

**INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN WUKARI AND DONGA
AREAS, 1900-1992:
A CASE STUDY OF THE JUKUN AND CHAMBA PEOPLES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this Dissertation titled **INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN WUKARI AND DONGA AREAS, 1900-1992: A CASE STUDY OF THE JUKUN AND CHAMBA PEOPLES** has been carried out by me in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The work is by no means a replication, except for some information derived from the Literature and has been duly acknowledged by footnotes and references. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma in this or any other institution.

MordakaiSuleDansonka_____

Name of Student

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled **INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN WUKARI AND DONGA AREAS, 1900-1992: A CASE STUDY OF THE JUKUN AND CHAMBA PEOPLES**, by MordakaiSuleDansonka meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Master of Arts ofAhmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

To my father, Evangelist Josiah SuleDansonka who passed away a few days after my course work

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Glory, Adoration, Praise and Honouris ascribed to the Almighty God. The accomplishment of this thesis could not have been possible without the help, support and encouragement of a number of people. It is regrettablethat many deserving names cannot be mentioned here but I wish to assure them that this in no way distracts from the gratitude I owe them.

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ABSTRACT

The study, Jukun – Chamba relations in the present day Wukari and Donga Local Government Areas of Taraba State seeks to understand the nature of interaction between the two ethnic groups. Contemporary discourse by many scholars posits that all inter – group relations are inherently conflictual and historical development of African people is assumed to be made up largely of conflict and violent struggle. This gives the impression that African societies were characterized by anarchy. The history of the Jukun and Chamba relations has been characterized by conflicts especially at the initial stage of their contact, but the impression that the two communities never enjoyed peaceful intercourse has been examined and proved to be erroneous. A thorough appraisal of available sources about the Jukun and Chamba contact and interaction indicate that there were strong political, economic and socio-religious ties that bound the two communities together. The study has demonstrated that the interaction has been dominated by co-operation and co-existence since the pre-colonial period. The Jukun and Chamba peoples have harmoniously interacted, co-existed and bound together inextricably by common habitation and cross-cultural values for over a century. The main focus of this study is on the area of better inter-group harmony, peace, general understanding and appreciation of the culture of the people of the area under review

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. B.U.	Ahmadu Bello University
B.A (HONS)	Bachelor of Arts
C M S	Church Missionary Society
C R C	Christian Reformed Church
C R C N	Christian Reformed Church Nigeria
C.M.S	Church Missionary Society
D.O	District Officer
E K A N	Ekkliyyar Kristi A Nigeria
E K A S	Ekkliyyar Kristi A Sudan
E U M B	The Evangelical United Methodists Brethren
G N P P	Great Nigeria Peoples Party
H.C	High Commissioner
J D A	Jukun Development Association
J.A.H	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
K C	Kwararafa Congress

K.I.L	Kashim Ibrahim Library
M.A.	Master of Arts
N P	Northern Provinces
N P C	Northern People's Congress
N P N	National Party of Nigeria
N R C	National Republican Convention
N.A	Native Authority
N.A.K	National Archives Kaduna
N.C	Native Court
N.T	Native Treasury
R. N. C.	Royal Niger Company
R C C	Regional Church Council
S D P	Social Democratic Party
S U M	Sudan United Mission
S. U. M.	Sudan United Mission
U M B C	United Middle Belt Congress
U.A.C	United African Company
VOL	Volume

GLOSSARY OF JUKUN, CHAMBA, TIV AND HAUSA WORDS

AbonAchuwo ---- (Jukun word) -----the second in command of the Jukun traditional set up

AbonZiken ----- (Jukun word) -----an assistant to the AbonAchuwo in Jukun administration

Abu anaji--(Jukun word)- a gift to the Aku when a piece of land change hand as a result of death or sell

Achunyade----- (Jukun word) -----thunder

Aku----- (Jukun word) -----King in Jukun language

Akukhe----- (Jukun word) -----war commander in Jukun

Aku-uka----- (Jukun word) -----the King of Wukari

Apa----- (Jukun word) -----a person in Jukun language

ApaJukun----- (Jukun word) -----people in Jukun language

Ayo ----- (Jukun word) -----a word for mother in Jukun

Byene----- (Jukun word) an enclosure where consultation takes place between the Aku-uka and the title holders

Gangum----- (Chamba word) -----war field commander of the Chamba warriors

Gara----- (Chamba word) -----King in Chamba language

Gara Donga----- (Chamba word) -----the King of Donga

GbaLera----- (Chamba word) -----chief drum master in Chamba land

Gbana----- (Chamba word) -----the second in command in the Chamba traditional set up

Gbande----- (Tiv word) -----Tiv word for drum

Gbonkpa--(Jukun word) - a festival by the Jukun to revere the Crocodile which is a Jukun totem

Gyo----- (Jukun word) ----gathering of the Aku-Uka and the title holders before breakfast

KindaAchuwo--- (Jukun word) -----the third in the hierarchy of the Jukun administration

KindaZiken----- (Jukun word) ----- an assistant to the KindeAchuwo

Kpanghati----- (Chamba word) -----the third in the traditional administration of the Chamba

Kuna----- (Chamba word) -----a supervisor of the repair of the Gara's palace

Kuni----- (Chamba word) -----an adviser to the Gara in Chamba traditional set up

Kunvyi----- (Jukun word) ----- the person responsible for the crowning of the new Aku-Uka

Manu- (Jukun word)Jukun term for a teacher or an elder an equivalent of Malam in Hausa language

Mbala----- (Chamba word) -----Chamba word for aunt

Puje--- (Jukun word) -- hut of menstruation, the first abode of the Jukun before Wukari town

Tigye---- (Chamba word) ----a title of a person in charge of fishing ponds in Chamba area

Tor----- (Tiv word) -----Tiv word for king

Tozali----- (Hausa word) -----Hausa word for antimony

Uka----- (Jukun word) -----the original name of Wukari

Ukwe----- (Kuteb word) -----Chief in Kuteb language

UkweTakum---- (Kuteb word) ----- Chief of Takum

Vomkima----- (Chamba word) -----female cult in Chamba land

Wakuku----- (Jukun word) -----Aku-Uka's principal wife

Yaku----- (Jukun word) -----Jukun goddess

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CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

The study examined the nature of inter-group relations in present day Wukari and Donga Local Government Areas of Taraba State and to seek a deeper understanding of the relationship of the dominant groups: the Jukun and Chamba, at the level of language, religion and politics. It also derives from the quest for peaceful co-existence and the unity and development of the areas and Nigeria as a whole. The work is divided into six chapters for convenience.

Chapter one introduces the study and covers the general background, the research problem, objectives, justification and relevance of the study. The scope and limitation of the areas, theory adopted, and the methods and sources of data collection, definition of terms and concepts and finally, related literature reviewed.

The study then goes on in chapter two, to give a description of the areas of study which include the geography, climate, vegetations and soil, agriculture, and the settlement pattern of the people. It also traces the importance of land and agriculture to the settlement and the peopling of the areas.

Chapter three deals with the migrations of the various ethnic groups into the areas of study, the Jukun, Chamba, Abakwariga, Tiv, Kanuri, Hausa and the Fulani and the period of the movement. It also states the establishment of major towns namely Wukari, Donga, Nyakwala, Rafin-kada and Suntai where inter-group relations took place especially among the Jukun and Chamba peoples. As a background it examines the inter-group relations in the area from 1860- 1900.

Chapter four contains analysis of the activities of the colonial officers in the areas and how this affected the relations between the Jukun and Chamba. It also dwells on the activities of the Sudan United Mission (SUM) a Christian Missionary body in the areas.

The fifth chapter focuses on post-colonial Nigeria and examines the relationship of the groups during the First Republic between 1958-1965, creation of States in 1967, 1976 and 1991, Local Government creation in 1976, and the Wukari Traditional Council, which was created in 1977 to cater for the Jukun ,Chamba and Kuteb peoples. Also the chapter discusses the relations of the Jukun in Wukari and in Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada with the Chamba. Inter-group relations in Wukari area leading to crisis in 1991/1992 involving all the ethnic groups in the areas which formed the content of this chapter as well. The chapter ends by looking at the recent developments in the Jukun and Chamba relations.

Chapter six deals with the general conclusion of the study emphasizing important findings of the research and stresses that a gradual process of the Jukunization of the Chamba is going on and noted that the fundamental problem of inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga areas has been the manipulations by the politicians who deployed ethnic sentiments to realise political and economic objectives.

The findings revealed that the Chamba have embraced Jukun culture and identity that it is now difficult to differentiate them with the Jukun. They are intertwined in virtually all aspects of life as some cultural activities of the Chamba were handled by the Jukun who in some instances introduced some elements of Jukun culture into it. The fact that the Jukun value their religion, spiritual life, respect for elders and communal spirit more than anything else made them easily accommodate any group that will not jeopardize their way of life who equally accord respect to their (Jukun) spiritual leader Aku. The Chamba since their contact with the Jukun, relatively revere the Aku and accept Jukun religious rituals. Hence, those in Rafin-kada and Nyakwala had lost their Chambaness (Chamba identity) including language and so on.

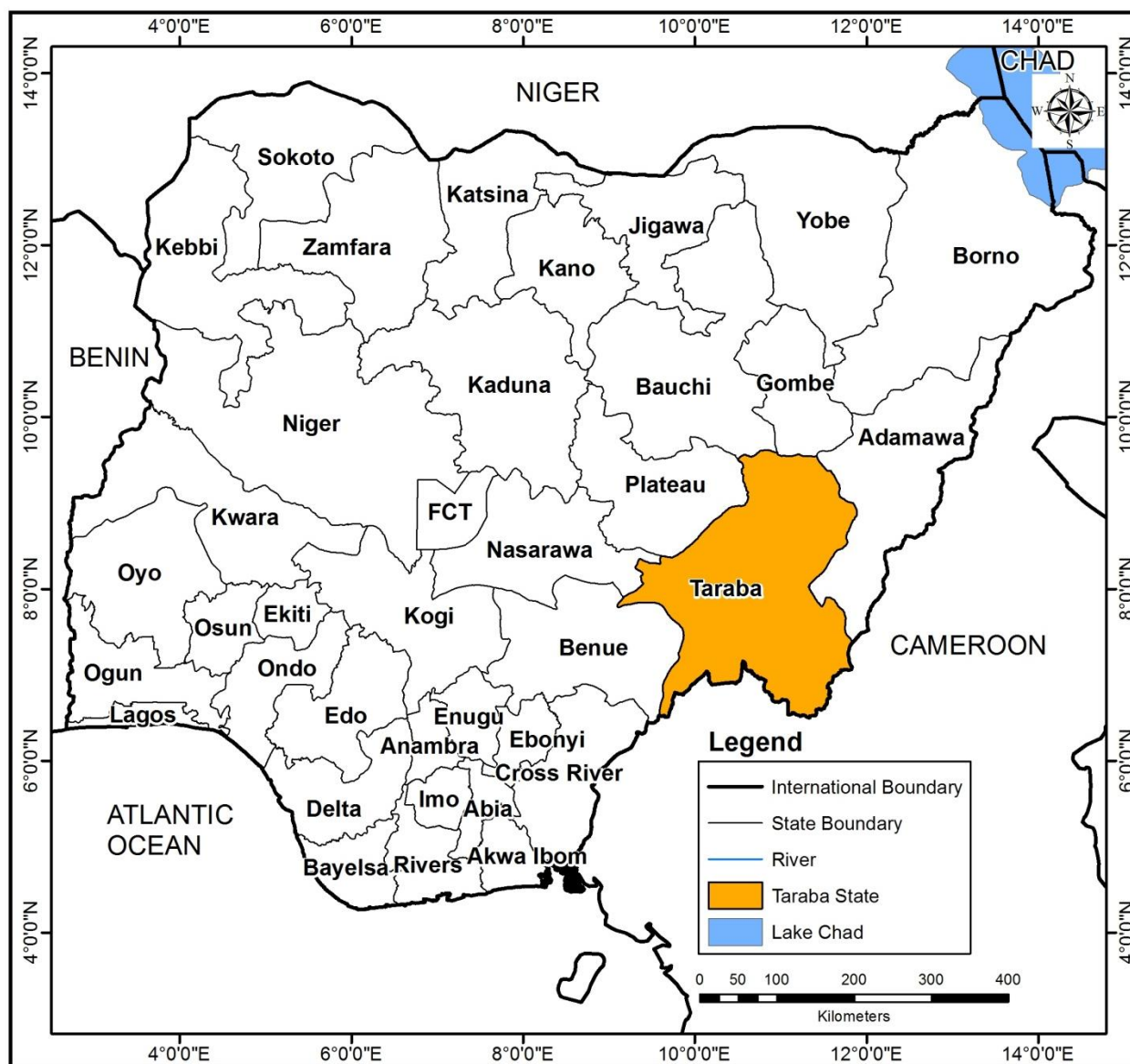


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing Taraba State
Source: Modified from the Administrative Map of Nigeria

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter considered the background of the study and the research problem. It also looked at the significance of undertaking the research to the people of the area and the nation as a whole. In addition, the purpose and what the research intends to achieve is succinctly spelt out. Also, considered is the period of the commencement and termination of the research and the reasons for the choice of the periods. It described the limit of the area of study and this greatly enhanced our understanding of the area which the historical events under study occurred and the relevance of the study to the people of the area and the nation as a whole.

Several literatures related to the study were reviewed in this chapter. The review, in no small measure, expounded the study and presented a formidable base for the study. It enabled the researcher to find out the lacuna in the study of Jukun and Chamba relations which the present study intends to fill. The chapter also clarified a major concept in the study, which is Inter-group. Various definitions as propounded by different scholars were given. It also delved into explaining the theories used in this study and provided reasons for the adoption of the said theories. It further gave a vivid description of the geography of the area of study. This is because geographical environment is important in understanding the history of man over a period of time, hence, to appreciate the history of relations between the Jukun and Chamba in Wukari and Donga areas, an adequate understanding of the environmental features which include climate, soil and vegetation and drainage of the area is of paramount importance.

The chapter in addition discussed the agricultural practices of the area and even mentioned the crops, vegetable and fruits produced. This was done to show that the fertility of the area was a factor that attracted different ethnic groups to the areas either for farming or pastoralist purposes. The history of interactions between the agriculturalists and pastoralists were sometimes peaceful and other time violence and that characterized the nature of inter-group relations in the area of our study.

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

Inter-communal conflicts have become widespread throughout Nigeria, but conflicts do not dominate the whole period of interactions between societies. The Jukun and Tiv have entered into various forms of relationship before the Chamba migrated into the Middle Benue region. Today, the Jukun and Chamba have been bound together inextricably by cross-cultural values more than any ethnic group in the area. It is because of this that the study seeks to unravel the binding factors that brought the Jukun and Chamba together and find out the areas of cross-cultural values between the ethnic groups.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The study of inter-group relations in Nigeria in the 21st century is an important task because of the impact it has on us as a nation in the area of group conflicts and rivalry which occur as a result of contestation over “scarce” resources. For, as Mahmoud Hamman aptly states, one of the endemic problems facing Nigeria today is inter-ethnic conflict.¹ This is because the various groups which once lived in a complementary and co-operative relationship now live

¹Hamman, M, ”Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Northern Nigeria” in Yakubu, A, M, (eds) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2005, p.451

inresentment and animosity with each other. The quest for nation building can only be objectively understood, articulated and addressed when the patterns of inter-group relations are appraised, especially an appraisal of the place of colonialism in the trajectory of inter-group relations. It is on this note that Sa'ad Abubakar posits that the challenge before the current crop of budding Nigerian historians especially at this material time, is to intensify research and publication in areas that would tend to promote better inter-group harmony, peace, general understanding and appreciation of one another's culture amongst our people.²

Inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga areas, with specific focus on the Jukun and Chamba peoples of the present day Southern Taraba State have received little attention from scholars despite the nature of integration between them. Even where historical analyses were made about the relations, they were not only done in passing references, but marginally, as one of the areas of inter-group relations in Nigeria. In other words, no exhaustive historical analysis of the relations had been systematically carried out before now. This study therefore, bridges the wide gap in our knowledge on the history of inter-group relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples in Wukari and Donga areas.

In present day Nigeria, where ethnic differences often lead to segregation and conflict, this study can contribute in enlightening and educating the people so as to ensure peaceful coexistence. It will also illuminate the relations between two distinct ethnic groups in Nigeria (Jukun and Chamba) who have been co-existing for more than a century and this would make people appreciate the benefit of mutual understanding, thereby discarding the factor of ethnicity in terms of development. The study will also complement existing works in the area that tend to promote

²Abubakar, S, The Challenges of Nation Building, Which Way Forward? Interrogating Contemporary Africa, Dike Memorial Lecture, 1999-2000, p.27

better inter-group harmony, peace, general understanding and appreciation of one another's culture among the people.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The study is aimed at, among other things, to show the nature of relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples of the present Wukari and Donga Local Government Areas of Taraba State during the period 1900-1992. It aims at examining the belligerent as well as the harmonious relations and the reasons or causes in the change in the nature of relations between the Jukun and Chamba and other ethnic groups in the areas. It seeks to underscore the position of the Jukun and Chamba vis a vis other groups in the area of study. The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To trace the history of the migration and settlement of the Jukun and Chamba in the area of our study.
- ii. To bring out the areas of harmonious relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples.
- iii. To bring out the areas of bitter relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples.
- iv. To highlight the benefits of harmonious relations and the negative effects of bitter relations to both ethnic groups.
- v. To assess the nature of the inter-group relations which include culture, religion, linguistic, economic, and social between the Jukun and Chamba peoples during the period 1900-1992.
- vi. To provide a reference point in harmonious inter-group relations in Southern Taraba State and Nigeria as a whole.

1.4Geographical basis of the study and Scope

In terms of time frame the study covers the period from 1900-1992. The choice of the commencement date stems from the fact that by 1900 the Chamba had already established their settlements in the Middle Benue region, including Donga, Rafin-Kada (which is only twenty two (22) kilometers from the Jukun Capital town Wukari). Also established by this time were Nyakwala, Suntai and Akatai all are Chamba settlements within the Jukun dominated area and close to Wukari. In addition, other ethnic groups such as Kanuri, Hausa, and Tiv had also been fully settled in the areas of our study.

The year 1900 also marked the beginning of formal British colonial domination in Northern Nigeria as a whole. The importance of this development to the present study is that British colonial administrative policies and socio-economic activities such as trade and judiciary system in the area impacted greatly on inter-group relations. The study terminates in 1992 after Taraba State was created out of the former Gongola State on 27th August, 1991, which coincided with a major incident that caused severe damage to inter-group relations in the area, which is the Tiv/Jukun crisis of 1991/92. These incidences greatly shaped the nature of inter-group relations in the area.

In terms of geographical coverage, the study is limited to present Wukari and Donga Local Government Areas in Southern Taraba State. The area is bounded on the North by Gassol and Bali Local Government Areas, on the South by Takum Local Government area and Benue State, on the West by Ibi Local Government area, on the East by Kurmi Local Government Area. The

population of Wukari Division as recorded in 1932 shows that the Jukun people numbered 11,008 and the Chamba were 3,609.³

1.5 Literature Review

The study is essentially anchored on the desirability of finding out the pattern and nature of inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga areas with specific attention to the position of the Jukun and Chamba peoples. To facilitate the research, the researcher found it imperative to consult a number of works already done in the area of study. The works provided pertinent background information to the present study as well as exposed the gaps that need to be filled. There exist significant literature on the history of the various ethnic groups in the areas, and particularly, the Jukun and Chamba peoples. However, one of the problems we are facing is that the existing works on the history of the Jukun and Chamba did not adequately capture the relations that existed between them. There is no much work done on the relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples, hence there is need for further studies in the area.

The work of Mahmoud Hamman is considered in this study. The work, titled *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869: The Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri*. The periodization falls outside our scope of study, however, it provided a useful background to the study. The work discussed the establishment of the Jukun kingdom of Wukari, the migratory streams of the Chamba into the Middle Benue region and the subsequent rise of the Chamba Kingdom in Donga. The more important aspect of the work to this study is on the chapter devoted to relations between Muri and Bauchi emirates with Wukari and Donga. The writer states that the flight of Aku-Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa Tasefu (1820-54) from Wukari into

³NAK,/14/Wukari Division Annual Report, No.4,1932-33

exile at Use-North was as a result of a Chamba attack on his domain-Wukari. The work further discussed how Wukari and Donga came under the domination of the emirates of Bauchi and later Muri at one time or the other.⁴ This implies that the Jukun of Wukari and Chamba of Donga were politically or administratively under the same emirate either during Bauchi control or Muri control. As the title suggests, the work discusses the impact of the Sokoto Jihad on the area of our study. Very little was discussed about the relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples however, it is a good reference material in the study of Jukun and Chamba relations.

Sa'ad Abubakar's article, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800" The importance attached to relations between the Jukun and Chamba is what makes the work germane to this research. The work stresses that Donga was established after a prolonged conflict between the Chamba, Tikar and Jukun and that the religious institutions of the Chamba of Donga were derived from the Jukun. The Chamba cult, the Voma, responsible for rain making, corresponded to the Jukun's Buhor, while the Mwa-lebsa in Donga was equivalent to the Wukari Achu-Nyande⁵, (literally meaning Thunder). Furthermore, the work states that, the structure of the northern Chamba chieftaincies differed from that of Donga, simply because, the latter were greatly influenced by the Jukun. That in Donga, the ruler was titled Gara and the structure of the government reflected that of their dominant western neighbours, the Jukun.⁶

The strength of the work to this study lies on first, the discussion on the early contact between the Jukun and Chamba that resulted in the establishment of Donga, and secondly, on the Jukun influence on the political and religious organizations of the Chamba of Donga. Our concern here

⁴Hamman, M, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad, 1812-1869, Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri*, Kaduna, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2007, p.116

⁵Abubakar, S, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Benue Plateau before 1800" in Ikime, O, (ed) *Ground work of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann, 1980, p.175

⁶Ibid, The northern Chamba are found in the present day Ganye Local Government of Adamawa State, the ruler has a title Gamwari of Ganye

is that the work states how the northern Chamba had through mutual contacts, assimilation and conquests, culturally and linguistically influenced their neighbours and subjects. For examples, the Kolbila speak a language closely related to Chamba's but the work remains silent on how the Chamba of Donga was linguistically and culturally influenced by the Jukun.

Sambo Garbosa II's book, *Labarun Chambawa da Al'amuransu* (The story of the Chamba and their Affairs), the author, a renowned Chamba man, the Gara of Donga (1931:1982) discussed in detail the migration of the Chamba into the Middle Benue region and the contacts with the various peoples of the area. He expounded various forms of relations both peaceful and belligerent between the Chamba and the Jukun and Kuteb peoples in the Takum area and the contacts between the Chamba and the Ichen and the Tiv in the Middle Benue region⁷. He stated how the Chamba people traversed the area under the control of Wukari before they finally settled and established Donga in 1842, the missing gap in the book is the lack of details examination of relations between the Chamba with the Jukun of Wukari.

C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun Speaking People of Nigeria*, is another work considered in this study. The book, which is an ethnographical study of the Jukun, presents a comprehensive history of the Jukun and their culture as well as their relationship with their neighbours. The author, among other things, brought out various forms of relations between the Jukun and Chamba which included inter-marriage, stating that the last Yaku or Ayu at Donga (a Jukun prophetess) was a virgin girl who was nominally married to the

⁷Garbosa 11, S, *Labarun Chambawa da Al'amuransu*, Zaria, Northern Nigeria Printing Corporation, 1971, p.65

chief of Donga(c. 1860).⁸ The author concentrated on the relations between the Jukun and Chamba of Donga and did not mention the Chamba of Rafin-Kada, Nyakwala and others.

Gambo Matudi Ika's Thesis, "Kuteb-Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State from c.1850-1960", is another scholarly research considered in this study. The study was meant to cover only Takum, the discourse in some cases went beyond Takum area to cover the whole of Wukari Division.⁹ He stated that the British colonial administrators through their colonial administrative structures encouraged and supervised the expansion of Jukun hegemony on the other peoples in Wukari Division. That it was the determination of the British colonial officers to amalgamate the other Districts in the area under a Jukun chief and with the capital in Wukari. He further argued that colonial administrators like Palmer, Fremantle, Keates and a host of others carried out what he called Jukunisation policy. The policy was to revive, build and strengthen Jukun culture as indicated by Fremantle. "I have long cherished the hope that the Jukun tradition might be revived and Wukari once more become an important centre"¹⁰

Another fundamental issue raised by Ika is the Kwararafa Congress (KC), a movement founded in Wukari in 1958 as a cultural association, whose objectives include promoting and enhancing Jukun culture and tradition within Wukari Division and beyond. He also posited that Kwararafa Congress (KC) took upon itself to use all means at its disposal to make even non-Jukun ethnic groups in Wukari Division and beyond to accept Jukun identity.¹¹ What makes the work of Ika relevant to this study is the aspect of inter-group relations in Wukari Division during the colonial period, and the picture he painted of the colonial officers' policies of promoting the Jukun

⁸Meek, C K, *A Sudanese Kingdom, An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun Speaking People of Nigeria*, New York, Negro University Press, 1931, p.73

⁹Wukari Division comprised Wukar, Donga and Takum Districts

¹⁰Fremantle, F.M. *Gazetteer of Muri Province up to December 1919*, p. 46

¹¹Ika, G M, *Kuteb-Jukun Relations in Takum Area of Gongola State, C 1850-1960*, Unpublished M A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1982, pp.72-73

culture above that of other peoples'. But the lacuna in the work which this study is concerned with is how the British colonial policies affected the relations between the Jukun of Wukari and Chamba of Donga areas. To what extent did the Kwararafa Congress movement, united or divided the peoples of former Wukari Division and the reaction of the Chamba of Donga to the movement? However, the work has enriched our knowledge on the relations of the Jukun and other ethnic groups during the colonial period.

A scholarly research by J.P.T. Agbe, "Inter-Ethnic interaction between the Tiv-Udam and Tiv-Jukun" is another work reviewed. He stated that, the early period of the Tiv contacts with both the Udam and Jukun was peaceful. The Tiv migrants settled and engaged in agriculture in their neighbours' areas. He stated that, the mutual relations between the Tiv and the Jukun resulted into a Tiv man being appointed by Aku-Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa Tasefu c. 1820 to the office of Agaiya in Wukari.¹²

He maintained that the British administrative policy of boundary demarcation in the southern Tiv land by creating "Munshi wall" between the Tiv and Udam lands, and the "Ring fence" to check Tiv migration into Wukari area was a factor that jeopardized the mutual relations between the Tiv-Udam and Tiv-Jukun. The colonial arrangements in these areas, he pointed out, resulted in suspicion, confrontation, and antagonism, and later, ignited hostilities between the Tiv and the Udam, and between the Tiv and the Jukun. According to Agbe, the cause of hostility between these groups during and after colonial period is traceable mainly to the colonial arrangement in these areas.

¹²Agbe, J P T, "Inter- Ethnic Relations between the Tiv-Udam and Tiv-Jukun" in Akinwumi, O, (eds), *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Makurdi, Aboki Publisher, 2006, p.287

What makes Agbe's work important as far as the thrust of this study is concerned is the emphasis placed on the factor that jeopardized mutual relations between the Tiv and the Jukun. This, he traced primarily to the British colonial arrangements of creating boundaries where none existed. The writer, succeeded in portraying the attitudes of the Tiv towards the British colonial policies which, according to him, was the cause of hostilities between them and the Jukun during and after colonialism, but could not explain how the Jukun saw these policies.

Hassan Emma Lawson in his thesis, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba peoples of Takum: A study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900-1993" argued that British colonial policies favoured the Jukun than any other group as far as the entire area of former Ibi, and later, Wukari Division was concerned and that this made the Jukun to claim some kind of superiority over the Kuteb in particular and other ethnic groups in general. According to him, the choice of Wukari as the headquarters of the Federated Districts of Donga, Takum and Wukari under the Federal Constitution of 1956 was also part of the colonial scheme to make Wukari and Jukun more important than other groups in the area. Lawson finally opined that, this syndrome of superiority and inferiority, based on colonial policy of favouritism has been one of the issues responsible for the sad state of inter-ethnic relations in Takum.¹³

The researcher has clearly pointed out the views of the Kuteb people regarding British policies that he claimed favoured the Jukun than any other groups in former Wukari Division. How did the Chamba people either in Takum or Donga react to these British policies is the gap that this study is concerned with.

¹³Hassan, E L, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the History of Inter-Ethnic Relations from 1900-1993," Unpublish M.A Dissertation, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995, pp.85-86

1.6 Conceptual Framework and Methodology

The preposition “inter” literally means “between” or “among”. In this study group means unit of people that possess identifiable distinct language and culture like Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Idoma, Tiv, Jukun, Kanuri, Fulani just to mention a few. Thus, inter-group means between or among group. Relations refer to the way in which one thing is associated with or connected to the other.¹⁴ Flowing from this, inter-group relations refer to the interaction or association between or among the various ethnic groups that made up Nigeria. Nwuabuze defines inter-group relations as “simple or complex, conflicting or accommodating, co-operating, consensual, peaceful or acrimonious, intense, tense or indifferent way that the group is connected or associated with another in the course of their interactions with each other”.¹⁵ These interactions could be in various forms - political, economic, military and social. In addition, these relations could be either positive or negative interactions. The relations could be positive when they live in relative harmony and benefit from each other and they are negative when they are exposed to rivalry and unhealthy competitions resulting in tension, hostilities and bitterness.

Inter-group relations as a human phenomenon are dynamic. In most cases, inter-group relations in Nigeria may be categorized into two or even three according to the period. One, the way people related in pre-colonial period, two, the way people related in colonial period and three, the relations of people in post-colonial period. Thus, as a study, it focuses on the series of methods, strategies or approaches to the understanding of separate group dynamics, of deffusing

¹⁴ Agaba, J, E, ‘The Challenge of Ethnicity: A Historical Analysis of Inter-group Relations in the Middle-Belt of Nigeria’ in Akinwunmi (eds) *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2006, p.311

¹⁵ Nwabueze, N, “Towards a Wider Understanding of Inter-group Relations” in Akinyele, R,T, *Race, Ethnicity and Nation Building in Africa Studies in Inter-group Relations*, Lagos ,Rex Charles Publication, 2003, p.4

tension between different groups and creating or building bridges across potential or actual conflict relationships, or directly promoting harmony.

To further grasp what inter-group relations involves in terms of its nature, there is need to take inter disciplinary approach. This will broaden our view and understanding of this complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon of inter-group relation. From a social psychology perspective, Behavioural Scientists like Sherif, M and Sherif C.W conceptualized inter-group relations as “states of friendship or hospitality, co-operation or competition, dominance or subordination, alliance or enmity, peace or war between two or more groups and their respective members.”¹⁶ A group as a social unit consist of a number of individuals who posses a set of values or norms of their own to regulate their behavior towards each other in matters affecting them. This perspective predicated on the behavior of interacting group with little emphasis on the fundamental variable that informs contact and interactions in the first instance.

A more elaborate theoretical perspective is put forth by Afigbo in his analysis of the Igbo and their neighbours. According to him:

*Inter-group relations pre-supposes contact and interaction between groups each of which has an identity, to make some inputs into the relationship, in short, each of which has some scope and area of autonomous action*¹⁷.

The above definition implies that inter-group relations entail contact and interaction between groups. Put in another way, it implies interactions which take place between members of different groups that came into contact with one another. It emphasizes a face to face interaction

¹⁶ Cited in Okpeh, O,O “Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Studies of Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria” in Akinwunmi, O, (eds), *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*, op cit, pp.10-11

¹⁷ Afigbo, A,E, *The Igbo and their Neighbours*, op cit,p.18

between people of different group. The explanation is that, in every form it manifests, it reflects human actions.

From the view of Afigbo, it spelt out the unique or independent identity of interacting groups, that is to say, every group has a separate identity and culture that qualifies it as an independent group. Sometimes this interaction took the form of war, they also manifest through trade and borrowing of techniques and institutions such as political and socio-religion from one another. A good example is the case of the early contact between the Jukun and Tiv. The Tiv were impressed by Jukun kingship institution and they (Tiv) came to Wukari and obtained the magical power to rule their people.¹⁸

The relevance attached to the issue of reciprocity or symbiotic interactions of the contacting groups which Afigbo emphasizes as an important element of inter-group relations are what make the perspective of value to the present study. For this reason, this study is predicated on the view of Afigbo which underscores the issue of interaction between different groups in a given area of the society. This is so because inter-group relations are two ways process of interaction which involves a giving and taking. The definition by Afigbo also underscores the independence of the interacting groups. This means each interacting group had a territory it laid claim to which portray them as an independent group carrying out independent action toward one another. For instance, prior to the British intervention, each ethnic group in Nigeria identify itself with a portion of land on which its members carried out their economic activities. This bestowed them identity and autonomy from others. It is imperative for us to add that, the boundary does not imply isolation of each ethnic group from each other. The boundaries were not a barrier to

¹⁸ Makar, T, "A History of Political Change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries," Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1975, p.30

interaction as people freely interacted with each other. The ethnic boundaries were permeable as people either singly or in group cross them.

It is from the foregoing explanation that the present study anchored on the *Theory of Mutual Aid* in discussing the inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga areas in the period, 1900 – 1992: A Case Study of Jukun and Chamba Peoples. The theory perceives inter- group relations as co-operation between different groups that take the forms of trade, diplomatic ties, wars, mutual borrowing of techniques, management of trade routes and boundaries.¹⁹ That presupposes that each group contribute meaningfully to the process of the interaction and each group has something to offer to the totality of the process. The Theory of Mutual Aid is very important in our analysis of the aspect of inter-group relations between the Jukun and Chamba in Wukari and Donga areas. This theory is at variance with Thomas Hobbe's theory of natural anarchy. According to Hobbe, the natural state of man was that of war in which every man was pitched against each other man.²⁰ A major supposition here is that human society is distinguished by pandemonium and rancor arising from belligerence and anarchy between groups. It is thus assumed that, since groups have different and conflicting interests, harmonious co-habitation been hardly a characteristic of society. It is assumed also that, since individual interest in the society differs, human society and the relationship in it are marked by antagonism, disagreement and conflict. Therefore, the society is characterized by violent struggle between groups for means of sustenance.

Contrary, Mutual Aid theory upholds the view that even in the midst of the struggle for the things of life, human being co-operate not just for the sake of social community, but indeed out

¹⁹ Okpeh, O.O, "Conceptual and Theoretical Issue, op cit, pp. 33-14

²⁰ Hobbe, T, *Leviathan*, New York, Maril Company Ltd, 1958, p.107

of necessity.²¹ However, the role of conflict as necessary consequences of the complex nature of inter- group relations especially in the context of “scarce” resources cannot be undermined and the theory however, emphasizes the point that the supposed preponderance of this is temporized by the imperative of consensus and co-operation that are even more effective and life perpetuating.

The theory was also adopted by Tseror in his work on the Tiv and their Neighbours where he stressed that:

*Although the struggle to get food might prevail, this does not rule out the fact that man must co-operate out of necessity.... While aggressive tendencies can be pervasive, that must be seen as having their limits especially when economic realities began to dictate the form inter group relations have to take.*²²

Tseror affirms that groups that survive best are those who have co-operated rather than engaged in conflict and, as Okpeh argues rather than see conflicts as a preponderant variable it should be seen as the consequences of an ever changing nature and character of the factors which facilitate contact between groups.²³ This point is succinctly captured by Nnoli thus:

*...it is not contact between groups that engender inter group conflicts, but rather the scope and extent of conflicting claims among the groups.*²⁴

Another theory used in analyzing and interpretation of data in this study is *Realistic Conflict Theory*. The theory was named by Donald Thomas Campbell²⁵. He was a Social Scientist and made contribution in a wide range of disciplines, including Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Biology and Philosophy. The theory explains how inter-group hostility can arise

²¹ Kropotkin, P, *Mutal Aid*, London, Frank Cass, 1910, p.10

²² Tseror, T, *The Tiv and their Neighbours*, Jos, PLHA Printing Press, 1992, pp.12-14

²³ Okpeh, O, O, “Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising... op cit p14

²⁴ Nnoli, O, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*... p.81

²⁵ Google search- Realistic Conflict Theory and inter-group relations, 14/06.2013

as a result of conflicting goals and competition over limited resources and it also offers an explanation for the feelings of prejudice and discrimination toward the out-group that accompanied inter-group hostility. Group may be in competition for a real or perceived scarcity of resources such as money, political power, military protection or social status. Feeling of resentment can arise in the situation that the group can see the competition over resources as having a zero sum fate, in which one group is a winner.²⁶

Conversely, conflict and discrimination between groups can potentially be reduced in a situation where two or more groups are seeking to obtain some super ordinate goal. Super ordinate goals are mutually desirable goals that cannot be obtained without the participation of two or more groups, and people who normally work in opposition to each other may unite to accomplish it because the co-operation is necessary for mutual survival. Research in inter-group conflict support the idea that groups, as well as individual members influenced by group thinking, may unite in a common aim. The United States of America and Russia, for example, teamed up in the Second World War despite having delicate diplomatic relations. Both nations decided that their personal interest were less important than the goal of defeating the Axis powers. The advantage of this theory to this study is that groups form alliances and compete for specific goals. In this case, the Jukun and Chamba were in most cases together against other ethnic groups in the area despite their internal division.

1.7 Geographical Location

The area of our study which covers the present Wukari and Donga areas is located in the Middle Benue region. It is in the guinea savannah region of Nigeria. The area lies approximately

²⁶ En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Realistic.com, 14/06/2013

between Latitude 7⁰:33 and 7⁰:55 North and Longitudes 9⁰:45 and 10⁰:28 East. Wukari town is about fifty five (55) kilometers west of the river Benue from Ibi. Donga town is situated on the bank of river Donga, a tributary of the Benue²⁷. The river was navigable by the small steamers of the Royal Niger Company for about four Months a year (July -October)²⁸. The area is bounded on the north by Bali, on the south by Takum and Katsina-Ala, on the west by Ibi and on the East by Baissa, a settlement mainly populated by Ichen, Ndola and Tigon peoples.

1.8Climate

It should be noted that the climate of the Middle Benue region as a whole is affected by altitude. On the whole, however, there is a uniform temperature in the Middle Benue region. Both the minimum and maximum temperatures attained their highest marks just before the onset of the rains²⁹. The period before the onset of the rain is characterized by intense agricultural activities of clearing the fields in preparation for the planting season that is followed with the onset of the rains. The area experiences very high temperature at this period, and low temperature with the onset of the rains. The lowest minimum temperature is experienced during the dry season when the North-easterly dry harmatan winds blow. This is also the harvesting period, thus, the low temperature makes farm work less strenuous. The highest temperature occurs in April and May, just before the rains set in and the lowest is experienced in December.³⁰

²⁷Bello, Z,A, "History of Islam in Middle Benue Region: A Case of Wukari Since 1884 - 1960" Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 2000, p.20

²⁸Fremantle, J.M, Gazetteer of Muri Province up to 1919, p.2

²⁹ Hamman, M. *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad 1812-1869: The Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri*, Arewa House, Kaduna, 2007, p.10

³⁰ ibid

Wukari and Donga experiences three types of rainfall, that is, Relief, Conventional and Normal rainfall.³¹ That explains the richness of the soil for both agricultural purpose and cattle rearing. The rainy season begins either in March or April and ends in October or November. But much of the downpour occurs in June and July with a break of few days in August ending, while the heavier down pour descends in September and sometimes October. The average annual rainfall is about 130 centimeters.³² The dry season is between four to five months and it lasts from November to March. The weather becomes hot in March and proceeded by dry harmatan with its dry dust and wind by December and January.

1.9 Soil and Vegetation

The vegetation of this area is also affected by altitude and the area falls within the southern guinea zone characterized by woodland vegetations. The woodland vegetation covers the entire area of our study that is bordered by Kurmi Local Government Area of Taraba State to the south. Owing largely to the rainfall that lasts from April to October and sometimes November, the southern fringes of the area are covered by equatorial forest vegetation.

The southern part of the area of our study is characterized by tall grasses, the northern part with scanty trees spread around. The trees shed their leaves during the dry season in order to minimize loss of water. The grasses have durable roots which remain under ground after the top have been burnt by dry season fires and sprout again with the onset of the rain. In a nutshell, during the dry season, the whole area looks bare and arid with the tall skeletons of charred trees. During the rainy season, on the other hand, it becomes greenish with fresh leaves and tall grasses swaying

³¹ Barau, A. D., "The Economic of Rice Processing Industry in Wukari," Unpublished M.sc Thesis, Department of Agricultural Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1979, p.32

³² ibid

from side to side in response to the prevailing winds. Trees such as locust beam and shear butter are commonly found.³³

As earlier mentioned, the area of our study is located in the guinea savannah which is the largest and widest among the eight vegetation zones in Nigeria.³⁴ It is important to add that, the pattern of distribution of the main types of vegetation is as a result of the influence of a number of factors. Among these factors are human interference and attitudes.

Man as a cultivator and a pastoralist had over long period of time altered his environment as simply and as cheaply as his ability and understanding afforded him. He came to discover among other things that African grasses such as the spear grass (*tofa* in Hausa language) was a roofing material for the thatched houses and other grasses such as elephant grass for *zana* mats. The trees become a source of timber and fuel. Lands were cleared by cutting down the trees and setting fire on the bush for farming purposes. All these activities of man seem to have greatly altered the vegetation of the area of our study.

Concerning the soil of our area of study, it is important to note that soil formation is intimately related to climate, geological formations, topography and living organisms and to the time factor. Climate is certainly the most important of the above factors because it influences the rate of weathering, leaching and also the rate at which the living organism can operate in the breaking up of the soil. The area of our study falls within the belt of alluvial swamp with thick and dark loam of the clay infusions. The soil is very fertile and has a satisfactory water holding capacity³⁵ and therefore it is reasonably good for farming and grazing.

³³ *ibid*, p.34

³⁴ Illoeje, N.P, A New Geography of Nigeria, New Revised Edition, Longman, Ikeja, p.35

³⁵ Barau, A.D, *op.cit*,

1.10 Drainage

The area is drained by the upper reaches of Taraba, Donga and Suntai rivers all of which rise from the Cameroun Mountains. River Donga was said to be navigable by small steamers of the Royal Niger Company for four months a year ³⁶(July - October). There are hills south of Donga which rise over 2,600 feet above sea level and the hills around Suntai rise to 2-3,000 feet above sea level. Equally important is that the area is traversed by several streams which flow into the rivers, such as, Nasu around Bantaje, Ako in Nwuko, Kokari in Nyakwala, Savo in Tsokundi and others.

1.11 Agriculture

The area of our study, indeed the entire Middle Benue region of Nigeria, is well known for its agricultural produce. The agricultural viability of the area is responsible for the migration of various ethnic groups into the area of our study. Beside the Jukun and Chamba who are said to be the earliest inhabitants, other ethnic groups like the Tiv, Fulani and others were attracted to the area by the nature of the soil which was good for farming and grazing. The variations of its ecological environment enable a large variety of crops to thrive. Agricultural activities were and are still the mainstay of the economic activities of the people of the area. Availability of and accessibility to land, heavy rainfall and soil fertility made farming the paramount occupation of the Jukun and Chamba peoples of Wukari and Donga areas.

The area produced many of the agricultural crops in Nigeria, such as, Maize (*Zea Maize*), Rice(*Oriza dalivea*), Guinea corn (*Sorgium bicolsur*), Millet (*Penmisetum typhoid*),

³⁶ Fremantle, J.M, Gazetteer of Muri Province up to 1919, p.2

Cassava(*Maniburt esculenta*) and Yam.³⁷ Others included Sweet potatoes (*Pomea battata*), Cocoyam (*Colocasia sp*), Pumpkins (*Cuarbita S O*) as well as beans, beniseed and others.

There were also different types of vegetables and fruits that were grown by the people. Fruits such as Guavas, Oranges, Mangoes, Cashew and Banana were produced. On the other hand Okro, bitter leaf and assorted vegetables were also grown. The introduction of new crops by the colonial administrators coupled with the activities of the foreign trading companies during the era of colonial domination of the area as we shall see later ensured a firm basis for agricultural activities, albeit to the benefit of the colonial intruders.

1.12Settlement Pattern

Different ethnic groups had permanently settled in the area of our study. In the main, they are the Jukun speaking peoples that includeWapan, Kpanzun, Wanu, Wurbo, and the Jukun related people such as the Ichen, Ndola, Tigon and the Kuteb. Other peoples are the Abakwariga, Hausa, Tiv, chamba and Fulani. Recent migration has brought in people such as Igbo and Yoruba, while the civil service has made it possible for people from various parts of the country to come into the area.In Wukari and Donga areas, people settled in clusters, loosely demarcated from each other. The Abakwariga concentrated only within Wukari and Donga towns.The Hausa are concentrated in towns and few lived in the villages. The Tiv are found in the villages, mostly the farmland areas and few lived in the towns.

A feature of the Jukun and Chamba pattern of settlement was the enormous size of their compounds to accommodate more people within the same geographical area. The compounds

³⁷ Hamman, M. "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue before the Jihad, 1500-1812, Post Graduate Seminar Series, History Department , Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 27th April, 1985, pp.3-18, also see Barau, A.D, op.cit, pp.32-40.

were built in circular form and often enclosed by *zana*. Among the Jukun, within the enclosed compound, there was another inner seclusion for men called *byeko*. The *byeko* served as a place where male adults take their meals as men folk were not supposed to eat before the women folk. However, the pattern of settlement have undergone changes with modernity and western education, coupled with the shift in the taste for modern architectural design which could now be seen in Wukari , Donga, Suntai, Akate, Rafin-kada, Nyakwala, and many other settlements in the area.

1.13 Conclusion

It has been argued in this chapter that this study is significant in view of the nature of integration of the people involve and the near to zero attention it received from scholars. Therefore, it aimed inter – alia, to provide a reference point of a harmonious relations in the present Taraba State and Nigeria as a whole, thereby challenging the erroneous contention that ethnic plurality of African nations are the basis for violent ethnic crises.

The study commenced in 1900 during which the Chamba had fully founded their settlements in the areas hitherto said to have been predominantly Jukun dominated area. It terminated in 1992 after two major historical events in the history of the Jukun and Chamba. First, the creation of Taraba State in August 1991 and the violent conflict between the Jukun and Tiv in 1991/92, these events greatly altered the nature of inter-group relations in the area

We also stressed that geographical location and the soil fertility which is good for agriculture and grazing was a factor that had attracted people to permanently settle in the area. The guinea savannah region in which the area is located with an average annual rainfall at about 130

centimeters was suitable for agricultural purpose³⁸. The Taraba, Suntai and Donga rivers available in the area also serve the purpose of fishing and river transportation, thus, enhancing inter- group relations in the area.

³⁸Barau, A,D, The Economy of Rice Processing Industry in Wukari... op cit, p.36

CHAPTER TWO

THE PEOPLING OF THE AREA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the history of migrations and settlements of the various ethnic groups in the areas. The migration of the Jukun who are said to be the first inhabitants of the area and the establishment of Wukari received prime attention. This is because other ethnic groups such as Abakwariga, Kanuri, Hausa and Tiv whose history of migrations were also discussed in this chapter, either migrated together with the Jukun or joined them in Wukari. More so, Abakwariga, Kanuri, Hausa and Tiv did not establish separate settlement but lived in settlements established by the Jukun. It also traced the migration of the Fulani into the area and the settlements that were established.

The chapter also discussed the migration and establishment of settlements by the Chamba, and it was tactically done to show how the Chamba migrated into an area which hitherto was said to have been dominated by the Jukun. The chapter showed how Chamba's settlements of Rafin-Kada, Nyakwala and Suntai are inhabited by both the Chamba and Jukun. A historical origin of Donga which is predominantly Chamba settlement is also a content of this chapter.

The chapter delved into discussing the political structures of the Chamba by looking at the political hierarchy of the title holders. This was done for two main reasons. First, to show the similarity between the Jukun and Chamba political structures, this attested to the degree of the former's influence on the latter ethnic group. Secondly, in Suntai, Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada Jukun and other ethnic groups held some of the Chamba chieftaincies title or occupied some of the offices. This chapter discussed the intra-ethnic feud and conflicting political perspective

among the Chamba that led to the split of the group which resulted to the establishment of different chieftaincies.

The relations between the Jukun and Chamba in pre- colonial period which cut across, political, cultural and economic aspect also form the content of the chapter. The discussion served as a background to the study of inter-group relations between the Jukun and Chamba during the period under review.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

2.1The Jukun

Jukun is a Hausa name for the people who call themselves Wapan.³⁹ Nowadays, Jukun refers to people who speak Jukun related languages scattered all over the Middle Benue region of Nigeria and Wapan refers to the mainstream of the ruling caste of the entire Jukun ethnic group domiciled in Wukari. Put in another way, today Wapan are the Jukun people of Wukari. The Jukun are one of the earliest (if not the first) occupant of the Middle Benue region.

There are several versions on the origin of the Jukun. There have been several attempts by the colonial officers and Anthropologists such as Palmer and Meek to address the question of the origin of the Jukun. Some historians like Erim O. Erim and Elizebeth Isichei were even more confused by the range of nomenclature such as Apa, Wapan and Jukun, all referring to the same people. There is need to clarify these names for better understanding and appreciation of the history of the Jukun. It should be emphasized that the term Jukun is the name given to the people

³⁹ Interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani, age 73, position, retired civil servant and adviser to the Aku-Uka, place, in his house in Wukari, date, 21/07/2014

by the Hausa. It is said that when the Hausa people asked them who they were, they said we are *Apa juku* (meaning we are people)⁴⁰. Thus, Jukun is the corruption of *Apa juku*.

Apa in Jukun language refers to one person, while *Apa-juku* is the plural, meaning people. Therefore, one person can say he is Apa and when they are two or more they are Apa-juku. My informants⁴¹ in Wukari revealed that Wapan was the original name by which the people called themselves, but because of their secretive nature, they refused to declare their true identity to the Hausa people. To conceal their identity, they told the Hausa people that they were Apa-juku (people).

The popular account by the Jukun in Wukari is that the Jukun came from Egypt and first settled in the Lake Chad region. According to Jukun oral tradition, they settled in the Chad region before migrating to the Benue region. It is said that the Jukun of Wukari migratory stream from the Lake Chad area into the Benue region was led by Agadu and they built Kwararafa State with its capital at Bye-pi.⁴²

Today, historians are skeptical about traditions of migrations in the history of ethnic groups, especially the idea of migration from the Middle –East. The idea of migration from the region is taken as unhistorical for it is considered as an attempt to promote the Hamatic Hypothesis⁴³. So the argument is that, if the Jukun migrated from the Middle – East, their language must belong to the Semitic language family, but Greenberg's linguistic classification includes the Jukun language among the Benue-Congo sub-family of the larger Niger-Congo family of African

⁴⁰Interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani, age 79, a retired Civil Servant and now an Adviser to the Aku-Uka, the interview was conducted in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁴¹Edward Ajibauka Adi, age 69, a retired Civil Servant and also an Adviser to the Aku-Uka, place of interview in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁴² Interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani and Mr. Edward Ajibauka Adi, op. cit

⁴³ Hamitic hypothesis is a racist doctrine which attributed all major developments in Africa to the Middle-East.

languages. Therefore, it is argued that if the Jukun migrated at all, it must have been within the Nigerian area, and any attempt to explain the origin of the Jukun must be done in relation to that of other ethnic groups that belong to the same Benue-Congo language family to which the Jukun language (Jukuniod) is a sub family.

It should be noted that, both oral⁴⁴ and documentary⁴⁵ sources of the Jukun history associate the Jukun speaking people with the Chad basin. Herbert Richmond Palmer strongly subscribed to the view that the Jukun originated from the east (referring to Egypt). In his words:

*They [Jukun] migrated from the east, probably yemih [Yemen] east of Mecca with a related group the Kanuri. They supposedly travelled by way of Wadai to Ngazargamu. They, Jukun, it is further suggested settled for sometimes in the region of lake Chad before proceeding to the Benue region, partly because of series of disputes with the Kanuri and partly because of population pressures in the Chad region.*⁴⁶

The Jukun moved in different groups from the Chad Basin as suggested by Palmer,⁴⁷ but my informants in Wukari could only remember that one Agadu was the leader of Wukari migratory stream that came to the Benue region where they finally settled at Bye-pi, which became the capital of Kwararafa State. As soon as Agadu settled in the new found land, two of his sons, Jeo and Yamkal abandoned their father and moved north, Jeo was said to settle at Kufain Pindiga where he established the Pindiga Kingdom.⁴⁸ The date of arrival and the establishment of the Jukun State in Nigeria is not known. H.R. Palmer is of the opinion that the Jukun must have been firmly established in Nigeria by the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. That by this period, the

⁴⁴ Interview with Mr. Edward Ajibauka Adi Op. cit

⁴⁵ Akinwumi, O, Abereoran, J, *Shape by Destiny; A Biography of Dr Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi, Kuvyo 11, the Aku-Uka of Wukari*, Ilorin, Unillorin Alumni Association, 1996, p.1. Also see Palmer, H.R Introduction to C.K Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom, An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, New York, Negro University Press, 1931, p.xv

⁴⁶ Palmmer, H,R, Introduction to C,K,Meek p.xv

⁴⁷ ibid

⁴⁸ Sukuji, B, *The History of Jukun and Kwararafa*, Kaduna, Merry Times Association Press, 1995, p.6

Jukun people had been established in different states such as Kwararafa with headquarters at Bye-pi, Pindiga and Kona.

We should hasten to add that, there is a school of thought making spirited attempt at denying the existence of Kwararafa State or, if at all the State existed, the Jukun were the late comers. Jack Starken belongs to this school of thought. He states that:

*Judged by conventional standards, one would be forced to conclude that if Kwararafa ever existed, it could not possibly have been in Benue or Gongola valleys, nor could the Jukun have anything to do with it.*⁴⁹

Another scholar who raised doubt about the Jukun association with Kwararafa State is Erim O.

Erim who wrote;

*There are indications that Kwararafa embraced a multi-ethnic society and while today, the name has been principally associated with the Jukun, it seems likely that they were either the founders of the confederacy or its rulers until relatively recent times. From the available source of admittedly slim evidence, Kwararafa was probably founded by the Abakwariga, a name associated with the non-Muslim Hausa.*⁵⁰

Again, Abubakar A. Fari claims that the case of Jukun Empire or State is doubtful, not even the idea of loose-knit confederacy which other writers were ready to accept.⁵¹

The views expressed by these scholars and a host of others denying the existence of Kwararafa State or the participation of the Jukun in the formation of the State cannot be substantiated under close examination. For there is an avalanche of oral evidence corroborated by documentary evidence that support the fact that the Kwararafa State existed and the Jukun participated in its formation and consolidation. The poem of Dan Marina, a Katsina Mallam, who was celebrating

⁴⁹ Akinwunmi, O, Abereoran, J, op.cit, p4

⁵⁰ ibid

⁵¹ Fari, A. A. "The Jukun Empire : A Reconsideration" in Maiduguri Journal of Historical Studies, vol. 1, 2003, p.24-25

the victory of Borno over Kwararafa, speaks of the prominent role played by the Jukun army in the war between Kano and Kwararafa.⁵²

Again, the Kano Chronicles refers to Adashu⁵³ as the King of Kwararafa, who attacked Kano during the reign of Muhammed Kunana (1652-1660 A.D). Evidence that stand tall to support the existence and the participation of the Jukun in Kwararafa is the word Yakasai. Today, there is a ward in Kano call Yakasai and some people even answer Yakasai as their name. Information collected in Wukari states that during one of the Jukun wars with Kano, the Jukun army told their kindred who did not follow them but decided to stay back in Kano to expect them back. This was said in Jukun language *iya kasen* (meaning, we are going to return). Thus, the Hausa corruption of this word sounds Yakasai.⁵⁴

In addition, some important spots in some Hausa cities are named after the Jukun or an event that has link with the Jukun. For example, in Zaria, there is Tudun-Jukun (Jukun hill). There is another place call Kubani. It is said that, during the reign of Queen Amina, the Jukun came to Zaria for war and on discovering that the King was a woman, they concluded that there was no King. For *Ku ba ni* in Jukun language mean no king. So, the Jukun established a camp at the outskirt of Zaria city for many days and the Jukun King that led the people left a good number of army there and went somewhere. The reason for leaving and where he went to is not known. The Jukun army left behind began to exclaim among themselves in Jukun language *Aku fai ra* (meaning the king has abandoned us). Thus, Kufena today is a place in Zaria and is a Hausa corruption of the Jukun phrase *Aku fai ra*.⁵⁵

⁵² Hassan, E.L., "Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum, op cit, p.45

⁵³ Adashu is a Jukun name which is been use presently as a name of a person in Wukari

⁵⁴ Interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani and Edward Ajibauka Adi, op. cit

⁵⁵ Hassan, E.L., "Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples of Takum, op cit, p.45

Therefore, based on available oral and documentary evidences as few highlighted above, the Jukun State of Kwararafa existed and the Jukun people played a dominant role in its formation and consolidation. At this point, it seems we have dwelled much on the origin of the Jukun and its association with Kwararafa state, we will now focus on the Jukun of Wukari which is the main concern of this study. The Jukun are generally stout and dark in complexion. We will proceed to consider the settlement established by the Jukun in the Middle Benue region. The famous of the settlements established is known as Wukari.

2.2 Wukari

The real name of Wukari is Uka, meaning the “Great one” or “You Excel”. Wukari town which is now the seat of the Aku-Uka, the paramount ruler of the Jukun and the symbol of Jukun unity, emerged in the seventeenth century after the Jukun abandoned Bye-pi the first capital of Kwararafa State. The dominant opinion among the Jukun in Wukari suggest that Aku Angyu Katakpa was the founder of Wukari and was the first Aku to reign at Wukari (1596-1609 A.D).⁵⁶

The Jukun abandoned Bye-pi due to succession disputes. There was strong rivalry among the Princes. Agbukenjo, their father loved one of his sons, Katakpa, more than the others. He sent two of the Princes, Abe and Aten, on hunting trip. While they were away, he summoned Katakpa and handed to him all the royal insignia, suggesting that the authority of the Akuship had been transferred to him. Katakpa collected a significant number of people and migrated and they crossed the river Donga and made camp in a place which was later called Puje.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Interview with Jibrin Amfani, age 79, retired Civil Servant and an Adviser to the Aku-Uka, place in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁵⁷Interview with Edward Ajibauka Adi a retired Civil Servant and an adviser to Aku-Uka in his house in Wukari on 21/7/2014

It is said that while they were moving the King's wife menstruated and as it was a taboo for her to be in the midst of the people because she was unclean. The people sojourned in the place for a while for the king's wife to be clean again to re-join the people. Therefore, a hut was made for her at a separate location while the King and the people maintained a short distance from her. Therefore, the place was called Puje (meaning hut of menstruation).

While the Jukun were at Puje, the Aku sent two of the reputed Mallams, Dikko and Sambo, famous in magical powers to the land which later became Wukari to fortify it. Therefore, Dikko and Sambo built a hut which they lived in before the Jukun later joined them. Mallam Dikko and Sambo were the 17th century leaders of the Abakwariga who migrated together with the Jukun from Kwararafa.

Mallam Sambo was said to come from Kano while Mallam Dikko arrived from Katsina. They were said to have rendered important service to the Aku's palace and for the sustainability of the Jukun ethnic group. The two reputable Mallams left Wukari after a major disagreement with the Aku-Uka.⁵⁸ It was said that Mallam Sambo died at Ashabu near present Lafia while Mallam Dikko died at Kokwana near present Keffi.⁵⁹

The view of R.M East, corroborate the oral tradition of the Jukun in Wukari about the establishment of Wukari town. According to R.M. East in his book, *Labarun Hausawa da Makwabtansu*, he wrote;

As a result of chieftaincy tussle and dispute between two princes of Kwararafa, when one of the princes was pursuing his brother, then his brother used his magical power to evolve a river, in order to stop and block his brother from pursuing him. When the brother saw the river,

⁵⁸ Mahdi, A, *Hausa Factor in West Africa*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 1978, p.39

⁵⁹ Bello, Z,A, "History of Islam in Middle Benue Region: A Case Study of Wukari Since 1884-1960", Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 2000, p. 40

*and he could not cross it, then, he threw a stone. Thus, it was this stone which evolved to become Matar-Fada Hill near Gidin-dorowa before Gida-Idi---. Finally, one of the princes went away with the throne or title of Aku and founded Wukari, the second capital of Kwararafa.*⁶⁰

Certain comments need to be made regarding the above quotation. In history we only deal with physical laws, therefore, one should be careful with information which is beyond human reasoning. Nevertheless, what one can deduce from the quoted story, is that it explains the movement or migration of the Jukun from Kwararafa capital Bye-pi to their new base, Wukari.

Certainly, when there is a crack or hiatus leading to crisis upon any throne or centre of power, that society is bound to experience a break down. From all indications, all was not well with the Kwararafa State towards the end of the 16th century. The central administration began to experience crisis which emasculated the power of the Kingdom, leading to what Chinua Achebe says, “The centre cannot hold” and when the centre cannot hold only “the mere anarchy will be loose upon the world.” And by anarchy things fall apart will be inevitable.⁶¹ This was the situation of Kwararafa State towards the end of the 16th century.

Abe and Aten, gathered the few people that remained in Kwararafa State capital –Bye-pi and moved northward and established Dampar and Gwanna. Other Princes that moved northward were said to have founded Wase-Tofa, Awe, Akekura and Keana. Out of all the new towns established following the disintegration of Jukun people from Bye-pi, Wukari became the most important. The new and the old states⁶² accorded Wukari the respect and reverence accorded to the erstwhile Kwararafa State capital Bye-pi.

⁶⁰ Abubakar, B.Z, *History and Challenges to the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21st Century*, ppc ltd, Jos, 2007, p.50.

⁶¹ Achebe, C, *Things Fall Apart*, Introductory Note, Heinemann Publication, Ibadan, 1954.

⁶² Old States were Kona and Pindiga

Thus, the rivalry among the princes informed the movement of the capital of Kwararafa State from Bye-pi to Wukari. If the date for the reign of Katakpa (1596-1607 A.D) who was the first Aku in Wukari is tenable, it means it was from its capital Wukari that the Jukun people invaded Borno during the reign of Mai Ali (1649-1650 A.D). The Jukun expedition against Kano during the reign of Sarkin Kano Dadi (1670-1703 A.D) was also from Wukari. It was also from this period that the Jukun attacked Zaria under Queen Amina.

Internal chieftaincy disputes and rivalry among princes leading to series of confusion resulted in the Jukun States developing autonomous communities which made it intractable for Kwararafa State to defend itself against external attacks. The rivalry among the Princes generated to envy, each Jukun State began to exert its autonomy which affected the military prowess of the Kwararafa State, the decline of the military that held sway over the State resulted to the weakness of the State.

The Jukun from their capital Wukari, suffered unhealthy rivalry among the princes that ruled the various Jukun States. This situation led to a great breakdown in communication which culminated in many states putting off the yoke of the Jukun king, Aku in Wukari, thereby leaving the military in shambles by the end of the 18th century. With the collapse of the military which enabled Kwararafa State to hold sway over various groups, the Jukun rebuilt their religious and political institutions with which they were able to spread their influence over non-Jukun groups. Describing the Jukun State after the collapse of her military, Sa'ad Abubakar says:

*They [Jukun] spread their influence over non-Jukun groups and rebuilt their institutions. But unlike the early period of their apogee, it was a religious and not military caste that emerged as the most powerful.*⁶³

It was on this note that Wukari became more of a spiritual centre than political and the Aku-Uka wielded more of spiritual authority. Commenting on the influence of the Jukun over large territories, Abubakar A. Fari wrote:

*The influence was mainly spiritual but was, nonetheless considerable and far reaching, particularly as the Jukun kingdoms were the only important religious centres in the Middle Benue region, before the rise of Igala kingdom. It is in this regard that the Igbirra and some sections of the Idoma, people as distinct from the Jukun as any two races could be, could claim origin from Apa and that the surrounding people who came under the influence of the Jukun could surrender their right to appoint and depose their leaders to Kwararafa.*⁶⁴

Wukari was a reputed spiritual centre which exacted influence over the surrounding peoples. The influence of Wukari is succinctly captured by Sa'ad Abubakar thus:

*Their influence had, at one time, extended westwards to Bauchi Plateau and southwards as far as Cross-River. The Jukun exercised supreme spiritual authority and had influence over many tribes in the Benue valley; this was the position of the Jukun till the 19th century when their dominance came to an end following the activities of the Jihad movement.*⁶⁵

The political organization of present Jukun society remains to some extent the same as it was in the past. At the top of the political hierarchy was the Aku-Uka who was both a political and a religious personage with immense executive and mystic powers.⁶⁶ The Aku was supreme in the Wukari political set up. His decisions had a divine authority and there was no appeal. He had the power of life and death over his subjects. The Jukun, it is said, operated a theocratic system of

⁶³ Abubakar, S. "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and Bauchi Plateau before 1800" in Obaro, I, (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann, 1980, p.170.

⁶⁴ Fari, A.A, op.cit, p.25

⁶⁵ Abubakar, S, op.cit p.175

⁶⁶ Churcher, A.E. Wukari District Assessment Report SNP 10/1686/1913. Muri Prof. p.6, also see Meek C.K op, cit p.322ff.

government, meaning a state governed directly by gods or through a sacerdotal class such as priests, whereby the Aku served as the head of the priestly class. The Aku did, however, not only possess a supreme political authority, but a representative of the gods and serves as their intermediary with the people. Therefore, flouting the order of the Aku was tantamount to flouting the orders of the gods, for through the Aku it was belief, the bounties of the ancestors were expected to be showered upon the people.⁶⁷ The Aku in his person was embodied all judicial and executive functions. He could command the labour of his people, appropriate the major portion of all fines, afflict and exact tribute in kind from all at harvest time. The Aku also received gifts from all persons seeking any of the numerous offices. He also claimed a share of all major games (animals) killed by the hunters.

It was only religious sanctions in the form of taboos that constituted a check on the power of the Aku. A breach of most of these taboos could be interpreted as a repudiation on his part of the gods whom he was supposed to represent, and consequently repudiation of him by the gods. As a divine king, the Aku did not suffer limitations of the ordinary man. His death was regarded as a disappearance or a return to meet his ancestors. Thus, his burial is regarded as journey to his ancestors.

The Aku was regarded as the maker of rain and the sustainer of bumper harvest. He was expected to secure in his time a rich harvest and his ability to do so is adjudged to be a true son of gods.⁶⁸ Whenever there was drought or poor harvest, the Aku was accused of either incompetence, negligence to his duties, or repudiation by the gods.⁶⁹ The Aku is aided by *Abon Achuwo*, whose principal role is the handling of the general administration of Wukari and the

⁶⁷ Sukuji, B, op.cit p.97

⁶⁸ Meek, C.K. op. cit p.129

⁶⁹ Interview with Adihinko, T. A., Post Graduate student, History Department, Benue State University, Age 43 in Wukari, on 10/09/2014

subordinate districts when the Aku is away as well as prior to the appointment of the new Aku. He was the most senior officer next to the Aku. He functions as a Prime Minister and prevented the Aku from implementing policy that would adversely affect the people.⁷⁰ He advised the Aku on traditional and other civil matters. In most cases, he settled disputes before informing or referring them to the Aku. The next senior official was the *Abon Ziken*; he assisted the *Abon Achuwu* in other traditional activities. He was the successor of the *Abon Achuwu* in case of death of the latter. The *Kinda Achowu* was the third official in rank; he supervised the other Kinda and was also assisted by the *Kinda Ziken* who was the fourth official in rank. All these officials were drawn from the royal houses and their position is not hereditary.

The military commander was known as *Aku Khe* (*Aku* means king while *khe* is war in Jukun language) and under him were the men who distinguished themselves in battle fields and were assigned captains of various groups of the constabulary. Other officials were the *Tsuma* (messenger of gods in Jukun language) the royal diviner, the *Nene* (meaning tongue in Jukun language) as the name implies he was the spokes man of the Aku, the *Kunvyi* the one responsible for the installation and conferring title to a new Aku. After the installation of a new Aku, the *Kunvyi* would never meet face to face with the Aku. This is because the Aku is the father of all Jukun peoples and all Jukun are to portray before him, and the *Kunvyi* is the one that installed him and on that note he is not to portray before him. Therefore, if it is imperative that they should meet, they meet at dusk when they could not see each others face. The *Kunvyi* did not live in Wukari town but in Avyi village to prevent him from meeting the Aku. There were some

⁷⁰ Abubakar, Sa'ad, op.cit, p.171

offices and titles which played significant functions in the governance of the people⁷¹. These include *Kinda-Byi*, *Kinda-kuvyo*, *Kuntsa* and *Kun Puje* just to mention a few.

It should be noted that the life of Aku-Uka is surrounded by danger arising from taboos which makes him vulnerable to death. Some of the taboos surrounding the Aku-Uka that place him in danger are as follows: one, under no circumstance is the Aku-Uka allowed to pick up anything that drops from him to the ground. If there is no person around to pick up the object then it has to be left where it has fallen. Two, the Aku-Uka must not leave his head bare. A traditional black cap called *taba* must be worn during his installation at Bye-Vyi, and there after his head must be covered with any coverlet so that the plaited hair is concealed from public gaze. Incessant breach of these taboos may pose a considerable danger to the life of the Aku-Uka.

Until fairly recently, there were three ruling houses in Wukari, namely, Bagya, Bama and Bando Matsew. The last ruling house has disappeared, probably because the house could not produce Aku for a long time, and hence, the practice is that for a prince to be appointed the Aku his biological father must have been an Aku. The appointment to the Akuship is now rotated between the Bagya and Bama ruling houses. In the case where there is no competent candidate in the ruling house whose turn is to produce the next Aku, the other ruling house produces the next Aku.⁷²

In the administration of the Jukun people women are not left out. The female official includes *Nwutsi* who was generally responsible for women affairs. Another important female title holder was the *Angwu Tsi*. The *Angwu Tsi* was the head of all the women in the state of Wukari, except daughters of deceased Akus. She also exercised certain priestly functions. She had a staff of

⁷¹ Interview with Edward Ajibauka A age 69 in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁷² Akinwumi, O. & Abereoran, J, *Shape by Destiny: A Biography of Dr. Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi, Kunvyo II The Aku-Uka of Wukari*, University of Ilorin Press, Ilorin, 1996, p.19

about twelve which included both men and women bearing specific titles.⁷³ Yet another female official was *Angwu Kaku*. She was the official sister of the Aku, usually the senior Princess of the last Aku. She had control over the living daughters of the deceased Akus. She assigned work among them such as making thread for the weaving of cloth for the Aku.⁷⁴ *Wakuku* was another official title assigned to female in Wukari, she was the Aku's principal wife, and her duties included the supervision and control of the royal wives. The *Kusheje* was the mother of the Aku and she too had her own residence and court comprising of some officials. Her duty was to brew the beer that was used to ingratiate the god of the rain in case of drought.⁷⁵

It should be noted that the Local Government reforms of 1976 have rendered ineffective some of the traditional titles of the Jukun. The innovations and changes brought by those reforms caused some institutions and political functions to become virtually redundant. Policy making and implementations in Jukun community is done through series of consultations and the most important ones are those held daily at near dawn, sunrise and at dusk. The near dawn consultation usually takes place in a spacious enclosure called *Byene*. It is an occasion where all the traditional title holders pay traditional homage and check the condition of the Aku-Uka's health. It is also a time for briefing the Aku about new births, deaths, and marriages and so on.

The second gathering is held during breakfast period known as *Gyo*, where traditional title holders and other aides to the Aku-Uka assemble to receive their assignment for the day. The third and final assembly for the day is held at dusk where elders converged to discuss important issues affecting the community. This consultation is held at a hall in the Aku-Uka's palace called *Kyonjo*. All discussions are brought to the Aku-Uka's attention through *Abon Achuwo*.

⁷³ *ibid.* P.170

⁷⁴ Meek, C.. K., *op cit.* P. 145

⁷⁵ Hamman, M, *op cit.* P.170

Generally, in the history of Africa and Asia, the end of the Second World War opened a new chapter. This is because this period was marked by the emergence of nationalist movements throughout the length and breath of these continents. The case was the same in Nigeria; the struggle for independence was intensified and passionately pursued from this period. Therefore, the period is marked as the beginning of another phase in the history of Nigeria that is the post-independence era. So also in the history of Wukari area, the contemporary history began with the reign of Aku-Uka Atoshi Agbumanu IV (1946-1960).

Therefore, in an attempt to reconstruct the history of the establishment of Wukari town, it is important to point out the role of Aku-Uka Atoshi Agbumanu IV (1946-1960). The period of the reign of Aku-Uka Atoshi saw the rapid growth of Wukari town and of the prosperity of the Jukunland in general. The shape of Wukari as a well planned town was his brain work. In 1956, the present streets were constructed. The people whose houses were demolished to make way for the streets were re-settled.⁷⁶ Today, Wukari has several major roads and streets that crisscross the town.

Roads were constructed linking all the outlying neighbouring villages with Wukari town. When Wukari-Jalingo road was being constructed in 1964, the people living in the villages within the area were advised by the Aku-Uka to move and settle by the road side. It was for this that Gindin-dorowa people who were living in the interior under a big locus beam tree moved to their present abode. This development made movement of people from the outlying villages to Wukari town easy. Thus, inter-group relations involving all aspects of human endeavour thrived.

⁷⁶ Adamu, A.D, *The Jukun and their Kings*, Plateau Publishing Company, Jos, 1983, p.17

Mallam Adi Byewi Ashumanu (1960-1970), who succeeded Aku-Uka Atoshi, also strived to develop the town and to maintain harmonious relations with all the peoples of the area. The Aku-Uka's palace was redesigned on modern architectural lines. He played an active role in maintaining law and order during the 1964 Tiv riot in spite of overwhelming hostility from the adversary. The affected villages such as Riti, Gidan Idi, Nyakwala, Rafin-Kada and others were encouraged and supported as law and order was later restored.

Educationally, Saint Paul⁷⁷ and Atoshi Memorial⁷⁸ Secondary Schools were established in 1974 and 1976 respectively. Besides the Christian Missionaries and Islamic⁷⁹ Primary Schools that were established, during the Universal Primary Education programme, many primary schools were cited in the town and in all the villages in Wukari area.

Wukari is a cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic town. Due to its strategic location and commercial activities, a lot of peoples which include the Igbo, Yuroba, Idoma, and Udam were attracted and have permanently or temporarily settled in the town. These ethnic groups have been integrated into the Jukun society thereby setting the stage for inter-group relations to thrive. The town is densely populated; the provisional results of the 1991 census gave the Local Government Area 90,375.⁸⁰

Wukari town has a lot of facilities to cater for social and commercial needs of the people which include Radio and television stations, Electricity (NEPA), Public water supply, a Government

⁷⁷ Saint Paul's Secondary School was established by the Catholic Mission, now Government Secondary School, Wukari

⁷⁸ Atoshi Memorial Secondary School was established by Malam Ibrahim Usman Sangari, now Marmara Government Girl's Secondary School, Wukari

⁷⁹ Ebenezer Primary School was established by the Sudan United Mission in 1957, Saint Mary's Primary School was established by the Catholic Mission in 1955 and Nurul Islam Primary School was established by Nurudeen Islam

⁸⁰ Akinwumi, O, & Abereoran, J. op.cit, p.12. This result was contested by the Jukun people stating that as a result of the communal crisis in Wukari LGA, the whole people were not captured in the census exercise. The community took the matter to the census Tribunal which ruled in their favour that fresh headcount should be carried out in the area, but National Population Commission failed to comply to the directive.

General Hospital and several private clinics, a Federal Government College and a score of government own secondary and primary schools and several other facilities. When Wukari was established, other ethnics groups also migrated and settled within and around its environs. The ethnic groups that were found in the area in pre-colonial period include Abakwariga, Kanuri, Hausa, Tiv and Fulani.

2.3 The Abakwariga

The word Abakwariga is derived from Jukun phrase, *aba kwa riga* (meaning those that sew gown), this was so because many of them sewed and wore gown⁸¹. Another version⁸² says Abakwa is the Jukun name for Hausa people, which means any Hausa man is called Abakwa. Riga is the flowing gown sewed and wore by the Abakwa people. Thus, Abakwariga means the Abakwa people that wear *riga*.

Culturally, Jukun men wear lion cloths which they normally tie around the upper belly, just below the chest leaving the rest of the body bare. The females dress in similar manner except that the breasts are covered. So, when the Abakwa people wear cloth to cover their whole body and called the cloth *riga*, the Jukun attached an epithet to the Abakwa name, thus it became Abakwariga. For Jukun men never wear cloth to cover their whole body, except when they were to go for war. It was for this that cloth covering the whole body is called *Abu khe* (meaning war tool).

⁸¹Interview with Tanko Adihinko, Post Graduate student, History Department, Benue State University, Age 43 in Wukari, on 10/09/2014

⁸²Interview with Rev. Alex Danjuma Mamman, age 52 a Pastor ,place of interview Wukari on 22/09/2014

Oral information collected in Wukari⁸³ and corroborated with traditions collected and documented by Meek⁸⁴ indicated that the Hausa who lived in Kwararafa and later Wukari were descendants of Hausa traders, Ulamas and craftsmen who came and settled in the city permanently. It is said that the Jukun kings benefited immensely from the services of the Hausa clerics who are said to provide certain magical services to them. Some traditions in Wukari maintain that the Hausa inhabitants of Kwararafa and later Wukari were descendants of slaves the Jukun brought from their wars with the Hausa States in the 17th century. Another view held that, they were immigrant traders, artisans, scholars and captains who had been moving into the Middle- Benue region.

By the early part of the 17th century, there was settled Hausa community in Kwararafa capital Bye-pi. The Jukun gave them their daughters in marriage and in turn gave the name Abakwariga to all the children of such marriage. They speak Jukun fluently, yet they claim Hausa descent and constantly wore the *riga* (Hausa gown) to assert the claim. The name Abakwariga came to be used for all the descendants of the group in the Middle Benue region to date. In the 17th century, Mallam Dikko and Sambo were made the leaders of the Abakwariga in Kwararafa and later Wukari. They were said to be reputable Mallams who rendered great magical services to the Jukun Kings. Abakwariga remain a distinct community and occupied separate quarters in the city of Kwararafa and Wukari. The contemporary name of the quarter in Wukari is Akata.

Those that accepted Christianity among the Abakwariga have been Jukunized and have socially separated from the main body of the group. Those that are Muslims identified with the Hausa way of life, although both the Christian and Muslim Abakwariga speak Jukun fluently. The

⁸³Interview with Rev Alex Danjuma Mamman, a Pastor, age 52, the interview was conducted in his house in Wukari on the 22/09/2014

⁸⁴Meek, C.K, op.cit, pp.29-30

traditional priests among them are the custodian of the *Gbonkpa* festival in Wukari⁸⁵. *Gbonkpa* festival in Wukari was the time to sacrifice to the crocodiles at their ponds located in Wukari and the Abakwariga were in charge of the rites. The crocodile is one of the totems of the Jukun and were very significant in their history. Sacrifices are offered to the crocodiles annually.

2.4 The Kanuri

The Kanuri were attracted to Jukunland by the famous salt and antimony mines in Akwana and Arufu respectively. They first came as traders and settled at Akwana and participated in the salt trade⁸⁶. Salt was a very important trading items. This trade become important before the end of the 17th century as it constituted an important item of exchange. Antimony, known in Hausa language as *tozali* was also an important commodity of trade before the end of the 17th century.

What seem to foster trade relations between the Jukun State of Kwararafa, and later, Wukari and Borno, may be the degree of peaceful political interaction established between them in the 17th and 18th centuries. Wukari and Borno are said to have established diplomatic relations during the reign of Aku-Uka Katakpa, C.1644-1684AD. The Mai of Borno sent to Wukari an official known as the *Zanuwa* to be his permanent representative at the court of the Aku-Uka, the latter on his part also sent an official known as *Ajifi* to act in a similar capacity at the Borno capital. This development brought many Kanuri people to Wukari to settle permanently in Akwana and Arufu areas. Following skirmishes between the Jukun and Tiv in the vicinity of Akwana between 1850 and 1899 the Kanuri migrated to Wukari town. The Jukun gave them their daughters in marriage and the descendants of such marriages are the people that populated Sabon Gari ward in Wukari.

⁸⁵ Interview with Rev. Alex Danjuma age 52 in his house in Wukari on 22/09/2014

⁸⁶ Interview with Dalhatu Abdullahi age 56 in his house in Wukari on 08/07/2014

2.5 The Tiv

The Tiv in Wukari and Donga areas are believed to have originated from somewhere on the Bamenda Plateau in the Cameroun in a place called Swem. According to Makar, the population of the people increased enormously that the area could no longer accommodate them. The area was unsuitable for cultivation and the people required more suitable area for farming to help produce sufficient foodstuff.⁸⁷ It is possible that from the Bamenda Mountains the Tiv lineages spread out, leading to the Shitire, Ugondo, Ukum and Ikurav-Tiev bypassing the Etulo people and crossing the Katsina-Ala River and settled on the northern bank of the river. Here, the Tiv encountered the Jukun and Chamba (known to the Tiv people as Ugenyi). The principal reason for the dispersal of the Tiv from their original habitat on the mountains seems to have been the desire for fresh farmlands, hunting grounds and fish ponds.⁸⁸

The presence of the Tiv started to attract the attention of the Jukun in 1820 A.D during the reign of Aku - Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa Tasefu (1833-1845 A.D). The Tiv were impressed by the religious and magical powers of the Jukun, particularly the rituals surrounding Jukun kingship. So some outstanding individuals among the Tiv came to Wukari to obtain the magical power to rule their people. These individuals were recognized as Tor Agbande (drum chiefs) by the Tiv.⁸⁹

From about the middle of the 19th century, the number of Tiv in Akwana and Arufu greatly increased as they were attracted to the areas by the economic viability of the settlements. The Tiv and the Jukun had become so inter-mixed that when the Reverend Samuel Crowther, while on the Pleiad expedition of 1850, asked Njoro the Tiv Chief of Iwom the boundary between the Tiv

⁸⁷Makar,T, "A History of Political Change Among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria,1975, p.30

⁸⁸Jacobs, C,C "The Genesis of the Tiv-Jukun Hostility in the Benue Valley with Special Reference to the Role of the British Policy from the Time of the Royal Niger Company to the Second World War", p.16

⁸⁹Ibid

country and that of Kororofa (Jukun) he replied by inserting his ten fingers between each other, and that they were thus mixed together as one people⁹⁰. There probably existed a kind of symbiotic relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv in Akwana area west of the present Wukari town. The Jukun were busy with their mining activities (salt and antimony), fishing and craftworks, while the Tiv were active farmers who could provide foodstuffs.

Other accounts of the Tiv claimed that the Tiv were the first inhabitants of Wukari area. They argued that Wukari was corrupted from a Tiv word *Waka*, the name of the Tiv man who first settled there. The veracity of this claim aside, the Tiv were in large numbers in the Wukari area and in the entire Jukun area. The relations of the Jukun and Tiv since their contact had been both harmonious and antagonistic; there were confrontations and aggressions that punctuated the relationship. During the reign of Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu I (1871-1903) the Tiv (Gambe-ya) in Akwana resisted and opposed the Jukun rulership.

According to C.C.Jacobs:

*...the Aku-Uka appointed a Tatsion [tsahon] or a title holder in charge of Akwana to take charge of the Tiv, but they refused to accept his authority or that of his master, the Aku.*⁹¹

This development resulted to a number of conflicts between the Jukun and Tiv in the vicinity of Akwana. Fremantle reported that the Aku-Uka twice invited the Emirs of Muri (Burba 1869-1873) and Mohammed Nya (1874-1896) to contend with the Tiv menace.⁹²

⁹⁰ Hamman, M, "Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Northern Nigeria" in Yakubu, A.M, (eds) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Arewa House Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, 2005, p.451

⁹¹Jacobs, C.C, op. cit

⁹²Fremantle, J.M, op.cit

Despite the un-cooperative and unhealthy nature of the relations between the Jukun and Tiv, there existed appreciable level of harmony. Speaking about the incumbent Aku-Uka's relations with the Tiv, Jibrin Amfani says:

His predecessors had the policy of utilizing the numerical strength of the Tiv as helpers in Jukun farms, in return for parcels of land on lease with which the Tiv cultivated their farms. It was during the period of Aku-Uka Zinkengyu who reigned from (1815-1885) that this symbiotic and open policy started. He was adjudged to be a friendly Aku as he had established cordial relationship with neighbouring tribes, especially the Tiv. They would pay him visits and respect. In appreciation, he gave them parcels of land to farm and settle. His successors also maintained the same cordiality with the Tiv.⁹³

The Tiv migration into Donga area also pre-dated the British occupation of the area. Their stay was ephemeral as they were driven back by the Chamba.⁹⁴ As reported by Gunn M.I, many years later a substantial portion of the Tiv migrated en masse, and returned to the land originally occupied by their fore fathers in Donga.⁹⁵ He further stated that the Tiv of the Shitire and Ugondo clans moved in single households, settled when and where they wished, worked out their farms rotation and move on to other land.⁹⁶

The Tiv moved into our study area in Southern Taraba at will, driven by their desire to occupy uncultivated land. The Tiv occupied uncultivated land and having exhausted them, pushed on yet further into unoccupied areas that lay beyond. The outcome of this expansionist process made the Tiv ethnic group scattered all over Southern Taraba State with resultant political and social complications as it burst out more in ferocity and frequency in the recent years.

⁹³Amfani, J et al, "Scourge of Tiv Infiltration in Taraba State", Vanguard Magazine 23rd November, 2001

⁹⁴Adamu, A, D, *Issues in the Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, Jos, Target Publicity, 2002, p43

⁹⁵ibid

⁹⁶ibid

2.6 The Hausa

The Hausa first settled in Kwararafa as traders, although it is difficult to trace the period this began, however, around the middle of the 17th century, there existed a community of settled Hausa people in Kwararafa. Hausa inhabitants in Kwararafa, and later, Wukari were descendants of these traders and craftsmen who came to settle permanently. The trade in salt and antimony deposited at Akwana and Arufu respectively brought the Hausa people to the Wukari area. The Hausa played vital role in the mining of antimony and this is attested to by the names of the instrument of production used. In digging the pits, an implement called in Hausa *Kota* and *makauchi* were used.⁹⁷ Although from the beginning of the 20th century, many Hausa people from different Hausa states came and settled permanently in our study area.

2.7 The Fulani

The Fulani in our study area were said to come from Muri and first settled in Jibu where they later moved out due to quarrel with the Jenjo people who were the earliest inhabitant of the area, in 1833, the Fulani were driven out of Jibu to establish a new settlement which was later called Bantaje. With this development, many Fulani from Muri and Gassol migrated to Bantaje and from this period a permanent settlement of the Fulani was set up in Wukari area.

2.8 The Chamba

The Chamba, like many other African groups, has traditions of origin and migrations linking them with North Africa. According to information collected in Donga, the name “Chamba” is derived from the word “Sham”. Sham was the name of a place in Syria where the Chamba

⁹⁷Hamman, M, “Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin before the Jihad, 1500-1812”, in History Research at ABU, Zaria, the Post Graduate Seminar Paper, Department of History, Vol 9, 1984/85, p.7

originated.⁹⁸ It is stated that the long distance migration of the Chamba people started from Syria before arriving Lake Chad area around a place called Baga today.⁹⁹

The date of arrival of the Chamba is not known, but from available historical documents at our disposal, they moved into the Upper Benue valley from the Chad Basin in the 18th century.¹⁰⁰ Opinions differ as to the place identified as the first base of the Chamba people. According to Sa'ad Abubakar, Yelli was the first base of the Chamba in the Nigerian area and the Chamba acknowledged the priest at Yelli as the most influential person.¹⁰¹ Mallam Sambo GarbosaII identified Dindi, an area east of the present Yola town as the first base of the Chamba in Nigeria.¹⁰² I was informed by my informants¹⁰³ that the first base of the Chamba as they migrated from the Chad region was Dayela [Yeli]¹⁰⁴. That it was from here that the various Chamba groups dispersed to establish a number of chieftaincies. This oral source was corroborated with written document by Margeret Nissen who wrote:

*All Chamba people claim to have come from Dayela and to have had Chamba Leko as their original language. Today, there are however, two languages spoken in the tribe, Chamba Leko, in the East around Dayela, Chamba Dakka in the central and western part.*¹⁰⁵

It is significant to note, however, that all the sources pointed to the Upper Benue valley as the area inhabited by the Chamba after they left the Chad Basin in the 18th century. The reason why the Chamba abandoned their base at Dayela is also a controversial issue. Sa'ad Abubakar attributed the dispersal to conflict which erupted as a result of succession dispute; the conflict

⁹⁸ Interview with Captain Habu Umar (Rtd) and supported by group of Elders in Donga.

⁹⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰⁰ Abubakar, S. *op.cit*, p.174

¹⁰¹ *ibid*.

¹⁰² GarbosaII, S. *Labarun Chambawa da AL'amuransu*, np, 1932, p 64

¹⁰³ Interview with Capt. Habu Umar (Rtd), Danjuma Gar'uvala and Rev Philimon Garjila Ali, *op cit*

¹⁰⁴ It seems Dayela and Yeli may be the same place but pronounce differently.

¹⁰⁵ Nissen, M, *An African Church is born*, np, Denmark, 1968, p.191

was between two claimants, one claiming succession from the maternal and the other from the paternal side.¹⁰⁶ Sambo Garbosa II, attributed the dispersal to two main reasons; one, the conflict between the Chamba with first the Bata people and second with the Fulani people, two; famine which resulted in food shortage and hunger.¹⁰⁷ My informants maintain that conflict with the Fulani people was the main reason for the dislodgement of the Chamba from their base in the Upper Benue valley.

From the foregoing, succession disputes may have caused the dispersal of the Chamba. This is because they split into groups due to conflict relating to chieftaincy in most of their settlements. In other words, struggles over leadership had been the major trends in the history of the Chamba people in all the places they settled. The Chamba moved in four groups, one group moved east into the Cameroun, second group moved eastward within the Adamawa area, the third group moved south-east to Bamenda region and the fourth group moved south in the northern part of Cameroun, and finally emerged at the south of Benue Province. The Chamba of our study area belong to the fourth group, after wandering in the Cameroun for a while in the second decade of the 19th century they emerged in the Middle Benue region which had been dominated by the Jukun and other ethnic groups.¹⁰⁸

In the Middle Benue region, the Chamba established many settlements and few are chosen for this study, these are Donga, Suntai, Nyakwala and Rafin-kada. Other settlements not included in the study include Pasoki, Tisa, Kungana, Kwassa, and Akate. The choice was base on the proximity of the settlements with Wukari and the degree of relations in these areas between the

¹⁰⁶ Abubakar, S. op.cit, p.174

¹⁰⁷ Sambo, G, op.cit, p.11

¹⁰⁸ ibid

Jukun and Chamba. Therefore, for proper understanding of the extent of inter group relations in these areas, it is important to consider the historical origin of these settlements.

2.9 Donga

The name Donga is derived from the name of the leader that founded the town. The leader of the Chamba people that founded the town was Nubunga Donzomga. Thus, Donzomga was shorten to Donga omitting the 'Zom'.¹⁰⁹ Another version says Donga is derived from Ichen¹¹⁰ word 'Dongara' (meaning good morning). Donga town was founded around 1842 A.D and named in 1845A.D.¹¹¹

The general opinion is that the Chamba of our study area (Donga, Nyakwala, Suntai, Akatai and Rafin-kada) moved first into the Cameroun area and emerged in the Middle Benue region. The clans that were the majority in our area are the Samma, Kwala and Poba. The Chamba of our study area were led into the Middle Benue region by Garduna.¹¹² They camped at few places and came to a river called Logara; here the King was drowned in the process of crossing the river on horseback. Following this incident, the river was called Garzabu (meaning killer of kings), today, Garzabu is the name of the river and the town in Bali Local Government Area of Taraba State.

Garduna was succeded by his eldest son Garkwala who, after a little stay in Garzabu to mourn his father, led the people westward, crossed river Suntai and emerged under a hill which they

¹⁰⁹ Programme for the installation and presentation of Second Class Staff of Office to His Royal Highness, the Gara of Donga, Mallam Danjuma S. Banyonga (JP) Garbosa 111, 1993, p.12

¹¹⁰Ichen one of the Jukuniod group in Donga. Early history indicated that they inhabited the area before the coming of the Chamba,, but then most of them were said to dwelled on the surrounding mountains and probably did not establish a big settlement

¹¹¹ Programme for the official installation and presentation of Second Class Staff of Office, op cit, p 12.

¹¹²This is the view of the Chamba in Nyakwala, Suntai and others in Donga contrary to the view of Garbosa II who says the leader was Loya

named Gankwe or Garkwala.¹¹³ It is stated that the Chamba people met the Jukun in this area on arrival, that they saw one Kuku and his son Agbu on the stream fishing. Kuku and his people welcomed the Chamba people and offered them food items.¹¹⁴ Quarrel developed between Garkwala and Doo Shimbura who held the title Tigye¹¹⁵. Doo Shimbura revolted and became disloyal by constructing a traditional drum and his supporters played it in his house. By allowing the traditional drums to be played in his house was equal to declaring that he was the king. This is so because in the tradition of the people, it is only the king that owns the traditional drum and must not be played elsewhere except by his consent. Garkwala ordered that the drums be destroyed and Shimbura was disgraced publicly, this made the latter and his supporters to leave Gankwe and migrated to Jenuwa a territory inhabited by the Kuteb people near present Takum where he built a walled town. He was then installed the chief of the Chamba community who were of the Samma clan and took the title Garkiye I.

At the foot of Jenuwa hill where Garkiye I Shimbura settled, he embarked on the process of establishing his chiefdom by sacking the Kuteb of Akente, Bika, Likam, Markam and Akyuma clans. As time went on, one of his officials who took the title Gardanpua and his followers took to waylaying the Kuteb women and marrying them by capture, and because Garkiye I Shimbura never supported the predatory activities of Gardanpua against the Kuteb people, the latter revolted. He joined force with Kumboshi, a leader of Chamba of Dakka and attacked Shimbura forcing the latter to abandon his newly established chiefdom at the foot of Jenuwa hill to migrate.

¹¹³ Garkola is the area today called Gankwe, east of the present day Donga town and it is populated by Iche people.

¹¹⁴ Garbosa II, S, *op.cit.* p.64-65

¹¹⁵ Tigye is an official in-charge of fishing ponds and the title is hereditary.

Shimbura and his people moved towards the northwest direction to Arufu area inhabited by the Jukun people. The Jukun resisted his advances and he was forced to move further and settled at Ganako at the bank of river Benue to the south near present Ibi town.

Nubunga Donzomga, son of Garkiye¹ Shimbura, took over the leadership of the people at Ganako because his father was old and weak. At Ganako, Nubunga heard from traders how the Shehu in Sokoto was distributing flags to any man willing to establish a political kingdom. As an ambitious young man, Nubunga obtained permission from his father with the intention of going to Sokoto but ended in Bauchi. He was said to have joined the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim bn Yakubu (1847 - 1879), in one of his wars¹¹⁶. After the war, Nubunga Donzomga is said to have told Emir Ibrahim his intention of seeking the Emir's permission to establish a settlement somewhere. The Emir granted his request which were of military and political significance. According to Mahmoud Hamman, "...the Emir deployed a whole military contingent, under the command of Barde Kenjo of the Jahunawa ward in Bauchi, to the service of Donzomga"¹¹⁷ The Jahunawa in Donga today are the descendant of this group of the warrior that Nubunga brought from Bauchi.

When Nubunga came back from Bauchi, he took his aged father and his followers back to Garkwala (Gankwe) area. Shimbura Garkiye¹ on reaching the bank of river Donga wanted nothing but peace with the other Chamba group. At that time, Gargbanyi 1 Nyonzuma was the leader of the Chamba group and had migrated to found a new settlement called Shonta where he built a walled town close to the present Donga town. Gargbanyi 1 Nyonzuma invited Shimbura to come and join him as all other Chamba people were happy to hear that he has come back. Doo

¹¹⁶Hamman, M, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad 1812 – 1869: The Impact of Establishment of the Emirate of Muri*, Kaduna, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, 2007, p.136. The war was referred to as Tabulla war.

¹¹⁷ibid, p.137

Shimbura was willing to re-unite with his brothers under Gargbanyi 1, but his son (Nubunga Donzomga) refused that he will not greet or bow down to another ruler. For, he said in Chamba language *Donzom ga*(meaning I will not bow down or great anybody).¹¹⁸ Therefore, Nubunga Donzomga on arrival settled outside Gargbanyi walled town.

The two groups lived close to each other. Shortly after Donzomga had settled down, the two groups clashed. The conflict was attributed to shortage of food on the side of Nubunga Donzomga group which forced them to plunder the farms of the Gargbanyi group. When Gargbanyi people complained the followers of Donzomga denied. War broke between the two groups when many of Donzomga followers involved in plundering of the crops of the Gargbanyi's people were killed. In the war that ensued, Nubunga Donzomga a very ambitious young man with zeal to establish a political entity among his people and with military contingent consisted of Jahunawa from Bauchi defeated Gargbanyi 1.

With the exit of Gargbanyi 1 and his followers, Nubunga Donzomga embarked on the task of building the kingdom of Donga. With a strong military under him, Donzomga founded Donga kingdom and brought many communities under his control. Three years after Donga was founded, Doo Shimbura Garkiye I died. He was succeeded by his son Nubunga Donzomga who took the title Garbasa I.

It is not clear whether Nubunga Donzomga's intention of going to Bauchi to collect the jihad flag from the Emir of Bauchi was to establish an emirate to be administered on Islamic injunction. Was it for the fear of the jihadist and to avoid any attack from them that made him associate with them by being a flag bearer? Can we say Donga is a headquarters of an Emirate established by a

¹¹⁸ Interview with Rev. Philimon Garjila Ali, age 65, a Pastor, date 21/07/2014, place in his house GRA extension Wukari

flag bearer during the Jihad? The Chamba of Donga¹¹⁹ said that Donga cannot be said to be an Emirate, however, agreed that its founder collected the jihad flag¹²⁰ which spurred him to carry out the task of establishing his kingdom.

Donga town grew spontaneously and a defensive wall was built round it. The town was populated by many ethnic groups which include the Hwaye, Kuteb, Jukun, Tigong, Wurbo and others were Ankwe, Kpwate, Jidu and Ichen. The city grew so fast that the walls of the town were extended three times¹²¹. The influx of various people into Donga town owing to several reasons made inter-group relations between them and the Chamba people possible. A Jukun man called Adi was made a leader of the Jukun in Donga and he bore a title Galim and one Abu of Abakwariga group was made a leader and bore a title Garlora.¹²² Many Jukun from Bakundi came to settle permanently in Donga.

A very significant aspect of the Chamba was that the various groups lacked cultural homogeneity. This is because the customs of each group had been influenced considerably by those of its immediate neighbours. For example, the Chamba of Donga and Dakka claim to have migrated to Nigeria area at the same time.¹²³ But with the migration of the Chamba of Donga into the Middle Benue region and the establishment of their chieftaincies as earlier mentioned, their political structures reflected that of their neighbours the Jukun. Take the northern Chamba for example; the title of the chief was Gang. In Gurumpawo, the Gang was surrounded by two types of officials- the *Mban* (adviser) and *Kanem* (executives). The *Kaigama* was the head of the

¹¹⁹Group interview with Malam Da'a Tikan and Gamboro Lamiya, age 56 and 59 respectively both are farmers, date 14/02/2014, place Donga

¹²⁰ I was informed that the flag is in the Gara's palace and hosted in the reception room from time to time, and that when the present Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar Sa'ad III visited Donga in July 2010, the flag was conspicuously mounted in the reception room.

¹²¹Garbosa II, S, op.cit, p.26

¹²² ibid.

¹²³ Abubakar, S, *The Lamibe of Fombina, A Political History of Adamawa 1809-1901*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1977, p.8

advisers which comprised the *Gangta* (regent), *Mbanyaso* (in-charge of royal burials) and Priests of most important cults.¹²⁴ *Mbanishem* was the head of the executive which comprised the *Kuni* (judge), *Mbantam* (ushers) and *Mbansoro* (proclaimers).¹²⁵ In the case of Sugu, the officials included the *Mabnku* (elector), *Ganguramen* and *Nyangang* (war leaders), *Gangloma* (regent), *Kamadimen* (collector of tributes) and *Mbangurimen* (youth war leader).

As we have said, the political structures of the Chamba of Donga differs greatly from the Chamba of Dakka whom they claim to have migrated at the same time into Nigeria area. The title of the ruler was “Gara” and the structure of government reflected that of their neighbours the Jukun. The Gara Donga and his advisers were the head of the government at the capital at the same time the outlying villages were directly responsible to the Gara.¹²⁶ The political arrangement of the kingdom was hierarchical. At the top was the Gara who appear to possess unlimited power, the power of life and death and of making war.¹²⁷ But practically his power was limited because it was necessary for him to regard the popular opinions of members of his council.¹²⁸ *Gbana* was the next to Gara. His functions were similar to the Abon Achuwo of the Aku-Uka.¹²⁹ He advised the Gara in all matters of importance and was the direct channel by which the people approach the Gara. All disputes between local groups were jointly settled by the Gara and the *Gbana*. The *Gbana* assumed supreme control in the absence of the Gara and was also the head of one of the wards in the town.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Abubakar, S. op cit.p.175

¹²⁵ ibid

¹²⁶ Meek, C.K, The Northern Tribes...p.334, also see Hamman, M, 2007 p.142

¹²⁷ ibid

¹²⁸ Meek, C.,K,A *Sudanese Kingdom*. Op cit p.338

¹²⁹ Abubakar, S, op.cit. p.175

¹³⁰ Meek, C .K. A *Sudanese Kingdom op. cit* p.335

Other leading official was the *Kpanghati* who was sent by the Gara to settle disputes in the outlying villages if any trouble arouse. Next was the *Kuni* who was also an adviser to the Gara and in-charge of the installation of the new Gara. *Nya* was the commander- in- chief who ensure that the instructions of the Gara's council as regard war operations were handed on to the *Gangum* who was the field commander assisted by the *Galim*. There were also minor officials like Zarma, a military adviser and assistant to *Kpanghati*, *Tigye*, a member of the council of the Gara. A military adviser and an aid to *Nya* bore the title *Fawe*. There was also the *Kuna* who was the supervisor of repairs of the Palace, *Vombiya* was an official in-charge of cultural matters; and the chief drum master was the Gba-Lera.¹³¹ The heir apparent was the *Yerma* or the *Mukodoshi* who was a member of the Samma royal clan.

The disparity in the political structures of the Chamba of Donga and Dakka show the degree of the influence the Jukun had on the socio- political set up of the Chamba. The Chamba's dispersal from their first base in Yelli in the beginning of the 19th century and the establishment of Donga in the middle of the century was too short a period for them to have abandoned their political structures but for the powerful influenced of their neighbours the Jukun. According to Sa'ad Abubakar the religion institutions of the Chamba of Donga were derived from the Jukun.¹³²

An important female official was the *Mbala*, usually the Gara's aunt or sister. She was the queen over the women and her duties were similar to the *Angwu-Tsi* among the Jukun of Wukari. She interceded with the Gara on behalf of those who had incurred his wrath. Simply puts, those who had incurred the wrath of the Gara passed through her to intercede on their behalf. She also

¹³¹ Garbosa M.S op.cit p.35, see ibid,

¹³² Abubakar, S, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Benue Plateau before 1800" op.cit, p 175

played an important role in the female cult of *Vomkima* as she was in-charge and also was the spokesman of Vera rites.¹³³

Donga is divided into four districts and has sixteen villages. Two of the districts and several villages were populated by the Jukun. It became a Local Government Headquarters in 1991. The town is populated by people from all over the country; the provisional result of the 1991 census gave the number 84,626 as the population of the people in Donga Local Government.¹³⁴ Its new status as a Local Government Headquarters opened a new phase in inter-group relations in the area as the various ethnic groups struggle for political elective position at the Local and State levels. Donga had a complete Primary school since 1930 and now has one Science Secondary School own by the State Government and four primary schools.

2.10 Suntai

Suntai was founded by one of the splinter groups of the Chamba that first settled in Garkola (Gankwe) when the group appeared in the Middle Benue region. The history of this group is important to this study because it explains how intra-ethnic feud due to struggle for political leadership caused the dispersal of the Chamba in Gankwe. The quarrel that developed was one of the factors for the establishment of several Chamba chieftaincies in the area which was before regarded as Jukun dominated area.

¹³³ Meek, C. K., *A Sudanese Kingdom*, op. cit p.335

¹³⁴ www.citypopulation.DE, 14/06/2013

Therefore, for proper understanding of inter-group relations in our area of study, the history of the establishment of these settlements is very important. This is because it is in Suntai, Rafinkada and Nyakwala that inter-group relations between the Jukun and Chamba is palpable.

The Chamba of Suntai are of Poba clan who, as mentioned earlier, migrated together with the Kwala and Samman people and finally settled at Gankwe or Garkwala. According to the traditions of the Chamba of Suntai, Poba and Kwala were the two ruling clans in Gankwe¹³⁵. It is related that, Garkwala who succeeded Garduna who was drowned at Garzabu in the process of crossing the river was from Kwala clan. After the death of Garkwala, succession dispute developed when his sister, Ka'a Nade attempted to usurp the throne to her husband. This attempt created feud among the princes and the royalists. Consequent upon this development, people migrated under different groups and different leaders, one group was led by Tinyisa of the Kwala clan and they founded the present Tisa south of the present Donga town. But a greater chunk of the people moved out under the leadership of Nyonzuma of the Poba clan and this group settled in a place called Sontah west of the present Donga town.¹³⁶ Nyonzuma a younger brother of Garkwala was made the king to succeed him and he took the title Gargbanyi 1. The dispersal of Chamba from Gankwe was attributed to the conflict arising from the succession disputes after the death of Garkwala.

Nyonzuma Gargbanyi 1 built a wall around his town. When Doo Shimbura came back after his many years of wandering, Gargbanyi 1 offered him hands of fellowship by asking him to join him in his walled town an invitation which the former accepted but his son (Nubunga Donzomga) who was more ambitious turned down the offer. During this period, Shimbura was

¹³⁵ Interview with Rev Philimon Garjila Ali age 65 in his house in Wukari on 28/07/2014

¹³⁶ Ibid

old and weak so the leadership of his group was under the control of his son. Following the war between Nyonzuma Gargbanyi 1 and Nubunga Donzomga as mentioned above, the former was forced to migrate. He moved towards the Jibu area where he sojourned and he later went further and settled around Wuriyo. But for excessive tax demanded by the Fulani ruler of Wuriyo he left the area and moved and established a settlement by the bank of river Suntai.¹³⁷ According to C.K. Meek, the people left Wuriyo in C.1865 A.D. and the chiefdom of Suntai was established in C.1873 A.D.¹³⁸

Few years after the establishment of Suntai, Nyonzuma Gargbanyi 1 died and Kemiya his sister taking advantage of the fact that all the princes were still young, gave the throne to her husband Wubkwassa to keep in trust. Wubkwassa ascended the throne and took the title Garjisa I. He was succeeded by the son of Gargbanyi 1 named Nuyerga who took the title Garjila I. It was during the reign of Nuyerga Garjila I of Poba clan that colonial rule was established in Suntai. Gradually, Suntai established hegemony over the Ichen and Jukun villages and peoples, so that on the advent of the British the chief of Suntai was confirmed head of the District.¹³⁹ In 1913, Suntai District was put under Donga but still continued to exercise a limited control over its villages. In 1917, Suntai District was finally put under direct control of Donga District¹⁴⁰. This was a severe blow to Suntai and since then has greatly declined in importance, the status it remains to present.

¹³⁷ Interview with Rev. Philimon Garjila Ali, op. cit

¹³⁸ Meek, C.K, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, p.333

¹³⁹ NAK/Mak Prof/An assessment Report of the Donga District of Muri Province, Ibi Division, by R.F.P Orne A.D.O

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

2.11 Nyakwala

The name Nyakwala is a compound word derived from the Chamba words Nya and Kwala. Nya is a title and the name of the eldest son of Garkwala who led the Chamba to Gankwe. Kwala is the ruling clan in the town. Thus, Nyakwala means Nya of Kwala clan. From this, it means the founder of Nyakwala were the Chamba of the Kwala clan who migrated together with the Samma clan of Donga and Poba clan of Suntai to Gankwe. As earlier noted, DooShimbura Garkiye 1 came back to Donga area after many years of wandering and his son Nubunga Donzomga refused to re-join other Chamba people under Gargbanyi 1 on the ground that he had larger follower and established a separate settlement by the bank of river Donga. It was on this note that, Nya the son of Garkwala sensing inherent danger in that pattern of settlement and to avoid war with his fellow Chamba group gathered his supporters mostly of the Kwala clan and migrated northward. The group under Nya finally emerged at a place which was later called Nyakwala. The town was situated near the present Jibu village towards the east. It was popularly called Nyakwala Waya because of the colonial telegraph line from Keffi which crossed the Benue at Chinkai and crossed the river Donga at Nyakwala.¹⁴¹

This group settled and built a wall town under their leader Nya. Nya died and was succeeded by Gar'uvala who was described by the people as a cruel and a despotic ruler. As a result of his maladministration, several people left the town to either Ibi or Rafin-Soja. To put an end to his tyranny he was murdered.¹⁴² Among the princes, Garboa was chosen to succeed Gar'uvala. The circumstances that led to the murder of Gar'uvala created confusion among the people leading to some of his supporters migrating to other places such as Gindin waya, Ibi and Jibu.

¹⁴¹ Fremantle, J.M. op.cit, p.78

¹⁴² Group interview with Irimiya Barau, age 47 a civil servant, Dingan Abba, age 50, a farmer, date 18/04/2013, place Nyakwala

Garboa led his followers and migrated to the area of Bantaje where he sojourned for a while with the permission of the Chief of Bantaje. The group later moved southwards of Bantaje where they founded a walled town. The settlement was popularly called Ado Garboa (Garboa house) after the name of the leader of the group that founded the town. Garkwe succeeded Garboa, during his reign the wall of the town was extended because more people of Ichen ethnic group joined them.

After the death of Garkwe, he was succeeded by Garboshe who was said to rule for many years. Sidi who took the title Garboa II succeeded Garboshe, he was said to have ruled probably from 1947 to 1950. He was dethroned by Ali the ruler of Bantaje for misappropriation of tax proceeds. He was succeeded by Adamu.

In 1962, after the death of Adamu, Alhaji Umaru Sule ascended the throne and took the title Gar'uvala II. During the Tiv riot of 1964, the Tiv mounted series of attacks on the town and burnt it. The people migrated across the river (Donga) to the present settlement, forty three kilometers to Wukari town. There are great number of Jukun related groups in the town, in the main are the Ichen and Bakundi. The town is located beside river Donga just three kilometers to Bantaje town along Wukari—Jalingo road.

2.12 Rafin-Kada

The Chamba chiefdom of Rafin-Kada is located 23 kilometers from Wukari town. According to Garbosa, the town was established by one Galim Gba who migrated from Garkwala (Gankwe), together with Shimbura when the latter quarrel with Nya Garkwala. Galim Gba was of Nupabi clan.¹⁴³ According to Fremantle, Galumbuma of *Dinyi* (Chamba) “tribe” settled in Rafin-Kada

¹⁴³ Garbosa, op. cit, p.60

about 16 miles south of Wukari during the reign of Aku Agbumanu (1848-1866)¹⁴⁴. He was succeeded by his son Gahwan who led his people to stay with Shimbura at Jenuwa near Takum. When Shimbura left Jenuwa and moved northwest, Gahwan led his people North-east and settled near a spring called Usu (Rafin Usu). The Hausa people later named it Rafin-Kada because it was said a crocodile lived in the water. Gahwan later appointed Gaya and Gagea as heads of Gaya and Ason wards in Rafin- Kada.¹⁴⁵

The Chamba of Rafin-kada came into this area in four migratory streams and each with a leader. This made up the separate settlements as the community is known today namely Gaya, Gavyon, Asun and Zungo. When the group first came to this area, the settlements established had considerable distance from the other. In 1957, the Aku-Uka Atoshi summoned the heads of the four communities to Wukari where he advised them to merge together to form a strong community. Following the meeting the groups except Asun where merged together and later called Rafin-kada. With the merger, the former autonomous groups of Gaya, Gavyon and Zungo became wards. As a result of the proximity of the settlement with Wukari, many Jukun and Abakwariga also moved and settled permanently in the area. The Aku-Uka appointed a leader from Wukari to head the Jukun in Rafin-kada in this way Rafin-kada became an area which inter-group relations between the Jukun and Chamba took place over the years.

2.13 Population Distribution

The following table shows the population of the major groups in the area of our study during the 1932 census. Our choice of this census is that it was close to the commencement of our period of study which is 1900.

¹⁴⁴ Fremantle, J.M, op. cit. p.42

¹⁴⁵ Garbosa, op. cit, p.61

SUB-GROUP TOTAL

Abakwariga	1988
Dinyi (Chamba)	3609
Fulani	3125
Hausa	6066
Jafun	267
Jukun	11008
Kentu (Ichen)	6656
Tiv	15256
Wurbo	1355

SOURCE: NAK, SNP 13/14, 1932-33, Wukari Division Annual Report No.4 by Captain H.S. Bredel, D.O. p.58

2.14Jukun- Chamba Relations,C.1860-1900

The Jukun in the pre-colonial period entered into various relationships with their neighbours at different levels. Their religious and cultural influences were wide spread among their neighbours. For example, the symbols of the Jukun god, Aku-maga are seen today among the Kantana, Eggon, Chessu, Yashi Arum and Rindre, (known among them as Mangam), and they are regarded as essential spirits. So also, the origin of the Likia festival among the Eggon and the installation of the Are Eggon and that of the Oriye Rindre had their roots from Jukun of Wukari.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, the religious and kingship institution of Ankwe were said to have

¹⁴⁶ Longkat, J.G, “Peoples of the South Western Foothills of the Jos Plateau and their Neighbours in the 20th Century” in Akinwumi, O, (eds), *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th centuries*, Aboki Publishers, Makurdi, 2006, p.177

originated from the Jukun. In addition, the religious and political institutions of the Kam people who are found north of river Taraba are closely similar with that of the Wukari Jukun.¹⁴⁷

The significance of inter-group relations in the area in the pre-colonial period has promoted not only economic activities, but also it brought about understanding for peaceful co-existence and the appreciation of traditional and cultural values of one another. However, these relations were also occasionally characterized by strife and contention as the Chamba and later the Tiv ethnic groups struggled to have spheres of influence and the Jukun who established Wukari town long before this period had struggled to maintain their independence.

(i) Political Relations

It is important to note that the arrival of Chamba into the Middle Benue region in the 19th century coincided with two historically important events in the political life of the Jukun. First, it was the era of the Jihad which the Jukun contended with in the northern part of the Wukari area. When the Jihad campaigns began, Wukari was targeted from three different directions- Muri, Bauchi and Adamawa (via Gashaka).¹⁴⁸ Secondly, it was the period the Tiv were encroaching into the Jukun territory from its southern border. The presence of the Tiv had been a source of great concern for the Jukun. This was observed by Adamu who quoted Makarthus:

*There were perhaps two areas on the Jukun western frontier where the Tiv expansion was causing great concern to the Jukun rulers. These were the expansions of the people of Gambe-ya (Shitire south) and Gambe-tiev (Shitire north) into the Jukun districts, stretching from Takum to Chanchanji and between Akwana and Arufu...The latter region was of great importance to the Jukun rulers because if the Tiv expansion in the area was not checked, its salt and galena mines at Akwana and Arufu respectively would fall into their hands.*¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Abubakar, S, "Peoples of the Upper Benue and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800" in Obaro, I (ed) *Ground Work of Nigeria History*, Heinemann, 1980, p.173.

¹⁴⁸ Adamu, A, D, *Issues in the Tiv-Jukun Conflict, Land, History, Politics*, Jos, Target Publicity, 2002, p.43-

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Adamu, A,D, *Issues in the Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, op cit, p.16

The Tiv immigrants swarmed into Jukun territory, and virgin land was occupied by the Tiv. When they first came, some Tiv elders recognized the authority of the Aku-Uka and gave him his due respect as the overlord. Through such respect to the authority of the Aku-Uka, they were given Jukun titles such as *Apa ba ku* (meaning Aku's loyalist) and the Jukun gave them lands to farm, although it was made clear to them that the lands in their possession belonged to the Jukun. For Jibrin Amfani affirmed that the Aku-Ukas had the policy of utilizing the numerical strength of the Tiv as helpers in Jukun farms, in return for parcels of land on lease with which the Tiv cultivated their farms. During the reign of Aku-Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa Tasefu (1833-1845) that the symbiotic and the open policy started, the Tiv would pay him visits and respect and in appreciation; he gave them parcels of land to farm and settled.¹⁵⁰

Later, the Tiv began to acquire and occupy Jukun lands without the consent of the Aku-Uka. This attitude made the relations between them and the Jukun sour¹⁵¹. When the Tiv were in the process of occupying the Katsina-Ala area, the Jukun leadership considered it as an affront to its suzerainty. Because the Jukun were grappling with the threats from their eastern frontiers, the menace of the Jihadists, they did little to check the colonization bid of the Tiv. Instead, the Jukun opted unwittingly or naively for diplomatic option in handling the issues. They therefore accepted the Tiv with open-arms; however, conflict later erupted between the Jukun and Tiv. The conflict resulted when Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu 1 appointed a "Tsason" (title holder) in charge of Akwana to take charge of the Tiv, but they refused to accept his authority.¹⁵² The Tiv attitudes towards land acquisition brought them to the area under the Jukun's control. For they moved in single households, settled when and where they wish, worked out their farms in rotation

¹⁵⁰ Amfani, J, et al "Scourge of Tiv infiltration in Taraba State" Vanguard Magazine, 23rd November, 2001

¹⁵¹ Interview with Jibrin Amfani age 79 in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

¹⁵² Jacobs, C.C, The Genesis of the Tiv-Jukun Hostility in Benue Valley... op . cit p.26

and moved on to other land. It is not clear why they refused to submit to the authority and control of the Aku-Uka. This is probably due to their nature as people without centralized authority therefore were not comfortable with the direct political control over them.

The refusal of the Tiv to politically intergrate with their host (Jukun) resulted to war with serious implications on inter-group relations in the area. According to Jacob, that the Aku appointed a title holder to take charge of the Tiv in Akwana area, but they refused to accept his authority and that of the Aku.¹⁵³ Fremantle reported that twice, the Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu invited the Emirs of Muri, Burba (1869-1873) and Muhammadu Nya (1874-1896), to contend with the menace of the Tiv.¹⁵⁴ The series of conflicts between the Jukun and Tiv notwithstanding, the Tiv continued to advance in great number into Wukari area. Thus, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Tiv had occupied the Katsina-Ala area making it a pathway to occupying the heartland of the Jukun territory. By the close of the century, they had steadily encroached on the Jukun territory and indeed penetrated within twenty miles of Wukari, the Jukun administrative headquarters. By this time, the Jukun leadership viewed the Tiv expansion as dangerous to their survival. It, therefore, decided to take a radical step to checkmate the Tiv incursion into their land.

This period was indeed, to the Jukun of Wukari, no doubt a hard time. On the one hand, they found themselves contending with the Jihadists and on the other hand struggling hard to defend their territory against Tiv hoaxers and also the influx of the Chamba. These developments greatly affected the nature of the inter-group relations in the area. According to Temple, a considerable number of the Dinyi (Chamba) in about 1832 migrated from Tibati to escape the increasing

¹⁵³ Jacob, C.C, *The Genesis of the Tiv-Jukun Hostility in Benue valley*,... op. cit p.16

¹⁵⁴ Fremantle, J.M, op. cit

pressure of the Fulani. They came first to the neighborhood of Wukari, where some of them settled under the Jukun, others trekked to Takum district but a majority joined the main body at Donga.

According to an official colonial source,

*...in those days, it is said, people lived in a state of peace, and it was not necessary to carry arms. It was only with the advent of the Chamba that war and slavery were introduced.*¹⁵⁵

The above quotation encapsulates the scenario in the Middle Benue region with the influx of the Chamba people. It should be noted that Takum and its environs were more seriously affected by the warring bands of the Chamba than the Wukari area. For, according to Sambo Garbosa 11, in 1830, the first chief of Chamba in Takum started fighting the Kuteb at Lissam and from there he invaded Bika. This was followed by Lumbu, Kpambo, Kpambai and Jenuwa Gida. After he had conquered them, he went to Lupwe and lived there where he died in 1848 A. D.¹⁵⁶

In the Wukari area, the advance of the Chamba was palpable during the reign of Aku-Uka Agbumanu Agbu (1845-1860), the successor of Aku-Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa Tasefu who during his reign was attacked by the Chamba and fled to Use and on his return to Wukari he managed to establish a modus Vivendi with the Chamba.¹⁵⁷ Aku Uka Agbumanu Agbu had some difficulties in stemming the further advance of the various groups of Chamba into the Wukari area. The Chamba carried out periodic raids in the villages surrounding Wukari and one group finally established a settlement close to Wukari which they named Rafin Usu, and later renamed Rafin-Kada, by the Hausa immigrants that joined them.

¹⁵⁵ NAK.SN17/3/24678, Donga District, Wukari Division, Benue Province Intelligence Report by Mr.K. Dewar (1935-1937), p.9

¹⁵⁶ Garbosa, S.M, op.cit, p.45 also Fremantle J,M, op. cit, p 45

¹⁵⁷ Meek, C.K. op. cit, p.55

The Chamba raided Wukari but were repelled. It is said that on returning to Takum after the unsuccessful raid on Wukari, their town was attacked by lions. This incidence was interpreted by the Chamba as a punishment for their attack on Wukari. To be free from this plague, the Chamba apologized to the Aku-Uka who performed some rituals before they were freed.¹⁵⁸ Another version said many of the Chamba took ill and died on their way back after the raid on Wukari, while others were killed by lions and leopards. So, for this reason, they were determined to live on friendly terms with the Jukun of Wukari.¹⁵⁹

The Chamba under Doo Shimbura Garkeyi¹ raided Jukun area around Fyayi, located on the road to Akwana from Wukari. The Chamba defeated the Jukun under Abo Ziken.¹⁶⁰ Doo Shimbura was in turn defeated and drove out of Fyayi by more gallant forces of the Jukun under Abon Achuwo.¹⁶¹ After the defeat he suffered from the hands of the Jukun, Doo Shimbura moved to Ganako near Ibi where he settled for a few years and returned to meet his brothers at Gankwe and finally established Donga town along the bank of the river.

It is interesting to note that shortly after the establishment of Donga, the belligerent relations between the Jukun and Chamba changed to a symbiotic one. The two ethnic groups found the need to form alliance towards achieving their desired goals and aspirations of subduing their enemy and to defend their land from intruders. For example, during the reign of Aku-Uka Jibo Ashumanu¹¹ (1860-1871), the Jukun and Chamba formed an alliance against their common enemy and in 1871, Aku-Uka Jibo Ashumanu I¹ was upset by the constant raids made on Wukari walls by the villages of Jibu and Bantaji requested the assistance of the chief of Donga in

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.* p.57

¹⁵⁹ Fremantle, J. M. *op .cit.* p.42

¹⁶⁰ Meek, C.K, *op cit*, p.57

¹⁶¹ *ibid*

making a combined attack on them.¹⁶² Another version put forth by Sambo Garbosa II is that, Aku-Uka Ashumanu¹¹ of Wukari actually requested the assistance of Nubunga Donzomga of Donga to deal with Jibu for its constant raids on Wukari walls. Nubunga on the other hand had a grudge with his Chamba brother Nya the head of the Chamba group of Nyakwala who refused to send the latter's wife who had ran to Nyakwala back to Donga and since Nyakwala was along the road to Jibu, Nubunga Donzomga thought that the Wukari and Donga allied forces would crush it before proceeding to Jibu.¹⁶³ The Jukun and Chamba forces followed Jibu road until they encamped in front of Nyakwala. At this time, one Bayero bn Caliph Abubakar Atiku of Sokoto, a slave marauder was in Jibu. Thus, Jibu and Nyakwala sought an alliance with him, the fact of which the allied Wukari and Donga forces were ignorant. Bayero and his new found allies made a sudden attack on the rear of the Jukun and Chamba forces and the latter were disastrously defeated and many were drowned¹⁶⁴ in a pond located towards the west of Nyakwala. The chief of Donga managed to escape but his ally Aku-Uka Jibo Ashumanu¹¹ was drowned.¹⁶⁵ It is important to state here that the defeat the Jukun and Chamba suffered at Nyakwala may be explained by the unexpected re-enforcement of Jibu and Nyakwala by Bayero. Also, the death of Ashumanu¹¹ and several other soldiers rendered Wukari town porous, hence the subsequent ravages on it by Bayero.

The death of Aku-Uka Ashumanu¹¹ and several number of Jukun warriors in a disastrous manner greatly affected the Jukun in no small measure. This, coupled with the state of disarray in which the allied forces of the Jukun and Chamba left the battle field, made it difficult for them to re-group and defend the territory. To worsen the situation, the Jukun could not appoint a

¹⁶² Meek, C.K. op. cit, p.58

¹⁶³ Garbosa, S. M, op.cit, p.73

¹⁶⁴ ibid.

¹⁶⁵ ibid, also see Fremantle, J. M, op. cit, p.43 and also Hamman, M, The Middle Benue Region... op cit, p.328.

new ruler which left their state on the verge of collapse. Jukun informants¹⁶⁶ at Wukari said that a new Aku-Uka could not be appointed because the symbol or the insignia of power called *taba*¹⁶⁷ was locked in the hair of the late Aku-Uka Jibo Ashumanu 11 and without which a new ruler would not be installed. It was one of the princes named Abite who bravely went to Jibu and brought it back and for that reason was appointed the new Aku-Uka. For the King makers had declared that any prince that was able to bring it back will be installed the new Aku-Uka. It is related that, at Nyakwala, Abite gave Nya the leader of the Chamba a gift of salt and both swore an oath and agreed not to betray each other.¹⁶⁸

When Abite was installed as an Aku-Uka, he took the title Awudumanu 1. The devastating effect of this episode compelled him after his installation as the Aku-Uka to forge a closer link with the Emirate of Muri, particularly in the military field, in order to guarantee the security of Wukari.¹⁶⁹ Meek reported that, soon after his installation, Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu 1 (1871-1903) sent large gifts to Burba, the Emir of Muri, in order that the latter might restrain the people of Jibu and Bantaji from continuing their attacks on Wukari. In this, he was successful, for an alliance was established between Wukari, Jibu and Bantaji and the Aku-Uka gave two of his daughters in marriage to the chiefs of the latter towns.¹⁷⁰

When the incursion of Tiv into Jukun territory became a source of anxiety to the Jukun and to curb the expansion of the Tiv into Jukun territory, Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu 1 sent to Burba of Muri Emirate for assistance. The Jukun rulers and the Emirs of Muri entered into permanent

¹⁶⁶ Mr. Jibrin Amfani and Mr. Edward Ajibauka Adi

¹⁶⁷ *Taba* is Hausa word for it, my informants could not remember the Jukun word for it

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Captain Habu Umar (Rtd)

¹⁶⁹ Makar, T, "A History of Political Change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1975, p.193

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*, p.59

friendship and established themselves as allies.¹⁷¹ Burba agreed to come to Awudumanu's aid and in turn invited the chiefs of Donga, Suntai, Bantaje, Bali and Jibu and all met at Bantaje. This might have been in the 1880s, Hamman suggested.¹⁷²

The allies set out from here and joined Awudumanu somewhere in Tiv territory. Although it is said that no fight had taken place between the Wukari's allies and the Tiv on this occasion, these new allies provided Wukari with some guarantees for her security in the face of hostility. With this friendly background, the Jukun had found a formidable force to deal with the insurgencies of Dankaro in Jukun territory. It should be noted that Dankaro was first invited by Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu who gave him command of his forces and led expeditions against the Tiv. He later became a thorn to both the Jukun and the Tiv.¹⁷³ Dankaro soon became intolerable to the whole people of the Middle Benue region. He carved out part of Jukun territory (Akwana) as his, and refused to have any dealings with the Aku-Uka. To put an end to his notoriety, from time to time, an alliance of Wukari, Donga, Suntai, Jibu, Bantaji, Bakundi and Muri were formed against him. He surrendered to Wukari at Arufu after months of siege but escaped.¹⁷⁴ Awudumanu later appealed to the Royal Niger Company for help and they attacked Dankaro and destroyed his camp and the people eventually freed by his death in 1899.¹⁷⁵

The *modus vivendi* established between Aku- Uka Zikengyu Tsokwa (1833-1845) with the Chamba after the unsuccessful raid on Wukari made them (Chamba) not to attack Wukari again. It is therefore correct to suggest that the arrangement between the Jukun and Chamba to live together peacefully was made shortly after Donga was established. For, according to the

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Hamman, M, Thesis, op. cit , p.400

¹⁷³ Meek, C.K, op cit, p.59 also see Fremantle, J.M, op cit, p.43.

¹⁷⁴ Fremantle, op. cit, p .43

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, see Meek, op cit, p.60

traditions of the Chamba of Donga, the town was established around 1842 and its name was given in 1845.¹⁷⁶ It is our submission that it was for this reason that, Nubunga Dozomga directed his attack in 1854 against Jibu whom he considered a threat to his newly founded kingdom, while Wukari which was closer to Donga than Jibu was not seen to be a threat.

Nubunga Donzomga also attacked Bantaji during the reign of Aliyu in 1863. During this war, Bantaji was sacked and destroyed. Its chief, Aliyu, fled and two of his sons were captured and taken to Donga. The cause of the war was said to be a quarrel between Aliyu the successor of Bakari, the chief of Bantaji and Nyonzuma Gargbanyi¹ the chief of Suntai. The actions of Aliyu infuriated Nubunga Donzomga who decided to attack him in support of his kinsman, Gargbanyi¹ of Suntai.¹⁷⁷

(ii) Cultural Relations

The Jukun and Chamba freely intermarried. Nubunga Donzomga the founder of Donga married a Jukun woman and one of the offsprings of the marriage was Wanga Garkiye II, the fifth Gara of Donga. The marriage between the Jukun and Chamba was smoothly and easily conducted because their marriage customs had striking similarities. Some social taboos were observed by both the Jukun and Chamba. For instance, among the Jukun speaking people of Donga, just like in Wukari, it was a taboo for a man to eat in front of a woman under menstruation and she was not allowed to cook for him during this period. Therefore, among the Chamba of Donga the observance of this taboo was given a nod. The similarities in the cultural traits between the Jukun and the Chamba made social relations easy thereby making cultural fusion possible. The Chamba

¹⁷⁶ Programme for the Official installation and presentation of Second class staff of Office to the Royal Highness the Gara of Donga, Mallam Danjuma S. Banyonga (JP) Garbosa III, 1993, p.12

¹⁷⁷ Garbosa, M.S, op cit, p.69

dress in a big flowing gown fitted with a cap and a walking stick. The Jukun use *adire* tied round their waist beneath the navel and in some cases the Chamba use Jukun attire and vice versa.

The Chamba, having subjugated the Jukun people they met around Gankwe on their arrival at the Middle Benue region, made the people subservient to them. The Chamba dominated the Jukun and considered them inferior. It was their domineering tendency and to conceal some of their secrets that made the Chamba to lose their language. They kept their language secret so that non Chamba would not know their plans and secrets. So, for this reason, the Chamba language was only spoken when a Jukun man was not present. Whenever a Jukun man was around, they refrained from speaking the language, instead they used Jukun language. Even in Chamba's compounds in the presence of a Jukun man they communicated in Jukun language with their children. According to my informants¹⁷⁸ in Donga, this was done to deprive the Jukun knowledge of their secrets. In this way, the Chamba language was spoken in seclusion while Jukun language was openly used. It was in this manner that as the years passed the Chamba language was forgotten for Jukun language. On his part, Sambo Garbosa¹ postulates that the Chamba for easy administration of the Jukun under their dominations learned the Jukun language, thereby losing the Chamba language. He compares this to what happened in the Hausaland where the Fulani rulers generally speak Hausa language.

A cursory look at the Jukun spoken in Donga shows that it has been mixed with Chamba words which in our context attests to the level of relations between the two ethnic groups over the years. For instance, words such as *mbala* (paternal aunt), *niya* (paternal uncle), *kera* (fool) and many others are Chamba words fused into the Jukun language now spoken in Donga. It was for this reason that Donga Jukun was classified as one of the six dialects of the Jukun language.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Capt. Habu Umar (Rtd), age 50, a retired Army Officer, place Wukari, date 08/10/2013

Others are Wukari, Kona, Gwana/Pindiga, Jibu and Wase-Tofa.¹⁷⁹ It could be appropriate to hazard the guess that the remarkable differentiating features between the dialect spoken at Wukari and the one at Donga which is characterized by the use of prefix “a” by the former and the suffix “na” by the latter attest to the use of Chamba words. More so, the Donga form of Jukun dialect was widely spoken in all the Chamba populated towns such as Donga, Takum, Tisa, Rafin-Kada, Nyakwala, Suntai, Chanchanji, Akate and others.

Comparison of Wukari and Donga Jukun Dialects

English	Wukari	Donga
Head	a-chi	shi-na
Leg	a-be	ba-ra
Man		a-pa pe-re
Salta-ma	ma-na	
War	a-ke	ka-na
Pot	a-pe	pa-ra
Water	a-jape	zape ¹⁸⁰
Come	bi	bi
See	mbya	mmi
You	awu	awu
Iami	am	

The Chamba are endowed with rich culture and in spite of their prolong contact with the Jukun which resulted in cultural fusion and abandonment of their language, they still preserve some important aspects of their culture with slight modification. Among the cultural elements of the Chamba that were preserved are their pattern of dance and traditional attires. Indeed, the Chamba

¹⁷⁹ Meek, C.K., The Sudanese Kingdom, op. cit, p.1

¹⁸⁰ ibid, p.2

dance was a strong factor in the relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples. The instruments used were *Lera* (flute) of different sizes and drums. In Donga, Nyakwala, Rafin-Kada and Suntai, it was a dance for all, both the Chamba and Jukun. The songs were in Chamba, Jukun and Hausa languages; hence, it was a binding force that brought the people together. The dancers form three circles, the flutters (*lera men*) form a separate line, in the middle another circle of women and the men form the last circle. The body movements were done simultaneously.

A typical Chamba greeting is to clap the hands and only the older persons can respond in words. Much respect is given to paternal aunts (*mbala*). She is said to have the power to bless and curse, and give names to the new born babies¹⁸¹. The cordiality that existed between the Jukun and Chamba resulted in the Jukun bearing Chamba names and vice versa. It is said that it was a common practice if a Jukun man had a Chamba friend, the latter would give name to the former's child as a mark of friendship. This was commonly practiced as there was no objection to it by either the Jukun or the Chamba.

With regards to religious relations, Sa'ad Abubakar stresses that the traditional religious institutions of the Chamba of Donga were derived from the Jukun. The Chamba cult- the *Voma* responsible for rain making corresponded with the Jukun's *Buor*, while the *Mwa-lebsa* in Donga was equivalent to the Wukari's *Achu-nyade*¹⁸² (thunder). *Achu-nyade* was used by the Jukun in the same way as the cult of *Sango* by Yoruba. *Achu-nyade* was a lightning cult used as part of legal machinery in which the house of a guilty man is struck by lightning.¹⁸³ On the

¹⁸¹ Interview with Danjuma Garuvala a Civil Servant, age 47, in his house in Nyakwala on 20/5/2014

¹⁸² Abubakar, S, *People of the Upper Benue*, op . cit, p.175

¹⁸³ Meek, C K, op cit. p.286

strength of the foregoing, it is safe to say that the Jukun and Chamba became mutually locked by means of religion.

The cult of *Yaku* was controlled by the Aku-Uka. Those who were devoted to the cult were women, capable of falling into convulsed state indicative of possession by the god or the spirit (Bori in Hausa language). A woman chosen to be *Yaku* was one who displayed outstanding and uncontrollable signs of possession by a god or spirit. Hence, she was installed in the shrine of *Yaku* and became a medium of the god and the declarer of oracle to men. The Jukun speaking group in Donga also observed this cult. It was patronized by both the Jukun and Chamba. A *Yaku* of Donga was said to be nominally married to the chief of Donga.¹⁸⁴ This attested to the fact that Jukun and Chamba were religiously linked.

(iii) Economic Relations

The brief sojourn which the Chamba had in Arufu near Akwana (a salt producing area) in Jukun area acquainted the former with the trade in salt. As a result, when Donga was established, the Chamba obtained salt from the Jukun which they in turn sold to their neighbours, especially those under their influence living in the foot hills¹⁸⁵. Undoubtedly, the activities of the Royal Niger Company which established a trading post in Donga in 1885 change the Jukun –Chamba trade relations as we will see in the next chapter.

2.15 Conclusion

It has been noted that the Jukun and Chamba had separate migratory streams, which is to say that the two groups had different traditions of migration. As was revealed in the course of the

¹⁸⁴ Meek, C. K. op cit, p.280

¹⁸⁵ Garbosa, S. M, op cit, p.95

discussion in this chapter, their migrations brought them together thereby leading to relations between them. This was attested by the fact that the political structures of the Chamba of Donga differs greatly from that of the northern Chamba and this was attributed to the modifications experienced by the former group of the Chamba through their contact with their immediate dominant neighbours the Jukun. Therefore, the socio-political structures of the Chamba of Donga suggest their strong relations with their neighbours the Jukun. It was also shown that the initial contacts between the two groups were characterized by conflicts which resulted in wars. The period of antagonism and belligerent relations was replaced by mutual trust and peaceful co-existence whereby the Jukun and Chamba went into alliance against a common enemy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BRITISH,JUKUN- CHAMBA RELATIONS, 1900- 1960

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discussed the establishment of colonial rule in the area of our study and the impact of the rule on the relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples, even though colonialism can be seen more as a political and economic phenomena, a critical look at it reveals that it left behind it a development which had serious implication on inter-group relations in Nigeria.

The chapter also captured the changing nature of colonial administrative system, the transfer of Divisional Headquarters from Ibi to Wukari and several re- structuring and re-positioning of the colonial administrative system and its effects on the Jukun and Chamba relations.The chapter also discusses the colonial trading activities and its effects on the relations between the Jukun and Chamba. It as well examined the emergence of two communities as a result of the colonial trading activities and the inter-group relations that ensued.

In this chapter, the advent of Christian missionaries in our area of study was also examined and the reason advanced for the choice of the area explained to the people. It traced the origin of the missionary body that worked in Wukari and Donga areas and showed how their advent opened another phase of relations between the Jukun and Chamba peoples.

3.1 British Colonisation

Wukari Division was made up of three Districts, namely Wukari, Takum and Donga. It is important to recall that the Europeans came into contact with the coastal areas of what later became Nigeria before the 19th century. Even in the northern part of the Nigerian area, European contact with the people of the area dated back to the early European explorations on the Sahara Desert in the 18th century. It was not until the mid- 19th century that the British in particular became interested in the interior of the area later known as Nigeria. This interest was developed because of the works of the early European explorers of the Niger and the Benue Rivers. Since Mungo Park sighted the Niger in 1796 the British, who pioneered the European exploration of the Niger and the Benue Rivers, had persisted in the quest to finding more and more about the geography, the resources and the inhabitants of the region. Initially, the Europeans focused their attention on knowing the course of river Niger, later the existence of the Benue as a major tributary of the former river drew their attention. It was for this reason and in order to ascertain whether this river (the Benue) was the same as the “Chadda” penetrated by Laird and Oldfield in 1830, 1832 and 1833 that the British administration decided to organize the Baikie expedition of 1854 to the Benue.

Another expedition to the Benue was the Henry Venn expedition of 1879 which was sponsored by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) and the members of the expedition include J.H Ashcroft the agent of C.M.S in the Niger and Von Eduard Flegel who served as the Secretary and the Accountant.¹⁸⁶ The members of this expedition, apart from visiting all those areas covered by Baikie and his company also went over land to Arufu, Akwana and Wukari and other neighbouring villages within our area of study.

¹⁸⁶ Hamman, M, *The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad* op. cit, p. 43

The reports of these expeditions provided the Europeans with the kind of information they needed for the penetration and the exploitation of the interior of the territory. The navigability of river Benue and its potential as a commercial route into the interior of the region that had been proven rich in material resources had been established. It was the expedition of the Benue that brought the British into contact with peoples of our area of study. At the fore front was the British trading company called African National Company which later became known as Royal Niger Company. The Company made territorial claim through treaties allegedly concluded with emirs, chiefs and communities leaders.

It was through this medium of treaty that in 1885, Bula the Chief of Ibi was compelled by the National African Company to sign a treaty surrendering his lands.¹⁸⁷ Ibi was made the headquarters of the company's Benue territory. With the administration centre at Ibi, various minor stations on the river were established within the same year extending to Donga, Bakundi, and Katsina-Ala and far up to Garua. The Chamba chieftaincy of Donga was brought under the control of the Royal Niger Company via a treaty signed between Gara (Chief) of Donga Bileya Gargbanyi and the Royal Niger Company representative Mr. D. McIntosh who signed as British Vice Consul while Mr. Wallace signed as witness.¹⁸⁸

Attempts to occupy Suntai were met with resistance from the people. The town was besieged for three Months but to no avail, the Chief Gargbanyi of Porba clan refused to surrender. The Royal Niger Company resorted to diplomatic means, having failed to capture the town by force. The

¹⁸⁷ Fremantle, J.M, op.cit, see also Abubakar, S "Northern Province under Colonial Rule, 1900-1960, in Ikime, O, (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, op.cit p.449.

¹⁸⁸ Fremantle, F, M, *Gazetteer of Muri Province up to December 1919*, op. cit, p.47

Chief of Suntai was offered a sword of honour for his ability to defend his territory. In this way, the King accepted the British “friendship” and Suntai felled to the British.¹⁸⁹

It should be noted that by the terms of the treaty granted the Royal Niger Company, it set up administration over the lands to which it laid claim which were located along the river bank. Initially, it did not bother extending effective control to the hinterland apart from the areas where trade dictated it or there were threats from other European nations. By 1899, the British government showed great interest in direct administration of Northern protectorate. This was consequent upon the threat by the French companies in the area. For the British to effectively control the protectorate, the Royal Niger Company had to hand off the administration of the area completely. To this end, the Charter of the company was revoked followed by the British declaration of the Proclamation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, via the Northern Nigeria Order in Council 1899. This provided for the office of the High Commissioner, empowering him to legislate by proclamation. The order took effect from January 1, 1900.¹⁹⁰ Sir Frederick Lugard was appointed the High Commissioner of Northern Protectorate. He set the administrative machinery in motion by organizing the region into nine political provinces and putting Residents in charge of each Province. By 1903, the greater part of Northern protectorate had been brought under submission to the British.

In the case of the Jukun and the whole of the former Wukari Division, with the exception of Suntai chieftdom, there was no open opposition to the British occupation. The area was slowly brought under the control of British colonialism. Many factors were responsible for the

¹⁸⁹Ibid

¹⁹⁰Hassan, E, L, “Kuteb, Kpanzun and Chamba Peoples ... op cit, p.42

submission of the Jukun of Wukari and Chamba of Donga to British domination without open confrontation.¹⁹¹

It should be noted that the advent of the British domination in the former Wukari Division coincided with the most trying period in the life of the people of the area. First, it was the period that Muri Emirate through Jibu carried out raids on Wukari and the State under Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu (1871-1903) was said to be sending tributes to Burba, the Emir of Muri. Secondly, there was the encroachment of the Tiv into Jukun territory which was worsening by the activities of insurgents like Dankaro and Bayero, causing havoc among the Jukun. Dankaro continued to fight the Jukun in Fyayi, Kente, Akwana and Arufu for many months. He became a thorn in the flesh of the Jukun as he allied with the Bantaji and sometimes with the Tiv to fight the Jukun.¹⁹² It was about this time that the Royal Niger Company came to Ibi. Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu 1 went to Ibi to ask the Company's assistance against Dankaro. It is reported that, Hewby the Company's representative at Ibi led the Company's constabulary to Kente where Dankaro made camp¹⁹³. In the battle that ensued, Dankaro was defeated and his camp destroyed

Even after the death of Dankaro, Keates reported:

*The Munchi [Tiv] gave much trouble near Akwana by continuing highway robbery, Sarikin Wukari [Aku-Uka] complained to the European at Ibi who took his troops and after some trouble quieted things down.*¹⁹⁴

It was against this background that the Jukun and Chamba saw the advent of the British with their acclaimed "protection" as a welcome development. At least they found an ally in the Royal Niger Company Constabulary to fight their enemies. This was attested to by the appeal for help

¹⁹¹Interview with Jibrin Amfani op cit

¹⁹²NAK/Mak Prof/ Jukun History and Custom 1926-50, by Edward H. O Keates, A.D.O

¹⁹³ ibid

¹⁹⁴ ibid

made by Aku-Uka Jibo Ashumanu (1860-1871) and later Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu¹ (1871-1903) to the Royal Niger Company to checkmate the Tiv incursion into their land and to curtail the menace of Dankaro in their area.¹⁹⁵ The Aku-Ukas entered into “treaties of protection” with the Royal Niger Company, and gave the Company the exclusive rights of trade within their domains as well as control over foreign traders. In return for the Jukun and Chamba submission, the Royal Niger Company in 1895 declared all territories west of the river Donga free from the authority of Muri Emirate.¹⁹⁶ By this declaration, Wukari and Donga were, therefore, free from the authority of Muri. So the political situation of the Jukun and Chamba was the reason why they did not resist the advent of colonial domination of their land. Even after the death of Abite Awudumanu, who first extended hands of friendship to the British colonialist, his successor, Agbumanu 11 whose reign began in 1903, went to Ibi to salute the European there who was Captain Buxton.¹⁹⁷

The question is: was the arrival of the British then really a blessing to the Jukun as Meek asserts? For, according to Meek, “It was in a large measure due to the Royal Niger Company that Wukari continued to exist at all. For it was owing to the Company that the domination of the Fulani never reached its climax in the complete overthrow of the Jukun capital”.¹⁹⁸ Could the Jukun have survived as polities from the threat of Muri? Could they have halted the expansion of the Tiv? Could they have been able to check the notoriety of the marauder- Dankaro? The answers to these questions are to us in the realm of possibilities. The area before the end of the first decade of the 20th century was fully under British administration. It so happened that four months after the Proclamation of Northern Protectorate in 1900 and the inception of Lugard’s administration

¹⁹⁵ Meek, C.K, *The Sudanese Kingdom*, op.cit, p.60

¹⁹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁹⁷ NAK/Mak Prof/ Jukun History and Custom 1926-50, by Edward H. O Keates, A.D.O

¹⁹⁸ *ibid*

in Northern Protectorate, the Resident in-charge of the Muri Province, W.P. Hewby, came to Wukari to establish a judicial system on statutory basis titled: “Native Court Warrant”. The Muri Province comprised of Muri, Wukari, Takum, Donga, Ibi, and all independent Tiv Districts. The Native Court Warrant stated as follows:

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

President: the present chief Agudu Mallam [Awudumanu]

Judge, the Kinda Ajo [Kinda Achuwu]

Judge, Abu dan Ashu mallam [Agbu Ashumanu]

Judge, Alkali Sualu [Salau]

Judge, Audu dan Zenua

Scribe, Mallam Diko

Given under my hand at Wukari this fifth day of April. 1900.

(Sign) W.P. Hewby, Resident¹⁹⁹

What is germane in the above quotation is the relations of law established by the British for the Jukun and Chamba and other ethnic groups in the area. The native judiciary established in Wukari was to hear and decide civil and criminal cases for the Jukun and Chamba and other ethnic groups within Wukari territory. By this arrangement, the Chamba chieftancies of Nyakwala and Rafin- kada had their cases adjudicated at Wukari in the British Native Court headed by Aku-Uka and some of his officials. In this way these Chamba chieftaincies lost their independence and were brought under the authority of the Aku of Wukari.

¹⁹⁹ Keay, E.A and Richardson, S.S, Law in Africa No.18, The Native and Customary Courts of Nigeria, London University Press, nd, in Adamu, D, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, Taeget Publicity, Jos, 2002, p.25.

Commenting on colonial rule in Africa, Afigbo stated that:

*--- Colonial rule in Nigeria had important implications for inter-group relations.... It meant among other things that people had to take into account ideas, interest and institutions arising not only from their indigenous experiences and sanctioned by their traditions and usages, but also others introduced and imposed by new rulers---. By and large each community brought under effective control by the British learnt that it had lost the initiative to determine whether its relations with its neighbours were going to be peaceful or war like.*²⁰⁰

The present writer substantially agrees with Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh who states that, the actual consequences of colonialism on the dynamics of inter-group relations in Africa did not capture the imaginations of scholars until perhaps recently. Most scholars had hitherto focused on political and economic consequences of colonialism. He further stated that for an objective understanding of the contemporary structure and pattern of inter-group relations in conglomerate society such as Nigeria, an appraisal of the place of colonialism in moulding of this process is necessarily important.²⁰¹

Even though colonialism can be seen more as a political and economic phenomena, a critical look at it reveals that it left behind it a development which had serious implications on inter-group relations in Nigeria. Therefore, one should also subscribe to Basil Davidson's statement on colonialism thus:

*That was how colonialism worked; it played one group of "tribe" against the other. Colonized people often found themselves organized against one another and therefore discouraged from jointly organizing against colonial rule.*²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Afigbo, A.E, *The Igbo and Their Neighbours: Inter- group Relations in Southeastern Nigeria to 1953*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1987, p.79

²⁰¹ Okpeh, O, O Jnr., "Colonialism and the changing nature of Idoma Relations with their Neighbours" in Akinwumi, O. et al (eds) *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria during the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Aboki Publishers, Makurdi, 2006, p.299

²⁰² Davidson, B. *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*, Longman, London, p.71.

3.2 Impact of the Colonial Administrative System

At the end of the nineteenth century, the emirates in Hausland, Nupe, Ilorin as well as Borno had well articulated administrative systems, but the newer emirates of Muri, Adamawa, Bauchi and Kontagora were yet to digest their conquest, and consisted of great assortment of small “pagan” groups. None of these “pagan” groups, even those beyond the lower Benue River and outside the reach of the Jihadists, maintained an extensive administrative system above the level of clan or village group.²⁰³

When colonial rule was established in Northern protectorate, Lugard, as High Commissioner of the region was left with the option of whether the emirate system of administration be extended to the “pagan” areas, or whether “pagan” and British interest were best served by curtailing Fulani and Muslim rule, and replacing it with the pre-existing native rulers and more direct British administration. After his tour of the Northern provinces in 1904-05, Lugard laid down uniform administrative structures, defining jurisdiction in terms of taxation and fixing through divisional boundaries, the areas of emirate control of the “pagan” districts. This arrangement called for paramount Chief in each province, with subsidiary Chiefs in their Divisions. Consequent upon this development, Muri province was created alongside other provinces in Northern Nigeria. Ibi Division was created as an administrative unit and Wukari, Donga and Takum were named Districts.

The colonial administrators redrew the boundaries of the provinces in the protectorate along ethnic lines in 1917 and independent pagan ethnic groups such as Jukun, Chamba, Tiv, Igala and

²⁰³Ballard, J.A “Pagan Administration and Political development in Northern Nigeria, in Savanna, Vol.I, No.1 June, 1972, p.2

Idoma were grouped together to form a separate Province called Munchi Province²⁰⁴. Following this new arrangement, in the same year, Divisional Headquarters of our area of study was moved from Ibi to Wukari and the Division was named Wukari. This was because the British were in need of an existing formalized structure of government on ground and the Jukun had a well established system of government headed by the Aku-Uka. The colonial policy of indirect rule was thus influenced by the political set up of the Jukun which they maintained. The hegemony of the Jukun on other ethnic groups in the area was revived and strengthened to solve their problem of having to overstretch themselves to cover large areas. Commenting on the Jukun traditional set up, a colonial officer wrote: “The colonial officers had long cherished the hope that the Jukun traditions might be revived and Wukari again become an important centre”.²⁰⁵

The British amalgamated all the other ethnic groups in the area under the Aku-Uka and with the capital at Wukari. To adduce reasons for this amalgamation, the British colonial officer stated thus:

*As regard the amalgamation, the old Jukun rule extended practically over the whole of the area of these independent states. They regard with deep superstition and respect and they all have tradition of the former power of the Jukun. Even the Zompere [Kuteb] ---- use the Jukun language as medium of intercourse. The inhabitants of Donga, who are Chamba, have already forgotten their language and speak Jukun --- Wukari is the most natural centre.*²⁰⁶

These are some of the factors that made the colonial officers to set up administrative capital in Wukari.

In 1925, Governor Herbert Richmond Palmer carried out a reorganization of the provinces. He abolished Munshi Province and established Benue Province. It was also at the time that Muri

²⁰⁴Ballard, J.A “Pagan Administration and Political development in Northern Nigeria. op. cit, p 2

²⁰⁵ NAK/SNP/17/K.2441/VOL1: Half Yearly Report 30/6/18, p4

²⁰⁶ NAK/SNP/17/K.2441; Extract from Ibi Division on Quarterly Report, June 1918, by Fremantle, p.12

Province was changed to Adamawa Province and Nasarawa Province was changed to Kabba Province. Palmer did this to put forward the paramountcy of the Aku-Uka of the Jukun, Lamido of Yola and the Attah of Igala. His action, according to him, was based on his view on historic destinies of these “ruling races” in all parts of Nigeria. He saw the Jukun as Hamitic-based ruling group and hoped to evolve a means of giving them a legitimate outlet for their ascendancy, and used them as contact with the lower grade tribes.²⁰⁷ This fitted with his view that the administration of independent “pagans” should be based on amalgamation, using any organization that existed, and developing it on the pattern found among other African tribes. With this, Wukari Division, based at the Headquarters of the Aku-Uka, was enlarged to incorporate the Tiv people and other neighbouring ethnic groups.

Palmer sent a memo to the Governor General of Nigeria which reads thus:

The Aku-Uka, like the Oni of Ife, was semi-sacred personage, who ruled through four big chiefs who in turn each ruled a quarter a segment of the country- Wukari being the centre of the circle. Whatever tribes or people fell within any of these segments retained their internal economy and independence, and their chiefs only had much to do with Wukari “big four”

These men are there still and I was favourably impressed with them and I think it is far better and much juster to put the nearer sections of the Munchi under Wukari than continue the present policy of continually shearing away Wukari land and making a new boundary which they [Tiv] never keep and never will keep.

I should propose therefore the North Shiteri Munchi as a clan and certain section of the Tumbo Munchis, should be included as unit under Wukari- retaining their internal organization- but looking to Wukari as their territorial chief.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Ballard, J.A, op.cit, p.9

²⁰⁸ Cited in Adamu, D, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, op cit p28

Wukari Division was, based on this arrangement, divided into fifteen districts and grouped as follows:

1. Predominantly Jukun Speaking Districts: Wukari, Takum and Donga.
2. Tiv Districts including Turu: Sitire North, Sitire South, Ikurav North, Ikurav South, Ukum, Ugondo, Tongo, Turan, Mbagen and Turu.
3. Districts under Fulani rule: Awe and Katsina-Ala²⁰⁹.

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

The Tiv were placed under the authority of the Aku-Uka, but they became impossible to control. In other words, the Tiv became too intractable to be administered effectively. When a British Resident went to inaugurate taxation among the Tiv under the auspices of Wukari, the Tiv people refused to recognize the Aku's authority or pay taxes to Wukari since they regarded it as a sign of submission to Wukari. This conflict was resolved by allowing the Tiv to pay taxes directly to the administration.²¹⁰ These forms of resistance and refusal of the Tiv people to accept and recognize the authority of the Aku-Uka was a factor for the unhealthy relations between them and the Jukun people. The Tiv at the period of their contact with the Jukun had no centralized authority and had no leader with political and judicial power over them. Harmonious group

²⁰⁹ NAK/14/Wukari Division Annual Report by Capt H.S Bredel, 1932

²¹⁰ Jacobs, C.C, "The Genesis of the Tiv –Jukun hostility in the Benue Valley" op. cit, p.34

relations would have taken place if they had accepted the existing authority they met on their arrival to Jukunland.

The arrival of Sir Donald Cameron in 1931 as Governor General altered the political administration of the area. Tiv Division was established to replace Abinsai Division, all the Tiv in Wukari under Aku-Uka were moved to the Tiv Division. In place of the Emirate model of administration introduced by Palmer which made the Aku-Uka the paramount ruler in the Wukari Division, Cameron laid down four possible types of Native Administration such as Tribal Chiefs, Federation of Chiefs, Tribal council and clan or village council, all with rotating chairman. Based on this, the paramountcy of Aku-Uka was replaced with Federation of Chiefs which comprised of the Aku-Uka (Wukari), Gara Donga (Donga) and Ukwe Takum (Takum). The chiefs met quarterly in Wukari and deliberated on the matters concerning the Division. It was because of this development that the Wukari Division was popularly known as Wukari Federation which included the Kyetun [Ichen] mandatory territory.

Commenting on the meeting of the Chiefs of the Federated Districts of Wukari, Takum and Donga, a District Officer in charge of Wukari wrote the Resident Benue Province thus:

It appears to me that the inter-relation of the Districts of Wukari, Takum, and Donga justifies their inclusion in the category "Federation of Chiefs" defined in the recently issued memoranda on Native Administration.... I suggest that the danger of a permanent president becoming regarded as a "Permanent" Chief should be avoided by the Division Officer presiding as was done on this occasion. Further, I consider that the council for the present should remain purely deliberative. Although the present relations between the Chiefs of these Districts are fairly good; I am strongly of the opinion that a categorical statement to the effect that it is not the policy of Government to envisage

*any infringement of their independence, would do much to facilitate co-operation*²¹¹

The chairmanship of the Wukari Federation of Chiefs was rotated among the three rulers of Wukari, Donga and Takum whose duty was to supervise the general administration of the area, but the central authority with regard to the use of force, fell upon the British officer in charge of the Division. It is reported that in one of the meetings of the Wukari Federation of Chiefs, the British Superintendant of Agriculture addressed them on how to improve the cultivation of export crops.²¹² It is reported that Sambo Garbosa II the Gara Dongain one of the meetings of the Federation of Chiefs said that the Divisional headquarters of Wukari be transferred to Sai, a Tiv dominated village located along Wukari- Takum road. According to him, Sai is centrally located where Wukari, Donga and Takum would meet. This suggestion was turned down as Wukari remained the headquarters of the Federation, but from all indication the idea was as a result of struggle for supremacy between the Chamba and Jukun.

3.3. Trade Relations in Wukari and Donga Areas

The economic aspect was the central focus of British colonialism, and therefore, it was another area of relations between the Jukun and Chamba during colonial rule. As earlier noted, in 1885, Bula, the chief of Ibi was compelled to sign a treaty surrendering his land to the British and the National African Company, which later became the Royal Niger Company, set up its regional headquarters at Ibi. A minor station was opened at Donga. The activities of the Royal Niger Company opened a new phase of commercial relations between the Jukun and Chamba. The small steamers of the Royal Niger Company can navigate the river Donga for about four months

²¹¹ NAK/Mak/Province/50/Federation Council of Wukari, 1931

²¹² NAK/14/Wukari Division Annual Report by Capt. H.S Bredel, 1932

a year (July- October)²¹³ and it was at Donga that Messrs John Holts' buying station was situated. Therefore, most of the Jukun took their benniseed, groundnut, soya beans and other goods to Donga. It was reported that traders at Donga profited to a large extent by the influx of benniseed sellers,²¹⁴ who were made up of the Jukun and other ethnic groups.

The market was held daily but the attendance was not remarkable compared to Ibi, though beside the Jukun and Chamba the Tiv also carry their benniseed to Donga. In 1917, Bennniseed was sold at E7:9:4 per ton and groundnut unshelled was sold at E7:4: per ton.²¹⁵ Also during this period, tobacco was grown chiefly at Suntai and it had wide market beyond Donga even as far as Takum.²¹⁶

There were also trade routes that traversed the area, thus increasing the tempo of socio-economic relations between the Jukun and Chamba and there were routes linking the various towns in the area before the advent of colonialism but they were very narrow as well as not being all season. During colonial rule, these routes were expanded and new ones constructed connecting the principal towns and villages. Wooden bridges were constructed over the various streams along the routes. It was recorded that on Rafin-Kada – Donga road, eight bridges were constructed.²¹⁷ Some of these roads were said to be suitable in the dry season for motor cycle.²¹⁸ Some of the principal trade routes were as follows:

- Ibi via Wukari to Katsina Ala and the southern provinces.
- Ibi via Nyakwala and Bantaji to Bakundi (Muri Emirate) and the Cameroun

²¹³ Fremantle, J.M, op cit, p.63

²¹⁴ NAK/14/ Wukari Division Annual Report, op.cit, p.39

²¹⁵ NAK/Mak Prof Assessment Report on Donga District ...

²¹⁶ ibid

²¹⁷ NAK/339/ Development programme Wukari Division.1936 by J.M. Smallwood

²¹⁸ Fremantle, J.M. op cit, p.66

- Ibi via Wukari and Donga to Kentu and Bamenda (Cameroun)
- Ibi via Wukari to Arufu and Akwana the salt and galena area.²¹⁹

Road construction seems to have been one of the first infrastructures to have been given serious attention by the colonial authorities. The reason for this was not farfetched. In the first place, since the development of such roads depended almost entirely on the exploitation of manual labour, it was cheap for the colonial authorities. Secondly, it connected the areas of export crops and facilitated their evacuation. The construction of better road network and the provision of small steamers for the river navigation brought about an improvement in communication and thus fostered further fusion of the Jukun and Chamba peoples of the area. The improvement in communication was purposely instituted to facilitate the capitalist exploitation. Not long after the roads were constructed it was reported that Donga town experienced “continuous flow of benniseed sellers”²²⁰. Suffice it to say that this phenomenon intensified the socio- economic relations of the Jukun and Chamba as the producers of crops needed by the Europeans traders.

Moved by their imperialist quest for exploitation, the British colonial administration vigorously pursued the economic exploitation of an occupied area. It should be noted that Wukari and Donga areas were where the bulk of commodities that went to the British trading company at Ibi came from. The existence of trade routes both on land and water, attested to this fact. The main roads and major communities were:

Ibi ----- Rafin Soja----- 9 miles

Ibi -----Wukari-----23 miles

²¹⁹ ibid

²²⁰ ibid

Ibi -----Rafin Kada----- 36 miles

Ibi -----Donga ----- 47 miles.²²¹

The British ensured the introduction and production of needed cash crops by the people of the areas. Various media were used by the British administrators to ensure that the people produced the needed crops for exports. For instance, British agents used the platform of the Federation of Chiefs Council to canvass for the cultivation of the needed crops for exportation. The Federation of Chiefs Council, as earlier noted, was constituted by the Chiefs of Wukari, Takum and Donga.

Some communities emerged as a result of the colonial trading activities in the area. It is said that, many of the Ichen peoples carried benniseed to the agents of the Royal Niger Company in Ibi. As the trading trips became frequent, the people established a camp along the route where they would rest and refresh by a stream that is a tributary to the river Benue in Ibi. As many of the people stopped and refreshed in the place, a community emerged. Many of the people that settled in the place farmed benniseed and other crops needed by the European traders.

During this period, colonial soldiers en route to either Wukari or Takum also stopped by the stream where the small community was established to wash and refresh. The same happened as the soldiers returned to Ibi. The stream became a stop point for the soldiers on their journey to and from Ibi. It was for this that the stream was named Rafin-Soja (soldiers' stream) and thus, it became the name of the community.²²² Rafin Soja grew to become a big community with people from different ethnic groups, many of whom were attracted to the town as a result of the trading activities with the Europeans on the river Benue in Ibi. Others were attracted by the fertility of the

²²¹ Fremantle, J.M, op cit, p 69

²²² Interview with Captain Buhari Manman (Rtd), age 57, a Retired Army Officer, date 16/09/2014, place in his house off T -Junction Wukari

soil which was good for the production of benniseed. Another community that emerged as a result of colonial trade in our area of study was Gindin-Waya. It should be noted that the colonial telegraph line from Keffi crossed the river Benue at Chinkai and ran in an easterly direction of Ibi and the gadget of eight miles loop was mounted at this place (eastward of Ibi). To protect the gadget, the colonial officers built a house where someone was to live and take care of their lines. With that some people from Rafin-Soja migrated to the place and a community emerged and was called Gindin-Waya (named after the colonial telegraph line). It is situated along Ibi – Rafin-Soja road. It should be noted that the construction of the original line from Lokoja to Ibi via Loko and Akwanga was arrested in 1900 by the hostility of the Tiv. For this reason, the line was diverted from Loko via Keffi to avoid the Tiv country. The telegraph entered Muri province in 1903.

These communities did not only flourish and became famous as refreshing centers for traders travelling to and fro Ibi, but they were also a centre for inter-ethnic relations in the area. The first inhabitants were the Ichen people mostly from Takum District, the Jukun and Chamba later settled in these settlements. The Aku-Uka appointed one Danjuma of the Ichen ethnic group as the leader of the people of Rafin-soja.²²³

3.4 Christian Missionaries and the Jukun – Chamba Relations, 1905-1960

At the turn of the 19th century, little was known of the interior of Africa, of the vast three thousand mile sub-Saharan stretch of territory then known as the Sudan. Men and nations had slowly probed into the interior. One result of this as noted earlier was the scramble by European nations to carve up much of this huge continent between them, and to assert the right to rule the

²²³ibid

people whose home it was. Among the first to go there were traders, explorers, political administrators, and Christian Missionaries.

It should be noted that, before Sir Fredrick Lugard planted the British flag in Northern Nigeria, Rowland Bingham, founder of the Sudan Interior Mission, and his colleagues had made two attempts to penetrate the north and by 1894 two of them had succeeded in doing so.²²⁴ Various expeditions sponsored either by the British government or the Church Missionary Society penetrated the Benue, aimed at discovering the economic potentials and the viability of the area for exploitation by British companies. Among these explorers were some Christian Missionaries that came purposely to spread Christianity among the people that were traditionalists. When it was ascertained that the river Benue was navigable, the area endowed with material resources and the people were considered to be living in “darkness”, the traders and missionaries rushed to the area. By 1904, a third party of Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) some men of the Sudan United Mission (SUM), and others of the Church of England (Church Missionary Society) were serving as Christian Missionaries in different parts of the interior. The Sudan United Mission served in the area of our study. We shall dwell on the activities of this missionary body to find out its founder, mission and activities. This is because our area of study was the first and the main base of the SUM in Nigeria. We will proceed to discuss the activities of the SUM among the Jukun and Chamba and their relationship during the period.

(i) Early Development of the Sudan United Mission (SUM), 1900-1907

The Sudan United Mission (SUM) was founded by Hermann Karl Wilhelm Kumm from Osterode, Germany and his wife, Lucy Evangeline Guinness. SUM took its name from the

²²⁴ Smith, E H, *Nigerian Harvest*, Baker Books House, Michigan, 1972, p.12

concept of Greater Sudan. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many of the colonial boundaries were in the state of flux and Greater Sudan comprised a vast area of Africa, stretching from the coast of Nigeria and the Cameroun in the west, to Chad and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan further east.²²⁵

As a young man, Kumm felt a calling to missionary work. During a visit to England, he was further inspired when he heard of the missionary work in North Africa. He decided to study Arabic language in Egypt from where he met Lucy Guinness who later became his wife. In a letter written in Alexandria Egypt, in November 1889, Dr. Kumm explains his call to work among the people in Africa:

*Even while I was still in England a voice seem to say to me, 'I have prepared the people of the desert for the Gospel, go and preach it to them' Now at least I have had a look upon these dear people and upon the vast desert Sahara, which is for me a Promised Land. Yet it was only a short look and I had to come away again to abide the Lord's time...*²²⁶

Kumm and his wife decided that the evangelization of the people of Sudan was imperative. It had a population of over fifty million. Islam was growing and none of the Free Churches in Great Britain were doing any work there. In 1900, they formed the German Sudan Pioneer Mission and severed the connection with the German Mission. Its first meeting was held in Sheffield in 1902. Not satisfied with the scale of the mission, a meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 15 June, 1904 to which interested men of all denominations were invited and the name of the mission body changed to Sudan United Mission and since then it was an interdenominational missionary body. Kumm and his wife travelled all over United Kingdom calling for volunteers to join the society.

²²⁵ibid

²²⁶www.ampltd.co.uk/collection-az/sum, date 14/09/2013

One of the first to join was John Lowry Maxwell followed by Dr Ambrose Bateman and John Burt.²²⁷

The first four SUM missionaries, Karl Kumm, Maxwell, Burt and Bateman arrived Nigeria in 1904. They traveled inland on the river Benue and were advised by Sir Fredrick Lugard, the Governor of the Northern Protectorate, to start work with the hill people around the town of Wase.²²⁸ They travelled up the river Benue to Ibi and then headed north on land to Wase, eighty miles from the river Benue in Ibi town. The focus of the SUM was to reach the ethnic groups that were regarded as “pagan” or “animistic people” with the gospel. According to the founder of the SUM

*The whole raison d'être of the mission is to counteract the Muslim advance among the pagan tribes in the Benue region. This cannot be done by going to the Mohammedans and therefore our work will lie among the pagan tribes.*²²⁹

The Jukun and Chamba ethnic groups were at this time classified as “pagan” as the majority of them were adherers of Traditional Religion. This, therefore, is the rationale for this theme in the relations of the Jukun and Chamba at the time Christianity was introduced.

Karl Kumm returned to Britain in 1905 to recruit additional missionaries and to appeal for external funding. He succeeded in arousing the interest of many Europeans to the non-denominational missionary body. He also went to United States and persuaded Americans to join in the mission. Interested Christians formed a committee, collected gifts, and sent out workers. In time South Africa, Denmark, Australia and New Zealand, Norway, Canada, France, and

²²⁷ www.ampltd.co.uk/collection-az/sum, date 14/09/2013

²²⁸ Wase in present day Plateau State

²²⁹ www.ampltd.co.uk, op.cit, p.10, date 14/09/2013

Switzerland became involved²³⁰. The SUM drew together in a common task in Sudan, Christian missionaries of various nations as well as of various denominations. It was in the best sense a “United Mission,” nationally and interdenominational. The missionaries were drawn from different countries and initially worked together until gradually they took over specific regions. Thus, the Canadian branch of SUM established their bases and opened station at Bidah. The South African branch of the mission was set up after Kumm visited South Africa in 1907. Many of the South African missionaries came from the Dutch Reformed Church and they set up their bases and worked among the Tiv.

There were two American branches of the SUM that worked in Nigeria. The Evangelical United Methodists Brethren (E.U.M.B), later called United Methodists which worked among the Mumuye peoples in northern part of present Taraba State and the second was the Christian Reformed Church (C.R.C) which had its base in our area of study in present day Southern Taraba State.²³¹

(ii) S.U.M. Evangelism, 1904-1960

In 1904, the SUM party settled at Wase as directed by the British High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, Sir Fredrick Lugard. The missionaries built a station and learnt little Hausa language. In 1905, John Burt travelled to Wukari and was well received by the people of the town. On Burt’s second visit to Wukari he was accompanied by Lowry Maxwell in 1906. By this time, the Aku-Uka Agbumanu¹¹ Agbunshu (1903-1915) encouraged the missionaries to come and live in Wukari. This, coupled with poor reception the missionaries got in Wase, made them

²³⁰ www.ampldt.co.uk/collection-az/sum, date 14/09/2013

²³¹ Smith, E. H, Nigerian Herverst... op. cit, p.28

to focus their attention on Wukari which proved more receptive, and Wase station was abandoned.

In Wukari the missionaries paid the people to build for them what was described by Edgar Harry Smith as a “hut composed of two rooms, each twelve feet square, with a lean-to verandah in front.”²³² This abode with grass roof and beaten earth floor with the presence of its occupants (missionaries) marked the beginning of Christianity in the area of our study. The house was occupied by the missionaries and was only removed in 1965 to make way for a church building which now occupies the site.²³³ More missionaries came to Wukari in 1906; they were Rev.C.W.Guinter, J.S. Derrand and Walter Hoover. The missionaries’ work in this area was undertaken by the American branch of the SUM and also established stations at Donga and Ibi which were situated by navigable river Donga and Benue respectively and during rainy season it was possible for steamboats to reach them. Ibi, which was an important port of call during the days of river traffic to Adamawa and Cameroun, was the Headquarters of the SUM until 1934 when it was transferred to Gindiri. The Headquarters served Langtang station to the North, Wukari, Donga, Takum and Sai to the south.

By 1916, many Jukun and Chamba had been converted to Christianity and were trained as Evangelists. For Timan Mama of Donga and Irmiya and Filibus Ashu from Wukari town were all Evangelists and set to harvest more souls for Christ in Takum area.²³⁴ It should be pointed out that the Missionaries used Hausa Language as a medium of communication in our area of study. It is reported that the first task of the earlier missionaries to the northern part of Nigeria was to learn Hausa language. Also it is on record that the earliest missionaries to this part of the country

²³²Smith, E.H, *Nigerian Harvest*, op.cit, p14

²³³The church is Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (C.R.C.N) GU Wukari. Also See Ashu, P.D, *Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria, A Legacy of Faithful Servant of God*, Midland, Jos, 2000, p.66

²³⁴ Smith, E.H. op,cit, p39

learnt the language in Wase before embarking on their primary assignment. To buttress this point, it is important to hear from a renowned European Christian Missionary, thus:

To sum up, in the Wukari, Tiv--- divisions of the Benue Province there are many tribes. The Tiv tribe is very large and is migrating well beyond its original borders. The Kuteb, Ndoro, Tigum, Ichen and other smaller tribes are found in the hilly country near to Republic of Cameroun. There are one or two riverside groups and the Jukun and Chamba are scattered in Eastern plains.

*Groups of Hausa people are found in the towns and are of Islamic faith. With the exception of the Tiv people a great many of the men of the other tribes speak the lingua franca, the Hausa Language. Many of them also speak one form or the other of Jukun as a second language---. Those who would reach the Tiv people had to learn their language for they know no other. The other missionaries after experimenting decided to first learn Hausa and to use it as a medium of communication. It was not ideal but with the limited personnel available it was the best approach when interpreters were used.*²³⁵

Therefore, it means the Nigerian Missionaries from Wukari and Donga used Hausa language and Jukun languages in their evangelical work. As gathered by Edgar H. Smith, the first resident Christian Evangelist that settled in Takum in 1916 was an indigenous Evangelist from Donga.²³⁶

The above point challenges the position of Gambo Matudi Ika who accused the Christian missionaries of utilizing the Jukun language as a means of communication in the whole of Wukari Division, thereby promoting the Jukun language.²³⁷ The sole aim of the Christian missionaries, it should be pointed out, was for the gospel to reach the people in the language they understood better, hence the employment of interpreters in most cases. As we can deduce from the statement of Edgar quoted above, before the advent of the Christian missionaries

²³⁵ Ibid, pp26-27

²³⁶ Ibid, p.55

²³⁷ See Ika, M.G, "Kuteb - Jukun Relations in the Takum Area of Gongola State from c.1850-1960", Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. 1983, p.2

aconsiderable number of people in the area of our study speak one or the other form of the Jukun language in addition to their dialects.

Still to clear the wrong accusation on the Christian missionaries for imposing one dialect over others, the case of one Rev. J.G. Botha speaks volumes. According to Edgar's report, Botha was the first Christian missionary among the Tiv. Before going to the Tiv people he had lived in Wukari among the Jukun for many years. But on arrival in Tiv land (Sai)²³⁸ he discovered that his knowledge of Hausa was of no use, therefore, the Tiv language had to be used. This was because the Tiv people know no other language other than their own. In the words of Edgar Smith:

*The Tiv Church uses only one Nigerian language, the mother tongue of its people. But those attending the EKAS BENUE CHURCH are drawn from eight or nine different language groups. Because of this, throughout the year since 1906, a lingua franca, Hausa language, has been the mainstay of the work. From it translations were made by interpreters into the lesser languages.*²³⁹

This is enough evidence that the missionaries never imposed alien language on the places they operated. Rather, the Jukun language was used to evangelize the Kuteb people that understood Jukun, while interpreters were used for the others.

Another remarkable development that occurred in the SUM in the 1930s was the taking over of the work of the SUM by the American branch of Christian Reformed Church. In March 1937, the Secretary of the Board of the C.R.C, Dr. H. Butts wrote to the Sudan United Mission in London requesting the mission field in Lupwe- Takum area and other fields in Donga and Wukari to be transferred to the Christian Reformed Church –North America. After considering some

²³⁸Sai is presently located few kilometers south of Wukari, along Wukari – Takum road.

²³⁹Smith, E.H, op cit, p198

factors, an agreement was reached with the Christian Reformed Church- North America (CRC- North America) who took over from the London branch.

In 1945, the synod of the CRC- North America felt that it could name the young church emerging in Nigeria as the Christian Reformed branch of *Ekklesiya cikin Sudan*²⁴⁰ which later was called *Ekklesiyar Kristi A Sudan* (EKAS) *Lardin Benue* (EKAS Benue Province). This is because the area was in Benue Province. A majority of the ethnic groups in the area of our study belong to this church, and ethnic frictions ensued in the church resulting into the split of the church. Particular attention will be paid to the reaction of the Jukun and Chamba during the conflicts that engulfed the church.

Commenting on the relations between the Jukun and Chamba during the Christian missionary enterprise in the area of our study, Edgar Smith has this to say:

*First of all Jukun and Chamba learnt to love each other. They shared the Gospel with the Kuteb who likewise accepted and enjoyed the family bond. Then the Kuteb and Jukun shared their savior with the Ichen, Ndoro, and Tigon---. So slowly but surely a strong Christian community was built up which crossed the barriers of tribalism.*²⁴¹

By the Church policy, where there were eighteen or more adults who had publicly confessed their faith and been baptized, they should be encouraged to organize a church congregation. On this note, in 1951, there were nine congregations in the whole of Wukari Division, namely Wukari, Donga, Ibi, Takum, Lupwe, Kwambai, Jenuwa Kogi, Fikyu and Baissa. Wukari, Ibi and Donga congregations were merged into one Local Church Council named Emmanuel, with Rev. Peter Dekker, who resided at Wukari, in charge. By this arrangement in which the Christian

²⁴⁰Smith, E.H, op cit.p.82, *Ekklesiyar Cikin Sudan* means the Church in the Sudan, while *Ekklesiyar Kristi A Sudan* means the Church of Christ in Sudan and because the area which the Church operated was in Benue Province the name *Lardin Benue*- meaning Benue Province was added.

²⁴¹ibid, p.121

converts in Wukari and Donga were brought together under one church council called Emmanuel, it made the link between the two towns stronger as church elders from both towns met to deliberate on matters affecting the church. The whole congregation of the church gathered in Ibi on July 25, 1951 for what is called the first Regional Church Council (RCC). In this first conference, Wukari and Donga congregation had become one church council conducted its activities as one alongside the other Local Church Councils.²⁴²

As noted above, the Reverend in charge of the Emmanuel Local Church Council which comprises Wukari and Donga resided in Wukari and all Christians from Donga had to come to Wukari to partake in the church Holy Communion which was observed quarterly. That is to say that the Christians in Donga had to travel to Wukari in the months of March, June, September and December for the Holy Communion. Later, when the Gospel reached Nyakwala, another community dominated by the Chamba forty three (43) kilometers North-East of Wukari, the people also had to come to Wukari for the same Communion meeting with the other Christians. Kefas Angyu Atenwunu, Baba Yamusa and Istifanus Useni from Wukari came to Nyakwala for evangelism. In this way, strong bonds of relationships were established as the Christians in Wukari usually accommodate their visitors, especially some of whom came a day earlier for the Sunday Holy Communion. The Christian brotherly love was so strong that the people regarded themselves as one in Christ and in unity. Gamboro Sanvala, a Chamba from Rafin-kada was the treasurer of the committee for the translation of the Bible to Jukun language.²⁴³

²⁴² Interview with the Rev. Philip D. Aboki the Chairman of Christian Reformed Church - Nigeria (CRCN) Board of Trustee, CRC-N is the current name of the church which majority of the Jukun and Chamba belong.

²⁴³ Interview with Gamboro Sanvala, age 73, the village of Gaya ward in Rafin-kada, in his palace in Rafin-kada, date 14/7/2015. The work of the translation of the Bible to Jukun language started in 1956 by Luka D. Agbu.

3.5 Conclusion

Colonialism in Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular had important implications for inter-group relations. In this chapter, we saw how the British colonial officers found the Aku-Uka as the most outstanding ruler in the area and brought under him many villages and districts. The Aku-Uka executed both political and judiciary authority over all the ethnic groups under his authority. Later, Wukari Federation of Chiefs with rotational chairmanship position among the Chiefs of Wukari, Donga and Takum was formed. The Christian Missionary activities opened another chapter in the history of inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga area and unity based on common faith bonded the Jukun and Chamba converts together

CHAPTER FOUR

JUKUN- CHAMBA RELATIONS IN POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA, 1960-1977

4.0Introduction

This chapter considered the formation of an ethnic association known as Kwararafa Congress, its activities and effects on inter-group relations in the area of our study. It also to examined party politics in the period 1960-64 with a view to assessing how the Jukun and Chamba conducted themselves. With the attainment of independent in Nigeria, various political parties and leaders sought the support of different ethnic groups in the country. In addition, party politics was characterized by suspicion. It is for this reasons that this period is considered to find out the relations of the Jukun and Chamba during the First Republic.

The chapter further discussed the squabbles in the church which resulted to its split in 1973. Here, the emphasis is on how the Jukun and Chamba viewed the contending issues that resulted to the split. The chapter as well discussed States and Local Government creation in the country. The intention is to attempt a discourse on how the Jukun and Chamba interacted in Benue/Plateau, Gongola and later Taraba States.

Another major phenomenon of historical importance that is captured in this chapter is the establishment of Wukari Traditional Council domiciled in Wukari and caters for three autonomous chieftaincies, namely Wukari, Donga and Takum. The mode of the operation of the council is also vividly spelt out in this chapter. The discussions enable us to understand why the two ethnic groups were brought together under one traditional council.

4.1 Kwararafa Congress and Jukun – Chamba Relations, 1960 -1964

In Northern Nigeria, particularly in the so- called Middle belt region, the advent of party politics witnessed the formation of various ethnic associations. For instance, there were the Tiv Progressive Union, Idoma Hope Rising Union, Birom Tribal Party, just to mention but a few. These associations aimed at the unity among its members towards achieving their political goals. The trend was the same in Jukun area. It all started in 1958 with the students of Wukari Federation in Higher Institution of learning. The students, under their coordinators, Ibrahim Mazo and Barau Garpiya formed an association called Wukari Federation Students' Union. The union was open to all students in Wukari Federation.²⁴⁴ Members of the union increased to include the elites and civil servants in Wukari Federation. One of the prominent members was Mallam Adi-Byewi²⁴⁵ who was a Head Teacher in Katsina-Ala.

At a meeting of the union in Takum, it was agreed that the name of the union be changed to capture the identity of all the ethnic groups in the area. To this end, Dan'azumi Obadiah suggested the name Kwararafa Congress and it was unanimously accepted.²⁴⁶ The Wukari Federation Students' Union metamorphosed to an association with wider aims and objectives and encompassed many people in the area.

The Kwararafa Congress (KC) aimed at resuscitating the unity of the descendants of Kwararafa State to collectively harness their human and material resources to achieve greatness and be reckoned with in the struggle for political dominance in the region. In respect of the Kwararafa Congress, Mallam Ibrahim Sangari Usman commented thus:

²⁴⁴ Wukari Federation covered Wukari, Donga, Takum and the Kyaton (Ichen) mandated area that is present Kurmi Local Government Area in Taraba State.

²⁴⁵ Adi-Byewi later became the Aku-Uka (1960-1970)

²⁴⁶ Interview with Mr. Jibrin Amfani who said he was the one that took the minutes of the meeting that resulted in the change of the name. He was in his final year in Higher school (now secondary school)

When we started Kwararafa Congress... that was the time the British people were trying to go away and give Nigeria herself government. We thought our interest will not be safeguarded if the British people left so we decided to organize a sort of cultural organization that will win the sympathy of those within Kwararafa region and we will become a factor to reckon with politically.²⁴⁷

Kwararafa Congress was an organization aimed at uniting the descendants of Kwararafa State to form a formidable force in the political set up of the country. It was made up of all the ethnic groups that traced their origin from Kwararafa, which included all the Jukun- speaking people or Apa people, namely Kona, Wurbo, Igala, Arago, Goemai, Idoma, to mention just a few. Within Wukari Federation, all these Jukun related groups were represented namely, Ichen, Ndola, Tigon, Ekpan Nyonyo, Kuteb, Yukuben, Tikari etc. The Chamba of Donga did not support Kwararafa Congress, even though the Students' Union which was the origin of the Congress was started by Chamba students from Donga as noted above. This was because they resented the name Kwararafa which appeared to glorify the Jukun and ensure their dominance over other ethnic groups; however, the Congress was accepted by all the Chamba in Wukari area and those in Takum.

The Congress had Aku Uka Atoshi as the President and Mallam Tanko Jolly was the Secretary while Mallam Ibrahim Sangari Usman served as the Legal adviser. The first meeting of the Kwararafa Congress was held at Wukari and had in attendance delegates from the Idoma, Igala and all the Jukun related ethnic groups. The Congress had its second convention at Oturkpo and was also well attended. It became a forum for the unity of the people who traced their origin to the Kwararafa State.

²⁴⁷Relics of Kwararafa, Journal of Studies in Kwararafa History, vol.11, No.2 Feb. 2003, p7

My informants in Wukari²⁴⁸ maintained that Kwararafa Congress was politically motivated, with the intention of seeking relevance in the politics of the time. The Congress was not aimed at Jukunisation of the people as its second convention was held at Oturkpo which was dominated by the Idoma people. The leaders of the Kwararafa Congress were considered in the governance of the northern region as several of them participated in the government of the region. Thus, Aku-Uka Atoshi was made Cabinet Minister, while Mallam Ibrahim Sangari Usman and Tanko Jolly were made parliamentary Secretaries. Peter Achimugu from Idah was also appointed as Minister and so were Michael Audu Buba from Plateau, Abutu Bepa and J.C Obande from Idoma area.²⁴⁹ The political achievements of these men in handling the affairs of their days cannot be underated. It seems somehow that the present day generation of the Jukun- speaking people is not displaying their ability to collectively harness their human and materials resources in order to achieve desired goals.²⁵⁰

The Kwararafa Congress was founded to address the issue of unity among all the ethnic groups that trace their origin to the Kwararafa State and other neighbours of the Jukun found in Wukari Federation. To a greater extent, Kwararafa Congress was able to unite all the Jukun speaking people in Wukari Federation and also other non Jukun such as the Chamba in Wukari and Takum as well as the Tikari people. Through the activities of the Kwararafa Congress, the Ndola, Tigon and the Ichen peoples in the far away Kyeton mandated territory were reminded of their ancestral home, and they began to look unto Wukari as their Headquarters and the Aku-Uka as a supreme head. Like many other ethnic associations in the Middle Belt region, Kwararafa Congress formally joined the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) in 1959. That year, the resistance put

²⁴⁸Group interview with Tsokwa Ada and Amah Filibus, age 45 and 43 respectively, both are civil servant the interview was conducted in house of Manu Ajiduku in Ajiduku ward in Wukari on the 04/ 03/2014

²⁴⁹ "Relics of Kwararafa" Journal of Studies in Kwararafa History, Vol 11 No2, February 2003, p10

²⁵⁰ibid

forth against the Kwararafa Congress by the Chamba of Donga had greatly affected it as we shall see below.

4.2 Party Politics and Jukun – Chamba Relations, 1960 - 1964

To say that the formation of political parties in Nigeria polarized the various ethnic groups and influenced people's behaviour is to be stating the obvious. In Northern Nigeria, this could be traced to when political parties were formed. In the main, the political parties that dominated the region were the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), formed in 1949, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) formed in 1950 and later in 1955 the Middle Belt Peoples' Party was amalgamated with the Middle Belt Congress to form the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC).

The leaders of NPC made repeated statement that they stood for one North, irrespective of tribe, language or religion. The UMBC was aimed at championing the larger interest of all minority ethnic groups of Plateau and Benue Provinces. So the objective of the UMBC was the protection and promotion of the interest of the people of the Middle Belt that consisted mainly of the people from Benue, Niger, Plateau and southern part of Zaria Provinces.²⁵¹

The UMBC under the leadership of the charismatic Tiv politician, Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, gave stiff opposition to the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) under Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarkuna of Sokoto. One of the dreams which Tarka pursued relentlessly was the creation of the Middle Belt Region out of the giant Northern Region. Tarka felt that the minority in the Northern Region were oppressed and marginalized by the NPC Hausa- Fulani controlled government. He accused

²⁵¹ Dudley, B.J, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass, 1968, p93

the Northern Regional government of denying the minorities, particularly the Tiv, high level appointments and location of industries and denial of government patronage in general.²⁵²

Here, we see another phase of relations between the Jukun and Chamba. Even though they both fall within Benue Province (one of the areas that the UMBC purported to protect from the Hausa-Fulani domination) they pitched their political tent with the NPC. Despite the lofty aim of the UMBC which claimed to be a vanguard for the liberation of the minority ethnic groups, the Jukun and Chamba were not comfortable with the party.²⁵³ The Jukun and Chamba saw the Tiv as “colonizers” and “land grabbers” and therefore, they feared that the latter would use the political party to further marginalize and dominate them. Even though in the Executive of the UMBC the Idoma, Birom, Tiv and others were evenly balanced,²⁵⁴ the Jukun and Chamba saw the party as Tiv’s party and went along with the NPC. The Jukun quickly referred to an incidence that occurred in 1954, when one Manu Uva Vaase, a Tiv leader, attempted to usurp the throne of the Aku-Uka Atoshi Agbumanu as his people marched into Wukari carrying him (Vaase) shoulder high in what was depicted as the home coming of the newly installed king. The Jukun considered this as an attempted political coup d’etat to dethrone their paramount ruler.²⁵⁵ It was reasoned that should political power be given to the Tiv, it might be detrimental to the Jukun traditional institution.

Like in Wukari, the Tiv migrated to the Donga area earlier than the British occupation of the area. However, their stay in Donga area with the Chamba was ephemeral, as they were checked and driven back by the Chamba. But as reported by Mr. Gunn, the District Officer, Wukari Division, many years later, a substantial number of sections of the Tiv, from the Ugondo clan

²⁵² Adamu, D.A, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, Jos. Target Publicity, 2002, p.49

²⁵³ Atoshi, A.G, *The Story of Jukun-Tiv Crisis, Why and How they Happened*, Wukari, Amune Press, 1992, p.11

²⁵⁴ Dudley, B.J, *op cit*, p.93.

²⁵⁵ Atoshi, A. G, *op cit*. p. 11

“migrated en masse and returned to the land originally occupied by their fore-fathers in Donga.”

Mr. Gunn further states that:

*The Shitire and Ugondo move in single households, settle when and where they wish, work out their farm rotation and then move on other land. No permission is sought either from earlier immigrants or from native authority.*²⁵⁶

The Tiv had the trait of “colonizing” any land once they occupied it. A land becomes a Tiv land in their own eyes once they have settled in such land, no matter the legitimacy and legality of the indigenous right of ownership. It was the fear of domination by the Tiv through the obnoxious policy of forceful occupation of land that made the Jukun and Chamba resent the UMBC under the leadership of a Tiv man.

Expectedly, during the 1954 Federal Election, the Jukun and Chamba in Wukari Division went along with the NPC. The Tiv in the Division were in UMBC like most of their kiths and kins in Tiv Division. The Kwaraafa Congress ensured that the entire area went for the NPC and not any other party, especially the UMBC. In the 1954 Federal Election, Ibrahim Usman Sangari, a Jukun/Abakwariga, was elected to the Federal House of Representative from Wukari Constituency. He was the choice of both the Jukun and Chamba. The Wukari Constituency consisted of Wukari, Donga and Takum Districts. Mallam Sangari was picked without an opponent in the NPC.²⁵⁷

For the Regional House of Assembly in Kaduna, the primary election was contested between Tanko Jolly Yusuf a Jukun and Matudi Kaigama, a Kuteb, both from Takum and from the NPC. It was claimed that Mallam Kaigama won the party primary election but the result was manipulated in Wukari where it was compiled in favour of Mr. Tanko Jolly Yusuf. The Kuteb

²⁵⁶ NAK Annual Report, 1948, Donga District, Wukari Division

²⁵⁷ Hassan, L, E, op cit, p.106.

irked by this development, boycotted the election to the Regional House of Assembly. This notwithstanding, the election went on and Mr. Tanko Jolly was declared the winner

During the 1959 Federal Election, Mallam Ibrahim Usman Sangari sought for re-election. The Chamba of Donga and the Kuteb of Takum Districts claimed that there was an agreement between the three major ethnic groups in the Wukari Federation (Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb) that Sangari, a Jukun, would serve a term and give way to either a Chamba or a Kuteb candidate.²⁵⁸ To them, Ibrahim's action in seeking for re-election and the fact that he had the support of the Jukun portrayed as betrayal of an agreement. This move was seen by the Chamba and Kuteb as a ploy by the Jukun to dominate and marginalize them. This development seriously affected the smooth political alliance in the Wukari Federation and broke the accord within the NPC party. It is also on record that because of this incidence, the political relations between the Jukun and Chamba soured and the age long political link between the Jukun and Chamba disintegrated. The political relations degenerated so much so that when the election came, the Chamba, an age long political ally of the Jukun, parted ways with the latter. The Chamba allied with the Kuteb and voted for a Tiv candidate, Mr. Tangu Gaza of the UMBC party, who was returned elected to represent Wukari Constituency in the Federal House in Lagos.

As we have seen, it was the intra-party crisis within the NPC that led to UMBC's victory in Wukari Constituency. The irony of it all was that political disturbance erupted later in 1964 between the supporters of NPC and UMBC in Tivland, and it spread to Wukari Federation. The victims of the disturbance in Wukari Division were the Jukun and Chamba and other ethnic groups who were supporters of NPC. During this disturbance, variously referred to in Tiv language as "*Atem-tiyo*" (head breaking) and "*Kurachacha*" (clear them all), in Wukari Division,

²⁵⁸Hassan, L, E, The Kuteb, Kpanzun, Chamba Peoples of Takum: ... op cit, p.108

houses with UMBC symbols were spared and any man that identified with the party by shouting the name of the party's leader Sawaun Tarka was also spared. This information corroborated Mahmoud Hamman's assertion that the Tiv riot that broke out in 1964 was not ethnically motivated.²⁵⁹ Thus, the problem the UMBC (Tiv) had with the NPC was the latter's intolerance of opposition and its attempt to ensure conformity and break UMBC opposition.

In 1965, the Federal Government set up a commission of inquiry headed by Ahmadu Coomassie, the then Permanent Secretary, in the Ministry of Economic Planning. One of the recommendations of the Commission to the government reads:

*It should be published in Tiv that any immigrants into the neighbouring Native Authority Areas are subject to the Jurisdiction of the Native Authority into whose area they immigrate.*²⁶⁰

The Jukun and Chamba of Wukari and Donga Native Authorities applauded this suggestion, as the Tivs were seen as a threat to their own independence as a people.

4.3 The SUM and the Jukun and Chamba, 1960 - 1977

The activities of Christian missions among the Jukun and Chamba facilitated the establishment of relations between the various communities through the development of common ideological frame work based on the Christian faith. As discussed in chapter three, the missionary body that came to our area of study was the Sudan United Mission (SUM). It established stations at Wukari, Donga and Takum. This development resulted in another phase of inter-ethnic relations among the people of these areas, namely Jukun, Chamba, Kuteb and others. The activities of the SUM culminated in the establishment of an indigenous church among the people of these areas known as *Ekkisiyar Kristi A Sudan* (EKAS), (Church of Christ in the Sudan). Soon after its

²⁵⁹ Hamman, M, Inter-ethnic Relations--- op,cit, p459

²⁶⁰ Atoshi, G. A, op. cit. p11

formation, the relations among the major ethnic groups in the church which were marred by suspicions degenerated into friction that led to the split of the church in 1973.

Leadership tussle was said to be one of the main reasons for the friction in the church. As we have noted, the Jukun and Chamba had earlier contact with the missionaries before the Kuteb. The Jukun and Chamba occupied key positions of leadership in the governance of the church, next only to the European missionaries. This did not go down well with the Kuteb, who claimed to have numerical strength, and were contributing more to the treasury of the church than any other group.²⁶¹ On this ground, the Kuteb wanted a change in the leadership of the church in order, according to them, to correct what they claim as lopsidedness in the church administration. The position of the church Treasurer in particular came under serious attack. The Kuteb moved for the removal of the Treasurer, Samaila Ashu, a Jukun man who was accused of using church money for his personal use. Although some of the Treasurer's actions, particularly his failure to make available annual financial report to the General Council (Synod) of the Church,²⁶² were not acceptable to many church members. Members of the church of other ethnic groups were of the opinion that it was an ugly incidence that could be corrected and amended not through outward display of animosity as demanded by the Kuteb people.

The language to be used in the church service also constituted another point of disagreement among members. The languages used were Hausa and Jukun but the Kuteb requested for the inclusion of the Kuteb language in the church service. One early Sunday morning, a young man woke up and insisted that the Jukun language spoken in the church by everyone must stop or that the Kuteb language also be used during church service. The problems simmered and reached its

²⁶¹ Though there is no record to prove this claim, however, the Kuteb were indeed numerous but certainly not more than the other ethnic groups combine

²⁶² Interview with Rev. Philip D. Aboki, the Chairman of Christian Reformed Church –Nigeria Board of Trustee

climax in April 1973 and the Church was split. The Kuteb left to form a new church, named *Ekklesiyar Kristi A Nigeria* (EKAN)²⁶³, while the Jukun and Chamba remained in the *Ekklesiyar Kristi A Sudan* (EKAS) church.

In the history of the church in the world, split developed because of doctrinal, geographical, linguistic, cultural or historical reasons. For example in Europe, German protestant were called Lutheran, Scottish protestant were called Presbyterian, Dutch Protestant were called Reformed and English protestant were either Presbyterian or Anglican. The conflict over doctrines and geographical location were solely responsible for the split that led to different branches of the church in Europe.

In EKAS Church in our area the move that Kuteb language be used in the Church service had no base because many of the Kuteb people in Takum speak Jukun language. Abongaby puts it more strongly thus:

*How else could you explain the nationalism that was started in 1970s in Takum, in EKAS Church, then the only church in Takum attended by the Jukun, Tikari, Kuteb, Chamba and other people in Takum. When on an early Sunday morning, a young man woke up and insisted that the Jukun language spoken in the church by everyone must stop or that Kuteb language also be used during the service. If that young man or his group had known their history... that the Chamba and Tikari that have been living with them speak Jukun and not their own language, they would not have created that ignoble and dangerous language nationalism that almost destroyed the fabric of the history and relationship between the Jukun, Kuteb, Chamba and Tikari.*²⁶⁴

Moreso, the fact is that other Jukunoid groups of Kpanzon, Tigon and Ndola in Takum had abandoned their own dialects to speak the Jibu dialect of the Jukun. If all these ethnic groups have abandoned their own languages and speak Jibu dialect of the Jukun, why should the

²⁶³Ekklesiyar Kristi A Nigeria means The Church of Christ in Nigeria

²⁶⁴Abongaby, C, D, "Cross-Cultural Synergy as tool for unity among People of Southern Taraba" A paper presented at the Second Southern Taraba State Peace Summit in Wukari on 28 – 29/9/2013, p6

Kutebin Takum who could speak Jukun insist on the use of their language in the church service? Regarding the second issue, church leadership is bestowed on those who had gone through Theological training. The Jukun and Chamba who had accepted Christianity many years before the Kuteb had enjoyed this privilege. So, why would the position of church leadership given to unlettered persons just because of their ethnic group? With the exit of the Kuteb ethnic group, the church was monopolized by the Jukun and Chamba and Jukun language became the language of intercourse, next to Hausa language. The schism in the church became a strong cord that bonded the Jukun and Chamba and other ethnic groups in the area.

4.4 States Creation and Jukun-Chamba Attitudes, 1967-1991

In 1967 when the political map of Nigeria was changed from four regions to twelve States during General Yakubu Gowon's regime, the Jukun and Chamba found themselves in the same Benue Province which was merged with Plateau Province and called Benue/Plateau State, with Jos as the Capital and Joseph Gomwalk, a Police Commissioner as its Military Governor. Here, the Jukun and Chamba competed for more government patronages and appointments. For instance, Ibrahim Sangari Usman and Mamman Bayero were made Commissioners. This attracted reaction from the Tiv, who, through one of their leaders, Mr. Aper Aku, wrote a petition, accusing the Governor of favouring the Jukun.²⁶⁵

When General Gowon's regime was toppled and General Murtala Mohammed came on board, he set in motion a plan to create more states in the country. The Tiv demanded for the restoration of the former Benue Province to constitute a new state. Based on their bitter experience of Tiv domination during the defunct Benue Province, the Jukun and Chamba kicked against the Tiv's

²⁶⁵ Adamu, D. A, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflict...* op cit, p49

demand to include them in the State to be created. The Jukun submitted a Memorandum stating that should Benue/Plateau be split into two States that is Benue and Plateau States, they wish to remain in Plateau State. If the State is not divided they wish to opt out²⁶⁶. Solomon Lar from the Tarok ethnic group carried out a campaign for the exclusion of the Jukun people from proposed Plateau State. This was because he feared the numerical strength of the Jukun people in the civil service, he and some of his people preferred a new Plateau State without the Jukun people. As a result of this development, the Jukun, Chamba and the Kuteb peoples were instead merged with former Adamawa and Sardauna Provinces to form Gongola State. This development brought the Jukun and Chamba back to the former Muri Province. The Jukun and Chamba feared Tiv domination should they be in the same State. They recalled that in the First Parliamentary election in 1951, all the eight Provincial seats for Benue Province were hijacked by the Tiv candidates through their population at the expense of the non-Tiv who constituted more than half of the population of the Province.²⁶⁷

4.5 The 1976 Local Government Creation

During this period, the Chamba of Takum were in a political tussle with the Kuteb over the control of the politics of the area. The Chamba elites of Takum reasoned that since Donga District were populated by their kiths and kin; it should be merged with Takum to form one Local Government. Moreover, the Chamba peoples of Dongawere more comfortable to be with the Chamba in Takum than being in Wukari. This was because they considered their being in Takum more advantageous as they would synergize against the Kuteb in Takum. This factor outweighed

²⁶⁶ Interview with Jibrin Amfani in his house in Wukari, according to him, he wrote the memorandum stating the position of the Jukun.

²⁶⁷ Tseayo, J. L., Conflict and Incorporation in Nigeria: The Intergration of the Tiv, 1974, cited in Adamu, D. Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflict.--- op cit, p.52

that of proximity of Donga and Wukari. Ordinarily one would conclude that because Donga is closer to Wukari than Takum, Donga should join to Wukari.

4.6 Wukari Traditional Council and the place of Jukun and Chamba, 1977

The Wukari Traditional Council was established by an edict with effect from 1st January, 1977 during the Military Administration of Major General Muhammadu Jega, the Governor of the defunct Gongola State. The Council was established as a veritable instrument for effective administration of traditional affairs in the former Wukari Federation. The Local Government reforms of 1975 which resulted in the creation of Local Government Councils throughout the country ruthlessly reduced the powers of traditional rulers. For the Local Government Council replaced the Native Authority system headed by the traditional rulers. So in an effort not to completely “ridicule” the traditional rulers before their subjects and to sustain their relevance in the country, Traditional and Emirate Councils were created in northern Nigeria.

Wukari Traditional Council was a meeting point of the three traditional rulers in the former Wukari Federation (Wukari, Donga and Takum). The three traditional rulers usually meet and exchange pleasantries and discuss issues that concern traditional festivals and administrations of traditional matters. Wukari Traditional Council consists of the following officials:

Aku-Uka----- President

Gara Donga----- Member

Ukwe Takum ----- Member

Chairman Wukari Local Government Council

Chairman Donga Local Government Council

Chairman Takum Local Government Council

The Traditional Council members are:

Abon Achuwu ----- Wukari
 Abon Ziken ----- Wukari
 Kinda Achuwu ----- Wukari
 Kinda Ziken ----- Wukari
 Gbana Donga ----- Donga
 Yerima Donga ----- Donga
 Kuru Kpante ----- Takum
 Madakin Takum ----- Takum²⁶⁸

It was gathered that the rationale behind bringing the three ethnic groups into one Traditional Council was that the people had similarity in their culture. It should be recalled that during the colonial era, the colonial administration created Wukari Federation Local Council which comprised rulers of Wukari, Donga and Takum and the chairman was the Aku-Uka.²⁶⁹ This was simply as a result of the fact that the British at that stage aimed at implementing their Indirect Rule policy. In this regard, the British asserted that the old Jukun rule extended over the whole area occupied by the inhabitants of Donga and the Kuteb, and that, Jukun language had been adopted as a medium of communication²⁷⁰

The above observation made by a British Colonial Officer, brought out the level of cultural similarity among the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb in Wukari Division. The Colonial Officer observed that the Chamba and Kuteb have traditions of the Jukun and that the Chamba have forgotten their language and speaks Jukun. It is safe therefore, to assert that it was on the basis of the above consideration that the British colonial administration created Wukari Federation of

²⁶⁸Wukari Traditional Council Records obtained on 18/06/2014

²⁶⁹ NAK/SNP/17/K.2221 Vol. 1

²⁷⁰ NAK/SNP/17/K.2221; Extract from Ibi Division Quarterly Report, June 1918, by Fremantle, p.2

Local Council and Wukari town was made the center. This, by and large, was the background to the establishment of a single traditional council for the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb in 1977.

Gambo Matudi Ika, who carried out an elaborate study on the relations between the Kuteb and Jukun in Takum Area, concluded that, the colonial administrative policy of British colonial administration which welded the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb into one administrative unit and headed by the Aku-Uka in Wukari was ‘domestic imperialism’ encouraged by the colonial administration in favour of the Jukun. He further accused the colonial administration of formulating policies that linked all the groups in Ibi Division with the Jukun culture,²⁷¹ and encouraged the Aku-Uka Agbumanu Ahmadu (1927-1940) to send representatives or Ambassadors to Takum and Donga Areas.

To clear the above misconception, it should be noted that before the advent of colonialism in the area of our study, Jukun influence had been widespread. The Chamba had already forgotten their language and used Jukun language. It should also be noted that, the adoption of the Jukun political institutions and culture by the Chamba and Kuteb pre-dated the colonial era. On the issue of colonial administration policy favouring the existence of what he tagged ‘domestic imperialism’ in Wukari Division, it should be recalled that Wukari had been sending representatives to Donga and Takum before the early decades of the 20th century.²⁷²

It should also be noted that the nature of British colonialism was aimed at maintaining law and order for the promotion of their economic exploitation. They did this by utilizing the institution of the conquered, especially the kingships, which they saw as ready-made agencies for their economic exploitation. The British colonial administrators found the Jukun’s kingship institution

²⁷¹ NAK/SNP/17/K.2441; Extract from Ibi Division Quarterly Report, June 1918

²⁷² Meek, C.K, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, op cit, p.344

more organized and powerful for the achievement of their goal than what obtained in other communities in the Division. It is, therefore, difficult to see how at this stage, they could sacrifice their interest for mere promotion of each ethnic autonomy.

The Tiv were not represented in the Wukari Local Council of Chiefs created by the colonial regime. This was simply because they were considered as immigrants despite their population and economic contribution in Wukari Division. By 1946, the Tiv constituted about 37% (40,400) of the population of Wukari Division, the Kuteb 19% (20,284), the Jukun 10% (11,867), the Ichen 6% (6,775), the Hausa 5% (5,287) and the Chamba 4% (4,500).²⁷³In spite of the Tiv's sizeable population, the colonial state represented by Richmond Palmer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Protectorate, regarded them as immigrants in Wukari and had no ground to feel that they qualified for representation on the council.²⁷⁴

From the foregoing, it is clear that Wukari Local Council of Chiefs created by the colonial administration comprised of the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb ethnic groups. This was done based on the similarity in the culture and traditions of the ethnic groups. Thus, this is the background of what is today known as Wukari Traditional Council. Having considered this, we will in chapter five discuss the modus operandi of the council with a view to seeing the nature of inter-ethnic relations that existed among the ethnic groups that made up the council.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we saw how the ethnic association known as Kwararafa Congress which began prior to Nigerian independence was able to unite all ethnic groups that trace their origin to

²⁷³ Kuna, M.J, Coloniality and Geography of Conflict: A Typology in Yahaya, A,M, (eds) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2005, p.422

²⁷⁴ NAK/SNP/17/K.2221. Vol.1.(though this figure may not be accurate as the colonial officers counted only able men capable of paying tax in the land, and most of the Tiv people that came to Wukari division were already adult).

Kwararafa within the former Wukari Federation, and since this group form the bulk of the population in the area, the Chamba also accepted the association for the development of the area. The unity brought by the activities of the association enabled the Jukun's candidates to win the 1954 election to the Federal and Regional Parliaments, but following their disunity in the 1959 elections, they lost to the Tiv candidate. We have also seen how, despite the split in the EKAS Church, when the greater chunk of its members of the Kuteb ethnic group opted out to form a new church, the Jukun and Chamba remained in the church.

The Local Government Reform of 1976 reduced the power of the traditional rulers, and therefore, to make them relevant, Wukari Traditional Council was established along this line to cater for the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb traditional rulers.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN THE AREA, 1978 - 1992

5.0 Introduction

The chapter exposed some salient feud between the Jukun and Chamba in the areas. The Jukun and Chamba that had over the years formed a strong alliance had some stresses and strains in their relations. It discussed the relations of the Jukun and Chamba under the Wukari Traditional Council that were sometimes characterized by antagonism. In this chapter, the strains in relationship of the Chamba of Nyakwala and Rafin-kada with the Jukun of Wukari were discussed. The nature of inter-group relations in the Chamba dominated settlements were analyzed which enable us to see the extent of co-existence in the area.

The chapter also looked at the events that took place in Wukari area between 1987 -1992 and discussed the political and socio-economic tussles in the area that led to what was christened Tiv/Jukun crisis of 1991/92. It concluded by looking at recent developments such as formation of ethnic associations with the view of assessing its merit and demerit in inter-group relations in the area.

5.1 Wukari Traditional Council and Jukun-Chamba Relations, 1978-1992

The Wukari Traditional council was financed by Wukari, Donga and Takum Local Government Councils. In the Council's Secretariat, the Secretary was the head of the administration. Any qualified and competent person nominated by either the Aku-Uka, the Gara of Donga or the Ukwe of Takum can serve as the Secretary to the Council. There are other members of staff who are the employees of the council and they carried out day to day activities in the Secretariat. All

members of the Traditional Council except the Chairmen of the constituent Local Government Councils had their salary from the traditional council. The Council also is responsible for the payment of salaries of all District Heads and the Village Heads in Wukari, Donga and Takum areas.

In 1991, a significant re-organization of traditional administration took place in the newly created Taraba State. New districts were created and some wards upgraded to village status. In Wukari, in the domain of the Aku-Uka, eighteen (18) Districts were created. In Donga in the domain of the Gara Donga five (5) districts were created, while in Takum under the jurisdiction of the Ukwe Takum eight (8) districts were created, bringing the total number of districts in Wukari Traditional Council to thirty one (31).

The districts under the control of the Aku-Uka were as follows, Assa, Avyi, Arufu, Akwana, Bantaje, Chinkai, Rafin-Kada, Kente, Tsokundi, Gidan Idi, Chonku, Matar-Fada, Wukari, Jibu, Ibi, Dampar and Sarkin-Kudu. An interesting aspect of this re-organization that boosted inter-group relations in the area was that the District Heads appointed were the indigenes of the areas. This is contrary to the former practice where princes from Wukari were appointed as absentee District Heads over other ethnic groups.

In Matar-Fada districts Mallam Gambo Sule (Chamba) was appointed the District Head to oversee the following villages with different ethnic groups, Gindin-Dorowa (Jukun, Shomo and Jiru), Nyakwala (Chamba and Jukun) and Nwoko (Jukun). Gambo Sule, in his capacity as District Head, dethroned Kachala (Shomo) as the Village Head of Gindin-Dorowa and in his place installed Magani Baba (Jiru)²⁷⁵. Rafin-Kada had a Chamba as the District Head and some of the

²⁷⁵Interview with Danjuma Gar'uvala... op cit

villages under his jurisdiction had Tiv as Village Heads. Under this arrangement the installation of all the Village Heads was under the control of the District Head in Rafin-Kada.

As mentioned earlier, Donga was divided into five districts, and unlike the Aku-Uka, the Gara of Donga did not appoint indigenous persons as District Heads of the various districts except for Donga district where a Chamba man was appointed as the District Head. Four other districts, Mararaba, Kumbo, Akate and Gayama were without District Heads as the Gara of Donga refused to appoint any man from the ethnic groups that inhabit the areas. The present set up of the Wukari Traditional Council embodied all ethnic groups in the area as it caters for the salaries of all the Village Heads and some selected ward heads in the area. All issues concerning traditions of the people in the area are treated in the council.

5.2 The Chamba Chieftancies of Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada and Relations with the Jukun

Nyakwala is one of the Chamba dominated settlements within Wukari Local Government Area. Prior to the creation of Native Authority with the advent of colonial rule, the chieftaincy was autonomous and ruled by the Gara Nyakwala. Thus, with the creation of colonial administration and the system of indirect rule, it was brought under Wukari Native Authority headed by the Aku-Uka in Wukari. This arrangement brought to an end the autonomy of the Chamba chieftaincy of Nyakwala and it opened a new phase of relations between the Chamba chieftaincy of Nyakwala and the Jukun of Wukari.

This corroborated the position held by Mahmoud Hamman that the British policy of indirect rule in which the Native Authority under the Emirs and Chiefs were central had disintegrative effect on the peoples of the north.²⁷⁶ This development made the hitherto autonomous chieftaincy of

²⁷⁶ Hammam, M, "Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflict---- op cit, p.453

Nyakwala to fall under Jukun authority, the Jukun style of leadership was imposed on them, resulting in various discriminatory practices that they suffered. The grievances of the Chamba against their new lords, the Jukun, may be genuine as they were coerced into Jukun authority. This occurred as a result of the nature of imperialism as practiced generally and British colonialism in particular. For instance, with regard to Native Authority system, Perham commented thus:

*Throughout history there have been circumstances in the extension of imperial power it suited the conquerors to preserve and utilize the institution of the conquered and especially the kinships and chieftaincies which could be used as ready-made economic agencies of coherence and order.*²⁷⁷

The sole aim of the British in each acquired colony was maintaining law and order for the promotion of their economic activity. It is difficult to see how they could at this stage sacrifice their primary interest on the altar of ethnic autonomy.²⁷⁸ This coupled with the unstated strategy of the colonial powers, which was the divide and rule tactic whereby the group with a centralized authority and more dominant was most favoured. This is similar to what transpired between the Emirate system and the non-Muslim groups, whereby the Emirate type of Native Authority system was imposed on the non-Muslim groups.

As we have discussed earlier in chapter three, the Chamba of Nyakwala in 1922 finally established their abode south of Bantaje, by the bank of river Donga. At the beginning, the relations between Wukari and Nyakwala were cordial as each maintained a separate traditional authority. During the colonial tax payment, the Chamba people of Nyakwala paid their tax

²⁷⁷ Perham's introduction to F. J. D. Lugard, *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London 1968, p. xxxiv

²⁷⁸ Hamman, H, *Inter-Ethnic Relations*----- op cit, p458

directly to the colonial treasury in Wukari. The cordial relations between Nyakwala and Wukari turned sour and full of grudges soon after Wukari became a Native Authority.

It happened that when the Gara of Nyakwala, Kuna Garboshe¹ was old and could not personally go to Wukari to submit the tax returns of his people, he was advised by the Aku-Uka to give the money to Ali, the chief of Bantaji, to bring to Wukari on his behalf.²⁷⁹ The Gara of Nyakwala considered this suggestion a great relief to him considering the cordiality between Nyakwala and Bantaji. The intrigue of Wukari was made clear to the people of Nyakwala soon after the death of Gara Kuna Garboshe¹. This was when the next Gara was selected as the tradition demands and the people of Nyakwala sought the permission of the Aku-Uka on his capacity as the head of Wukari Native Authority to install the next Gara. The Aku-Uka asked the Nyakwala people to go to Bantaji for the coronation²⁸⁰. According to the Aku-Uka, this was because the Nyakwala people were under Bantaje as their tax came through the chief of Bantaje. This development did not go down well with the people of Nyakwala who saw this as a calculated attempt by the Aku-Uka to place them under the Fulani of Bantaje.

According to information²⁸¹ collected in Nyakwala, the Aku-Uka did this because the reigning chief of Bantaje was his nephew. This ugly incidence was considered by the Chamba of Nyakwala as a ploy to rob them of their equal status with Bantaje. To them to be under the Aku-Uka in Wukari by the Native Authority arrangement is more acceptable than to be under a village of the same status. The people grudgingly succumbed to the humiliation and went to Bantaje for the installation of their kings. In 1942 Sidi Bobzom was crowned and was later dethroned by the chief of Bantaje Ali in 1947 and was immediately replaced by Adamu Kuna. In

²⁷⁹Interview with Danjuma Gar'uvala ... op. cit

²⁸⁰Interview with Mallam Danji Barau, age 67, the village Head of Nyakwala, in his palace , date 02/09/2014

²⁸¹ Interview with Capt. Habu Umar, op cit, That Ali the chief of Bantaje was the son of the daughter of Aku Uka Awudumanu¹ whom he gave to the chief of Bantaje on the former's assumption to the throne.

1962, Adamu Kuna died and was succeeded by Alhaji Umaru Sule who took steps to ensure that Nyakwala was out of the control of Bantaje which was gained not by conquest but by cunning imposition by the Aku-Uka. Beginning from 1963, he reclaimed all the fish ponds in his jurisdiction which was under the control of Bantaje. He also renamed the ponds in Chamba language, thus *Gauje* was renamed *Bimba*, *Dula* was renamed *Kokari*, *Shiri* was renamed *Kpeketete*. He also stopped the practice of forwarding to Bantaje ferry money across river Donga in Nyakwala. His actions generated quarrel between Nyakwala and Bantaje.²⁸² When the case was brought before the Wukari Native Authority in early 1964, Nyakwala insisted that it had never been under the authority of Bantaje as claimed by the latter. In response, Nyakwala produced tax receipts of its people showing that they paid their tax directly to colonial treasury as an autonomous community. With this evidence of direct tax payment to colonial treasury, Aku-Uka Adi Byewi Ashumanu¹¹ (1960-1970) was convinced and from this period 1964, Nyakwala regained her independence as an autonomous village directly under the Wukari Native Authority the development brought a healthy relations between the Jukun and Chamba in these communities again.

When Nyakwala was attacked and burnt by the Tiv during the Tiv riot of 1964, Aku-Uka Adi Byewi visited the village and sympathized with the people.. He also suggested and insisted that the people cross the river Donga to settle at a safer place closer to Wukari town.²⁸³ The people accepted the advice and moved to settle in their present abode, 43 kilometers to Wukari town. The relations between Nyakwala and Wukari were further tightened because Aku-Uka Adibyewi married Sajo the younger sister of the king of Nyakwala Sidi. The Gara of Nyakwala

²⁸²Interview with Danjuma Gar'uvala ... op cit

²⁸³Interview with Danji Barau ... op cit

was under Aku-Uka, although they maintained the Chamba custom of selecting a new king the final approval was done by the Aku-Uka.

In Nyakwala, some traditional titles are exclusively reserved to the Jukun, and those title holders were part of the Gara's council. The traditional set up of Nyakwala is as follows:

Gara----- Chamba

Gbana----- Chamba

Kpaghati----- Jukun

Nya-----Jukun

Kuni-----Jukun²⁸⁴

This was the composition of the main council of the Gara of Nyakwala and there were some lesser offices occupied by both the Jukun and Chamba.

As noted earlier, the relations between the Chamba of Nyakwala and Jukun became mutual after the Aku-Uka granted them their autonomy from Bantaje. From 1963, Nyakwala regained the status of a village under the authority of the Aku-Uka. In 1983, the relations between the royal house of Nyakwala and Aku-Uka turned bitter again. The Aku-Uka suspended the Gara Nyakwala, Alhaji Umaru Sule, on the grounds that he was disobedient to Wukari Traditional Council. Alhaji Umaru Sule was re-instated as the Gara of Nyakwala in 1987 after he personally asked for forgiveness and pledged total obedience to the Wukari Traditional Council²⁸⁵.

²⁸⁴Interview with Mallam Danji Barau, op cit, also Captain Habu Umar (Rtd), op cit

²⁸⁵Interview with Jibrin Amfani ... op cit

After this incident, harmonious relations between Wukari and Nyakwala were restored. In 1990, the Gara of Nyakwala, Alhaji Umaru Sule, was appointed the Garkuwan Wukari (Shield of Wukari) by the Aku-Uka, Dr Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi Kuvyo 11. This was due to his contributions to Wukari Traditional Council and the Jukun people in general. He represented the Aku-Uka in several functions and was always on his entourage. He was nominally designated the second in command to the Aku-Uka. As a “shield”, he was expected to defend the traditional authority of the entire Jukun people. He was seen as a shield to protect Wukari land and the people. He was held in high esteem by all in the land. When he was killed and beheaded by the Tiv militia during the Jukun-Tiv crisis on the 20th December, 1991, the Jukun went wild and the crisis became more vicious. His death in the hands of the Tiv was regarded as a big blow and a challenge to the entire Jukun people. The Jukun saw it as a provocation and an attack on their sovereignty. The Jukun swiftly reacted and the crisis became furious as would be explained below.

After the demise of Alhaji Umaru Sule, in February 1992, the Aku-Uka appointed his younger brother Mallam Gambo Sule as the District Head of the newly created Matar-Fada district which was created in the same year. At the same time, Mallam Danji Barau of Garboshe royal family was made the Village Head of Nyakwala. Matar-Fada District consisted of three villages, namely Nyakwala, Gindin-dorowa and Nwuko.²⁸⁶

The Chamba of Rafin-Kada were divided into four groups, namely Gavyo, Gaya, Zungo and Ason. Each of these groups has a leader²⁸⁷. As a result of internal feud among them, it was

²⁸⁶Interview with Mallam Danji Barau ... op cit

²⁸⁷Mallam Gamboro Sanvala... op cit

difficult for them to have a single central authority to control the village. Even though they lived in the same village, they were separated in terms of recognition of their leader.

Following the disagreement among them and their inability to present one person as a leader, the Aku-Uka capitalized on this and appointed a person of his choice as the District Head in Rafin-Kada. The people rejected the person imposed on them as the District head by the Aku-Uka on the ground that he was not a member of the ruling houses in Rafin-Kada.

In Rafin-Kada village the Chamba and Jukun were virtually inter-mixed and more than any other town in our area of study were culturally intertwined²⁸⁸. The village, which is at the border between Taraba and Benue States, was on several occasions attacked by the Tiv during the Jukun/Tiv crisis. Many of the Tiv people in Abako in Benue State said that all the people of Rafin-Kada were Jukun and that was why they attacked them.²⁸⁹ Some of the Tiv said that they knew that the people of Rafin-Kada were Chamba but attacked them because they have been Jukunised.

5.3 Inter-Group Relations in Wukari Area and Jukun- Chamba Relations, 1987-1992

It is pertinent to note that since the creation of Wukari Local Government in 1976, all the ethnic groups that lived in the area in pre-colonial times were actively involved in the administration of the Local Council. These ethnic groups include Jukun, Chamba, Tiv, Kanuri and Hausa. Thus, it is important to begin the discussion of this phase of inter-group relations in Wukari Local

²⁸⁸ibid

²⁸⁹Interview with a group of Tiv men in Abako village in Benue state they include Mnguor Naben, age 70, Terver Gbam, age 64, John Iorvenda, age 65, Terkula Torver, age 45 all were farmers the interview was conducted on 30/09/2014 under a big shade in the village. In 1992 the village was in Wukari Local Government in Taraba State. In 1997, during General Sani Abacha regime, the Major General Adisa committee on Benue/Taraba inter -state boundary requiesced to the Tiv position, through a "communique" popularly known as *Makurdi Declaration* of determining boundaries through shift in population. This resulted in excision of some parts of Taraba State like Abako, Va'ase, Gbeji, Anyiin, Sai, and Tor Angongo to Benue State

Government by taking a look at the list of Chairmen of Wukari Local Government Area from 1977 to 1992 to see the extent of inter-group relations that had existed in the area.

List of Chairmen of Wukari Local Government Area from 1977-1992

Name	Ethnic Group	Year
1 Mal. Ibrahim Sangari Usman	Abakwariga	15/01/77 to 02/02/78
2 Mr. Andrew Salla Tsokwa	Jukun	15/04/78 to 20/12/79
3 Alh. Danladi Shehu	Kanuri	20 /12/79 to 15/11/80
4 Mal. Gambo Sule	Chamba	15 /11/80 to 15/03/81
5 Mr. Simon Iyorter Tor Musa	Tiv	15/03/81 to 30 /09/83
6 Alh. Sidi Dan-Iya	Hausa	03/10/83 to 30/04/84
7 Alh. Attahiru Mamman	Hausa	01/05/84 to 30/06/86
8 Dr. Yusuf Mohammed Magaji	Hausa	01/07/86 to 31/12/87
9 Alh. Danladi Shehu	Kanuri	01/01/88 to 31/07/89
10 Alh. Nuhu M. Mubi	Fulani	31/07/89 to 31/12/90
11 Mr. Samuel T. Adda	Jukun	01/01/91 to 27/08/91
12 Hajiya Zainab Mohammed	Wurkum	30/09/91 to 01/12/91
13 Mr. Samuel T. Adda	Jukun	01/12/92 to 20/05/93. ²⁹⁰

With the advent of party politics during the Second Republic, the political landscape of Wukari Local Government was characterized by tolerance and mutual respect. All the ethnic groups belonged to all the registered political parties. All the five registered political parties had representation as officials from all the ethnic groups in the area. The five registered political parties were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) and the Peoples Redemption

²⁹⁰ Atoshi, G.A. op cit. p.62, Also see Akinwumi, J and Abereoran, J, Shaped by Destiny... op cit, p132. Serial NO 6,7,10 and 12 of the Executives of the Local Government Council enumerated above were Sole Administrators appointed by the State Government.

Party (PRP). Among these parties NPN and GNPP were the most popular in the Local Government. In Wukari Local Government, NPN had Alhaji Saidu Ali (Hausa) as a party Chairman, Sabo Angyu (Jukun) and Adamu Inda Chinkai (Nupe) as First and Second Vice Chairmen respectively. Stephen Ikyaa (Tiv) served as the Party Secretary. The political scene in 1979 was less antagonistic compared to the politics in 1959 mentioned earlier.²⁹¹

During the Second Republic, the Tiv who had before now been playing politics of opposition had repaired their relationship with their erstwhile opponents in the Northern part of the country. In the case of Former Wukari Federation, the Tiv under their political leader, Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, had mended fences with the Jukun leading politicians like Ibrahim Sangari Usman, a doyen of Wukari politics, and Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf from Takum. These two Jukun politicians were also among the big wigs of NPN in Gongola State. At that time, Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf was the State Chairman of NPN in Gongola State.

As a result of the new reconciliatory spirit between the Jukun and the Tiv, Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, Ibrahim Sangari Usman and Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf undertook an intensive tour of southern Gongola State, especially the area with substantial Tiv population, where the Tiv people were convinced to enter into political alliance with the Jukun and other groups in Wukari area. As a result of the mutual agreement between the Tiv and the Jukun in this area, a zoning formula was adopted in the former Wukari Division for all elective posts by NPN. Based on the zoning system, between 1979 and 1983, Iliya Audu (Jukun) from Takum was elected as Senator and Agya Agbu Joro (Jukun) from Wukari was elected Member House of Representatives. David Ntuen (Tiv), Simon Awua (Tiv), Saddiq Habu Gurama (Kanuri) and Idris Waziri (Jukun) were members of Gongola State House of Assembly. Aliyu Habu Fari (Abakwariga) was appointed

²⁹¹ ibid

Minister of State in the Federal Cabinet. It should be noted that Gongola State was ruled by the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) with Alhaji Abubakar Barde as the Executive Governor. The Governor appointed Simon Iyorter Tor Musa (Tiv) as the Executive Chairman of Wukari Local Government Council, from 15th May 1981 to 30th September 1983²⁹². Many other people, cutting across ethnic and religious bodies, were also given various Board appointments.

Everything worked out harmoniously well because of the collective goodwill of all interest groups in the Local Government area. What is more, commercial activities and control of the transport system in the Local Government were absolutely in the hands of the non-Jukun. All the ethnic groups in Wukari Local Government have been fully integrated into Jukun society and were feeling at home. With that kind of cordiality that had existed among all the ethnic groups in Wukari area, any ethnic group, could win election since the other groups were mandated to support it. It was on the zoning system that the Tiv won elections to represent some constituencies in Wukari during the Second Republic. The Tiv people having occupied some prestigious political positions in Wukari Local Government and Southern zone in Gongola State, which was only possible through the zoning system adopted, soon gave the impression that they on their own were capable of winning elections without any help from other ethnic groups in the area. The Tiv began to orchestrate that they won the 1979 elections as a result of their numerical superiority.

The 1983 military coup put an abrupt end to the Second Republic and equally all political activities were banned. During this period, the Tiv were consolidating themselves in Wukari, Donga and Takum areas. The Jukun and Chamba in Wukari began to fear the possible domination of their area by the Tiv. The attitudes of the Tiv toward land grab without regard to

²⁹² ibid , p 134

the respected Jukun traditional authority angered the Jukun and prompted them to have a re-think on how to handle them in subsequent elections.²⁹³ The period between 1984 and 1986 was calm because of the ban on party politics by the military government, first headed by Major General Muhammadu Buhari (31st December 1983- 27th August 1985) and later General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (27th August 1985- 27th August 1993).

In 1987, the Military government lifted the ban on party politics and declared Local Government election on non-party basis (zero party). From this period, a negative chapter in the history of inter-group relations in the Wukari area began and the struggle for political domination by the ethnic groups in Wukari area became pronounced. This greatly jeopardized harmonious inter-group relations that characterized the area for long, infact, inter- group relations in Wukari town and its environs (especially between the Jukun and Tiv) at this time have been characterized by suspicions, hatred, antagonism and intermittent crises. Even though, as we shall see in the following discussion, land factor was paraded as the main issue at stake, the fundamental factor for the crisis was politics. This view is corroborated by Elijah T. Akumbo's comment on the nature of inter-group relations in Wukari area, thus:

*The immediate political factor which generated issues that eventually led to the first major conflict was the Tiv-Hausa political alliance in the area in 1987. The political experience across the country resulting from the zero- party and two- party arrangements instituted by the Babangida regime in 1987 and 1990, respectively, hampered the process of inter-religio-ethnic harmony.*²⁹⁴

During the zero party system, six candidates contested the Chairmanship of Wukari Local Government Council. They were, Andrew Salla Tsokwa, Samuel Tsovini Adda, James Babanya

²⁹³ Interview with Tanko Adihiko age 48 a Post Graduate Student of Benue State University, Dept. of History, in his house in Wukari on 13/12/2014

²⁹⁴ Emma-Lawson Hassan and Elijah T. Akumbo, "Ethnic violence in Southern Taraba and Security challenges in the North-East Region of Nigeria: The case of the Tiv-Jukun and Kuteb-Chamba conflicts," p.11

Orume, Atoshi Gambo Zaku, Yahaya Habu Fari and Danladi Shehu. All the candidates except Yahaya Habu Fari (Abakwariga, a cousin of the present Aku-Uka) and Danladi Shehu (Kanuri) were Jukun.

Out of all these candidates, it was only Danladi Shehu who picked a Tiv man, Singa Abako, as a running mate. Following the Hausa/Tiv alliance, the Tiv voted en-mass for Danladi Shehu. The results of the election were as follows:

1. Danladi Shehu-----31,205
2. Andrew Salla Tsokwa-----28,958
3. Samuel Tsovini Adda-----16,884
4. Yahaya Habu Fari-----9,310
5. Atoshi Gambo Zaku----- 3,002
6. James Babanya Orume-(stepped down before the election) 2,525²⁹⁵

The victory of the Tiv candidate Danladi Shehu further strengthened the Tiv claim of being the most populous ethnic group in Wukari area, for they interpreted the victory of Danladi Shehu to mean that they were more in number than the Jukun.

From the results above, it could be seen that Danladi Shehu won because the Jukun split their votes among their four candidates. It is obvious that, if the Jukun had presented a consensus candidate, he would have won. This is because; the votes of Andrew Salla Tsokwa, Samuel Tsovini Adda, Atoshi Gambo Zaku and James Babanya Orume together amounted to 51,369 as

²⁹⁵ Atoshi, G,A, op cit, p14

against 31,205 votes of the Hausa/Tiv alliance²⁹⁶. From that election, the Jukun learnt a bitter lesson and the popular adage “United we stand and Divided we fall” became so clear to them.

To the Jukun the Hausa/Tiv political alliance was a normal political process, but the utterances of Danladi Shehu towards the Jukun people and the Aku-Uka made them to re-consider the way to handle the Tiv and Danladi Shehu himself. In his capacity as the Chairman of Wukari Local Government, Danladi Shehu brewed trouble by insisting to take over from the Wukari Traditional Council the responsibility of organizing the Nwonyu fishing festival at Ibi.²⁹⁷ He interfered by announcing a date contrary to the one announced by the Aku-Uka who is the President of Wukari Traditional Council that was responsible for organizing festival and other traditional activities. This action by Danladi Shehu was regarded as disrespect to the office of the Aku-Uka.

In the Jukun traditions, as earlier mentioned, the Aku-Uka is regarded as an intermediary who serves between his people and the gods. Any disrespect for the Aku is not taken lightly by the Jukun. The action of Danladi Shehu was considered as a disrespect to the Aku-Uka who himself represents the gods. As such Danladi Shehu was said to have committed a crime against the gods and the entire Jukun people,²⁹⁸ hence, he was thoroughly beaten in a mob action which left him in a state of comma on 3rd April, 1989. The actions of Danladi Shehu as the Chairman of Wukari Local Government and even when he left the office was against the Jukun, his mother’s ethnic group. Describing Danladi Shehu, the Reverend Luka D. Agbu wrote:

To be frank, Alhaji Danladi Shehu was really a very clever Kanuri politician. He succeeded in his work in deceiving the Tiv indirectly and awakening his maternal Jukun brothers to arm themselves properly to

²⁹⁶ ibid, p 15

²⁹⁷ The Nwonyu fishing festival was an annual festival organized by Wukari Traditional Council.

²⁹⁸ Atoshi, G.A, op cit, p.15

*defend their mother land, otherwise they might one day be slaughtered by the Tivs who wanted their land for cropping.*²⁹⁹

During the Two-Party system (Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC)), Danladi Shehu led the Hausa/Tiv alliance to dominate the NRC Party. He planned to use the Tiv to enable him win another chairmanship election. His style of leadership and the way he wanted to dominate the Jukun split the NRC into two factions—the Hausa/Tiv faction and the Jukun faction. Danladi Shehu stood for the Hausa/Tiv faction while Zakari Adimbo (Jukun) led the Jukun faction.

Intra-party squabbles erupted in the NRC, and it revolved around the supporters of Danladi Shehu and that of Zakari Adimbo. On the election to decide the chairman of the party in Wukari Local Government, the two factions clashed. The contest for the chairmanship of the party in the Local Government was between John Kwangu (Tiv) who was sponsored by Danladi Shehu and Daniel T. Angyu (Jukun) supported by Zakari Adimbo.

On 26th May, 1990, as the party members converged at Saint Mary's Primary School, Wukari, for the election, the two factions clashed. It was a violent one, which turned in to mob action, leaving seven people dead and several others sustained various degrees of injuries.³⁰⁰ The clash, it is said to have erupted as a result of the refusal of the Jukun faction in NRC to allow the Tiv whom they alleged to have come from Benue State to vote in the election. The Jukun had alleged that in previous elections some Tiv were brought in from Benue State to vote for Tiv candidates in Wukari.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Agbu, L.D, op cit, p20

³⁰⁰ Atoshi, G.A, op cit, p16

³⁰¹ Atoshi, G.A, op cit, p18

The political tension after the clash marred inter-group relations in Wukari Local Government so much that the Military Administrator of Gongola State, Group Captain Salihu Abubakar, had to step in by inviting various representatives of interest groups in Wukari to Yola.³⁰² The meeting pointed to the intra-party squabbles in the NRC and the unguarded and disrespectful utterances of Danladi Shehu as the cause of the violent clash in Wukari. Since all blames were heaped on Danladi Shehu, the meeting resolved that he should personally apologize to the Aku-Uka. The Military Administrator converted the members of the meeting into a peace committee saddled with the responsibility of restoring peace in Wukari. As agreed, when the peace committee returned to Wukari, it went to the Aku-Uka palace where Danladi Shehu begged the Aku-Uka to forgive him of his misdeeds. At the same time, Umaru Sule, a member of the Peace Committee who had been stripped of his position as a Village Head of Nyakwala as a result of gross disobedience to the Aku-Uka, also pleaded with the latter to forgive him. Both were forgiven by the Aku-Uka, and Umaru Sule was re-instated as the Village Head of Nyakwala.³⁰³

This political trend continued during the December 1990 Local Government elections. The contest was between SDP and NRC. The National Electoral Commission (NEC), the body responsible for the conduct of the election, came out with guidelines on the minimum education qualification that aspirants for the Local Government Council must possess. A minimum of West African School Certificate (WASC), Teachers' Grade II Certificate or its equivalent and Danladi Shehu who had the intention of contesting for the Chairman of the Local Government under the

³⁰² The people invited were Mallam Ibrahim Usman Sangari, Alhaji Danladi Shehu, Alhaji Zakari Adimbo, Mr. Samuel T. Adda, Mr. Andrew Salla Tsokwa, Mr. Agya Agbu Joro, Mr. Jibrin Amfani, Mr. Daniel T. Agyo, Alhaji Baba Ajiya, Alhaji Isa Dangajere, Alhaji Baba Ibi, Alhaji Isa Barau, Mr. Daniel B. Agbu, Alhaji Abdullahi Adimbo, Mallam Abdullahi Kaduna, Alhaji Ladan Sani, Alhaji Isa I. Yakubu, Mr. Edward S. Adimbo, Alhaji Adamu Atoshi, Mr. Wunuji Adimani, Alhaji Umaru Sule, Alhaji Saddiq Habu Gurama, the Reverend Ishaya Ba'aku Gani. Other people living outside Wukari but invited were, Mr. Baba Adi, Mr. Samuel Danjuma Gani, Mr. Tanko Orume and Dr. Yusufu Magaji.

³⁰³ Atoshi, G, A, op cit, p17

umbrella of NRC had none of these and on this ground he stood disqualified. However, as the leader of the NRC and the chief facilitator of Hausa/Tiv alliance, he ensured that no Jukun emerged as a candidate in NRC. He fielded Sale Usman Danboyi (Hausa) and Orbee Uchiv (Tiv) as running mate as NRC's candidates for the council election. Efforts made by the Jukun faction in the NRC to put in a Jukun man in a key position for the Local Government Council election was turned down by Danladi Shehu and the Tiv who believe that the Hausa/Tiv alliance is greater in number than the Jukun. The Jukun in the NRC were worried as they saw the electoral positions shared to other ethnic groups. On the other hand, the SDP was dominated by the Jukun, and for the Local Government Council election then fielded a consensus candidate in the person of Samuel Tsovini Adda and Mukaila (Shomo) as running mate. When the election came up on 8th December, 1990, it was an open-ballot system. Some of the Jukun factions in the NRC publicly voted for SDP, for they considered a vote for NRC amounting to their becoming strangers and slaves in their land.³⁰⁴ When the results of the elections were released, Samuel Tsovini Adda had 53,000 votes of the total votes cast while Sale Usman Danboyi got 32,000 votes.³⁰⁵ Jukun candidates in SDP also won six seats for councilors living the Hausa/Tiv NRC with four councilors. Consequently, Samuel Tsovini Adda was sworn in as the Executive Chairman of Wukari Local Government.

The victory of the Jukun at the poll came as a surprise to the Hausa and Tiv peoples in the area. Orbee (Tiv), a defeated Vice Chairmanship candidate of NRC in the December 8, 1990 election in an interview with NewsLinks Newspaper said the December election was an execution of electoral coup by the Jukun, and that there was a "time bomb" yet to explode because the other ethnic groups in Wukari could no longer continue to suffer all kinds of maltreatment in the hands

³⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.20

³⁰⁵ *ibid*

of the Jukun.³⁰⁶ Related to this, another Tiv man, Orsar Tyowua said “the Jukun are persecuting the Tiv because of their [Tiv] alliance with the Hausa settlers to take away the political control of Wukari from the Jukun”³⁰⁷ In Wukari Local Government, the SDP and NRC became the umbrellas where contending groups exhibited hostile political culture towards one another. The affiliation to the two political parties reflected their differences and here it was ethnically inclined.

The bitterness that characterized inter-group relations in Wukari area were further heightened after the election of Samuel Tsovini Adda. The “time bomb” predicted by Orbee, a Tiv man, exploded. Clashes hatched on farm land disputes between the Jukun and Tiv erupted in several places in Wukari Local Government area. Few examples will suffice. In Tsokundi village, two Jukun boys were beaten and left with serious injuries by the Tiv over a dispute of ownership of a piece of land. In Nwuba Village, the Tiv destroyed the millet of some Jukun who retaliated by destroying Tiv yams. In Son-di, Kente and Riti, the Tiv destroyed the germinating yams on the farms of the Jukun people.³⁰⁸

The Chairman of the Local Government, Samuel Tsovini Adda set up a peace committee at the Local Government level to handle cases of farm disputes between the Jukun and the Tiv (the two dominant ethnic groups that inhabit the farm land and frequently clash for one piece of land or the other). The committee had equal number of Jukun and Tiv as members to represent their interests. The committee visited all the areas of farm land disputes between the Jukun and Tiv reported to them.

³⁰⁶ *ibid*, p21

³⁰⁷ *ibid*,

³⁰⁸ *ibid*, p25

On 27th August, 1991, the political map of Nigeria was redrawn. The former Gongola State was split into two. The former Muri, Sardauna and Wukari Divisions formed a new state—Taraba State. With the creation of Taraba State and Ibi Local Government out of Wukari Local government, the elected Local Government Council headed by Samuel Tsovini Adda was dissolved. A Sole Administrator, Zainab Ahmed, was appointed to run the affairs of the Local Government³⁰⁹. The skirmishes between the Jukun and the Tiv continued and it became more violent and spread all over the Local Government area. The Jukun people living in the farmlands and villages ran to Wukari town, while the Tiv people ran to Benue State. There were several reports of Jukun people killed on the road blocks mounted by the Tiv on the high ways. The Jukun in retaliation killed the Tiv on the farm lands and some villages. The magnitude of the conflict grew beyond the scope of the local government peace committee.

To curtail the conflict from escalating into full scale war, some members of Tiv Cultural Association in Wukari Local Government met the Aku-Uka and put forth some suggestions on the way to bring an end to the impending conflict. Arising from the meeting with the Aku-Uka, another meeting was summoned by the Aku-Uka in conjunction with the Sole Administration of the Local Government. In attendance were all the four District Heads in Wukari, all the Tiv Ward Heads, members of Tiv Cultural Association and members of the Local Government Peace Committee. The meeting was a futile effort as the conflict persisted. Many Tiv farmers and civil servants domiciled in Wukari left for Benue State. Many non-Jukun people in Wukari also left because of fear of possible Tiv attack on the town.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ibid

³¹⁰Emma L, H, Akombo, E, op cit, p 18

The unhealthy nature of inter-group relations in Wukari area negatively affected the conduct of the 1991 population census exercise. Most of the Tiv people domiciled in Wukari refused to be counted, Census officials were driven away and their lives threatened by the Tiv. Vehicles conveying census officials to villages were blocked by some Tiv people.

All efforts put forth by the Local and State³¹¹ Governments to restore peace in Wukari area yielded little positive result. Inter- group relations were marred with suspicions. The Hausa people were suspected to be aiding the Tiv by supplying them with foodstuff and information regarding Jukun movement. One Sale Zaria, a Hausa business man and resided in Wukari was alleged to be collaborating with the Tiv and he was killed and his vehicle burnt by the angry Jukun youth on the outskirts of Wukari town.³¹²

The conflict became more intensified by December 1991. The victim of the Tiv destruction was not only the Jukun, the Chamba of Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada in Wukari Local Government but also the Chamba in Akatai, Suntai and some villages in Donga Local Government. On 4th December, 1991, the Village Head of Nyakwala Umaru Sule was killed by a group of Tiv people. He was invited to Chiye village³¹³ by some Tiv to intervene in a lingering feud with some Jukun group. A young Tiv man whom Umaru Sule brought up in his house was the one that accompanied him to the meeting where he met his death.

Umaru Sule's death was a major blow to the entire Jukun people because of the position he held as the Garkuwa (the shield) of Wukari. His appointment by the Aku-Uka as the Garkuwa was in appreciation of his services to him and the generality of the Jukun. Moreover, the way his corpse was mutilated by his assailants angered the Jukun and the Chamba. His death was the last straw

³¹¹Gongola and later Taraba State

³¹²Atoshi, G,A, op cit, p32

³¹³ Chiye was a Tiv farm land settlement under Nyakwala village.

that broke the Carmel's back. A total elimination of the Tiv people in Wukari area was declared. The Jukun and Chamba of Nyakwala reacted swiftly by invading the Tiv in Abem and Ambishu, living several people dead and the villages burnt down completely. The Tiv living in Jukun villages such as Nwuko, Tsokundi, Tunari and Gidan-Idi fled. The Tiv also attacked and killed many Jukun people in Kente, Fyayi and Akwana. At Rafin-Kada, the Tiv burnt the power generating plant installed by the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) but the people repelled the attack. An atmosphere of war emerged in the whole area. The targets of the Tiv were the Jukun and Chamba. The Jukun and Chamba on the other hand had the Tiv as prime targets but they also vented their anger on any Hausa person or group that harbored the Tiv people. The Jukun alleged that the Fulani people of Bantaje hosted and assisted the Tiv in their attacks on Jukun villages. The Jukun attacked Bantaje village and left it half burnt. Several other people were reported to have been treated badly as a result of their collaboration with the Tiv.

The political tension which was responsible for the unhealthy inter-group relations in the area suddenly subsided, when Danladi Shehu who was a strong member of NRC and a strong antagonist of the Jukun decamped to SDP. His action was said to be as a result of the disqualification of Ando Shaki (Kuteb from Takum) as NRC candidate for governorship aspirant of Taraba State and his replacement with Ahmed Jalingo. It should be noted that the SDP had the Reverend Jolly T. Nyame as candidate for governorship and Samuel Danjuma Gani (Jukun from Wukari) as his running mate. Danladi Shehu was promised a good political position should the SDP win the election as such he was seen publicly campaigning for the party. Consequent upon this development, the two factions in the NRC mended their differences and voted for SDP. With this development, relative calm was restored between the Jukun and Hausa communities in

Wukari. It should be reiterated that, inter-group relations in our study area had been characterized by violent clashes which were occasioned by the groups struggle for political leadership; especially as they developed the political culture of the winner takes all. The quest for political dominance by the ethnic groups degenerated into violence.

In Wukari area, the nature of inter-group relations was twofold. On the one hand, the Hausa and the Tiv were disgruntled because of what they claimed as the domineering posture of the Jukun but on the other hand, the Jukun and Chamba felt they were the indigenes while others were settlers and therefore should be treated as second hand inhabitants in the area. The Tiv, in particular, have continued to insist that since they also belong to the area by virtue of their long history of existence they must be given a fair chance to participate in the governance of the area.

The Tiv position was explicitly expressed by Avav/Myegba thus:

*It is important to remind the Jukun that the Tiv of Wukari do not have any place outside Wukari that they can boast of. Yes, there is Tiv land in Benue State, unfortunately, the Tiv in Wukari and, indeed, Taraba State have no claim thereto---. Therefore, the only way to avert further antagonism between these two tribes is to cultivate a shared spirit of oneness, predicated not on arguments of perceived fatherlands, in exclusive terms but on the realities that it is impossible to throw out the Tiv even where history did not err.*³¹⁴

These forms of contestations were the features of inter-group relations in our study area for a long period. It is important to note that when it comes to the issues that concern the Tiv people, the Jukun and Chamba become solidly united. This is because, the Jukun and Chamba, saw the Tiv as land “grabber”, “colonizers” and “occupier” of land by force.³¹⁵ That the Tiv for long nursed the intention to occupy the land of their neighbours, and as such, the Jukun and Chamba

³¹⁴ Avav, T and Myegba, M, *The dream to conquer; The story Tiv –Jukun crisis*, Swem Katagbe Series Makurdi, 1992, p.32

³¹⁵ Group interview in Rafin-Kada with Daniel Emmanuel, Audu Kaura, age 43 and 57 respectively, conducted on 30/10/2014 in the house of Daniel.

who had inhabited this territory for years and have been co-existing would not allow them to dominate the land. The Tiv attitude to neighbouring land was succinctly articulated by a reputable Tiv historian, Makar who wrote thus:

*The main economic pursuits of the people [Tiv] for example, farming seems to have dictated the political decision to acquire more lands. The people are basically farmers. They normally required plenty of land to till and grow different crops namely, yam, cassava, guinea corn, millet, maize, potatoes and so on. Other aspects of economic activities including hunting, raising of livestock and production from the home industries such as pottery-making, smelting, weaving, carpentry, leather-work and beer making. These economic necessities in addition to **ever increasing population made the colonization of lands the most pressing demand of the Tiv people in the 19th century.** There was apparently no group capable of threatening their existence as a group or halting their colonization of more lands. Colonization for instance, was carefully and systematically planned and brilliantly executed.³¹⁶(Emphasis is mine)*

The fear of their land being controlled and dominated by the Tiv made the Jukun and Chamba suspicious of any move by the Tiv. This explains why the Jukun and Chamba condemned what was regarded as Ten Point Abuja Resolutions meant to end the Jukun –Tiv crisis of 1991-1992.

It is important for the purpose of clarity, to briefly state the composition of the meeting that came up with the ten point resolutions to end the crisis between the Jukun and Tiv. This was conducted under the Chairmanship of the then Vice President, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu. There were series of meetings held between the Vice President and the protagonist in the war. Those who participated in the meeting included Inspector-General of the Police, Alhaji Aliyu Attah and the General officer commanding the 2nd Mechanized Division of the Nigerian army, Ibadan, Brigadier-General John Mark Inienger (a Tiv man), representing the Federal government. On the Benue State delegation were, the Governor, Rev.Father Moses Adasu, Secretary to the State

³¹⁶Tesen, M, A History of Political Change Among the Tiv... op cit, p142 also see Olayemi, O, and Joseph, A, *Shaped by Destiny, A Biography of Dr.Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi*,... op cit, p.97

Government and the state Commissioner of Police. Others were Tor Tiv, Orchivirigh, Alfred Torkula, Tilley Gyado and J. K Wanu. The Taraba State delegation on the other hand was led by Rev. Jolly Nyame, Governor of the State, Salihu Dogo the Secretary to the State Government, Mr. Dauda Gololo State Commissioner of Police and Dr. Yusuf Magaji. Others were the Aku-Uka, Dr. Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi, Ibrahim Sangari Usman and Jibrin Amfani.³¹⁷

The meeting came out with a ten point peace agreement aimed at resolving the lingering crisis between the Tiv and Jukun. It was this peace plan that the Jukun and Chamba vehemently objected, and considered it an attempt to lord the Tiv over them. In the first place, the Jukun and Chamba asked why was Brigadier-General John Inienger present at the meeting and sitting side by side with Admiral Aikhomu. They felt that his presence might have influenced the ten point peace plan in favour of his tribesmen. If not what brought a GOC from Ibadan into the peace talk when Wukari, the strife zone, is under the Third Armoured Division, Jos?

Now let us look at the ten point peace resolutions aimed at bringing a lasting peace between the Tiv and Jukun.

1 The two traditional rulers, the Aku-Uka and the Tor Tiv should do more than they have been doing to bring peace to the area.

2 The Aku-Uka should invite the Tor Tiv to Wukari for a crusade to talk to both the Tiv and the Jukun in Wukari.

3 The Governor of Taraba State should make sure that in reconstituting the Wukari Traditional Council, the representation of the Tiv people is well addressed.

³¹⁷ Adamu, A.D, Issues in the Tiv-Jukun Conflict op cit, p110

4The Police should disarm everybody in Wukari, Donga, Takum and Ibi Local Governments in Taraba State, and Katsina-Ala and Ukum Local Governments in Benue State. ThePolice are to make sure that there are no road blocks and if there should be any, they should be manned by the Police.

5On the issue of boundary between Benue and Taraba States, the Vice President is to meet with the two Governors (Benue and Taraba) after the report of same is submitted by the National Boundary Commission.

6 As much as possible, only road blocks that are approaches to Local Government and manned by the Police are to be allowed.

7 Regular report to the Vice President.

8 The two Governors should jointly tour the crisis area so as to ascertain the extent of relief measures needed to rehabilitate all those affected in the crisis. They should forward a report to the Vice President.

9 The displaced people should be encouraged to return home without delay and thePolice should provide security for the returnees.

10 The Governor of Taraba State will hence forth be held responsible if the crisis continues.³¹⁸

The Jukun through their spokesman, Danjuma Adamu Angyeze, described the position they found themselves at the Aikhomu led peace conference in Abuja as reminiscent of the infamous treaty of Versailles, France, between the allied countries and a defeated Germany in 1919, where

³¹⁸ Danjuma, A, Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict, op cit, pp 116-131

the Germans were not allowed into the discussions but were simply presented with the terms and told to append their signatures.³¹⁹

For the purpose of this study, we shall only consider the observations of the Jukun on resolutions No.3 and No.4, because it seem to be the main issue against smooth inter- group relations between the major ethnic groups in the area and the manner in which the Jukun and Chamba responded to it deepen the ethnic division in the area.

NO.3 The Governor of Taraba State should make sure that in reconstituting the Wukari Traditional Council, the representation of the Tiv people is well addressed.

To this resolution, the Jukun and Chamba asked whether the Tiv are part of the tradition and culture of the people of former Wukari Division. They observed that unless the Federal Government is setting a precedence to be observed throughout Nigeria, why should Wukari be singled out here in things that are purely traditional matter? At any rate, it is just like saying because there is a large number of Igbo in Kano, Hausa in Gboko, Yoruba in Zaria, so they should be represented in these Emirate Councils or the Tiv Traditional Council. They emphasized that the Tiv has distinct cultural traits that are not in any way close to the traits of those ethnic groups that constituted the Wukari Traditional Council. They further argued that if it is necessary for the Tiv to be included in the Wukari Traditional Council, why wouldn't the Federal Government advocate same for the Hausa in Yoruba land, the Igbo in Hausaland or in Tivland or Yoruba in every area of the northern part of the country they are found in large number and vice versa for the Hausa in the west? What about other ethnic groups who have

³¹⁹The position was published in Vanguard Newspapers' column: TIV/JUKUN INQUEST on Tuesday, January 1 and Wednesday, January 2, 2002 on both dates on page 35. It was published in response to the repeated call by the Tiv for the implementation of the Ten point peace agenda arrived at in 1992. The Tiv people claimed that the 2001/2002 Tiv –Jukun crisis was as a result of the failure of both the State and the Federal Governments to implement the acclaim Peace Agenda.

resided in the area long before the arrival of the Tiv, such as the Abakwariga and Hausa who are indigenous people but are not represented in the Wukari Traditional Council?

Resolution No.4 states that *the police should disarm everybody in Wukari, Donga, Takum and Ibi Local Governments in Taraba State and Katsina-Ala and Ukum Local Government Areas in Benue State.*

To this resolution, the Jukun and Chamba reasoned that if the disarmament process was to be fair and just, then just as the whole former Wukari Division was to be disarmed, so too must the whole of former Tiv division. If this was not done, they argued, the Tiv that were not disarmed in the remaining ten Tiv Local Governments areas could freely move about and either use their weapons to attack the disarmed people in former Wukari division or rearm their disarmed brothers in the two Local Governments areas. They insisted that justice must be done and all ethnic groups involved in the conflict must be treated equally.

The Jukun and Chamba quickly recalled an incident that occurred in 1964 during the Tiv riots in Wukari Division. The soldiers under the command of Major Chris Anuforo disarmed all the people of the area. Many people in former Wukari Division were framed up and dehumanized in the process. One of the victims was the Ukwe (Chief) of Takum, Alhaji Ali Ibrahim. The army claimed to find a sizeable cache of arms and ammunitions in his palace. He was bundled into an army vehicle and taken to their camp in Wukari. It was after several public outcries that Major Chris Anuforo was disengaged and replaced by Major Hassan Katsina who immediately freed the traditional monarch and the people involved in the frame up. Thus, the people of former Wukari Division saw the resolution to disarm everybody as a trap and as a means to witch hunt them. To the Jukun, the ten point peace resolution was not just and fair to them and therefore

could not bring the desired peace in the Tiv-Jukun conflict. Those resolutions were never meant to address the conflicts with a sense of fairness and justice. Little wonder that the way the conflict was poorly managed by the Federal Military Government led to another phase of Tiv-Jukun conflict in 2001/2002 which was more violent and devastating.

In many places across the country and the world at large where crisis occurred, the effects on inter-group relations remain long lasting. In the Wukari area, what was popularly called the Tiv-Jukun crisis closed the slim gap that differentiates the Jukun and Chamba peoples. Prior to the conflict, the Chamba through their cultural organization campaigned for their ethnic identity and recognition. There was move for the emancipation of Chamba people identity in order to imbibe their culture and to jettison Jukun culture which they practiced.

During the Tiv-Jukun crisis, the venom of the Tiv dagger was not only on the Jukun but also the Chamba, both in Wukari and Donga areas. For many of the Chamba people resident in Donga were identified and killed by the Tiv militia on the road blocks mounted on the Wukari-Jalingo high way. According to Atoshi:

*As at the morning of February 12 [1992] the road block along Jalingo road at Matar-Fada was still on.... A report sent to Wukari revealed that the Tiv had stopped a government vehicle (bus) and slaughtered about eight passengers, four of whom were confirmed Jukun and Chamba.*³²⁰

Apart from the Chamba in Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada that actually were together with the Jukun in the war of defence and retaliations against the Tiv, those of Donga main town actively supported the Jukun during the crisis. It is therefore, safe to say that the Tiv-Jukun crisis smoothened and cemented the relations between the Jukun and Chamba. In other words, the crisis was an additional ingredient to the strong affinity between the Jukun and Chamba.

³²⁰ Atoshi G, A The Story of the Jukun and Tiv Crisis op cit, p36

This affinity between the Jukun and Chamba in Wukari and Donga was extended to the already existing ethnic affinity in Takum known as Chamba-Jukun. During the Kuteb-Chamba/Jukun crisis in Takum which started in 1992, the Chamba and Jukun of Wukari and Donga stood behind the Chamba-Jukun of Takum Local Government. We should add here for the purpose of clarity that, the group known today as Chamba-Jukun or Jukun –Chamba in Takum Local Government came up as a result of gradual inter-group relations that took place among the different ethnic groups over the years. These ethnic groups that gradually melted through interaction to become Chamba-Jukun in Takum Local Government include Tikari, Pa’ati, Dama, Lufum, Bete, Lufu, Kapyra and Yukuben. These ethnic groups together with the Chamba and the Jukun³²¹ merged and took the identity of Jukun-Chamba.

The Chamba-Jukun in Takum enjoyed the support of the Jukun of Wukari because they also identified with them (Jukun) during the crisis with the Tiv. It was reported that, during the Tiv-Jukun crisis in Wukari the Tiv spared the Kuteb people. It was also alleged that, the Tiv were brought as mercenaries by the Kuteb to fight in Takum. This seriously affected inter-group relations in the area, whereby the Kuteb and Tiv were seen as arch enemies of the Jukun and Chamba.

It should also be added that the relations between the Jukun and Kuteb was negatively affected by the Kuteb’s outright denial of their Kwararafa origin. According to Jukun oral history, the Kuteb people migrated together with the Jukun from Kwararafa to Wukari, where they were said to occupy the area behind the present Atoshi Recreation Centre in the town. The Jukun called them Niken and that when they sought permission from the Aku-Uka to move further in search for hunting fields, the Jukun people told them in Jukun language *ni ke* (meaning move

³²¹ The Jukun clans in Takum are the Kpanzon and Jibu.

on).³²²When the Kuteb people left Wukari they migrated southward, and finally emerged at the Markam hills where they settled on the surrounding hills.

So, the Kuteb denial of their origin from Kwararafa and their show of solidarity with the Tiv infuriated the Jukun which consequently affected the relations between them. The mistake of the Kuteb not to accept any linkage with the Jukun became an advantage to the Chamba who, although had no linkage with Kwararafa, came to be closely related with the Jukun. Even though the Chamba were the last group of people to migrate into the area of our study, they nevertheless seem to accept the Jukun cultural traits. This is attested to by the recent statement of the Gara of Donga, Stephen Danjuma Bayonga, Garbosa III who was quoted as saying: “Kwararafa project is about us, let us all give our maximum support and patronage”.³²³

The Jukun and Chamba had been knit together so much that in Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada one hardly separates them as some core cultural activities of the Chamba were handled by the Jukun. The Vonkima rites (women cult) had participants from both ethnic groups. The Kawula Chamba masquerade in Nyakwala was under the custody of a non Chamba Mallam Ibrahim Maikidi.

Since Donga became a Local Government headquarters on 27th August, 1991, there seems to be a silent feud between the Chamba, on the one hand and the Jukun and Ichen on the other. Although the Chamba are few compared to the Jukun or the Ichen, they hold the Chieftancy title. According to colonial records, the numbers of the Jukun, Ichen and Chamba was given as follows; Ichen – 3144, Chamba – 2105 and Jukun -384.³²⁴ The Jukun and Ichen political alliance had vowed to continue to dominate the politics of the Local Government. Thus, the

³²² Interview with Mr, Jibrin Amfani, op cit

³²³ Relics of Kwararafa, Journal of Studies in Kwararafa History, Vol.II, No.2 February, 2003, back cover.

³²⁴ NAK/Mak Prof/ Assessment Report on the Donga District of Muri Province, Ibi Division by R F P Orne A D O, 1917

position of Local Government Chairman and member, State House of Assembly Representing Donga constituency, seem to be a "prerogative" of the Jukun and Ichen. This is capable of breeding unhealthy relations which might result to violent conflict in the near future. The Jukun and Ichen claim to come from Kwararafa together, hence the reason for the alliance. Politics devoid of ethnicity is indispensable for peaceful co-existence and therefore, the primordial sentiment that was hatched with the creation of Donga Local Government should be discarded.

5.4 Recent Development among the Jukun and Chamba

The Jukun and Chamba had understood the need for unity which is a panacea for articulation of their position and enhance their strength within the context of Nigerian Federation. For, lack of unity and cohesion led to under development and exploitation by others (neighbours) through the platform of religion and politics. The Jukun in the past and even currently are relatively united, the source of their unity being the presence of the Aku-Uka who is regarded by all the Jukun as the supreme head. The Jukun accommodated and received as many ethnic groups as accorded the Aku-Uka the respect he deserved as the father of the people. The Chamba in the jurisdiction of the Aku-Uka regarded him with reverence as their father.

During the movement for the creation of Kwararafa State in 1991, the Jukun, represented by the Aku-Uka, the Chamba, represented by the Gara Donga; the Kuteb, represented by the Ukwe Takum, all signed for the creation of the state. It was for the hospitality of the Jukun that the Chamba and Kuteb could accept that the proposed State should be called Kwararafa and the Headquarters in Wukari. The committee for the Kwararafa state movement also cut-across all the major ethnic groups in the area.

Formation of ethnic associations was also common in our area of study during the period under review. Prominent among the associations were the Jukun Development Association (JDA), Chamba Progressive and Cultural Association (CPCA) and Ichen Cultural and Development Association (ICADA). The central theme of these associations was the promotion of their cultures. As for JDA, the aims and objectives of the association were:

1. To unite, promote, protect and defend the interest of all Jukun the world over.
2. To propagate Jukun ideas, interest and way of life.
3. To lobby for development and monitor the implementation to specification of government projects in the community.³²⁵

The National Headquarters of the JDA is in Lagos, and it has branch offices in Wukari, Donga, Takum, Ibi, Kurmi and Kona- Jalingo Local Government areas. It is interesting to know that members of JDA in Lagos and Abuja consisted of all ethnic groups in southern Taraba State. The Chamba top civil servants and business men are active members of the association. The association was not politically motivated as it was not involved in party politics.

The Chamba Progressive and Cultural Association (CPCA) was solely aimed at the promotion of Chamba culture through organization of cultural festivals such as Purma³²⁶ in Donga. The Jukun also actively participated in the festival as many of them got involved in the hunting expedition which is an important aspect of the Purma festival.

³²⁵Interview with Elder Dante T. Agyusambo, chairman JDA Wukari branch, a retired Civil Servant, age 59, place in his house in Ajiduku ward Wukari, date 12/05/2014

³²⁶ Purma is an annual harvest festival of the Chamba held in Donga town. All other Chamba chiefs of various chiefdoms are expected to come with their followers to participate in the hunting expedition which form part of the festival.

The Ichen Cultural and Development Association (ICADA) also was an annual cultural festival of the Ichen people held in Mararaba town in Donga Local Government Area. During this festival, various aspects of the cultural heritage of the Ichen ethnic group are displayed. Investigation has revealed that none of these associations promoted acrimony among the various ethnic groups; rather they brought about integration and inter-mixture of the peoples of the area.

5.5 Conclusion

The relations between the Chamba rulers of Nyakwala and Rafin-Kada with the Aku-Uka had some times been peaceful and at times belligerent. The chief of Nyakwala was relieved of his position on the ground of gross disloyalty to the Aku-Uka and was restored after he had pledged to remain obedient to the Aku-Uka.

The year 1987 marked the beginning of politics of ethnicity in Wukari area. The Hausa/Tiv alliance seems to have truncated the peaceful inter-group relations in the area. The alliance which was against the Jukun who are the indigenious people, punctuated the relations of the ethnic groups. This culminated into a bitter conflict between the Jukun/Chamba on one hand and the Tiv on the other. The ethnic groups form association for the promotion of their cultural heritage, it became another avenue where different people interacted and culturally intermingled with one another.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

As we bring this study to an end, perhaps, it is important to consider the comment Yusufu Bala Usman made regarding the study of inter-group relations. He wrote thus:

*The view that the historical development of the African people is made up largely of conflict and violent struggle between races and ethnic groups is now beginning to be rejected. The rejection of this view is often accompanied by the assertion that African peoples also **co-operated and harmoniously interacted with one another**; and for national and continental unity, these aspects of the relationships should be the ones to be emphasized³²⁷. (Emphasis is mine)*

The above comment aptly captures the crux of the discussion in this study. Nigeria as a modern state came into formal existence by the act of amalgamation of 1st January, 1914. This does not however, mean that the various peoples of Nigeria were brought together for the first time by act of amalgamation. There is no doubt that, the various peoples of what became Nigeria had been in direct contact with one another for many centuries before British colonization. Regardless of the fact that each ethnic group has its unique identity and inhabited different geographical region, there has always been considerable contact between groups. Each ethnic group has always identified itself with a position of land on which its members carried out their economic activities. It is, however, interesting to note that with or without boundaries people freely interacted with each other. This is because, as Mahmoud Hamman aptly states, the establishment of various types of relationships between neighbouring people is only natural, for no community can live in isolation.³²⁸

³²⁷ Usman, Y.B, *For the Liberation of Nigeria*, London, New Beacon Books Ltd, 1979, P.32

³²⁸ Hamman, M, *Peoples of the Mambila Plateau and their Relations with Bamnyo Region, C.1840-1901*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, p.5

The work focused on inter-group relations in Wukari and Donga areas and more than anything else, it emphasized the linkages between the Jukun and the Chamba peoples. The Jukun claim of origin from the East is difficult to substantiate. As a custom, Jukun men are allowed to wear a double queue of plaited hair at the back of their heads and men never wear anything above the navel. The Jukun, like other ethnic groups, submitted to the British when they arrived in 1900. Wukari became a Divisional headquarters in 1918, but in 1931 the extent of its jurisdiction was greatly reduced when a new Divisional headquarters for the Tiv was started at Gboko 80 miles west of Wukari.

The remainder of Wukari Division was divided into three districts and a small piece of trust territory held under a mandate of the League of Nations. Eventually, the three districts became equal parts of a Federation called Wukari Federation and the League of Nations territory (Kyeton district) became part of Adamawa Province. The Jukun were well organized and displayed respect for authority and age. In the 1920s, they permitted the British to place the deposed Sultan of Sokoto and his retinue at Wukari.

The Chamba were a war like people who overran some parts of the Middle Benue region in the latter part of the 19th century. Entering through the Cameroun foot hills, they displaced earlier settlers and set up small towns along the areas they overcame. The Chamba penetrated the Middle Benue region in four main raiding parties, each group led by a leader. The Donga group was led by Garduna; the Takum group by Dakka Ayanda, while Modi led the Pere whose descendants live in present day Bali Local Government area and some elements live in Kashimbila in Takum Local government area of Taraba State. These raiding bands under Chamba leaders marauded and established war camps, made alliances, raided for slaves and pillaged villages in a wide area of disruption. Due to their internal fission, the Chamba failed to create a

major state but created a number of small chiefdoms. The relations between the Jukun and Chamba in our area of study had been through a long process of political, economic, social and cultural integration, so much so that it is difficult to separate them. According to Nnoli's definition of an ethnic group, it is a social unit characterized by clear cultural identities such as language, mode of dressing, common historical background and ethnocentrism.³²⁹

Going by this definition, the Chamba in Donga, Nyakwala, Rafin-Kada and Suntai that had lost their language cannot be said to be an ethnic group, as they did not possess the full attributes of a group. It is true that the Chamba are still proud of their historical background, but since their contact with the Jukun, they lost many aspects of their identity. They have been assimilated into the Jukun cultural identity through language; though the Jukun spoken in Chamba dominated areas contain some words from the Chamba language. These words as they are now being used cannot be differentiated from Jukun as they have become part of the Jukun language.

In spite of this development, we may not conclude that Chamba language is endangered. This is because according to UNESCO, a language is endangered only when its speakers cease to use it, use it in fewer domains, and use fewer of its registers and speaking style and or stop passing it on to the next generation³³⁰. An endangered language may therefore become extinct when its speakers disappear or switch to another, usually more populous or powerful, language. A language can be endangered if it is threatened by external forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural or educational subjugation, or by internal forces such as community's negative attitude towards its own language. The Chamba language in our area is not endangered because the language is widely spoken in villages like Pasoki and Kungana which is not far from Donga.

³²⁹ Okwudiba N, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Enugu, Fourth Dimension, Publishers, 1978, pp.11-14

³³⁰ Bukar, U, *Language Disappearance and Cultural diversity in Biu Emirate*, Abuja, Klamidas Communication Ltd, 2004, p.6

It is proper to point out that ethnicity and language are not the same, but they are related. In some parts of Northern Nigeria, some small ethnic groups have gone over to using the language of the larger ethnic groups, but still maintain their cultural and ethnic distinctiveness. For example, Fulfulde is widely spoken in Mubi, Maiha, Mayo-Belwa, Yola, Fufore, Ganye and parts of Song Local Governments in Adamawa State as well as in Jalingo, Bali and in Sardauna Local Governments in Taraba State. In many cases, those who speak the language in these areas use it as a second language and it becomes necessary because the language was used in the area as a *lingua franca*.

The Jukun language also is widely spoken in the southern part of Taraba State by the Ichen, Kam, Ndola, Tigon, Kuteb, Yukuben, Lufu, Bete, Chamba and others, but our argument here is that all other ethnic groups that speak Jukun as a first language maintain separate communities of their own and could sustain their cultural and ethnic identity, but the Chamba in our area of study has been mixed with the Jukun so much that they have almost lost their ethnic identity. Moreover, some cultural activities of the Chamba were handled by the Jukun who in some instances introduced some elements of Jukun culture into it.

The Chamba have been so much assimilated by the Jukun that on the surface one does not see them as a separate ethnic group. As noted, the Jukun Development Association (JDA) which has its national headquarters in Lagos has prominent Chamba top civil servants and business men as active members. The National Association of Jukun students (NAJUS) with a base in the University of Maiduguri and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria also had Chamba students as members.

The distrust, hatred, suspicion and intolerance which had been the characteristic of some ethnic relations in Nigeria are not so pronounced between the Jukun and Chamba. They had intertwined in virtually all aspects of life. It appears that a gradual process of complete Jukunization of the Chamba people is going on. If it continues, it would not be long before the remaining aspects of the Chamba culture would be swept into oblivion.

The Federal government should show sincerity in tackling the boundary disputes between Benue and Taraba States. On this issue, the Tiv leadership and the Benue State government insisted on the boundaries to be determined through shift of population. To this the Jukun claim that already the boundaries between the two States were demarcated, based on the 1923/24 boundary description and all that remains is the physical beaconing or tracing. If the Federal government acquiesces to the Tiv position, some part of Taraba State with high Tiv population would be excised to Benue State. This will negatively affect inter-group relations between the Tiv and Jukun and Chamba whose land would be affected.

No people anywhere would tolerate such land grabbing attitudes as constantly exhibited by the Tiv against their neighbours. For harmonious group relations, the Tiv should learn to respect the traditions and culture of their host communities wherever they find themselves. For mutual inter-group relations to thrive, the Tiv in Taraba State should be encouraged to live under the authorities of the ethnic groups of their host communities. The Federal government should do more to provide for the well being of the people to foster unity among the ethnic groups. Different ethnic groups should be encouraged to live together in the same area and be taught the beauty of mutual sharing of resources. There should be equity as ethnic groups interact in a given geo-political area. Equity means fairness which is not necessarily the same thing as equality. It is about every body getting what they need in order to improve the quality of their situation. This

will eradicate the cancerous growth of ethnicity destroying the fabric of our national unity. In the process of creating new States the practice whereby one ethnic group is being wholesale placed in one state is to say the least injurious to the quest for national unity and nation building. In the history of Nigeria, we vividly recall how the Richard Constitution divided the country into three regions, viz. Northern region, Eastern region and Western region which set in dichotomy and ethnic disunity.

Inter-communal violence has affected many parts of Nigeria, some of these groups have fought each other for decades for control of land, economics resources and political position, there will be appreciable level of harmony inter-group relations in Nigeria if the governments at the Federal, State and Local levels will be proactive in providing equal socio-economic amenities for all ethnic groups. In many cases in Nigeria, competition for socio-economic and political opportunities such as appointment and promotion in various offices, admission in various institutions of learning, acquisition of farm/grazing lands and election into political offices, brought about misunderstanding and quarrelling which gave way to suspicion, hatred, distrust and intolerance among the ethnic groups. The atmosphere of suspicion and distrust would lead to quarrel which in turn gives way to open confrontation.

The manipulation of ethnicity and religion by our elites and bourgeoisie had marred inter-group relations in Nigeria. Manipulation, as defined by Yusufu Bala Usman, means “essentially, controlling the action of a person or group without that person or group knowing the goals, purpose and method of that control and without even being aware that a form of control is being exercised on them at all”³³¹ In our society when elections had not become pronounced no one gave any careful thought to an individual identity. But when competition began and political

³³¹ Usman, Y.B, For the Liberation of Nigeria---, op cit, p78

affluence, opulence and the exuberance that follow these offices became apparent, the elites tried to create selfish nationalistic consciousness to win the vote of their people and others. In Nigeria, our politicians cannot claim political leadership openly but have to take cover as a Muslim or Christian, or as an Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa or any other ethnic group. On this note, Mahmoud Hamman's³³² statement which says "...the deployment of ethnic sentiments to realize political or economic objectives could also be indicative of ideological poverty" is correct. The manipulation of ethnicity and religion in Nigeria today is essentially creating rift among the ethnic groups.

Common people of various ethnic groups should understand that their fate is the same. They do not have one square meal a day while the politicians are daily organizing banquets in expensive hotels in Abuja and other cities of the Federation. They do not have bank accounts while the politicians have many foreign bank accounts. They do not have houses of their own while the politicians have estates in choice places in Abuja and Dubai. With this understanding, the common people of various ethnic groups would embrace one another and shun the manipulations of the politicians to divide them. For, Martin Luther was quoted as saying; "we must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools".³³³

In Wukari and Donga area, it is obvious that the fast growing population and the seeming low level of development of the zone has all combined to quicken the pace of competition for resources and agitation for political offices. However, the principal ethnic groups, namely Jukun and Chamba, have co-existed together for over a century and have reasons to want to continue to live together. They have been bound together inextricably by history and cross-cultural values

³³² Hamman, M, *Inter-Ethnic Conflict*---- op cit, p484

³³³ Solomon, I.R, *Religion and the Quest for Global Peace and Security*, Jalingo, Community, Peace, Mission and Development Centre, 2004, p79

and that what we have identified in this study are the things that have been common among them which can be used as synergy for development and community integration.

Even though a former Premier of the Western Region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, once described Nigeria as “a mere geographical expression” and Leonard Jeffrey, a Professor of African Studies at City University, New York in the USA and Vice President of the World African Diaspora Union said Nigeria is not a failed State, but rather an artificial State which was never meant to be a nation State. The Jukun and Chamba peoples of Southern Taraba State with many years of common habitation and cross-cultural identity cannot be said to be artificial.

However, the Jukun and Chamba peoples of Wukari and Donga Local Government Areas of Taraba State need to be careful of any disgruntled element that may rise to divide them. It is true that now the Jukun and Chamba share most of the attributes of an ethnic group namely shared values, religion, language, common territory and common sense of identification. For, the major attributes of an ethnic group include common trace of ancestral origin, culture, language, shared values, religion, territory and a common sense of identification of belonging to the same group. There is the need for them to guard against what will divide them. The Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda also have the same language, culture, territory and are practitioners of the same religion, yet, one of the most genocidal conflicts in contemporary times, with serious ethnic cleansing of over one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu, took place in Rwanda in 1994 triggered by a xenophobic Hutu ruling elite and their allies.

This study emphasized the area of co-operation and harmonious interaction between the Jukun and Chamba and by no means claims to have exhausted it. What is done is just a tip of an iceberg. Like any other intellectual inquiry, this contribution is not complete or final. Thus, if the

several gaps or omissions in the study generated further research interests, then the whole exercise was worth the intellectual adventure.

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Oral Interview

S/N	Name	Occupation	Age	Place	Date
1	Mr. Jibrin Amfani	Adviser to Aku-Uka	79	Wukari	21/07/2014
2	Mr. Edward Ajibauka Adi	Adviser to Aku-Uka	69	Wukari	21/07/2014
3	Rev. Philip D. Aboki	Pastor	74	“	08/02/2013
4	Rev. Philimon Garjila Ali	Pastor	65	“	28/07/2014
5	Capt. Habu Umar (Rtd)	Retired Army Officer	50	“	08/10/2013
6	Ajibaniya Angyu	Civil Servant	39	“	13/06/2013
7	Elder Dante T. Angyusambo	Retired Civil Servant	59	“	12/11/2014
8	Mallam Danji Barau	Village Head	67	Nyawkala	02/09/2014
9	Mal. Danjuma Umar	Civil Servant	47	Donga	15/05/2014
10	Mr. Irimiya Barau	Civil Servant	44	Nyawkala	18/04/2014
11	Capt. Buhari A. Mamman	Retired Army Officer	57	Wukari	16/09/2014
12	Rev. Alex D. Mamman	Pastor	52	“	22/09/2014
13	Mnguor Naben	Farmer	70	Abako	30/09/2014
14	Terver Gbam	Farmer	64	“	30/09/2014
15	Terkula Torver	Farmer	45	“	“
16	John Iorvenda	Farmer	65	“	“
17	Tersee Ben	Farmer	43	“	“
18	Helen Terver	House Wife	41	“	“
19	Mary Ka’anti	House Wife	40	“	“
20	Asen War	Farmer	40	“	“
21	Orngu Nensha	Civil Servant	50	“	“
22	Sarah Shishi	House Wife	40	“	“
23	Terngu Kumbur	Farmer	42	“	“
24	Mr. James Adi	Civil Servant	53	Donga	04/10/2014
25	Daniel Emmanuel	Civil Servant	43	Rafin-Kada	04/10/2014
26	Tsoken Ada	Civil Servant	45	Wukari	04/03/2014
27	Danjuma Gar’Uvala	Civil Servant	48	Nyawkala	20/05/2014
28	Amah Filibus	Civil Servant	42	Wukari	04/03/2014
29	Tanko Adihikon	Student	45	Wukari	10/09/2014

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These sources were found in the anastionsl Archives Kaduna, the Headquarters of Christian Reformed Church- Nigeria (CRC -N) in Takum, Taraba State and the Secretariat of Wukari

Traditional Council in Wukari. Moreover, oral interview was also conducted which enabled us corroborate and cross check the data collected. This was conducted on some selected people in the society through interpersonal and group interviews.

Secondary Sources

These are sources that are documented historically in books, journals, newspapers, seminars/conference papers, theses, biography, etcetera, specifically dealing with the topic under examination. These sources are categorized into published and unpublished works.

These sources are found in Kashim Ibrahim Library of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, the Library of Kwararafa University Wukari and the State Library in Wukari.