some politicians insisted on their wards occupying certain political posts after them. Information supplied by Tarker Goloze, musician, Gboko, June 1987.

to be join the N.P.C.³⁷ those who came after them decided to ally the U.M.B.C. with the Action Group. Three factors worked in favour of this marriage of convenience. Firstly, the Action Group, a party that had thrived on ethnic allegiance,³⁸ had, by 1954, needed to expand beyond its Western regional base to acquire a more national character. Thus the leading Tiv politicians of the U.M.B.C. with their burning new-found ambition for a middle Belt state needing an ally among the more established parties found one among the A.G. especially after they had been rebuffed by the N.C.N.C. Secondly, the A.G. had the funds to make this alliance worth its while to the Tiv political elites. Thirdly, the N.P.C. understandably did not share the U.M.B.C's dream of fractionalizing their monolithic control over the peoples of the Northern Region. And they controlled the Native Authority enough to make their weight felt. Thus the stage was set between 1956 and 1959 in which the festering of the boiling political cauldron was to play itself out in the revolts of 1960 and 1964.

Tarka's rise to power and fame in Tiv land had a lot to do with the image within which the colonial

37. Actually a representatives were elected from Tivland in 1951 on none - party Basis, and only one, Ayilla Yogh did not join the N.P.C. See Makintosh, J.P. Op Cit. P.468.

38. The Action Group was established in 1950 and led by Obafemi Awolowo, and had its anchorage in the ethnic Yoruba Cultural organization and enlisted its rank and file from those in fear of domination by the Ibo led N.C.N.C. See for instance Cohen, Robin, Labour and Politics in Nigeria: 1945-1971. Heineman, 1947, London, p.3.

opion leaders, the District officers and educationists, among whom featured M.J. Dent, couched him.³⁹ It also had to ^{do} with a congruence of political forces that were sweeping the entire middle Belt that was searching for a leader who could best represent the dominant class and views of the elites in respect of aspirations, then rife, to carve out a middle Belt state from the Northern Region.

Thus, Tarka owed his political fortunes not to any creative, new political ideology.⁴⁰ Among the Tiv, he was easily one of the most educated of his peers with a lot of oratorical skills⁴¹ and a flair in English, Hausa and Tiv. This made him acceptable to the non-Tiv/Hausa speaking peoples of the Middle Belt of both the upper and lower plateau.⁴² His party chose a rallying that had a lot of appeal; creation of a Middle Belt

39. Dent, M.J. was the last white District officer appointed in Tivland before independence. In fact he wrote a number of articles on the area after independence and a tribute to J.S. Tarka when he died in 1980. In fact, Dent was the D.O. in Tiv Division between 1952 to 1954 and between 1958 and 1960 as he reports in his "A minority party - The UMBC, Op.Cit.

40. See Makar, Op Cit. P.489.

41. Tarka is said to have had "great charm both with individuals and at public meetings" and a charismatic leader. See Dent, M.J. Op.Cit. P.470.

42. Of the three contestants for the presidency of the party in Lafia in 1957, Tarka came last. See Makar, Op.Cit. P.487.

state. Among the younger people of Tivland, Tarka created the impression that he could solve their unemployment and education problems which were perceived to be the creation of the opponents of the U.M.B.C. or whoever happened to be their opponents at the time, in this case, the N.P.C. Moreover the alliance between the Action Group and the U.M.B.C. made available substantial funds at the disposal of the U.M.B.C. The U.M.B.C. also promised their followers fantastic public infrastructures of water, roads and electricity. These of course paid in votes to the U.M.B.C., but also played up a painful streak in the Regional government of the N.P.C. who decided that Tarka be kept in line and the U.M.B.C. be made as ineffective as possible through the use of the Native Authority apparatus.

But the more the Tiv N.A. employed the apparatus of the State to bring down Tarka, the more popular he became singled out by the U.M.B.C. followers as a hero.⁴³ A combination of these forces and the general tension which was generated in Tivland later by 1960, found expression in the nande-nande revolt of 1960.

43. In 1959, among a series of such attempts at intimidation, Tarka was almost imprisoned and his Father removed as clan head of Mbakor, see Dent, M.J. Op Cit. P.497.

6.3. Corporate Tiv Society Or Class Society?

The main thread that has run through this work is that Central Tivland was, in all respect, not a homogeneous society as has been claimed in some quarters.⁴⁴ Beginning with the Pre-colonial society and the classes that emerged through to the colonial society, changes brought on by colonial policies that transformed the precolonial heritages of the people of Central Tivland. Most writers on African and especially Nigerian Politics and History, have been drawn towards a tendency to examine issues through tribal lenses. This is a perspective that was introduced by colonial anthropologists, popularized by functionaries and missionaries⁴⁵ and subsequently picked up by other writers.

As Nnoli has pointed out⁴⁶ however, this emphasis on tribe to the exclusion of a class analysis originated as a result of the attempt by the colonizer to illegitimize his position by creating the myth of an inferior "native", a purely racist ideology.

44. Horton, "Stateless societies in the History of W/Africa" in Ajayi, and Crowder, Op Cit.

45. See Nnoli, Okwudiba, Ethnic Politics in Nigeria, Fourth Dimension Publishers, (Enugu, 1978), pp. 1-2.

46. Ibid. p.2.

Thus justifying their "philanthropic" "civilizing
missions" and ^{the}pretence that to administer (in order to
exploit) the African was "the white mans burden."⁴⁷
The colonialist thus began by categorising African
linguistic groups as tribes, assigning to them
differences in culture and way of life.⁴⁸ In this
way the ideology of tribalism was born, forgetting,
as Sklar has pointed out that ethnic movements may
themselves be originated and goaded into action by
the "new men of power"⁴⁹ in furtherance of their own
special interests which are the interests of emerging
social classes.

Thus among the Tiv too, colonialism encouraged
tribalism and led to what Tseayo refers to as "ethnic
particularism"⁵⁰ which was reinforced by the Native
Authority system's treatment of the Tiv as a corporate
body with homogenous interests. In fact when by the

47. Ibid. 83, Nnoli is quoting Fanon, Franz's Towards
the African Revolution, P.31.

48. Ibid.

49. Sklar Richard, "Political Science and Political
Integration" in Journal of Modern African Studies
Vol. V, No.1, 1967, pp. 6 - 8, Quoted in Nnoli,
Ibid.

50. Tseayo, I.J. Conflict And Incorporation in Nigeria:
The integration of the Tiv, Gaskiya Press, 1975,
pp. 50-68.

1940s, the British found out the Tiv could be better governed by a centralised administration, they created the institution of the Tor Tiv and insisted that the people had agitated for it.⁵¹ When in the 1950s, colonial authorities searched for but found no overriding influence among the Tiv which could hold the people together as Islam had done in the emirates, they turned around to create and maintain the myth of Tiv corporateness based on some abstract ideology of "Tivness".⁵² The desired effect of this was realised when by the time of politics the "pagan" areas became "convinced" that both in ethnic and religious terms, they were not compatible with the Emirate system to the North, and therefore came to reject it.

Moreover, it is ridiculous to suggest that the notion of "Tiveness" as given expression by the colonial authorities was a premodial condition of Tiv society and which continued to characterize Tiv world-view before, during and after the British colonial rule. In fact, Tiv traditional society and world view before British

51. Dzeremo, B. "The Evolution of Leadership Among the Tiv to 1947", Op Cit.

52. Tseayo, J.I. Op Cit. pp. 58-68.

rule cannot be the same after half a century of colonial domination.⁵³ To talk of a Tiv corporate body with homogenous interests will be an obfuscation of the fact that among the Tiv, distinct class interests had emerged.

For even colonial chroniclers like R.C. Abraham did acknowledge that such an abstract ideology of "Tiveness" was not premodial to the Tiv:

"I am not conscious of any race—
consciousness among the Tiv except
on the very widest and vaguest basis..."⁵⁴

However, this particular position became the official U.M.B.C. campaign strategy. They came to allude that all Tiv belonged to one ancestor and therefore possessed a unified attachment to a common goal and that the U.M.B.C. represented this common goal. Therefore any Tiv who was not U.M.B.C. was not just a party member or sympathiser, but was shunning "Tiveness". Thus you were either Tiv or Uke.⁵⁵ In this way the lie of colonial administrators about the changing nature and an increasingly class-conscious Tiv society was played

53. See Usman Y.B. "History Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th centuries", 1977, A.B.U., Public Lecture, Zaria.

54. Quoted in Tseayo, Ibid.

55. 'Uke' stood for 'Hausa' see Dent M.J. "A minority Party the U.M.B.C." Op Cit. P.471.

up by the emergent Tiv Petit bourgeois politicians of the late 1950s and early 1960s, themselves the new emergent pseudo-ruling class, to create a wider political base for themselves by employing the antics of tribal politics.

The distinction between the producer class of the peasantry, the bureaucratic class of the Native authority, the clan heads and chiefs, the commercial class and other variants like the lumpen-proletariat, had become sharper. The political class that emerged during the unfolding of the new politics towards the tail end of colonial rule, clearly demonstrated that Tiv society had developed beyond "Tribe", a homogenous 'us' versus 'them', of a 'corporate' Tiv versus or against a 'corporate' emirate system. Yet, inspite of these clearly definite and definable classes, analysts on Tiv history and society have failed to go beyond the "system of rewards"⁵⁶ explanation for political motivation, and by extension, the post-colonial violence that rocked Tiv society in the 1960s.

56. O'Connell, James Review of Post, K.W.J. and Vickers, Michael "Structure And Conflict in Nigeria 1960-65", Heinemann, 1973, found in SAVANNA, Vol.II, No.II, Dec. 1973, A.B.U. Zaria, pp.255-56.

6.4. Petty Bourgeois Party Politics And Post-Colonial Violence.

By 1960, when political independence came to be, about half a century of colonial domination had introduced important capitalist traits in Central Tivland. Though the predominant mode of production was not capitalist, definite interest groups had emerged and began to crystallise. There were the elites, (those who had acquired colonial education of sorts), both political and bureaucratic. These were mostly employees of the Native Authority, either as administrators, teachers, forest guards, health workers, prison warders, Tax collectors, Police and court workers and Messengers.

There was also the commercial class among whom were such important names like Dzer Waya, Ierkwagh Kajo, Ugoo Iwoo, Adzakpe J. and others. Although this class, not yet constituted as a political force, was none the less becoming important especially in Central Tivland with Gboko as their nucleus. In the majority however, were the small scale subsistence farmers (the peasants). Directly in touch with these peasants were the utor (chiefs) who had been appointed by the British. The courts, with its retinue of court scribes, police, tax collectors and others, ensured that these peasants were in constant touch with

the state apparatus. The era of party politics thus accelerated this class configuration in the Central Tivland.

By the introduction and perpetration of a monetary economy, the creation of a new colonial ideology and values along side with the commercialization of the Tiv peasant economy,⁵⁷ profit motive became important in a society that had hitherto valued competition not for material benefits per se, but prestige and social status. Many people came to be displaced from the traditional sector and in which place, a "modern sector" was erected. But not all Tiv could gain entrance into this "modern sector", that was accompanied by a state machinery which by its very nature is coercive, as violence was an important component of this new state authority.

When, after independence, the Emirate North, in control of the regional administration came to control Tivland through those same colonial structures, new and more complex issues came into play. The precipitants of the first post colonial revolts, the nande-nande (burn, burn) that took place in Central

57. That is by the introduction of money, taxation, cash crops and foreign manufactured goods.

Tivland and spread to engulf the entire area and government suppression of the crisis, have been recorded elsewhere.⁵⁸ Suffice it to say that the strife between the U.M.B.C. and N.P.C. supporters was as a result of an accumulation of frustration on both sides. Frustration on the part of those who supported the N.P.C. and who had all the state apparatus at their disposal but were not popular; and frustration on the part of the U.M.B.C. supporters who were in the majority but were in no position to deliver their promises nor carve out the middle Belt state.

The N.P.C. were consequently blamed for all problems, whether for failure to go to school either as a result of rising school fees or dearth of schools; they were held responsible for the disorganization of the family systems or payment of taxes. And since the N.A. directly represented the N.P.C. on the ground, they were the most hard hit. When in August 1960,⁵⁹ the Yandev incident occurred where the N.P.C. clan head of the area had his tax-collectors and two N.A. policemen beaten, a situation which signified a total

58. See Makar, Op Cit, Chapter 12 especially, PP 507 - 519.

59. Makar, Op.Cit, P.514.

break down of order,⁶⁰ this turned an already bad predicament into a really explosive one that spread to the whole of Tivland. In fact when more policemen were drafted to arrest the culprits, many of the policemen were beaten and some shot with arrows for their troubles. With the police in-capacitated, and the traditional seat of the Tor Tiv impotent, the burning and looting commenced unabated to all parts of Tivland, radiating from Yandev in Central Tivland until the Nigeria Air Force was moved in to carry out reconnaissance flights and bomb out areas where foot forces could not penetrate. In this way Tondo Agede, from Mbatlav together with his followers and family were bombed out of existence in 1960.⁶¹

The nande-nande mainly aimed at destruction of properties, burning, looting and flogging of people. Compared to the nande nande, the Atemityo of 1964

60. The NNA police were a feared people because of their terrorist acts against the urban and rural poor. That they could be so treated meant the situation had deteriorated beyond redemption.

61. With the death of Tondo Agende, the most organized of the leaders of the revolt, other pockets of resistance were snuffed out.

made the former pale besides it when breaking of heads and slashing of throats became commonplace. Infact, the political upheavals that heralded flag independence in 1960 was more like some kind of a bizzare rehearsal of what was going to happen in February and March of 1964. This second wave of crisis was the worse political anarchy in the history of Tivland. It was characterized by burning, looting and killing-- by the worse form yet - breaking of peoples heads.

Various reasons have been advanced to explain the causes of the revolts. Gunderson, Ndayako and Fairholm⁶² did a survey of the Tiv Native Authority and concluded that:

"The most obvious problem involves the over all organization of the Tiv N.A. administrative structure. There seems to be very little effective control, coordination and direction from above... the result has been duplication, disunity and misunderstanding among the departments and their employees... A related finding was the large amount of time, effort and financial resources of the N.A. that are spent on collection of taxes. In addition to the department heads, it seems that all the resources, financial and otherwise are almost exclusively devoted to tax collection.⁶³

62. Gunderson G.L., Ndayako U. and Fairholm G. . Organizational Survey of Tiv N.A.; Institute of Administration, A.B.U., Zaria, 1964, pp. 3-4.

63. This is quoted in Makar, Op Cit. pp.527-8.

And the Coamassie report⁶⁴ complained that the existing situation was complicated by the U.M.B.C., rivalry and misunderstanding among the utor. There was also the general rivalry and struggle for power between the UMBC and the NPC.

Makar however, is of the view that the crisis was the handwork of the "dispossessed group" who were penniless, adventuristic and without a thing to lose. That such people were not properly brought up by their parents, were not taught to have respect for traditional good conduct, and did not understand the essence of communal existence but cherished individual needs.⁶⁵

My view is that changes that had taken place in Tiv society in the sphere of the material base had to necessarily affect the realm of the super-structure. Thus attempts to explain the issues of violence in Tivland in the last decade of colonial domination and the problem of integration in the early post colonial era must necessarily begin from an examination of these changing motive force of Tiv history. For, according to Tseayo, it was the refusal of the Tiv

64. Paraphrased by Makar, Ibid. P.529.

65. Ibid. Makar, also insists that these dispossessed people were greedy men, lured by money and spoils, or drunks who had no proper family stability or those who were envious of other peoples position.

to accept overlordship from an Islamic dominated regional government that awakened the "protonationalism" among the Tiv to violently express their dissatisfaction with the "reward structures".⁶⁶

The point will be lost however, if more attention is paid to the external forces involved in the attempts at integration and violence in Tivland without examining closely the interplay of class forces that gave expression to such external forces. Moreover, not all Tiv were keenly aware of what was happening. However, that the people reacted so violently and that the scale of the destruction extended so quickly to cover the whole area meant that ^{there existed} certain pointers to which mass anger and frustrations can be directed against.

Remi Anifowose⁶⁷ did a research on violence in Tivland and has this to say:

"An important qualification to the deprivation or frustration - aggression explanation as the existence of frustration-induced anger or discontent is only an instigating variable: whether or not the discontented actually act on these dispositions to violent behaviour depends on some social stimulus, or mediating variable such as the legitimacy of the regime and the traditions and beliefs of protesters about violence... (However)... these psychological factors are not in themselves sufficient to

66. Tseayo, J.I. Conflict and Incorporation in Nigeria: The integration of the Tiv. Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1975.

67. Anifowose, Remi, Violence And Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience, Enugu 1982, pp. VII-VIII.

who were influential and had followers. Some of these elites belonged to the N.P.C. which controlled the N.A. system, while the majority who were in the U.M.B.C. and in opposition but who tended to win most political seats as against the N.P.C. who were in power regionally with the state's machinery but who tended to lose election in Tivland. This situation inevitably dragged most Tiv into varying degrees of antagonism and political mayhem.

Tseayo sees the crisis as "attempts by the stronger group (the North) to force absorption on the weaker one (the Tiv) which resulted in the violent conflicts of 1960 and 1964.⁶⁸ But it is more probable that the Tiv revolts can be explained more than anything else, in terms of the internal dynamics of an emerging class conscious social arrangement as a result of its changing social relations.

Keil⁶⁹ recorded the common cause of Tiv composers in the 1960s thus:

"To act as a conscience for the lineage, to attack the "bigmen" who exploit us. To sing loudly and clearly of ican (pain, poverty, alienation, anxiety) in short oppression when it lands on us personally or (collectively we must identify its source and urge everyone to eliminate that source."

68. Tseayo, J.I. Op Cit, pp. 231-2.

69. Keil, Charles, Tiv Song, 1979, Chicago Press, P. 7.

explain why violence did in fact occur. The evidence indicates that the use of violence for political purposes also depends on the prevailing political and socio-economic factors or situations. In other words, the mass violent out-bursts of the Tiv and Yoruba were deeply rooted in the grievances and Political indignation over the existing arrangements of power and authority in their areas.

Anifowose has touched on an important social expression of the violence, but has himself failed to identify the inevitable inter-connection between the material base of the Tiv Society and the super-structure, or rather has failed to identify it as the Central issue in the crises. His appreciation of the crises is thus no different from most other writers on the issue including Dent, Tseayo and Makar. He sees the politics of violence as characterising most developing countries, resulting from political competition for sharing of scarce resources, including spoils of office and patronage; and where the ruling parties do not often accept open political competition. This position appears to be the crux of Tseayos thrust; that the Tiv rebelled because the "reward system" had not taken care of them properly. The fact however is that the majority of those Tiv who actually participated in the riots (not the elites, not the bureaucrats nor the politicians, few of whom had been victims) did not see these revolts in this sense. In fact, by 1960, few Tiv could relate with events at the national level and even then through the intermediary role of the elites,

Songs are a reflection of a society's consciousness and the success of a composer depends on how much of his society he captures in his songs. The Tiv people were definitely class-conscious as the expressions of their songs show.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Colonialism and the debate on how this phenomena has affected various peoples, societies and different regions of Africa, do not always produce unanimous verdicts. However, what is basic and central about colonial legacy is that it necessarily transforms the mode of production of particular socio-economic formations that it affects. Whether this transformation is of positive or negative effects is not the issue at stake' whether the mode of transformation is through the application of direct or indirect rule is not crucial; nor is the issue whether or not colonialism can be regarded as a passing episode that brings changes that are epoch making. The fact is that whatever the level and depth of these transformations, timelessness, changelessness and static qualities cannot be associated with colonial legalities. Thus, what we need to note and penetrate is the nature and direction of the changes which colonialism effected on African Societies and the context within which certain pre-colonial institutions and relations survived where they did.

I contend that the type of organization of production on the eve of colonialism by 1912 influenced but was itself affected by the social and political institutions in pre-colonial Central Tiv-land. In its need to change the economic base to allow it to produce for capitalism, colonial rule transformed the area of the superstructure thus necessitating the development of

new relations between people in the production process. This new relations consequently influenced the development of a new kind of society with its attendant social class structure and strata and contradictory class interests and conflicts. This new conjecture helped to reshape the social and political relations between the people, the political institutions and the nature of power and authority wielded through such institutions.

By the eve of colonial domination, Central Tivland had begun to change while embryonic traces of class formation were becoming manifest. This was demonstrated by the existence of a non-productive but appropriative tendency of the compound-head. Between those who produced the wealth of the society and the compound heads who appropriated this wealth, there existed a clear divide, the existence of which was indicative of the fact that surpluses were produced. The appropriation and control of surplus is crucial in identifying the ruling class of any social formation which also determines the type of authority pattern that is exercised.

After colonial intervention and the hoisting of colonial structures to influence production, the nature and basis of power and influence that was wielded through the remnants of the Pre-colonial social and political institutions was no longer the same. In fact,

a meaningful understanding of the new emerging class conjecture can only be properly reached by locating it within the capitalist social milieu in which they operated. By a combination of such colonial administrative devices like the abolition of exchange marriage and other marriage practices of the people and substituting in its place, marriage by bride-price (thus introducing even at the family level, money economy); the transformation of authority over the labour system obtainable in pre-colonial times such as the age sets; and the general dislocation of the society through the marginalization of the indigenous ruling classes by the introduction of new class-forming institutions like colonial education, the missions, the district system and the judiciary, central Tiv-land can no longer be said to be static, stateless and assuming a uniformity of "Tivness" and a corporate body without remaining a historical.

The class interests of the various individuals and groups that mainly influenced and shaped social and political relations within the colonial state tended to reproduce the various strata, some of whom, the lumpen proletariat, an admixture of those who were usually unsuccessful traders and others that the colonial economy (which had destroyed their economic base but whom it could not absorb) threw up, became good revolt material when the period of party politics came.

The domination of the colonial state apparatuses of violence represented by the Native authority, the police, prisons and graded courts ensured that all the Colonised Social Classes, their conflicts and factional interests were subdued. However, towards the tail end of colonial rule when experimentation began with petty-bourgeois party politics, these various classes and strata regrouped either behind the NPC or the UMBC, the most materially and intellectually advanced class the petty-bourgeoisie, which resulted in what came to be known as the Tiv crisis of 1960 and 1964.

The study established that on the eve of colonial conquest, Central Tivland was pre-capitalist with economic, organizational, political and social institutions that interacted and influenced each other. But colonial rule, attempting to restructure economic production to serve the British imperialist needs tampered with the superstructure in the area of the state, religion and even the cultural values of ^{the} people. Politics and power relations were therefore affected and changed in such a way and manner that the indigenous ruling classes themselves became ineffective.

New power and authority patterns and relations were therefore established by the new colonial state. Thus by the 1930s and especially 1940s, series of "organizations" and "reorganizations" were undertaken aimed at experimenting how best the area could be administered to serve colonial needs. By the late 1940s, the office of the Tor Tiv was created by the

British, inspite of their deprecation to the contrary. The economic exploitation of the people became relatively stable owing too to the extensive use of the coercive state apparatus of the Native Authority to quell the revolts of the Hoyo, Nyambuan and Haakaa which largely aimed at resistance to colonial change. These movements were suppressed by the British without delay. However, in the process, new class conjectures emerged; The bureaucratic, commercial and political elites on the one hand and the peasants and other producer classes, on the other all of which were again subordinated to the colonial administrators of Residents and District Officers who represented the colonial state, and who all depended and survived on the productive capacity of the peasant class.

This type of conjecture produced the kind of contradiction which became the legacy that colonialism begueathed to central Tivland and which was to have lasting and telling effects on socio-economic and political relations in the area. The problems of lack of development and the continued underdevelopment of the area can be located primarily in this dislocative and exploitative system that was colonialism.

While, we are wont to agree with Walter Rodney that the only good thing about Colonialism was when it went away, for the people of Central Tivland, it had already laid down the structures that would ensure the continued subseviene to international capital by breeding a succeeding exploitative petty-bourgeois ruling class and clamping it down on the peasants and other productive classes of the region. The ensuing class antagonisms are dialectical and logical developments that erupts into such spurts of expressive violence of the sort that took place in the early 1960s.

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D.

A SELECT LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAME	APPROXIMATE AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENT	OCCUPATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
Ate Atenger	65 Years	Gungul Mbatlav	Retired Teacher	Sept. 1987.
Achagh Diwa	69 years	Abwa Mbageb	Retired District head	June, 1987.
Azege Atsor	65 years	Annune Mbakor	Retired Tax Collector	July, 1987.
Akende Terzungwe	59 years	Gboko Ipav	Retired N.A. worker	Sept., 1987
Amenam Mgbele	68 years	Gungul Mbatlav	Farmer/Trader	Sept., 1987.
Agema Tsavnande	70 years	Yandev	Retired Forest Guard	August, 1987.
Gever Aka	69 years	Uchi Mbakor	Retired N.A. Worker,	June, 1987.
Ihaa Gatie	75 years	Natu, Mbakor	Thief	Feb. 1987.

CONCLUSIONS

A PART OF THE NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL CHART OF TIV LINEAGES



Source: Adapted from P. Bohannon, Tiv Farm and Settlement, 67.