

JOS PLATEAU
SOCIETIES: INTERNAL
CHANGE AND
EXTERNAL
INFLUENCES 1800-1935

JAMES H. MORRISON

To Mum & Dad, 1979.

Finally!

Its official! Its

Final! And I

want to share

it with both of

you.

Love & Happy 36th

Yours son,



JOS PLATEAU SOCIETIES: INTERNAL CHANGE
AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES 1800-1935

by

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ABSTRACT

Most of the historical works concerning Northern Nigeria have dealt almost wholly with the Muslim areas. This is true for both the pre-colonial and colonial history of this area. This study attempts to partially correct this anomaly by analysing the non-Muslim area of the Jos Plateau.

Prior to the intrusion of the Birom, the Jos Plateau appears to have been settled by pastoral groups; the Birom, when they first came on to the Plateau after about 1600, were farmers with many dwarf cattle. Many other groups climbed the escarpment at the time of the Fulani jihad in the nineteenth century. This migration, in addition to the usual movement of peoples within the plateau area, caused a number of alterations in the political and social organization of the various plateau peoples.

The jihad and the numerous refugees it created produced two reactions. The first was the militant resistance that the plateau people exerted in order to maintain their independence in the face of the jihadist armies. The second reaction was one of accommodation with and at times absorption, of the refugees. This social accommodation can be accounted for not only by the adaptation of the plateau indigenes to a new situation but also by the rugged terrain of the plateau. The latter reaction meant that many refugees were compelled to join the indigenes who had taken up impregnable defensive positions on the rocky hills that characterise this area. These mergers produced a

number of social and political adaptations which resulted in communities different from what they had been before. This process gave rise to a greater diversity of settlements on the plateau.

With the military invasion by the British in the twentieth century however, neither reaction was practicable. British military superiority made militant resistance suicidal. Nor were the new intruders who followed the British, the Fulani, Hausa and Yoruba, readily accommodated by the plateau societies. By their large numbers, vastly different culture and religions and their association with the conquering British the newcomers were quite different from earlier settlers on the plateau. These plateau societies then withdrew into insularity and resisted passively and rather successfully any encroachment on their ways of life.

This insularity was penetrated in a number of ways but it wasn't until the 1930s that the British administrators attempted to understand more clearly the societies they were governing. By this time, the plateau societies realized that some measures would have to be taken to accommodate these permanent intruders.

An attempt has been made in this thesis to show the various modes of adaptations utilized by a number of ethnic groups on the Jos Plateau to survive the repercussions of rapid change in their societal patterns. It is suggested here that such adaptations were not an innovation of this century but they fall into a long term pattern of political and social accommodation which was in evidence for over two hundred years.

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Certification

I certify that this work was carried out by Mr. James H. Morrison in the Department of History, University of Ibadan.

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
CERTIFICATION	6
TABLE OF CONTENTS	7
LIST OF MAPS, AND TABLES	10
ABBREVIATIONS	11
GLOSSARY	12
PREFACE	15
CHAPTER	
I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	18
Physical Factors	20
Archaeology	29
Literature	36
Linguistics and Oral History	40
II. <u>INTERNAL MOVEMENT ON THE JOS PLATEAU AND THE EFFECTS OF THE FULANI JIHAD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY</u>	62
Immigration and Internal Movement in the Nineteenth Century	63
Effects of the Jihad 1800-1900	73
The Eastern Jos Plateau	75
The Western Jos Plateau	83
The Northern Jos Plateau	87
Internal Conflict and Adjustment	89
Jihad and Internal Effects	93
Resistance Factors	97

CONTENTS (Con'td)

CHAPTER		<u>Page</u>
III.	<u>PLATEAU SOCIETIES ON THE EVE OF THE BRITISH INVASION</u>	101
	Cultural Survey	102
	Religion	104
	Government	110
	Primary Governing Group	111
	Marriage	121
	Judicial	125
	Economic Factors	130
	Material Production	137
	Livestock	140
	Trade	142
	Military Relations	153
IV.	<u>THE BRITISH MILITARY INVASION OF THE JOS PLATEAU AND PLATEAU RESISTANCE (1902-1906)</u>	158
	The British Invasion and its Effects	162
	Mining Interests and their Invasion	172
	Attempts at Military Consolidation	185
	British Administrative Policies and New Political Systems	196
V.	<u>PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN GOVERNMENT (1906-1935)</u>	216
	British Administration: Indirect Rule for the Aliens	218
	British Administration: Direct Rule for the Indigenes	224
	From Direct Rule to 'Pagan Administration'	239
	The Re-organization Reports	258
VI.	<u>PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN RELIGIONS (1906-1935)</u>	267
	Alien Religious 'Pioneers' and Plateau Resistance	268
	Christian Missions: Adaptations and Policy	284
	Resistance of Plateau Traditional Religion to Alien Influences	292
	Attempts at Mission Expansion	299

CONTENTS (Cont'd)

CHAPTER	<u>Page</u>
VII. <u>PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN ECONOMIC SYSTEMS</u> <u>TO 1935</u>	310
Tin Companies, Hausa Smelters and Labour	310
The Companies and the Camps	327
Alien Traders and Herders	336
Railroads and New Commercial Centres	344
CONCLUSION	354
BIBLIOGRAPHY	363
CRITIQUE OF ORAL SOURCES	392
APPENDICES	412

LIST OF MAPS AND TABLES

<u>Maps</u>		<u>Page</u>
Figure 1	Map of Nigeria and Area of Study: Jos Plateau	
Figure 2	Migration Routes on the Jos Plateau to 1900	
Figure 3	Plateau Settlements - 1903	
Figure 4	Ethnic Groups on the Jos Plateau c. 1900	
Figure 5	The Fulani Jihad and Those Settlements on the Jos Plateau Affected by the Emirates and/ or their Allies	
Figure 6	Initial British Expeditions to the Jos Plateau 1902-1906	
Figure 7	Map of Plateau Province 1930	
Figure 8	Main Roads on the Jos Plateau	

(These maps are in the pocket at the back of the thesis)

TABLES

Table 1	Mission Schools from <u>The Lightbearer</u>	306
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ABBREVIATIONS

Bauprof	Bauchi Provincial Office
CIM	Chief Inspector of Mines
CJAS	Canadian Journal of African Studies
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CO	Colonial Office, London.
CSO	Chief Secretary's Office, Nigeria.
CUMP	Cambridge University Mission Party
DO.	District Officer
FVD	Federal Veterinary Department (Vom)
IMC	International Missionary Council (London)
JAH	Journal of African History
JHSN	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
Josprof	Jos Provincial Office
JPP	Jos Plateau Papers (Field notes from interviews collected on the Jos Plateau)
NAI	National Archives Ibadan
NAK	National Archives Kaduna
NCH	Nigerian Chamber of Mines (Jos)
NP	Northern Provinces
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
SEM	Sudan Interior Mission
SEP	Secretary, Northern Provinces
SUM	Sudan United Mission
UIL	University of Ibadan Library
WAJA	West African Journal of Archaeology
Zarprof	Zaria Provincial Office

A GLOSSARY OF SELECTED WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

<u>acha:</u>	cereal crop (Hausa); <i>Digitaria exilis</i>
<u>Agwan:</u>	political and religious head of village (Afusare)
<u>alkali</u> (pl. <u>alkalai</u>):	judge of a Muslim court (Hausa)
<u>Angwel:</u>	clan head (Irigwe)
<u>Atalibera:</u>	ritual chief (Jere)
<u>Bong Gwom:</u>	supreme chief of the Birom
<u>bori:</u>	Hausa cult of spirit possession
<u>bvwana:</u>	harvest festival (Birom)
<u>Bwobwonga:</u>	ritual chief (Pyem)
<u>Chope:</u>	ritual chief (Buji)
<u>Daxnum:</u>	God (Afusare)
<u>ɗaimi:</u>	non-Muslim under the protection of Muslim authority
<u>Emir:</u>	commander, ruler
<u>Galadima:</u>	an official, civil and military (Hausa)
<u>Gwi:</u>	God (Birom)
<u>Gwolong:</u>	religious and political head of the village (Angas)
<u>Gwomhai:</u>	clan head (Ganawuri)
<u>Gwom:</u>	village head (Birom)
<u>Gwom Ci:</u>	ritual chief (Birom)
<u>Gwom Kwit:</u>	religious and political head of the village (Birom)
<u>Gwom Pwi:</u>	ritual chief (Ganawuri)
<u>hammat:</u>	festival for the ancestors (Pyem)
<u>ɗakada</u> (pl. <u>ɗakadu</u>):	tax collector (Hausa)
<u>ɗarali:</u>	cattle tax
<u>Jek:</u>	community trader (Birom)
<u>Jihad:</u>	war for the sake of Islam

<u>jizya:</u>	poll tax
<u>Katakuru:</u>	Cod (Rukuba)
<u>Kum:</u>	rites and beliefs of Angas religion
<u>Kwit:</u>	rites and beliefs of Birom religion
<u>Madaki:</u>	one of chief officials, originally master of the horses (Hausa)
<u>mandyeng:</u>	marriage festival (Birom)
<u>Mishkahum Kum:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Sura)
<u>Miskam:</u>	council of elders (Angas)
<u>muturu:</u>	small cow (Hausa), <i>Bos brachyceres</i>
<u>nasara:</u>	Europeans (i.e. Christians) Hausa
<u>nap:</u>	marriage festival (Ganawuri)
<u>ngoot:</u>	salt container (Birom)
<u>Obarje:</u>	men of reknown (Amo)
<u>Obarje Kara:</u>	men of reknown (Buji)
<u>Owomo:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Gurram)
<u>Ogwomo:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Buji)
<u>Onitya:</u>	witch for judging cases (Rukuba)
<u>omurunyampe:</u>	male age group festival (Buji)
<u>Osati:</u>	men of reknown (Jere)
<u>Pozo Gbou:</u>	clan head (Anaguta)
<u>Pwi:</u>	rites and beliefs of Ganawuri religion
<u>Pit:</u>	village head (Pyem)
<u>Sarki</u> (pl. <u>Sarakuna</u>):	king or chief
<u>Sia:</u>	men of reknown (Irigwe)
<u>Samba:</u>	grass cereal (Hausa), <i>Eleusine coracana</i>

<u>Tede:</u>	rites and beliefs of Irigwe religion
<u>uda:</u>	circumcision festival (Buji)
<u>Ugo:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Amo)
<u>Ugwomo:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Jere)
<u>Ures:</u>	village head (Piti)
<u>Utu:</u>	political and religious head of the village (Rukuba)
<u>Ware:</u>	ritual chief (Gurrum)
<u>wohal:</u>	Birom prayer festival
<u>worungchun:</u>	<u>acha</u> planting festival (Birom)
<u>Wazari:</u>	men of reknown (Anaguta)
<u>zaraci:</u>	hunting festival (Irigwe)

PREFACE

In Nigeria, the reaction of African societies to the imposition of colonial rule has been the subject of several excellent studies in recent years. Books by A. E. Afigbo (The Warrant Chiefs), J. A. Atanda (The New Oyo Empire) and Obaro Ikime (Niger Delta Rivalry) all deserve mention. Indirect Rule as a policy formulated by the British and imposed on African societies has also been examined in its birthplace, Northern Nigeria, by Peter Tibenderana in his thesis on 'The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule 1900-1946' and ^{by} G. M. Ubah in his thesis on 'Administration of Kano Emirate under the British 1900-1930'.

The non-Muslim areas of Northern Nigeria and their reaction to the British conquest and the consequent imposition of Indirect Rule are, however, very often omitted in any consideration of Nigerian history. It is hoped that this study will provide not only an analysis of these societies in colonial times but an account of their pre-colonial history and socio-political institutions as well. In this way, a comparison is then possible of the effects of the jihadists' invasion and the British invasion on the Jos Plateau societies.

The thesis focuses on the period 1800-1935 after a preliminary discussion of events preceding the nineteenth century. 1935 was chosen as the termination date for this thesis, for it is around this time that the plateau peoples were beginning to abandon their attempt to isolate themselves from the alien economic, religious and administrative pressures around them. A vigorous exponent of 'Pagan Administration',

Governor D. G. Cameron, left Nigeria in 1935. With his departure, the British interest in 'Pagan Administration' subsided. The re-organization of what the British considered to be 'problem areas' in Nigeria had been completed and they believed that the traditional political and social structure for each village or ethnic group on the Jos Plateau had been ascertained.

This thesis can be divided into three main sections, namely the pre-jihad period, the jihad period, and the colonial period.

The first section provides a general discussion of archaeological and linguistic information and written sources pertinent to a study of the Jos Plateau. The oral history collected in the area of study is then critically analysed to give an outline of the various migrations to the plateau before 1800.

The jihad period (Chapter Two) makes up the second section and this chapter not only analyses the areas that received the impact of the Fulani Jihad but also those areas unaffected by the jihad. It attempts to trace the migrational movements of people that the jihad caused as well as to examine the militant resistance generated by the indigenes of the plateau to the jihadists. The reaction of the established plateau societies to a new influx of refugees is also discussed. This reaction occasionally took the form of hostile resistance to the newcomers or, more usually, social accommodation.

Chapters Three to Seven which make up section three, concentrate on the impact of the British conquest and later administration of the Jos Plateau in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

In order to fully comprehend the changes that these societies were to undergo, Chapter Three centres exclusively on the social, political, religious and economic structure of the plateau villages before the British invasion. This chapter thus not only describes how these societies functioned but it also gives some insight into the pre-colonial life patterns that were to be so drastically buffeted by new forces of change following the British invasion of 1902.

Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven trace the changes wrought by the British government officials, European missionaries and the British tin miners in that order. At the same time, the Fulani cattle herders, Hausa and Yoruba merchants and Nigerian mines workers made their distinct impact on the plateau peoples. Of importance throughout this section is the reaction of the plateau peoples to these intruders and how the plateau indigenes resisted militarily and passively the constant encroachments on their ways of life.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Within the boundaries of modern Nigeria, the high plains in the northern portion of the country occupy a prominent place not only in Nigeria's geomorphology but also in its history. These plains vary in altitude from 600 to 900 metres and extend over most of the central part of the northern region. To the east and north-east, these plains are bounded by the Gombe Hills and Lake Chad respectively, while to the north and north-west they extend beyond Nigeria's borders. To the south-west and south-east, they overlook the Niger and Benue river valleys respectively, and here they, at times, terminate abruptly in pronounced escarpments. These plains have been the stage for the movements of peoples and the formation of states for centuries. Near the south-eastern edge of these plains lies a clearly defined highland region that rises to an altitude of over 1200 metres above sea level with some summits among the Shere Hills reaching over 1500 metres in height. Flanked by such outliers as the Mada Hills, Lirue-n-Kano Hills and many other Younger Granite Complexes, this region is known as the Jos Plateau.¹

This upland region was a part of the Bauchi Province when Nigeria was under British administration and was included in a larger area called the Bauchi Plateau. Recently, however, geographers have

1. See Fig. I, in back cover pocket.

renamed the area the Jos Plateau.¹ This new demarcation excluded much of the easterly part of the plateau which then became generally known as the Bauchi Plateau. Physically the Jos Plateau lies some 600 metres in elevation above Bauchi town. Although it is not distinctly separated from the Bauchi plain to the east by an obvious geomorphic demarcation, this plateau still varies greatly from its immediate lowland surroundings in relief, morphology and vegetation.²

To the west, east and north the Jos Plateau dominates the surrounding plains by heights of 450 to 600 metres while the southern edge rises precipitously some 300 metres above the Benue Valley. The plateau is bounded on all sides by escarpments. The heights to the south and west have the highest gradient ascent. These are marked by rugged and complex rock protrusions. Deeply incised river valleys also mark the plateau wall. To the east the scarp descends as though in steps, while the descent on the north side is more precipitous. Here there are graduated levels at different heights, with two sharp descents of about 150 metres, the first lying 16 kilometres from Jos and then the second at Panshanu Pass forty kilometres from Jos. In the eastern section of the Jos Plateau, around the town of

1. Buchanan, K. M. and Pugh, J. C., Land and People of Nigeria, 1955; Church, R. J. Harrison, West Africa, 1966; Thorpe, M. B., Regional Geography of the Jos Plateau, Unpublished manuscript, 1971.

The area now known as Jos Division is the major focus of this thesis and it forms a large part of the Jos Plateau.

2. Church, op. cit., p. 75.

Pankshin, the gradient is somewhat higher with a rapid descent through various terraces from an altitude of 750 metres to 500 metres above sea level.

Thus the Jos Plateau must be regarded as a distinct unit,¹ standing aloof, fortified by slopes and set apart except for its northeastern corner, from the plains around it.

Physical Factors

The Pre-Cambrian Basement Complex which constitutes the main continental mass in Africa underlies much of the Jos Plateau. The older granites and gneisses of this complex can usually be identified by the inselbergs on the plateau, while the Laterised Older Basalt forms the flat-topped hills and hill ranges that rise from the level plain. Another striking variation in the physical appearance of the plateau is the line of hill residuals, once volcanic, that stretch for a distance of 130 kilometres in a south-easterly direction from a point about twenty-five kilometres west of Jos.²

Morgan and Pugh estimate that some of the younger volcanic cones of the Jos Plateau were active not later than 50,000 years ago.³

There is some evidence to suggest that they were active quite recently.

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1. Buchanan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 18.
Morgan, W. B. and Pugh, J. C., West Africa, 1969, p. 282.
 2. Professor Kevin Burke pointed out that these were quite possibly still volcanic. Personal Communication, Department of Geology, University of Ibadan, October 16, 1971. (Now at University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada).
 3. Morgan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 221.

Both the Biroua living just south of Jos and the Sura some twenty-five kilometres west of Pankshin say that at times the hills would emit smoke and spit fire.¹ The Fluvio-volcanic series emitted extensive lava flows during the earlier period of volcanic activity,² and this lava descended into the existing valleys and stream beds. The volcanic activity that followed this formed a number of small cones and sharply delineated hills. ... 'Eruptions were of an isolated character and gave rise to the formation of detached pipes, cones and mounds of igneous matter.'³ This gave the plateau a very distinctive appearance when compared with the surrounding lowlands.

The more recent cones exist in a good state of preservation at Miango, Vom, Hoss and Panyan. The basalt flow resulting from these cones spread itself over a considerable area, filling in more recently formed valleys and turning them into expansive fertile plains. This development at Miango, Vom and Panyan attracted a large number of migrants before 1900, while the smaller population in Hoss may be attributed to later political and military considerations.⁴

Morgan and Pugh point out that later volcanic activity was mainly

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1. Ames, C. G., *Gazetteer of the Plateau Province*, 1932, p. 151
Two estimates of 2×10^5 and 0.5×10^6 for volcanic activity on the plateau are thought to be too early by Professor Kevin Burke. He feels that activity was possible in the last thousand or even hundreds of years.
Personal communication, Professor Kevin Burke, Department of Geology, University of Ibadan, October 16, 1971.
 2. This was during the Middle Eocene period, fifty million years ago. See Falconer, J. D., *Geology and Geography of Northern Nigeria*, 1911, p. 253.
 3. Falconer, op. cit., 1911, p. 254.
 4. See below Chapter II passim and Fig. 2 in back cover pocket.
 5. Morgan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 283.

in the southeastern districts of the plateau.¹ They also mention that all periods of activity post-dated the formation of the plateau scarp over which the flows passed. For example, lava residuals can be seen where the lava descended the scarp at Assob on the southern edge of the plateau. Some lava flows over large areas were dissected by erosion and were left standing as a number of flat-topped hills. The Wereng Hills and Tudun Wada Hill south of Jos are two examples of these mesas.

The plains of the plateau are, therefore, interrupted by granite inselbergs, flat-topped hills, clusters of small, recently extinct volcanoes and large precariously balanced rocks that top many of the hills scattered on the plateau level. These hills play an important part in human geography and Plateau history.

For those who have inhabited the plateau during the last two centuries, the natural hill formations provided strong defensive positions on which to build their villages.² Commanding a view of the plains which lie between the numerous hills, many of the present-day peoples of the plateau settled on the hills for security in times of internecine warfare with their neighbours. Conversely, in times of peace, these elevated positions separated a village from a neighbouring village which might in fact be occupied by the same ethnic group. The rock settlements became centres from which agricultural lands radiated out in all directions. In case of attack or siege the sparse regolith of the hills would generate some produce. Thus these hill dwellers, steeled by the forces of man and nature, were

1. Morgan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 283.

2. See below Chapter II. pp. 63-73.

prepared to resist any invader that might threaten their way of life.

The high altitude of the Jos Plateau has led to climatological and vegetational differences between it and the surrounding plains. A comparison of yearly rainfall averages is significant as it points out the disproportionately high rainfall experienced on the plateau - 180 to 200 centimetres, while the plains around it have 100 to 150 centimetres.¹ It may also be noted that the rainfall is much more constant than in the immediate surroundings. It occurs virtually all the year around. The Jos Plateau has become known as the hydrographical centre of Nigeria.² It has the highest yearly rainfall in northern Nigeria and, as might be expected, contains a plethora of rivers and streams.

The Jos Plateau being a central watershed complex feeds the major rivers to the north-east, south-east and west. Streams flow off the north-west edge of the plateau to form the headwaters of the Kaduna and Karami rivers, and drain into the Niger. Streams feed the Kano and Delimi rivers to the north which flow to the Chad basin. Finally, to the east the waters of the Bagel and Lere rivers join the Gongola River which in turn discharges into the Benue. With numerous streams criss-crossing the plateau, there is an exceedingly high rate of erosion. The flat land has been cut by valleys into a series of separate hill groups as the major plateau rivers flowed through 'gaps'

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1. Buchanan and Pugh, *op. cit.*, p. 26. (N.B. Jos Plateau has as much rainfall as Lagos).
 2. Falconer, J. D. 'The Northern Tin Fields of Bauchi Province', Geological Survey of Nigeria, Bulletin 4, 1923, p. 3.

eroded in the basement rock between the younger granite masses.

These granite masses, which intruded into the older basement complex during the Jurassic Age, are noted for containing tin ore (cassiterite). This mineral was constantly being washed away by water erosion and large concentrates of alluvial tin were formed in the numerous rivers and streams of the plateau.¹ The alluvial tin is spread over an extensive area of western Bauchi Province. The tin is concentrated on the summit of the Jos Plateau, particularly within the Bukuru and Rop younger granite complexes and along the northern margin of the plateau. Erosion carried finer grains of tin up to twenty-five kilometres from their source, and where they came to rest they formed an exceedingly rich deposit of tin. Thus when a river was traced upstream, the tin deposit became richer and more plentiful and led many unwelcome strangers into the rocky uplands that constitute the Jos Plateau.

Given the above, the forbidding rock formations, severely leached soil, and relatively low temperatures² of the plateau might well have discouraged human settlement. However, grassland vegetation still flourished. As has been pointed out, the plateau consists mostly of open grassy plains with a few scattered trees along streams or within rocky outcrops. Pastoral peoples would find the good pasture, the

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1. Mackay, R. A., Greenwood, R. and Rockingham, J. E., 'Geology of the Plateau Tin Fields 1945-48', Geological Survey of Nigeria, Bulletin 19, 1948, p. 5.
 2. Udo, Reuben K., Geographical Regions of Nigeria, 1970.

Average Temperatures:	Maximum	Minimum
Jos	88.5 April	57.0 January
Ibadan	93.9 March	69.2 January

perennial water supply, and comparative freedom from cattle diseases particularly hospitable.

The Birom inhabitants of the plateau, when they arrived in the seventeenth century, were quite likely pastoralists. They kept the small dwarf shorthorn cattle (*Bos brachyceres*; in Hausa muturu but known on the plateau under a variety of names).¹ This breed is of considerable antiquity;² it preceded the Fulani cows into Nigeria and was found along the coast of West Africa. As a specie which is resistant to trypanosomiasis these cattle are certainly an anomaly on the plateau - a tsetse fly free zone, - and thus an area attractive to both the early pastoralists and later Fulani herders who spread across the Western Sudan between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries.³ Professor Thurstan Shaw intimates that this dwarf breed developed its immunity to trypanosomiasis during their coastal migrations.⁴ Once on the plateau, however, they eventually lost their immunity which led to their virtual extinction in the twentieth century, when the tsetse fly was brought by the Fulani cattle.⁵

1. A Birom folk tale tells of how a small Birom boy was given fire by a muturu while he was tending them. See Appendix II for dating.; See Davies, J. G., The Birom, Ms. Jos Museum, 1949.

2. Shaw, Thurstan, 'Early Agriculture in Africa', Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN), 6: 2 June, 1972, p. 166.

3. Hopkins, A. G. An Economic History of West Africa, 1973, p. 41. Hopkins also includes a map on the northern limits of tsetse fly. p. 40.

4. Shaw, op. cit., p. 169.

5. For an explanation of how and why this happened see Chapter VII, p. 340. This breed is extant among the Tiv and near Badagry. Personal observation.

Cattle keeping was not of prime importance to the inhabitants of the plateau. Buchanan and Pugh point out that on the Jos Plateau there is '...no close symbiosis between pastoralists and cultivators ...'¹ In fact, the dwarf cows were usually kept fairly close to the compound for they were considered to be quite obstinate animals. As will be shown in Chapter Three, their cultural significance was greater than their economic value to the Birom people.

Among the Birom, the genesis of agriculture has been connected with these small cows² in a legend which suggests that pastoralism preceded agrarian activities. It is unclear from the traditions whether the Birom were herders, farmers or both when they came on to the plateau. In other words, the legend is not clear as to whether it refers to events on the plateau, or at an earlier period on the plains. It is, perhaps, pertinent that the main cereals, acha (*Digitaria exilis*) and tamba (*Eleusine coracana*), both have a low fertility growth and are most suited to an area whose soils are liable to rapid exhaustion. These two crops would give maximum value on poor soil. Acha has been cultivated assiduously as a secondary cereal in much of the savanna zone of West Africa,³ but it is a primary crop on the Jos Plateau which has a paucity of fertile soil. In the sequence of Birom traditions,

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1. Buchanan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 155.
 2. The Birom say that acha and tamba seed varieties came from manuring of the indigenous grasses by the large herds of dwarf cows. National Archives Kaduna (NAK), Jos Provincial Office (Jos prof), 284/1934. 'Intelligence Report on the Birom Tribe and Jos Division' by J. S. Synge.
 3. Shaw, op. cit., p. 155.

the legend of the introduction of agriculture comes before the migration to the plateau. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the Birom entered the plateau as farmers with a number of dwarf cows.

Birom villages are enclosed by dense euphorbia hedges (*euphorbia kareunika*) with a corridor of prickly cactus forming the main entrance. Some villages, Kuru and Sho of the Birom and Baraguta of the Anaguta, used a rough man-made stone wall rather than cactus. The farmlands lay just outside the settlements where the staple crops were grown under a system of bush fallowing.¹ As noted earlier, erosion is severe in some areas and leaching of the soil is a serious problem. A few Birom villages - Zawan, Forum and Sho - undertook terracing in order to control erosion, although terracing is not general either among the Birom or other plateau peoples examined in this study.

Generally, it should be noted that the plateau plains are virtually devoid of trees in comparison with the savanna woodlands below. This despite the fact that all the northern guinea tree species are present on the plateau.² At the present time only two percent of the plateau surface has woodland cover, while a full range of savanna grasses are in evidence over much of the rest. Although the destruction of forest area has increased drastically since the arrival of the tin miner and the Bauchi Light Railway in this century, it would appear that the plateau was quite denuded of trees even before the Europeans

1. Bush fallowing is the rotation of fields rather than crops with short periods of occupancy and long periods of fallow. By the late 1800's this method was to be a continuing source of friction between villages.

2. Falconer, op. cit., 1932, p. 42.

arrived.¹ It is possible that, owing to a combination of natural and man-made factors, the predominance of plateau grasslands is of an antiquity greater than this century.² But what could these factors have been? The middle to low fertility rate of the soil has been mentioned. Trees are in evidence in the fertile valleys of the Delimi river and in areas that came to be recognized as sacred groves, but the rest of the level plain is barren of woodland growth of any kind. Man-made factors may offer a plausible explanation. A rapid increase in population may have been caused by an exodus from the plains below to the plateau highlands. This migration may have been occasioned by normal population growth and/or military expansion of peoples in the lowlands.³ The sudden increase in population would upset the ecological balance on the plateau, for it would be followed by the destruction of the forest growth for fuel and weapons, as well as housing. This would allow for increased erosion which would be a major factor in soil

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1. Photographs taken in the first decade of the twentieth century show the rather 'barren' aspect of the plateau. See A. Stanley Williams' Photograph Album, Jos Museum Library, Jos, Nigeria.
 2. Thorpe, *op.cit.*, p. 54.
 3. As will be shown in Chapter II, about half of the present inhabitants of the plateau arrived during the wars of the jihad. There is no evidence to show that the Birom were forced to migrate as refugees before 1800. However, H. F. C. Smith does feel that the central Nigerian highlands, with its linguistic variety, appears to have been a place of refuge for Niger-Congo language groups who had been displaced by Chadic language-speaking groups in the last two or three millennia. Smith probably is assuming too much from the large migrations on to the plateau due to the military activities of the Hausa-Fulani after 1800. Whereas, two centuries would be an adequate period of time to consider the Jos Plateau a refuge. See H. F. C. Smith 'The early states of the Central Sudan,' in Ajayi and Crowder (eds) A History of West Africa, Volume 1, Longmans, 1972, p. 163.

disruption in the scarcity of trees.

Archaeology

Until recently, much of the archaeological work done in Nigeria was carried out on or near the Jos Plateau. Many of the most significant stone age sites have been found within 130 kilometres of Jos. The early Stone Age inhabitants on and around the plateau date back more than 37,000 years B.C. and are placed by some archaeologists as far back as the Early Acheulian Period.¹ It is interesting to note that these archaeological finds are almost exclusive to this area and suggest that this culture existed in Nigeria only on and around the plateau². It must be borne in mind that this apparent imbalance of finds is largely due to the extensive tin mining on the plateau in the twentieth century, an activity which has uncovered a number of artifacts.³ Perhaps more excavations off the plateau in future will correct the archaeological discrepancy.

The number of Acheulian artifacts decreases sharply off the plateau and Sangoan hand axes, picks and bolas are much more common. Sangoan

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1. Davies, O., West Africa Before the Europeans, 1967, p. 101. Acheulian Period 55,000 B.C. to 500,000 B.C.
 2. Soper, R. C., 'The Stone Age in Nigeria'. Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN). 3: 2 p. 179. Soper mentions three sites for the main collection of Acheulian material:
 - (a) Mai-I don Toro - eastern edge of plateau, thirty-two kilometres S.S.E. of Jos.
 - (b) Pingell - northern edge of plateau, on Garua River
 - (c) Nok - 120 kilometres W.S.W. of Mai I don Toro.
 None of the above are more than one hundred forty-four kilometres distant from each other.
 3. Shaw, Thurstan, 'The Prehistory of West Africa', Ajayi and Crowder, op. cit., 1972, p. 48.

man's element was wooded areas, and it does not appear that he penetrated the highlands of Jos.¹ This could have been due to the environmental factors mentioned above such as poor soil, rapid erosion and lack of forest cover. On the other hand, Acheulian man may have descended from the plateau following the well-watered valleys, and when he met the increase of woodland on the plains, turned to the readily available wood for his tools. This, in turn, would have decreased his proficiency in the shaping of stone tools. This migration would have placed him within the habitat of Sangoan man.

A number of implements have been recovered from the Middle Stone Age in the plateau area, but only one isolated date has been established.² Apparently Middle Stone Age implements have been found at Zenebi Falls, at the foot of the Lirue Hills (fifty kilometres north of Jos) but have been dated back only to 348 ± 110 B.C. Other sites containing the artifacts of the Middle Stone Age are at Rop (possibly a transitional stage between Acheulian and Middle Stone Age),³ Nok and other sites in northern Nigeria. However with the finds so far, generalizations cannot be made about classifying the sites by regional similarity or establishing a chronology for the various groups.

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1. Davies, O., 'The Old Stone Age between the Volta and the Niger'. Bulletin Institut Francais Afrique Noire, XIX Ser. B. 3, 4. p. 603. For a dissenting point of view questioning the use of the term Sangoan man see Wai-Ogusu, Bassey, 'Was there a Sangoan industry in West Africa', West African Journal of Archaeology (WAJA), 3, 1973, pp. 191-196.
 2. Shaw, Thurstan, 'Radio Carbon Dates from Nigeria', JHSN, 3: 4 p. 784.
 3. Soper, op. cit., p. 189.

The Rop site is perhaps the best known plateau excavation.¹ Of the two major lithic industries, the upper strata of this site is more germane to this study. It is a major microlithic find and typical of the terminal Stone Age on the northern forest fringe of West Africa. It is believed to have been a site of mainly hunting peoples with no knowledge of agriculture.² The culture which emerges from a rock shelter site at Dutsen Kongba³ (fifty kilometres north west of Rop) also shows no evidence of agrarian activity and appears to be the product of a nomadic hunting community who used the shelter as a factory site at regular intervals from 4000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. A prolific Late Stone Age industry, microlithic in character, occupies most of the rock shelter. Radio carbon age determinations have brought the site into the second millenium A.D. with artifacts limited to pottery and microliths. Iron was not found until the top level of the dig and, of six radio carbon dates, five are between 1450 ± 85 A.D. and 1660 ± 135 A.D.⁴

When the later Rop dates are compared with those of Dutsen Kongba, a different picture emerges for the plateau. By the first millenium A.D. pottery begins to appear more abundantly at the site.⁵ Agricultural activity was thought to have started around the early part of this

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1. 'Four Papers on the Rop Rock Shelter, Nigeria', WAJA, II, 1972, pp. 1-38.
 2. Eyo, Ekpo, 'Rop Rock Shelter Excavation 1964', WAJA, II, 1972, p. 15.
 3. Federal Department of Antiquities, 'Excavations at Dutsen Kongha Near Jos, Nigeria (Preliminary Notice)', Myame Akuna: a newsletter of African Archaeology, 4, April 1974, pp. 17-20.
 4. Personal Communication, Dr. Francis Bassey, Federal Department of Antiquities, Jos Museum, Jos, Nigeria, February, 18, 1974.
 5. Fagg, A., 'Pottery from the Rop Rock Shelter, Excavations of 1944 and 1964', WAJA, II, 1972, p. 37.

millennium with a carbon dating of 25 ± 120 B.C.¹ By the latter part of this millennium bovine teeth were found as well as iron slag. Thus a pastoral economy, with possibly some agriculture considerably earlier than Dutsen Kongba, is suggested by these finds.

Although the Nok finds are not strictly relevant to the topic of this work, they are not completely extraneous either when attempting to trace the origin of people on the plateau. The baked clay heads, pottery, iron remnants, and tin beads found in the area south-west of the plateau give a vague picture of an iron age assemblage named 'Nok Culture' and bracketed, at Nok, between 925 ± 70 B.C. and 200 ± 50 A.D.² Domestic pottery and grinding stones from the excavation of a Nok occupation site suggest an agricultural people inhabiting this area around 210 ± 95 B.C.³

It would seem that the 'Nok Culture' was widespread, at least as far as Taruga near Abuja⁴ and south of the Benue, to a Nok-style site at Zatsina-Ala. However, despite their proximity to the Jos Plateau, their iron and agrarian culture appears not to have penetrated to the highlands. The discrepancy in ages between Nok and the Pop-Dutsen Kongba finds, when their cultural attainments are compared, is considerable.

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1. This was taken from an animal bone resting in the vicinity of a human skeleton. An examination of the human teeth showed the individual to be from an agricultural economy. Eyo, Ekpo, op. cit., p. 16.
 2. Fagg, A., 'Excavation of an Occupation Site in the Nok Valley, Nigeria.' WAJA, II, 1972, p. 75.
 3. Fagg, A., Ibid., p. 77.
 4. Shaw, JHSM, op. cit., p. 185.

Thus from the archaeological evidence at hand a sharp divergence between the 'plateau' and 'plain' cultures may be seen. In the Early Stone Age it is conceivable that the Acheulian on the Jos Plateau and the Sangoan on the plains existed during the same time period.¹ In the Middle Stone Age there is very little evidence for a comparison of the Acheulian and Sangoan cultures and little can be inferred from the single date from Zenebi Falls. Finally, the Late Stone Age gives evidence of the flowering of the Nok culture with the appearance of clay figurines and later iron working. Nok emerged from its Stone Age before iron working had reached the plateau. In the upper layers of the Rop excavations, the finds were restricted for the most part to microlithic implements showing a hunting and gathering economy existing at the same time as the iron working agriculturalists on the wooded plains below. The evidence of iron-working on the plateau does not occur until late in the first millenium A.D.

Thus it is probable that the plateau inhabitants were at a cultural stage different from their neighbours on the plains below. However, as the first millenium A.D. drew to a close, there appears to have been at least some contact between the two areas. The migrations of the present inhabitants of the plateau will be dealt with later but a few material similarities and incongruities should be noted. Among the Ganawuri² there is a possibility of cultural contact with Nok. The Ganawuri women hang bells from belts around their loins for a

1. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

2. See below Chapter II, pp. 68-69.

marriage festival, held annually, called Neq. These bells resemble those depicted on a terra cotta fragment representing a human hip found at Nok.¹ Also, photographs exist of a drinking cup of a very delicate design found near the Ganawuri people. Another drinking vessel, ornamented on the surface with raised lumps of clay, was taken from the river gravel in the same locality.² The Ganawuri claim to know nothing about these artifacts. However, the Ganawuri migration route was from the north west, where they lived in an area not thirty-two kilometres north northwest of Nok.³

Near the Ganawuri's old site were their neighbours the Jaba people who also claim no knowledge of Nok artifacts.⁴ Yet, perhaps coincidentally, they have hair styles identical to those found on some extant figurines, and live only twenty-four kilometres from the Nok site. Also the peculiar roulette decoration on the Nok pots is not found in the other Nok sites (Taruga or Katsina-Ala). However, the Jaba people still use this pattern of design on their pots.⁵

Another mystery concerning the previous occupants of the plateau

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1. Fagg, B., 'An Outline of the Stone Age of the Plateau Mines Field.' Proceedings of the Third International West African Conference, 1949, p. 217. Also see Fagg, JNSM, op. cit., fig. 12 for photo.
 2. Meek, C. K., The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, I, 1925, p. 54.
 3. JPP Ganawuri, passim, IV, pp. 225-287. This series in five volumes is the oral history I collected on the Jos Plateau - the Jos Plateau Papers.
 4. Fagg, B., op. cit., 1949, p. 216.
 5. Fagg, A., op. cit., p. 77.

is the presence of stone bridges that had been carefully constructed at Batura near Bokkos forty kilometres west of Pankshin.¹ These are well built and must have been constructed many generations ago.

According to C. K. Meek, the Ron people who live in this area claim that these structures were already there when they arrived some 150 years ago.² In subsequent research, the Ron speak of meeting the maker of the walls, a man they call Chen a Daress, when they invaded this region eight to ten generations ago.³ They and the Birom then proceeded to drive him 'underground' to the west. Whether Chen a Daress did indeed build the walls or came upon them already constructed as the Ron did, is not known. Their size and the intricacy of their construction would suggest that a substantial political and social authority had them built for functional or prestige purposes.

Any conclusions drawn from the foregoing would be strictly speculative. Were the Nok originally on the plateau and then driven out? Or did they conquer the area from the Stone Age Plateau people whose weapons would probably have been inferior to those of the invaders who knew how to work iron? Were the stone bridges built before the water flow in the streams reached its present level? Meek points out that they were not built for the passage of much water.⁴ It is possible

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1. Justice, J. N., 'The Ancient Metal Workings in East Nigeria,' *Man*, XXII: 1, January, 1922, p. 3.
 2. Meek, *op. cit.*, I, p. 57. Meek writing in 1925 would be suggesting a date c. 1775. The author's date calculated from genealogies would be c. 1738 ± 32. See charts, Appendix II. pp. 426-437.
 3. Frank Barbara, 'Historical Traditions and Monuments of the Ron or Challa,' *Occasional Papers of the Department of Antiquities*, I: 1, 1974.
 4. Meek, *op. cit.*, I, p. 57.

they were constructed before a massive influx of people which in turn produced the erosion and rise in water level mentioned above. However, until further evidence is at the disposal of historians and archaeologists, this can only be speculation.

Literature

The written literature concerning the Jos Plateau does not shed much more light on the history of the plateau than does archaeology. Nevertheless, it does provide some tenuous links between the peoples of the plateau and those on the plains, links that may assist the historian when the oral history of the area is considered.

No record of travel in the Jos Plateau and its environs before the nineteenth century is known to exist. The oral history available is concerned with the Hausa states. The indigenes of the area east and south-east of Zaria are first mentioned in Leo Africanus' A Geographical History of Africa¹, but this reference does not mention the Jos Plateau specifically. The Infaku'l Maisuri refers to the many 'barbarians' that lived in the land of Zazzau (Zaria) during the reign of Amina in the sixteenth century. It is said that many towns of Bauchi (Hausa for "land of slaves") were included in her domain.² This, however, is rather vague for the purposes of this work as it

1. Africanus refers to the extremely cold mountains in the Kingdom of Zaria. He states that the people of these areas keep warm by laying fire coals under their bedsteads. Although these bedsteads were and still are quite common in the Plateau area, a number of other Nigerian peoples including the Kaje and Jukun also use them. Also see Meek, C. K., A Sudanese Kingdom, 1931, p. 448.
2. Bello, Mohammadu, Infaku'l Maisuri, 1922. Translation by F. J. Arnatt, Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, p. 12.

simply shows that Amina ruled peoples who were possibly in the region east of Zaria. Bello does become more specific and refers to Kudaru¹ (ninety-six kilometres south east of Zaria) as well as Gwandara and Riruwe as 'countries'. He points out that tin was found in Riruwe.² The tin may have been mined and smelted at Riruwe or exported. The tin industry is said to have an earlier origin, however, for Oliver Davies suggest that tin smelting has been in existence on the Jos Plateau since the first century A.D.³

Thus, there is very little direct reference to the Jos Plateau or its people in the extant pre-19th century records. The picture of this region given below is derived from indirect references taken from these rather meagre sources. Queen Amina of Zaria⁴ is said to have conquered

1. The Kurama fled to Kudaru when they left Kano after fighting the Maguzawa. JPP Kurama 19/7/73, IV: 95. One section left Kudaru and moved on to the protection of the salient hills north of the plateau.
2. Bello, *op. cit.*, p. 12. He is probably referring here to Riruwan-Kano. The Gwandara are a Chadic language group south-west of the plateau which also claims Kano origin. They were driven south for their 'pagan' beliefs. Temple, *op. cit.* p. 118. Both Riruwan (Lirue-n)-Kano and Riruwan-Dalma were tin mining areas south of Kano. The latter was settled by migrants from Riruwan-Kano who arrived in the area around 1870. NAK SNP 9/2863/1918.
3. Davies, O., *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 235. Davies however gives no evidence to support this contention and seems more definite than he should be.
4. An historical figure credited with many of Zaria's exploits in the fifteenth century. These exploits are not doubted but whether they were done by Queen Amina or not is another matter. See Adeleye, R. A., 'Hausaland and Bornu 1600-1800', Ajayi and Crowder, *op. cit.*, p. 490-491.

towns as far south as Kwararafa and Nupe and thus Zaria's conquests extended to the waters of the Niger. Although Zaria made war in 'Bauchi' this would appear to refer to the area south and west of Zaria¹ and not the plateau. However, Amina was said to have built walled camps wherever she encamped,² and there is evidence of stone work in Maraguta a few miles north east of Jos, radically different from any done by the Anaguta who now live in the area.³ It is a circular stone enclosure at the top of a hill and so situated as to give a commanding view of the surrounding area. Similar stone lookouts on ~~K~~kelbergs can also be found twenty kilometres south of Jos and in the area now occupied by the Rukuba. It could well be related to the stone work in Bokkos referred to previously, but it may also show that at one time Zaria, possibly under Amina, penetrated the plateau. Nothing, however, appeared in the oral history that could suggest such an invasion.⁴

The second force which is said to have penetrated the Jos Plateau was the Jukun or Kwararafa.⁵ This force established an empire that oscillated in size and power for some four hundred years,⁶ eventually

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1. Hogben, S. J. and Kirkgreene, A. H., The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, 1966, p. 217.
 2. Hogben and Kirk-greene, Ibid., p. 216.
 3. Meek, op. cit., I, 1925, p. 55.
 4. Oral History, JPP. passim. According to the genealogies the oral history can only account for post-1600 events which would be well over a century after Zaria's expansion into 'Bauchi land'.
 5. Meek, op. cit., 1931, p. 26. He speaks of the people of the plateau having a tradition of being invaded by 'red men' (Ankpwasang) - a tradition which the writer did not come across.
 6. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, (3 volumes) 1928, passim.

being reduced in the nineteenth century to the scattered remnants of a once great confederacy. Kwararafa was said to have occupied the whole of northwestern Bornu before 1500.¹ Muhammadu Bello relates that the Jukun were one of the seven ruling powers in the Sudan extending all over the lower Sudan and ^{over} half of the middle zone including Kano, Zakzak (Zaria) and part of Katsina.² Intermingling with the Abakwariga (non-Muslim Hausa-speaking people), the Jukun undertook a military expansion to the north, south and west that lasted for two centuries. Although it is possible that the Jukun swept across the Jos Plateau before the seventeenth century, the first reference to their presence in this area is in 1685.³ It was at this time that they ascended the plateau at Pankshin and followed a route through the Angas' country. They conquered the area, collected tributes and modified some of the customs of the Angas and Ankwe.⁴

There is no evidence to suggest that the Jukun ever invaded the area this thesis examines. It should be noted, however, that the oldest genealogies of the Birom begin in the first half of the seventeenth century, a time at which they may have met the Jukun or even been part of the Jukun force. The Birom, according to one source, claim a

1. Meek, op. cit., 1931, p. 21.

2. Bello, op. cit., passim.

3. Davies, J. C., op. cit., p. 35. One wonders how Davies can be so exact in his dating.

4. Ames, op. cit., pp. 162-168.

southern origin¹ and are known by the Katab as the Aku.² The Katab live off the Jos Plateau to the west, but their language cognates (Afusare and Irigwe) have lived on the plateau since before the nineteenth century.

The archaeological material as outlined above gives only a vague cultural background to early plateau history, while the evidence from literature sources is really too superficial to give a clear idea of the Jos Plateau's place in the history of Northern Nigeria. Both sources have only provided inferences, and it has not been established what people were being spoken of and if they still in fact lived on the plateau. In order to bring the history of the plateau before 1800 into sharper focus, oral history and linguistics must be used to try to explain more fully who the plateau inhabitants were, where they came from, and the general historical setting before the advent of the jihad in the nineteenth century.

Linguistics and Oral History

The history of the plateau is one of migrations and diffusion. In spite of a high population density³ when compared with the plains, there

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1. Ibid., p. 62.
 2. Aku Uku being the name of the overall leader of the Jukun (Meek, op. cit., 1931, passim). It is interesting to speculate here on the word Kwararafa which Meek feels means the people (afa) of the river (kworo). As with any attempt to trace linguistic meanings and links, there are a host of other meanings that come to mind. For example, the majority of the people of Jos Plateau but more markedly the Birom, wear, or did wear, the penis sheath (Kwaroro in Hausa). (Meek, op. cit. 1925, p. 30). Could "Kwaroro-afa" have been a Hausa expletive for the Jukun?
 3. See Appendix IV for population statistics. pp. 443-445.

has been little attempt, by ethnic groups who arrived on the plateau, to unite in an inter-ethnic federation. A migrant group (A) would arrive and perhaps subdue or be absorbed by the indigenous Plateau people (B) either by force or through cultural adaptations. This new grouping with an amalgamation of languages and cultures may then become a new entity (C) different in some ways from A or B. Refugees from the possible conflict between A and B might have fled and again made modifications in their cultural systems. The opportunities for such diffusion on the plateau were numerous and specific cases will be shown later.

Extensive grazing land, abundant water and climatic factors made the plateau attractive to cattle-keeping people. Given the poor soil, it is unlikely that agriculturalists would have found it as attractive. Certain groups such as the Birom, either pressured by or in alliance with Kwararafa, entered the plateau before 1700. Others such as the Bukuba, Jere and Amo came in the late eighteenth century possibly reacting to Hausa pressure. The Anaguta, Ganawuri, Afusare, Limoro, Chokobo and Kaje seem to have sought security on the plateau from the forces of the jihad after 1800.¹

A concentration of ethnic groups is evidenced by the fact that this area was a meeting place for two of Greenberg's major language families.² These families are divided further into numerous distinct languages. The many variations of language on the plateau raise some

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1. See Appendix II and Chapter II pp. 63-73. for definite dates.
 2. Greenberg, Joseph H., Languages of Africa, 1966. These being the Benue-Congo and Chadic which are part of his Congo-Kordofanian and Afro-Asiatic Groups respectively.

question as to how isolated the many ethnic groups were. Physical factors have much to do with this differentiation, but the intermittent movement of peoples may also establish the real basis for the vast differences. Migrants did not all arrive on the plateau at once or from the same direction, thus it must be expected that differences in language and ethnicity were bound to occur. The migrations were not sudden but spread over several centuries.

A simple linguistic classification of the Plateau languages must, of course, be included in this work. Then, since an historico-linguistic analysis of the many languages would be of more value, it will be considered next. After combining it with some of the oral evidence collected, it will be possible to trace some relationships between various ethnic groups. Following that, and taking into consideration all the sources of archaeology, written sources, and linguistics, the oral history can then be analyzed more critically and in some detail.

The Plateau is a veritable shatter belt of languages, and as early as 1925, C. K. Meek remarked that

... it is clear that the Bauchi Plateau - the meeting ground of Bantu, Semi-Bantu, West and Central Sudanic,¹ will prove to be an area of great linguistic confusion.

This linguistic complexity still requires a great deal of language classification before it can be resolved. Diedrich Westermann accorded the languages of the plateau little relationship to other African languages, simply calling them 'Isolated Groups' with no connection to Chado-Hamitic or Sudanic language families.² Greenberg however places

1. Meek, op. cit., II, 1925, p. 139.

2. Westermann and Bryan, Languages of West Africa, 1952, p. 104.

some of them within the Benue-Congo group (a sub-family of the Niger Congo group) and includes them in his Plateau sub-group classification. The extensive Chadic family also has its share of sub-families on the plateau although these do not occupy as distinct a sub-section as does the Benue-Congo group.¹

Despite the vast differentiation of tongues there appears to be a distinct line of cleavage on the whole plateau area between the Benue-Congo group, mostly in present day Jos Division, and the Chadic group found in Parkshin Division. Although there is some blurring of these boundaries by the Afusare and the Ron, it can generally be said that one of the two language groups (Benue-Congo or Chadic) is concentrated in each area.²

Language is an integral part of the society within which it functions. As it reflects that society's culture, a change in the cultural pattern might necessitate a change of form and/or meaning in aspects of the language. This may not be a radical change but an adaptation between two different language groups who have made contact and/or merged for some reason. New words, or loan words may become established in a language over time, since language is no more static than the culture of which it is a part. It cannot, however, be used as a substitute for political or social classifications of societies and especial care must be taken when applying it in an historical context to the heterogeneous societies of the Jos Plateau.

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1. See Appendix V. and Fig. 4 in back cover pocket.
 2. Although this work is mostly concerned with the Benue-Congo, it would be wise to examine the Chadic group as a linguistic entity as well. See Fig. 4 in back cover pocket.

Oral history begins with the arrival of the proto-Birom who climbed the scarp to reach the plateau over three hundred years ago.¹ This ethnic group, calling themselves Bi Rom or 'people of the Rom',² settled at the village of Riyom or Shonong and there is some dispute over which village came first.³ Nevertheless, they eventually expanded outward to occupy much of what is now the southern part of Jos Division. Oral evidence tells of other migrants, at present calling themselves Birom, coming from the south and the north. The historical division of these groups is outlined below, but there is insufficient linguistic evidence to draw any conclusions as to the language differential between them and the proto-Birom.

West of the Birom, and related to them linguistically are the Ganawuri. According to their oral evidence they came from the north.

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1. JPP Birom, I, II, III passim. Using genealogies, two Birom settlements, the religious capital Riyom and Shonong (Oshono) at the southern extreme of the Birom, appear to have been on the plateau in the first half of the seventeenth century. See Appendix II for dating. Migrations will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter II. There is a sharp and long break between the pre-historic peoples and the historic ones by which is meant those having oral traditions linked to genealogies. Pre-historic peoples are likely absorbed within the modern ethnic groups with a consequent loss of their traditions and an adoption of the traditions of the newcomers.
 2. Bi --this is one of the plural noun class prefixes in Birom. This 'Rome origin' theory first appears in Davies' The Birom (see above). He bases this far-fetched theory on the material culture --the short two-edged sword used by peoples in this area as well as the leg greaves worn by the Birom very similar to those of the Romans. This myth has gained some currency among the younger educated elements of the Birom but not among older informants.
 3. Genealogies show that they came at approximately the same time. JPP, passim.

It has been suggested that the Ganawuri migrated to Zangon Katab in present day Zaria Province.¹ From here, under pressure caused by the Zaria emirate, in the early part of the nineteenth century, they grouped with the Ataka on the western edge of the plateau, an almost impregnable area² called Gwong Kwott. Here they were joined by a number of Birom groups with whom they intermarried and, if not already linguistically related, acquired a language very similar to the Birom.³

The Nchara in the village of Teria sixteen kilometres north of Jos, are also linguistically related to the Birom group and appear in Greenberg's Plateau 3 group with Birom and Ganawuri.⁴ Oral evidence suggests that they know nothing of their origin; however they do know that they were on the plateau near their present site less than two hundred years ago.⁵ Lexico statistics have shown their split with the Birom to have occurred about 1200 years ago.⁶

In the north of the Jos Plateau are a number of language groups the majority of whom, including Limoro, Buji, Jere, Amo, Kurama and

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1. Berthoud, Gerald, 'Historic Work on the Ganawuri of the Jos Plateau,' Bulletin Annuel du Musee et Institut d'Ethnographie de la Ville de Geneve, 1965. No. 8, p. 20.
 2. Berthoud, Ibid., p. 20.
 3. JPP Birom, I, II, III and Ganawuri, IV, passim.
 4. Greenberg, op. cit., p. 7.
 5. JPP Teria (Nchara), IV p. 187-196. Informants from various ethnic groups including the Rukuba, Jere, and Buji agree that the Nchara were here before they arrived; however the Nchara genealogies were very inconsistent in this regard.
 6. Shimizu, Dr. Kiyoshi, On the Linguistic Mapping Project of B.P. State. Public lecture at Jos Museum, November 20 1973. Details on glottochronology can be found in R. B. Lee's 'The Basis of Glottochronology,' Language, 29 (1953) pp. 113-127.

Anaguta, are part of the Plateau I group of the Benue-Congo language family. These groups claim to have migrated almost wholly from the area to the north-east in the direction of Bauchi around the early nineteenth century.¹ They have linguistic cognates off the plateau to the west in present-day North Central State which include the Chawai and the Gure.

Such a split in linguistic groups is not unusual on the plateau for the Rukuba who are in the Plateau 4 group of the Benue-Congo family are in a similar position. According to oral evidence, they were dwelling with a part of the Plateau I group, the Jere in particular, before coming to the Plateau probably in the late eighteenth century. They too are separated from language cognates, for they are in the same Plateau group as the Ayu, Ninzam and Mada ethnic groups who live to the south and south west of the plateau.² The split of Rukuba and Ninzam, according to glottochronology, occurred around 450 A.D.³

The Irigwe and the Afusare⁴ are part of yet another Benue-Congo

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1. JPP IV, passim. For the causes of these migrations see Chapter II.
 2. Williamson, K., 'The Benue-Congo Language Classified.'
A paper presented at the Eighth Congress of the Linguistic Society of West Africa held in Abidjan, 1969.
 3. Shimizu, op. cit., p. 14. The problem with all such dates is where were these groups when they split. This is a query which lexico-statistics cannot answer adequately.
 4. Temple, C. L. and O., Notes on the Tribes, Provinces and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1965, p. 165, refers to the Afusare as Jarawa as do the documents NAK Josprof I 581/1922 and Josprof 257/1914. The Jarawa that Temple refers to are now called the Jarawa Bantu and are in a completely different linguistic group (Bantoid) from the Afusare (Plateau) although they both belong to the Benue-Congo family. (See Williamson and Shimizu, Benue-Congo Comparative Word List, I, 1968.)

language group, this time Plateau 2. The majority of languages belonging to this group are centred off the plateau to the east where the Moroa, Kaje, Kagoro, and Jaba live. The Irigwe claim origin from the Afusare in Fobur which is forty kilometres east of Irigwe, but speak a dialect close to the Kaje and the Katab at Zongon Katab twenty-five kilometres to the west.¹

The Afusare are the most ubiquitous of all the Plateau groups to be examined. This language group appears not only in the north-east corner of the plateau but also in scattered sections among the Plateau 3 group where they have intermingled and amalgamated with the Birom at Du, Forum, and Gashish, and with the Ganawuri at Gwong Kwott. The Afusare of Fobur and Shere claim a western origin from the area now occupied by the Chawai off the plateau.² Their linguistic cognates, the Kagoro, have a tradition of originating from the plateau.³

It is quite possible that the northward migration of a large number of Birom speakers overran or inter-settled with the Plateau 2 group and pushed some of them west and north. However, caution should be exercised in such speculations when using oral history and

1. JPP Irigwe IV, pp. 1-70.

2. JPP Irigwe IV, pp. 1-70.

3. Tremearne, A. J. N., The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria, 1912, p. 93.

linguistic evidence.¹

To gain some perspective in this linguistic sketch of the plateau it is necessary to look at the Chadic language family on the eastern plateau (now Pankshin Division) to show where that very vague line between these two linguistic families lies.

The major Chadic group in this area is the Angas language, made up of the Angas, Ankwe and Sura. The Angas are said to be settlers from Borno who came to the plateau some three or four hundred years ago. A quarrel is said to have arisen and they split into various factions which in turn divided and formed many of the ethnic groups in this south eastern section of the plateau including the Chip, Tal and Mirriam.² Both the Ankwe in Shendam area and the Sura are closely related to the Angas linguistically.

The Sura, who are twenty to twenty-five kilometres east of the nearest Birom village, are of some interest. They ascended the plateau

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1. Ballard, John, 'Historical Inferences from the Linguistic Geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt,' Africa, 41(4) 1971. pp. 294-305. For the linguist's viewpoint see: Newman, Paul, 'Linguistic Relationship, Language Shifting, and Historical Inference,' Afrika und Ubersee, Bard LIII Heft 3/4, pp. 21-221. It is interesting to note that between 1200 and 1500 years ago three linguistic splits occurred: the Rukuba-Minzam 450 A.D., Irigwe-Katab-Afusare 550 A.D. and the Birom-Chara 750 A.D. (no error factor given). All three of these groups have retained over sixty per cent of their proto-language. Whether this splitting of groups was in any way connected with the end of the Nok culture 200 \pm 50 A.D. or the desiccation of the Sahara must be left until much more archaeological and ethnographic information is available. See Shimizu, op. cit., p. 14.
 2. Ames, C. G., op. cit., pp. 122-130. Ames gives us an adequate historical summary of these groups which will have to stand until more detailed work is done.

some 250 years ago from Mudugut, an area east of Shendam.¹ They claim to have met the Birom and fought them in Birom land. However, the Sura found the Birom too numerous and fled back to their present site.² The Sura migration thrust itself between the Pyem and Kuleri, two linguistic groups that were of Plateau 6 in the Benue-Congo family. The Pyem claim an eastern origin³ while Kuleri state that they have always been where they are at present.⁴

The Ron^{are} also from the Chadic language family but of a different sub-section. They arrived after the Sura and, it would appear, fought with the Kuleri. They reached a modus vivendi with the Pyem in the nineteenth century, supplying the Pyem with Kuleri captives to be sold to the Fulani in the Pyem area or forwarded to Bauchi emirate.

Two Benue-Congo groups are also found further east and isolated linguistically within the Chadic group. The Pai live east of the Angas and belong to the Plateau 7 group and are related to the Basharawa near Wase. It has been suggested that these groups were overwhelmed by the later Chadic migration on to the plateau from the east and thus placed themselves at the periphery of this new influx of migrants.⁵

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1. JPP Gimha Kelahma, Mishkaham of Kereng, Sura, 15/12/1973, V, p. 93.
 2. JPP Elders in Kereng Sura, 15/12/1973, V, p. 107. The Angas also claim to have met the Kibyen (Birom), when they came to Fier. The Angas drove them out. (See Temple op. cit., p. 228).
 3. JPP Matto Dakat, Gindiri, 4/12/73, V, p. 85.
 4. Frank, op. cit. The Kuleri appear to have been a pre-Birom people who were assimilated, driven west or sold into captivity. The Ron fought Chen a Daress who may have been a Kuleri. Chen a Daress was referred to earlier in this Chapter.
 5. Ballard, op. cit., p. 303.

Lexico-statistics, as it may be applied to the plateau, is still in its infancy due to the lack of linguistic studies and it would be unwise to merge what is known with the rather imprecise traditions of origin. Nevertheless, the above does give an impression of multi-directional migrations of peoples on to the plateau in recent historical times, as well as a tendency by some of the first arrivals, for example, the Angas and the Biron, to expand over a considerable territory.

Up to this point oral history has been referred to only briefly in order to support or refute other sources considered. It is now necessary to analyze this oral history in the light of the above sources and attempt to construct a brief history of the Jos Plateau up to the nineteenth century. This will be done, always bearing in mind the overall migration patterns, as well as the inter-relations, or lack thereof between various settlements.

The final occupation level at Dutsen Kongba¹ would appear to be contemporary with the presence on the plateau of the early Biron² peoples. At some time before 1650 the proto-Biron came on to the Jos Plateau quite possibly as farmers and cattle-keepers. The

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1. Federal Department of Antiquities, 'Excavations at Dutsen Kongba Near Jos, Nigeria (Preliminary Notice) op. cit., passim.
 2. To avoid later confusion, the ethnic group will be called by the name by which it is now known. Below are the usual names of the ethnic groups followed by the names that they give themselves.

Afusare (Afuzarek); Amo (Amap); Anaguta (Anaguta); Biron (Bi Rom); Buji (Onoboze); Chokobo (Azora); Ganawuri (Aten); Gurrum (Anagorum); Irigwe (Erigwe); Jere (Azele) Kurama (Kurami) Kwakwi (Bifiran); Limoro (Limoro) Nchara (Nchara); Piti (Abisi) Pyem (Pyem) Ron /Challa/ (Ron); Rukuba (Bache); Sura (Mahvul); Ukwairai (Ukwairai).

people of Riyom claim the Birom originated from the north, but their exact migration route is not known. Shonong speaks of a southern origin, and each claims to be the first Birom settlement on the plateau.¹ As will be shown below, migrations to 'Biromland' from various directions continued until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The only other settlement which claims an arrival on the plateau in the seventeenth century is Rim. However, their arrival date of 1657-1684 \pm 36 is perhaps too early.² It is more likely that they were part of a group of migrants from the north, which included the Du and Forum, all of whom arrived in the early nineteenth century.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, other settlements were being founded and nine had been established: Jol, Labaring, Luwa, Kyeng, Bengai, Ra Fan, Zabutt, Ban and Nengwan, all of whom claimed a Riyom or Riyom-derived origin.³ A politico-religious manifestation of this relationship between these villages and Riyom was the ritual

1. JPP Riyom I, pp. 155 and 195. Ames however gives the south as the place of origin, a claim the writer could not substantiate. As will be seen in all the groups to be dealt with, clans or sections came at different times and from different directions; thus a definitive migration route is difficult. In Riyom itself men are buried facing Batin (east, meaning the area of the beginning), Ba - area, Tin - beginning or base of a plant. Since Gwi (the sun) is a manifestation of God, its beginning (rising) is important.
2. Rim's genealogy list dates wars with villages that had not as yet come into existence. This desire for an independence from Riyom may be a recent strategem to regain an administrative separation from Riyom which they had before the 1930's reorganization of the districts.
3. See Appendix II. pp. 426-437.

practised when a wild animal was killed. This was especially true of the leopard, which, when killed, was decapitated and the head was taken to Riyom. However, if the settlement had claimed to be of Riyom-derived origin, the leopard head would be passed through the immediate senior village and then to Riyom. For example, if a leopard was killed by Ban villagers, the head would be carried to Zabutt first, as Zabutt was considered the 'father' of Ban. Zabutt would then pass it on to Riyom. The above nine settlements thus spread south and east, the greatest distance being to Ra Fan thirty kilometres due east of Riyom and south as far as Mengwon, twenty-five kilometres away. The expansion to the east might very well have been hampered by the arrival of the Sura from the south-east lowland, an arrival that may be dated as early as in the 1700's,¹ while the furthest eastward expansion by proto-Birom was Zabutt and Ra Fan (1711-1738 \pm 32). The Sura of Kereng claim to have gone into Birom land and killed some of its inhabitants² before fleeing back to their present site. The eastern border was further demarcated by the arrival of the Pyem in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.³

Expansion of the Birom before 1800 was limited to two directions, south and east. Any attempt to extend northwards or westwards was

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1. JPP Kereng Sura 15/12/73 V: 107.
 2. Ibid V. p. 108. The Sura called the Birom 'Rem' (Rim? Riyom?) and say that when they went there the Birom were many.
 3. Machunga, Akila Wantu, Tarihi: Pyem - Gindiri, 1964, p. 7. I could not ascertain a more exact date of arrival for the Pyem except that they were in their present site a 'short time' before Yakubu of Bauchi came, c. 1830.

inhibited not only by the more rugged terrain in the west but also perhaps, by the presence of other peoples. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the flat, ^{and} in places more fertile, lands north of Riyom remained unsettled by the Birom.

By the late eighteenth century, a large group of migrants began arriving from the southern lowlands. It is not known if they were Birom speakers or not.¹ This migration is said to have moved through Bengai or the Bengai area, but the people of Bengai evince no knowledge of this migration. It is possible that this Bengai group² were in search of pasture land for their dwarf cattle, or were induced to move to the plateau by the large-scale migrations which characterize the southern plains in the late eighteenth century.³ Linguistic evidence shows that there are some settlements of Birom speakers

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1. Because of the size and importance of this migration, Birom will be used henceforth to describe all those who now consider themselves belonging to this ethnic group. See Appendix II for dating.
 2. For purposes of convenience, this term will be maintained when referring to this particular Birom migrant group.
 3. Dunama, a Borno refugee about the end of the eighteenth century founded Lafia, and his successor Musa, before the jihad, subdued the tribes of Koro, Gwandara, Mama and Anke to the foot of the plateau. J. C. Sciortino, Gazetteer of Nassarawa Province, 1919. For more detail on migration and population movement in this area of the Middle Belt see Mason, M., 'Population Density and "Slave Raiding," -- The Case of the Middle Belt of Nigeria,' Journal of African History (JAH), X: 4, 1969, pp. 555-564. Also Gleave and Prothero, 'Population Density and "Slave Raiding" --a Comment,' JAH, XII: 2, 1971, pp. 319-327.

twenty-five kilometres north of present day Wamba on the plains.¹ Nevertheless, the Bengai group filtered up from the south at various times between the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Some reached the area around Riyom by the middle of the eighteenth century and moved on to found Zawan, Kuru, Gyel and a dominant part of Turu which later made up the Vwang confederacy in Tyono.² It is not known if these newcomers submitted to complete or even partial Riyom suzerainty, but it should be pointed out that none of the above Bengai group, nor the later villages of Wereng, Kassa, or Kwi, acknowledge a Riyom origin and they give no 'tribute' of any kind, such as the leopard's head, to Riyom.

Riyom continued to expand, encompassing by the late eighteenth century (1765-1792 ± 28) the settlements of Gafat, Pomwol, Tafan, Afang, and Bahoss. Again, this expansion of Riyom settlements tended to be towards the south. It was not until the 1800's that the Birom were perhaps populous enough to expand northwards. Even then the movement was spearheaded by the new immigrants, the Bengai group, who were more likely to need new farmland. The north may have blocked any early Birom expansion and it would be useful here to examine the very diversified nature of the inhabitants of the northern half of the plateau.

When discussing the groups that established themselves in the

1. Bouquiaux, Luc, La Langue Birom, 1970, *passim*.
2. Tyono being the original settlement area just behind present-day Vwang in the Vom hills. For dating see Appendix II. pp. 426-437.

northern quarter of the Jos Plateau, it is necessary to begin with a place called Gba. The exact location of Gba is not known but it is thought to be somewhere east of Zaranda Hill which is about thirty kilometres west of Bauchi. It is from Gba that the Rukuba and the Buji claim origin, and these two groups passed through the Kwandon Kaya Hills sixty-five kilometres west of Bauchi meeting the Jere¹ and the Amo. The first migration from these hills took place in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Segments of the Rukuba left before the end of the eighteenth century (1765-1792 ± 28), while the Jere left about the same time and accompanied them westward. The Jere settled at Pengana, a rock outcrop thirty-two kilometres north of Jos then in the nineteenth century moved on to their present site. The Rukuba on their migration routes² included stays with the Jere and Amo. As the Rukuba were made up of dispersed sections, they penetrated their present rocky land area at different times as separate clans and founded separate settlements. It is not known when the Amo left Kwandon Kaya, but it would appear to have been about the same time, since the Rukuba speak of staying with the Amo.

The Rukuba claim that a dispute arose with the Jere over a woman. The Rukuba eventually won and fled from the anger of the Jere.³ The Jere on the other hand do not remember why they left Kwandon Koya

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1. The term Jere refers to all the eventual segments that left Kwandon Kaya, the Gusu, Limoro and Sanga.
 2. Personal Communication, Professor J. C. Muller, Department d'Anthropologie, Universite de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, June 19, 1974.
 3. Muller, J. C. Rukuba Ethnography, unpublished typed manuscript, no date, (1971?).

after this dispute, but they claim to have settled at Pengana because the farming was good. The Rukuba, Jere and Amo claim to have migrated together. They speak related languages and a few clans among the Amo claim a Rukuba origin.¹ One tradition states that upon separation the Amo took the horses because the Jere would not require them in their rocky environment.²

South of Jere, but still some fifteen kilometres north of Jos, are two settlements whose origins present difficulties. In order to deal adequately with the problems that arise, it is necessary to touch briefly on events that took place well into the nineteenth century. The two peoples, Nchara and Ukwairai, appear to have barely survived the constant movement throughout their area in the period before the British arrived.

The Nchara in Teria are quite possibly a proto-Birom people who had spread north of Riyom or were left by the proto-Birom people when they passed through from the north in the early nineteenth century.³ The Nchara, a member of the Plateau 3 language group with the Birom, have similar marriage customs and state that outside their group they marry only with the Birom.⁴ However, they have also been influenced by the Amo circumcision festival which the Nchara undertake every seven years, a festival which the Birom do not perform. Although no Amo clan could be traced in the Nchara

1. JPP Amo, 22/9/73, IV, p. 295.

2. NAK Josprof 407, I Counsell, E.H.M. 'Reorganization of Amo, Buji, Jere Districts, Jos Division'.

3. See Appendix II, pp. 426-437.

4. JPP Teria (Nchara) 31/7/73, IV, p. 193.

village, a Rukuba clan was said to have fled Rukuba country due to a civil war and joined Nchara around the mid-nineteenth century, (1846-1873). The Nchara claim precedence in this area of the plateau. After they arrived the Ukwairai joined them.¹ Both had settled before the coming of the Buji (1846-1873), but how long before it is difficult to estimate.² Both were involved with the religious ceremonies at Aturu rock,³ in which no others - Jere, Buji, Amo, or Rukuba - took part.

The Ukwairai claim to have separated from the Nchara at Aturu before the Buji came but the cause of this split is not remembered. The Nchara who lived at Aturu left 'for no particular reason' and went to Kepop⁴ to avoid the wars that others were waging. The only evidence of a war in which the Nchara might have been involved was with Rukuba in 1819-1846. Rukuba mentions it but the Nchara do not confirm it, possibly due to the Rukuba element now living amongst them. The date of the war suggests that this may have been the reason for the Nchara's retreat to Kepop.

The split of the Nchara and Ukwairai may also have occurred in the very early years of the nineteenth century. One may infer this

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1. Ibid., IV, p. 199. The date 1846-1873 signifies sometime between these two dates.
 2. JPP Gurrum, 30/7/73, IV, p. 185.
 3. 'Aturu rock' is a cave site sixteen kilometres north of Jos where Ukwairai and Nchara carry out their religious rites asking for guidance of the people. The Biron of Kabong and Da are also involved in rituals performed at this site.
 4. JPP Teria, op. cit., IV, p. 189. Kepop is twenty kilometres north-west of Aturu and much better placed than Aturu as a defensive position.

from the origin story of the village of Du. The Birom village of Du claims a northern origin. They date their arrival in Du around the early part of the 1800's (1792-1819 ± 26). They claim to have come from Sokoto¹ and after much travelling, stayed briefly in the area that the Buji later settled. Moving on southward they founded the village of Kabong and then moved south eastwards to finally settle at Du. The people of Du related that when they were in the area of Buji there were some people nearby, but they did not fight them.² This was before the arrival of Buji in that area and may have been the Ukwairai or the Nchara. The Du people passed on to Kabong and from there some clans split off and went on to Du and lived together with the Zawan who were a section of the Bengai Birom. Kabong led by the Lo Kwai (clan of Kwai)³ continued to go to Aturu for religious ceremonies with the Nchara and Ukwairai. It would appear that the latter two dispersed and fused with other groups as they stated but maintained their most important position among the Du and Kabong settlements. It cannot be said definitely that Du was part of the proto-Birom or, on the other hand, a non-Birom people pushed south by Jere⁴ settling with the Ukwairai and then being again

1. A Sokoto origin has also been claimed in Forum by the Gyena clan which may be a segment of the Du group from the north which settled in Forum. 'Sokoto' may be used here not only to mean the north generally but perhaps to give the clan a greater legitimacy when the colonial administration attempted to discover who the 'proper' village chief was in the twentieth century. Ames builds this into a Buzu origin. See Ames, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

2. *JPP* Du, 11/3/73, II, p. 144.

3. Lo Kwai is also an important segment of the Du population.

4. Ames, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

driven farther south. It was during this final migration that they met a part of the Bengai-Birom arriving from the north. The complications that arose from this encounter will be analysed in the next chapter.

As the nineteenth century began, the Jos Plateau can be seen as a land of many scattered settlements. The Birom, as shown above, occupied the south and, with the arrival of the Bengai Birom expanded north and west in the nineteenth century. The north meanwhile was occupied by three ethnic groups, the Kukuba, the Amo and the Jere, perhaps less numerous than the Birom. This trio had just arrived from easterly directions. In the central part of the plateau were the Nohara and Ukwairai' settlements of obscure origin although probably related to the Birom. To the east of these settlements lived the Irigwe, made up of the three clans, the Zigwe, Chinke, and Muhwi. They lived in the area of present day Fobur and genealogical dating shows that the oldest clan - Zigwe - had been there since at least the middle of the eighteenth century (1738-1765 \pm 30).¹

To the east of the Birom were the Sura and the Ron, both of whom had arrived on the plateau in the first half of the eighteenth century.² The Sura, upon their arrival, tested the military strength of the Birom to the west and then retreated to settle and expand in

1. See Appendix II.

2. Ibid., The Sura informants at Kereng claim an arrival date of eight generations ago (1684-1711 \pm 34) and the Ron at Bokkos place their arrival at seven generations ago (1711-1738 \pm 32). See Appendix II. pp. 426-437.

their present area. The defence of the Birom's eastern frontier was left to the villages of Zabutt and Fan.

The latter, the Fan (Ra Fan and Ta Fan), claim a Riyom origin but also say that they do not take part in any religious ceremonies with Riyom. This may simply be because of the distance which separates Fan from Riyom, for, although their origin is obscure, the Fan language is Birom and their marriage and farming customs follow Birom practice.

The brief account above is based on the oral history of the Jos Plateau before 1800 and it can be seen that, given such vague evidence, only very tenuous conclusions can be made. Firstly, the Jos Plateau must be viewed as an area subject to constant human movement, with some migration from without, which very often continued once the groups reached the plateau. Secondly, most settlements attempted to remain geographically separate from each other despite ties of ethnicity. Thirdly, there is no evidence of an urban setting but simply very scattered rural hamlets some still holding large herds of dwarf cows. Fourthly, the Birom were the only ethnic group with any measure of centralized authority which will be discussed in Chapter III. Fifthly, there was little concern over safeguarding farmlands, cowherds or hunting rights in such a large area and, except for the eastern frontier of 'Biromland', military activity was minimal.

However, the abrupt increase of settlements and ethnic groups

on the plateau, coupled with the direct and indirect influence of the Fulani jihad, produced many changes in the nineteenth century. New social, political, and military situations arose, leading to a number of adaptations within the Plateau societies as well as changes in their relationships with each other. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

INTERNAL MOVEMENT ON THE JOS PLATEAU AND THE EFFECTS
OF THE FULANI JIHAD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The flow of migrants to the Jos Plateau increased greatly in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Fulani jihad, which affected all of Northern Nigeria in some way, swept through those areas surrounding the plateau and this created a number of migrant groups seeking to escape Islamization. Later in the century, the jihad had a more direct military impact on the plateau as the emirates consolidated and expanded. It would however be a mistake to attribute only to the jihad or its repercussions the increased internal movement that continued on the plateau. Each ethnic group, each settlement, and at times each clan took its own measures to survive. The trend of the pre-1800 period of fission and fusion went on unceasingly into the nineteenth century with older settlements absorbing, being absorbed by or rejecting the incoming groups.

Three trends become clear in the nineteenth century and will be stressed below. The first is the steady migration on to the plateau induced by the effects of the jihad or other causes. This was followed chronologically by the direct threat to the plateau by the jihad which affected all who were situated on the rim of the plateau except those on the southernmost section. The third and final trend is the one of internal migrations within the plateau throughout the nineteenth century as each group or settlement tried to find its place among the plateau societies. These trends bring out the various aspects of resistance

and absorption on the plateau. Militant resistance to jihadists and absorption in new political structures on the plateau were recurring themes. Both types of reaction were widespread in the new socio-political situations that arose.

Immigration and Internal Movement in the Nineteenth Century

The following examination of the migration of ethnic groups to and within the plateau attempts to synthesize the tenuous evidence collected in the many plateau villages and hamlets.¹ The various migration stories of these villages and hamlets have been assessed and correlated in order to present an, at times, fragile picture of the various waves of migrants and then an overall pattern for these population movements. This examination will concentrate on those groups that were affected the most by these migrations - namely the Ganawuri, Biron, Afusare, and Irigwe. The Amo and Rukuba were already firmly established in their present domains and were not immediately affected by the events outlined below.

The Birom occupied the largest area on the Jos Plateau and some migrants to the plateau in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century joined them and increased both the territory and population of the Birom. Their origins and their various migrations, however, are less puzzling than those of the Afusare who live among them and in some areas, for example, the Gnar, call themselves Birom. Afusare

1. For an explanation of how these sources were assessed see Critique of Oral Sources and Appendix II. pp. 392-437.

origins are rather obscure but they appear to have been on the plateau for some time. The evidence available suggests that first the Birom and later the Ganawuri took over their respective areas leaving isolated pockets of Afusare.¹ Therefore, the Afusare will be examined first.

The Afusare are dispersed over a wide area not only migrating to Gorun and Du but also having settlements at Vwang, Ganawuri, and as far south as Gnar in Gashish. A belt of Afusare and their linguistic cognate, the Irigwe, extends from east to west across the middle of the Jos Plateau (see figure 4). They both are part of the Plateau 2 language group, the majority of whom occupy the plains to the west of the plateau and include the Kaje, Katab, Kagoro and Moroa.

A number of Afusare cling to the north-eastern lip of the plateau. This area, consisting of jagged rock faces which reach heights of over 1800 metres, gave welcome protection in the last century when some Afusare fled from the area which the Chawai now inhabit because of raids

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1. It is difficult to assess whether the Afusare were on the plateau before the Birom or were an intrusive element that arrived later. For example, the village of Gnar is Afusare and is surrounded by Birom villages. Its genealogical lists are severely attenuated. The Afusare villages of Shen, Kapiwa and Kwakwi are on the Birom frontiers (see figure 3) and can recount their migrations of the nineteenth century. Thus Gnar may be a single case of a very early village surrounded by the Birom arrivals or a later migrant group that fled with the other Afusare villages mentioned above and intruded far into the Birom area. For political reasons, vis-a-vis the Birom presence, they now claim that they have always been there. However the weight of evidence suggest that the Irigwe-Afusare were on the plateau before the Birom. The Birom salient seems to have separated the main Afusare group from the related Irigwe.

from Zaria.¹ Some of the inhabitants of Fobur arrived sometime between 1846 and 1873. They also settled at Shere and Fedare, the latter being conquered by the Bauchi emirate. This may explain the presence of small segments of Afusare speakers near Ganawuri at Kwakwi and among the Shen and a number of settlements east of Forum. Those in the Forum village area claim they are not ritually a part of the Birom there.² In this area, it is not surprising to find a claim by Kapwis - an Afusare village - of Irigwe origin.³

Kapwis as well as Shen and Gnar give 1819-1846 as their time of arrival at their present site. Both Kapwis and Shen acknowledge Fe Gwom, a site near Fobur, as their place of origin and it is not unreasonable to assume that Kapwis could have been connected in some way with the Irigwe who had lived in Fobur since the middle of the eighteenth century. The village of Gnar, however, claims a Sokoto origin. Gnar also carries out its own religious rites when a leopard is killed in hunting. It also appoints its own chief.⁴ There is intermarriage with the Birom by all these village groups. The Afusare, like their Birom neighbours, were often engaged in intra-ethnic warfare. The Afusare of Kapwis for example admit to joining the Birom villages of Forum and Du against the Afusare of Fedare and Fusa because they acknowledged the suzerainty

1. JPP Fobur, 11/12/73, V, p. 65. See Fig. 2 and 3 in back cover pocket.

2. JPP Adullah Song, Gwom of Kapwis, 15/1/73, I, p. 21.

3. Ibid.

4. It is interesting to note that Gnar village has also claimed that they passed through Riyon on their way from Sokoto. This perhaps to hedge their 'northern' origin with a Birom origin as well. JPP Adullah Song, Gwom of Kapwis, 15/1/73, I, p. 83.

of Bauchi. The willingness of the Birom to inter-marry with other groups and their ability to ally militarily with one section of another ethnic group against another section of that same group, probably goes a long way to explain their geographic and demographic expansion.

The Irigwe are a part of the same linguistic group as the Afusare. They dwelt in Fobur until sometime before 1820 when they were driven away from that site by the Hausa (Bauchi?) raids. As they had few horses at the time, they could not resist mounted warriors and they fled westwards.¹ They took shelter in a rock knoll called Ritivo but at this place they contracted smallpox and so went on to their present site at Kwall which is at the top of a sheer scarp twenty-five kilometres south south-west of Jos overlooking the Zaria plains. Quite soon after their arrival they were joined by a large group of refugees from Kaje led by the Nadzia section who were fleeing from the Zaria raids on the plains below.²

The Nadzia section outnumbered any of the three founding clans in Kwall. Also, due to their trade connections with the plains, they were able to carry on a lively trade in large horses with Zongon Katab. Given this numerical superiority and the obvious advantages that large horses gave to the Irigwe in time of war, the Nadzia assumed the responsibility for the defence of Kwall. However, they held no ritual

1. JPP Tungo Ngwe, Zigwe section, 27/4/73, IV, p. 27.

2. Kaje fought with Fulani in reider of Abdul Kerim (1834-46) Emir of Zaria and fled eastwards. They again fought Zaria in the time of Emir Hamman Sani (1846-1860) who after the punitive patrol told the Kaje to follow Serikin Jemaa in future. NAK, SMP 17/8 K. 2985. 'Anthropological Notes on Kaje Tribe'.

power.¹ Within ten or twenty years sections were breaking away from the three founding lineages in Kwall, due to overcrowding because of the new refugees. These sections went north across the Gyal River to found Miango which was named after Nyango who led the Tahu section to the new site.²

Sixteen kilometres to the south-east of the Irigwe are the Birom settlements of Vwang, Turu, Chugi and Ful, the first two living together in the Vom hills at a site called Tyono. Perhaps it would be better to say the present day settlements are Birom, for the founders of the 'first' Ful and the 'first' Turu claim Kaje origin and probably were in the area to meet the incoming Bengai Birom who arrived in the first half of the nineteenth century. Once again this suggests that the plateau 2 people preceded the Birom on the plateau. Perhaps the Kagoro who claim a plateau origin³ and speak a plateau 2 language fled westwards ^{off} the plateau to their present site as a result of the Birom intrusion and expansion. If this was in fact the case it would appear that the major reasons for the evacuation of the plateau was the arrival of the 'Birom' migrants from the north, who settled in Du, Forum, and Heipang, and at the same time or somewhat earlier the arrival of the Bengai migrants from the south. The convergence of these two groups from the north and south must now be looked at in more detail.

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1. Sangree, Walter, H., 'Secondary Marriage and Tribal Solidarity in Irigwe, Nigeria'. Paper read at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meetings at San Diego, California, in November, 1970, p. 13.
 2. JPP Tahu clan, Miango 26/4/73, IV, p. 51.
 3. Meek, C. K. 'Katab and Their Neighbours', Journal of the African Society (JAS), 27 and 28, 1928, p. 105.

As has been mentioned, the Bengai migrants came through Riyom then went on to establish themselves in areas north of Riyom. The Bengai migrants displaced the chief of Turu around the turn of the eighteenth century, 1792-1819 \pm 26.¹ Gyel had arrived in Riyom by 1765-1792 \pm 28 and were very probably accompanied by Kuru. Gyel went on to Longyel near Wang and spent a generation there before moving on to Langyel near the Irigwe. Kuru in the meantime had gone west to Kwott where they lived with the Ganawuri. It was quite probable that the Taboss were also living with the Ganawuri at that time.²

By the 1820s Kwott (called Gwong Kwott by the Ganawuri) had been attacked by the Moroa who may in turn have been seeking refuge after

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1. The story is told of Daji Kai and his followers who fled from Bengai and took refuge with Turu. Here he was protected and after his pursuers, Bengai, had reconciled themselves to Turu protecting him, he gave the chief of Turu a horse. This may allude to the Bengai conquest of Turu by the mounted Birom over the unmounted "indigenes." Irigwe, when they left Fobur, said they had few horses and they would be contemporary with the Kaje of Turu and of the same language group. JPP Pam Daliyop. Turu, 29/8/73, III, p. 117-118.
 2. Ta (south) Hoss is a section of Hoss, together with Ra (north) Hoss and Kwago. It came after the latter two and speaks of having settled together with the Ganawuri. Tahoss and Ganawuri are related by marriage obligations, i.e. A Tahoss man could marry a Ganawuri man's wife if he died. JPP Tahoss 1/2/73, III, p. 222, and JPP Turu, 30/8/73, III, p. 122. Gerald Berthoud also feels the Ganawuri lived together with Hoss as well as Gyel and Ataka. 'Ils affirment d'autre part qu'ils se trouvaient la en compagnie des Birom de Hos, de Gyel et des Ataka'. See Berthoud, Gerald, Les Ganawuri du Nigeria, 1969, p. 17.

being driven eastward by the expansion of Zaria emirate.¹ Ganawuri, together with Afusare Kwakwi (and Tahoss) fled to Degarang, a rock face on the south-west edge of the plateau. Kuru (a Birom village) also in Kwott, moved to Kuhai (Lo Kukuhei) near Vwang where they fought the Vwang over farmland. Driven out by the Vwang, they eventually made their way to their present site by mid-century, 1836-1873, seven kilometres south of Bukuru.²

It was this dispersal that started off the first and last war that Riyom was to wage. Many Riyom informants denied such a conflict took place for they portray themselves as "the father of all Birom" and therefore above any disputes among their children.³ Nevertheless this war occurred in 1792-1819 \pm 26, about the same time as Gwong Kwott was breaking up. The dispute arose over the great power of the Jek (community trader) who was in Riyom.⁴ He was physically very strong and was also said to have supernatural powers. He specialized in selling 'stubborn children'. Because of the misuse of this power, Hoss and Ganawuri killed him and came to fight Riyom. It was at this

1. Smith, M. G. Government in Zazzau, 1960, p. 141. Usuman in charge of Jema'an Daroro from 1810 to c. 1823 carried on the jihad and '... the Ayu, and most of the Nummuna, Karahe, Moroa and Kajji (Kaje) people were conquered during his reign'. See Tremearne, op. cit., p. 67.

2. Zawan who followed a similar route to the other Bengai migrants may have spent some time in Kwott; however the evidence is insufficient to warrant such a statement. They arrived in their present site about the same time as Du, 1792-1819 \pm 26, after coming from the south. They claimed that their original home was in Zaria. JPP Zawan, 11/8/73, II, p. 163. Also see below fn. 1 p. 93.

3. JPP Riyom, 31/1/73, I, p. 195. This is likely a latter-day interpretation to consolidate the present Bengai group's authority.

4. The Jek was common to all Birom villages and he was entrusted by the chief of the village with carrying out the trade in captives, horses and salt. JPP Ja Hankwon of Riyom, 7/9/73, I, p. 227.

time that Riyom inhabitants fled to Werang, Vwang, and Kwi. It would appear that it was also when the Bengai group which had come to Riyom in 1765-1792 \pm 28 took the chieftaincy of Riyom¹ and the family of the deposed Riyom chief moved to Vwang. The religious rites went on at Riyom however. Despite the change in authority, many villages still brought the leopard head to Riyom.²

In the early years of the nineteenth century, another branch of the Bengai Birom pushed its way northwards and founded the village of Zawan just south-east of present day Bukuru. Coincident with this movement, was the southward migration of the Du Birom who are of unknown origin. This group moved southward through the area now occupied by the Buji and then settled at Kabong. From here, some clans broke off to found the village of Du just northeast of Zawan. Kabong however, remained in its very central site probably because of convenient access to farmland. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this village was dispersed by the farming wars between the Rukuba, Anaguta, Birom and Afusare. The Kabong refugees fled along the eastern borders of Biromland settling in Tatoo, Pahag and Tapo which is part of the area known as Heipang. Also in Forum, the settlements of For, Jewo and Ron all claim a Kabong origin. The immigrants to Forum presumably joined the Zabutt 'owners of the soil' who originally came from Riyom. Previous migrations from Kabong may account for the

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1. There must have been some link through marriage between the old and the new order for succession to have passed so smoothly. There is a continual verbal battle still going on in Riyom over who the chief should be with each side calling the other usurpers.
 2. See fig. 2 for the villages related to Riyom.

villages of Rim and Pomwol (in Heipang).¹ Such a migration would also explain Rim's insistence on a northern origin and its 'non-allegiance' to Riyom that continues up to the present day.

It thus appears that the migrants from the north formed a large group who arrived in the areas of Du, Forum, Heipang and Rim at different times. They will henceforth be referred to as the Northern Birom. This would explain the prominence accorded Forum, with Zabutt claiming a Riyom origin and therefore 'owners of the soil'.² It would also give some explanation for the consistent alliances among the above communities (including Zawan) in the face of a common enemy. None of these settlements shared their religious duties in any way with Riyom with the exception of Zabutt. They either performed their rituals themselves as in Du and Zawan³ or went to Zabutt to carry them out as the people of Heipang did. Zabutt would appear then to form the ritual link binding the north-eastern Birom group to the religious centre of Riyom.

Again, in order to present a complete picture of the Bengai Birom and their migrations, it is necessary to look at Gyel which by the middle of the nineteenth century had settled in Langyel. Gyel found this area not to its liking due to war with Irigwe and the high incidence of

1. JPP Rim 30/1/73, I, p. 177. JPP Pomwol 22/1/73, I, p. 103.

2. JPP Pam Rin, Gwom of Ban, 25/1/73, I, p. 129. Gwom Zabutt must be present whenever a new gwom is given the trappings of his sacred office - the staff, the spear and the wine calabash. JPP Pomwol, 22/1/73, I, p. 103.

3. Although my work did not reveal a Du or Zawan tribute to Forum, Stobart speaks of Idu (Du), Zoang (Zawan) and Shen sending the head of a good kill to Sarikin Forum '... as a token of their indebtedness to him for allowing them to settle there'. MAK, Joseph 259/1914, S. E. M. Stobart, Assessment Report on Burum (Kibyen) Tribe of Bukuru District, Karamats Division.

smallpox in the area, the latter perhaps causing the former. Gyel then moved to its present site on the western outskirts of the present day town of Bukuru. As interlopers they were immediately engaged in fighting Zawan which had become part of the Forun-Heipang-Du confederation. At the same time they continued to fight the Irigwe, who had driven them from Langyel and the Afusare who were allied with Du because of the Shen connection. Menaced from three sides Gyel found a welcome ally in Kuru, originally a part of the Bengai Biron, who were now two kilometres away on their southern flank. Kuru and Gyel thus founded their own alliance based on common origin and mutual survival.

To the south of this area of internecine struggle, was the Rop area which was militarily engaged with external enemies. Labaring, the main settlement in the Rop area, was surrounded by smaller hamlets which had segmented off and still paid political and religious homage to Labaring. This homage was in turn passed on to Riyom from which Labaring had come in the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the nineteenth century (1792-1819 ± 26) Sho and Kassa, 'brothers' from Riyom, had arrived and joined Labaring and Fan in their defence of the south-eastern flank of Biromland against the Sura and the Ron who had arrived a century before.

In summary, a vague pattern emerges when considering the migrations and the interaction between various groups on the Jos Plateau. There is a constant expansionist pressure during this period by the Birom and the jihadists on the areas already occupied by the Irigwe, Kaje, Afusare and the Kagoro, all of whom belong to the Plateau 2 linguistic

group. The Irigwe fled to a strong defensive position on the edge of the plateau and later became a major military and economic power. The Kagoro left the plateau completely while the Kaje and Afusare in Chen, Kwakwi, Gaar, and Turu, attained a measure of social accommodation with the incoming Birom. The major waves of Birom migrations came from the north and the south. The Bengai migration had enormous repercussions on the proto-Birom and others due to the dispersal of its various sections into different parts of the plateau and its usurpation of power in Riyom. The Northern group pressed southward at different times and refused their allegiance to the traditional Birom centre at Riyom. Thus, even before the bulk of the refugees from the jihad had arrived, the Jos Plateau had undergone major social and political changes due to the migrations that it had experienced. The lack of evidence inhibits any meaningful discussion of what those changes were. The pre-nineteenth century Birom political organization has been suggested, but an accurate assessment of political and social changes on the Jos Plateau during the nineteenth century contain too many gaps to be ^{fully} rewarding.

Effects of the Jihad, 1800-1900

The migratory movements outlined above were in most cases not affected by the Fulani jihad occurring on the lowlands. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the jihadists' incursions had forced many fugitive groups to take refuge on the Jos Plateau. This meant a whole new set of circumstances with the new factor of refugee migration increasing the number of people. It is necessary, then, to examine the

invasion attempts by the jihadists, the resistance they met, and the internal changes that the jihadists indirectly caused.

A detailed account of the one hundred years before the British invasion of 1902 should help to establish historical alliances and migrations. It will also serve to show the continued resistance of various ethnic groups to new forces that may have threatened their way of life, both from within and without. It was this spirit of resistance tested by a century of struggle against invaders that the incoming Europeans of the twentieth century were to find so difficult to subdue.

The Fulani jihad that swept Northern Nigeria in the nineteenth century has been adequately dealt with elsewhere.¹ Its repercussions for the plateau are relevant here, especially the expansion of the Zaria and Bauchi emirates.² The plateau lay between the two, 125 kilometres west of Bauchi and 140 kilometres south-east of Zaria. These two emirates were to harass both the eastern and western approaches of the plateau; for much of the nineteenth century, with only Bauchi being successful in reaching the plateau uplands through the less precipitous eastern side. As the plateau did not lie within the boundaries of either Bauchi or Zaria, inter-emirate conflict also arose. The struggle that ensued was one of territorial expansion and hegemony over the 'unbelievers' rather than a military confrontation between the

1. See Adeleye, R. A., Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906, 1971. Hogben S. and Kirk-greene, A. op. cit. Last, D. H. The Sokoto Caliphate, 1967.

2. For Zaria Emirate see Smith, op. cit. 1960, passim. For Bauchi, see Aliyu, A. Y., Bauchi Emirate Before 1900, Ph.D. thesis for Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1975. Fig. 5 in the back cover pocket shows the effect the jihad had on the Jos Plateau.

two emirates. This extension of emirate suzerainty forced the non-Muslim settlements to flee to the relative safety of the plateau.

The Eastern Jos Plateau

With the jihad of Yakubu of Bauchi pushing westwards, the Limoro and Gusu sections of the Jere fled the Kwandon Kaya hills accompanied by the Buji and Gurrum. The latter two stopped in Pengana while the Limoro and Gusu sections went on to Sanga which was already an established settlement claiming its origin in Kwandon Kaya¹ with the rest. The Wihina² who also claim Kwandon Kaya as their place of origin were driven to a hill outcrop seven kilometres north of present-day Toro. The farmland in Pengana had attracted the Buji because it was extensive and relatively safe from Bauchi raids.³ Buji tradition states that after they and all the others arrived they learned iron-making from the Biron and Teria (Nchara). Although this is dubious, it does show that there was close contact with the peoples to the south.⁴

1. JPP, Goni Baleri, Sanga, 21/7/73, IV, p. 121.

2. Dr. K. Williamson has subdivided Greenberg's Plateau lb group. All the above groups named are language cognates from Plateau lb. 3 from which the Gure, Kurama and Kahugu also come. The Amo are in the same major division but in sub-division Plateau lb. 2 while on the western side of these hills are the Chawai and Piti of Plateau lb. 1. See Williamson, op. cit. p. 19

3. JPP Buji 29/7/73, IV, p. 167.

4. JPP Jamaka Jogol, Buji, 1/8/73, IV, p. 203. No further details could be obtained on this topic but iron-making of a fairly distinctive type was widespread on the plateau and is of considerable antiquity. Angela Rackham, personal communication, Jos Museum, Jos, 24/11/73.

Before c. 1820 Jere had moved to their present site because they said Pengana rock would no longer protect them.¹ The Buji state that there was a dispute as each ethnic group tried to control the others. A power-sharing system could not be devised, consequently all left Pengana.² Overcrowding which brought on a conflict of authority may very well have been the reason for the break-up of Pengana. Nevertheless by this departure the Jere were destined to maintain their independence and become a dominant military factor in the remainder of the nineteenth century in the northern section of the plateau.

The village of Sanga had, by the 1820's, come under direct pressure from the two emirates. Situated in the region of Sanga Peak on the eastern edge of what is now called the Limoro-Chokobo Hills (forty kilometres north of Jos) were the Limoro, Sanga and Gusu settlements strung out at the bottom of the rock face. Although some ninety kilometres from Bauchi emirate and living in a mountainous area, they were not unaffected by the jihad. All admit paying to Lere - a town within Zaria emirate - a tribute which would appear to have been jizya.³ Only Gusu claim to have resisted the Hausa, fighting them at Gumo, six kilometres east of Sanga. Whether this was an act of rebellion or part of the initial conquest by the jihadists is not known for Gusu cannot say when they began paying jizya to Lere.

Sanga, however, claims to have broken with its other component parts, Gusu and Limoro, over a chieftaincy dispute which was unconnected

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1. JPP Jere 23/7/73, IV, p. 136.
 2. JPP Buji, 29/7/73, IV, p. 171.
 3. Jizya is a payment made in cash or kind by a non-Muslim in Muslim territory being protected by a Muslim power. Those who pay jizya are dhimmi people.

with external causes. Both Gusu and Limoro left when the chieftaincy was illegally claimed by Sanga or as the former two put it, the 'middle brother'.¹ Gusu and Limoro disputed the chieftaincy again in their new hamlet and Gusu left to found their own settlement.

However as with other areas, a balance must be reached as to how much weight to give to the internal and the external pressures. In this case, Sanga's dispersal may well have had a great deal to do with the competition for conquest mentioned above between Bauchi and Zaria. An indication of this possibility is contained in an account which tells of a wandering Fulani herdsman named Titi.

Titi came to the Sanga area after leaving Zaranda, west of Bauchi, consequent on trouble over his cattle.² Here he settled with the chief of Jema'an Sanga who remained at peace with him while the 'Habe' were attacking the neighbouring Fulani in the time of the jihad. Titi then had a religious change of heart and decided to become a Muslim and 'leave the pagans' around Sanga Peak. To this end, he established contact with Mallam Musa, Emir of Zaria (1804-1820) to whom the chiefs of Limoro, Sanga, and Gusu paid homage. Titi had had a dispute with the Fulani of Toro, which was under Bauchi and therefore refused to ask Yakubu, Emir of Bauchi (1805-1845) to come to receive jizya from these settlements. Buji declined to meet with Titi's patron, Musa, and was raided and burned. The major clans in Buji speak of leaving Pengana

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1. JPP Gusu, 21/7/73, IV, p. 111. The chieftaincy was held by the three sections in turn, the Gusu, Limoro and Sanga; Sanga's claim was premature.
 2. NAK Zaria Provincial Papers (Zarprof) 1820, Drummond, Hay, H., Assessment Report on Lere District 1929.

about 1792-1819 \pm 26¹ which correlates with the Musa raid. As the boundaries between Bauchi and Zaria had not yet been settled, Musa decided to attack Ribina (near Toro). However, Yakubu, warned by Toro, carried out his attack before Musa, and Ribina was burned. Musa then left Titi with orders to conquer the 'Habe' towns and he returned to Zaria.

Again the Toro Fulani warned Yakubu of Titi's intentions and Yakubu mounted an expedition and went to Jema'an Sanga,² quite possibly while carrying out his first incursion into the highlands of the plateau.

Titi fled, eventually reaching Lere west of the plateau which was later conquered by Bauchi. Those areas conquered by Titi continued paying tribute to Lere even after Lere was transferred to Zaria.³

Titi and his actions are of relevance here not only because of his impact on the northernmost tongue of the Jos Plateau, but also because he occupies a place in Jere oral history. One genealogy puts his chieftaincy at 1765-1792 \pm 28; however no details about his rule were forthcoming.⁴

The Jere did claim a link with the Fulani in that they sold Hausa whom they had captured in combat to passing Fulani in exchange for cows as the

1. JPP Buji, 29/7/73, IV, p. 171-172.
2. NAK Bauprof K. 6416. Cragg, Major W. G., Reassessment Report of Jemaare District, Bauchi Emirate 1928. Yakubu conquered Jarawa and Zaranda "pagans" and penetrated as far as Haraguta from where he was driven back. Bauchi traditions attribute the conquest of Lere on the eastern border of Zaria to Yakubu. It was during this action that he also swept through Sanga. See Smith, op. cit., p. 141.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 141.
4. JPP Jere, 23/7/73, IV, p. 137; JPP Danyaya Ahai, Jere, 28/7/73, IV, p. 145. This date would have put him in charge of Jere before they left Kwandon Kaya and is not very reliable. In the Jere village meeting, I mentioned his name, which I had obtained from Danyaya Ahai, to the elders and they, after some objections from a few, denied having heard of him. This is possibly due to Jere's wish to remain independent of outside authority or simply a matter of not remembering for even Danyaya Ahai could recall only the name and nothing about the man.

Eulani cattle route occasionally went through Jere.¹ Thus with this type of accommodation and Jere military strength, the Jere were the only force in this area to escape the first flush of the Eulani jihads. They remained ensconced on the Jere Peak surrounded and buttressed by mountain ranges and offering a refuge to later migrants.

The Buji were the next to flee Pengana c. 1615 and they settled at Owoboze (Hill of Buji) in close proximity to Jere. They remained at this settlement farming for about fifty years. They were protected from Bauchi by a high scarp on their eastern flank and their northern and western flanks were secured by an alliance with the Jere. Buji, however, was forced to move on again when a dispute arose (c. 1860) between Jere and Buji and a Jere man was said to have been killed in Buji village. In the war that followed, a war that is said to have lasted only one year, Jere, aided by the Amo, drove the Buji from Owoboze to a site five kilometres south that the Buji called Susuru. After the Bauchi invasion in 1873, the Buji again moved, this time to Kekon west of Susuru, an area well-protected by rocks.

The movement of the Anaguta to the plateau was also directly connected with Bauchi's activities. At some point in the nineteenth century, quite possibly after Yakubu's raid on Ribina, a section of the Anubare clan or the whole clan itself broke off from Ribina and settled in the hills near the Afusare. There they became the Anabor clan, they increased in numbers and were eventually joined by other clans and called themselves the Anaguta.²

1. JPP Kamaranye Borno, Jere 18/7/73, IV, p. 78.

2. JPP Buji, 29/7/73, IV, p. 175. Buji claim Anaguta as 'playmates' and speak of their fathers as brothers while Gurrum who came on to the plateau from Ribina states flatly that they have people in Anaguta called Anubare. JPP Zaure Kugaçu, Gurrum, 28/7/73, IV, p. 185.

soon five clans made up the Anaguta and they made an alliance, both military and cultural, with the Afusare their neighbours to the east.¹ They farmed a fertile valley called Kaza, immediately north of the hills they occupied. This valley was virtually surrounded by high hills and offered the farmers a secluded place safe from Hausa-Fulani raids.

In 1873, Bauchi emirate made a well planned attack on the eastern side of the plateau. Toro and Hilden Fulani, both towns under Bauchi, were utilized as provision bases. Led by the Ciroma-n-Bauchi, Usuman, the Ajia of Bauchi, and Magajin-Bauchi, and accompanied by a considerable force from Lemme,² the Bauchi force was probably confident of success. However they were routed by a united force of Buji, Amo, Anaguta, and Afusare, all of whom were related to each other in some way by marriage or through claims of common origin. The battle according to both Bauchi and plateau accounts took place three kilometres north-east of present Day Jos and the plateau alliance delivered a severe blow to the Bauchi forces.³ Forty-one men and twelve horses were reported killed and Bauchi troops were driven back to Toro. The plateau alliance stopped at Kafin-Jaki, a stream fourteen kilometres before reaching Toro and at a point where the hills run out and the level plains begin. It is quite likely that it was these raiders on their way from Bauchi that drove

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1. Of the five clans, Anabor, Andoho, Anurigiza, Andugwong and Andugwohom the third and fourth are the offshoots of the first and second respectively while the fifth was met while they were grazing their cattle. (Quite possibly an Afusare clan)
JPP Andugwohom clan, Anaguta, 12/7/73, IV, p. 13.
 2. NAK Josprof 257/1914, op. cit. The account of the battle was given by Abdu, Waziri-n-Muhti of Lemme who was present at the battle and gives the date as 1873.
 3. JPP Anaguta III, pp. 1-57, passim.

the Gurrum from Ribina. Since the Gurrum know nothing of a fight with Bauchi on the plateau, they most probably arrived after the battle.¹

The Bauchi forces that fought the Afusare, Anaguta, and Buji alliances would appear to have penetrated as far south as Du who claim also to have fought the Hausa around 1846-1873 and boast of having taken the heart of "a Bauchi chief". The Du say they were engaged in this war to help the Afusare who lived in the Shere hills, twenty-four kilometres north-east of Du. The Du people already had accepted the people of Shom (Shen) who were Afusare coming into the area between 1530 and 1840. The Shen rapidly integrated into Birom society² and were joined by Birom from other areas. With Shen as an ethnic link, the Du were able to acquire horses from the Afusare in Fusa, Mobur and Fedare. These three settlements had submitted to Bauchi and could trade freely with the emirate. One of the trade objects they obtained was horses and thus, the Du, using the kin connection of the Shen, obtained horses from Bauchi indirectly. Ironically these were then used by the Du against the Bauchi invaders.

The Shen were quite possibly victims of the same Bauchi force that had captured Fusa and other Afusare towns. The latter, in order

1. JPP Gurrum, 28/7/73, IV, p. 153.

2. This is not to say they are completely Biromised even now. The Afusare religious rites are still followed in Malinga, an Afusare settlement, circumcision ceremonies are common which the Birom do not carry out and the Afusare refuse to eat horse or donkey, meat which a number of Birom do.
JPP Shen 10/8/73, III, p. 181.

to collect their tribute¹ were fighting the Forum confederacy in the south and its Afusare allies. The people of the religious and political centre of Forum - the Zabutt - speak of fighting the 'Poomo' (Afusare) as early as 1819-1846 and these skirmishes continued up to the end of the century. It was a generation after this (1846-1873) that the Afusare of Ket and Kagwis, began to arrive from the area of Fobur. They ^{settled} in Forum uniting with them to resist further incursions from Fusa and Bauchi.² Thus strengthened, the Forum-Heipang-Du alliance was not threatened further by the Hausa although intermittent war with Fusa continued.

Fan, Forum's immediate neighbour to the south, was also facing a similar but less threatening situation. The unmounted Pyem had been subjected by Yakubu around 1830³ and their main political centre (Gindiri)⁴

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1. Because of Afusare's location, this tribute was most likely more than that paid by Anaguta. Anaguta paid one male and one female whom they secured from the Biron by trade. Once they reached the rocks however, they stopped paying, causing Bauchi forces to collect their due by force. JPP Anaguta 11/7/73, III, p. 4.
 2. JPP Forum II, pp. 1-80, passim.
 3. NAK SNP 7/10 No. 1778/1909. Temple, C. L., History of Certain Emirates Bauchi, Borgu, etc., Vol. II.
 4. The religious capital of the Pyem was Pyem Geji, eight kilometres east of Gindiri. However when the Hausa conquered the area they created a chief (Rit) in Pyem Geji who then went on to Gindiri because of a conflict of authority with the priest-chief Bwolbwonga. The Rit built up his power and thereby Gindiri's power through trade with Bauchi. The ritual power of Bwolbwonga diminished as a result and was even further undermined when the British arrived. This conflict of ritual and political power became widespread over the entire plateau after the British arrival. Like the Hausa before them, the British also appointed indigenous agents whom they called chiefs. See Machunga on. cit., passim, and JPP Pyem V, passim.

was fifteen kilometres east of Fan. Under Bauchi, they were given little protection from the constant depredation of the Sura on their southern flank.¹ However, military campaigns were not of great interest to Eym as they were more concerned with being middle men in trade, passing on the captives of the inter-ethnic wars of Ron, Biron and Kuleri to Bauchi in tribute and trade.

Bauchi forces then attempted to expand south of the Eym and here they were defeated by the mounted Sura. Bauchi forces then took a more easterly course leaving the broad expanse that led to the interior of the Jos region of the plateau untouched. Further Bauchi expeditions later in the century - other than those mentioned above - did not attempt any raids into the south-east section of the plateau. The Bauchi expedition of 1873 was the last direct external aggression that the peoples on the eastern side of the plateau met until the British arrived in 1902.

The Western Jos Plateau

To the west the emirate of Zaria was active on a broad front extending from north to south on a line parallel to the various groups perched in the mountain fortress: the Jere, Amo, Piti, Rukuba and the Ganawuri. Mallam Usuman had established the town of Lere in the first decade of the nineteenth century and it was on Lere that the

1. It was the Sura on their small plateau ponies who halted the Bauchi drive southward '... and compelled the first Bauchi Emir Yakubu to return unsuccessful to his capital.'
Temple, op. cit.

responsibility fell to harass the Jere and Amo and attempts were made, unsuccessfully, to conquer them.

In the north-west section of the plateau the Amo had established themselves quite securely on Amo Peak and had been strengthened by migrants from the Rukuba. These migrants, part of the Asirne clan of Rukuba, forged close marital ties with Amo Kadis (the Amo of the plain) while Amo Ketara (the Amo of the forest hill) was made up of, and led by, Amo migrants who had come directly from Pengana. Amo Ketara was thus the senior settlement holding the important rituals of rainmaking, circumcision and having a political or religious homage paid to them in the form of the leopard skin.¹

The Amo, Jere and the Kunyen section of the Rukuba all state that Lere and Zaria attacked them between 1880 and 1900. This might refer to the attack by Yero, Emir of Zaria (1890-97) on the Piti and westernmost villages of the Rukuba in 1892.² Lere forces and some Kurama came to Amo country to capture slaves but the Amo drove them off. The Amo claim to have put fire on their arrows and killed the leader of the Hausa. According to tradition he was wearing some kind of protection which arrows could not penetrate, but it caught fire.³ The Lere attack on the Piti was successful, subjecting the Piti to Hausa rule. A number of the Piti fled to Kunyen, a Rukuba settlement

1. JPP Kuboze Cheka, Amo Kwofa, 10/12/73, IV, p. 311.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 82.

3. JPP Amo, 22/9/73, IV, p. 297. The Amo among all the plateau groups interviewed are the only ones to have put fire on their arrows, an innovation that must have surprised the Zaria forces.

with whom the Piti had marriage and trade links.¹ Kumyen was burnt also and the invading force pushed farther into Rukubaland until a large band of Rukuba on horseback united to drive them out. Although Rukuba in origin, Kumyen paid jizya to Lere to the amount of one horse a year. Piti also paid tribute of seven slaves per year.²

Moving to the south-western area of the plateau, Zaria appears to have been quite engrossed in defeating the Kaje and other groups on the lowlands between 1830 and 1850.³ Thus, the Irigwe were affected only indirectly by the incursions of Zaria, receiving refugee immigrants from Kaje but never confronting the Hausa directly. However, the Irigwe's greatest military problems were within the plateau for they were virtually impregnable from the Zaria side, being protected by a 250 metre high scarp. The arrival of Kaje refugees forced a re-arrangement but not a lessening of the ritual power structure as well as the geographical location of the founding groups. Besides increasing the population, the coming of the Kaje also meant territorial expansion and thus conflict with Birom and Rukuba neighbours. The Irigwe were in a favourable position for trade with the itinerant Hausa in Zangon Katab. They used their advantage to acquire large horses and thus to build a strong mounted military force unchallenged on the plateau in the second half of the nineteenth century. Ewon, an outsider's name for

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1. JPP Kumyen, 23/1/73, III, p. 241.
 2. Personal Communication with J. J. Chalifoux, Department of Anthropology, University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada who is now completing a Ph.D. thesis in anthropology on the Piti.
 3. NAK SNP 17/8 K. 2985, op. cit.

the Irigwe, was a name feared and respected far beyond Irigwe's boundaries, as far east as Forun and as far south as Gashish, neither of which had ever fought the Irigwe.

Farther south still, the Ganawuri had fled and thus survived the initial chain reaction that the jihad had set off. They had left Gwong Kwott at some time between 1819 and 1846 after a war with the Moroa. The emirate of Jema'a had been established in c. 1810¹ and Ganawuri's flight may have been connected with Jema'a's activities in the area. The Ganawuri reached their new settlement on the south-eastern verge of the plateau with Tahoss and Kwalwi. Eventually however, the forces of Jema'a² reached this escarpment and drove them from their farms in the lowlands in the 1870's and higher into the hills.³ Ganawuri's arrival meant increasing demands on the farmland and threatened the people of Rahoss, Sop and Vwang. This led to a flurry of border conflicts, with the Ganawuri, it appears, fighting for survival between the Jema'a forces on the lowlands and the plateau people above. In these circumstances the Ganawuri not only acquired enough farmland to survive but also a reputation for great ferocity.⁴

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1. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, op. cit., p. 552.
 2. Sciortino, op. cit., states that Musa of Jema'a completely defeated the Kagoro and destroyed their crops.
 3. JPP Mazing Section, Ganawuri, 23/8/73, IV, p. 251.
 4. Personal communication with Da Gyang, Ganawuri, 24/8/73, who gives ecological reasons for Ganawuri becoming cannibals i.e. they were not allowed to farm and so had no food. Gunn states that among the Birom, Gyel, Du and Kuru were also cannibals. See Gunn, Harold D., Peoples of the Plateau area of Northern Nigeria, 1953, p. 34, footnote 2.

The Northern Jos Plateau

In the northern section of the plateau, among the Jere and its scattered constituent parts, the emirates were not the only threat. The Ningi¹ to the north-east were by 1850 beginning to expand their military base and by the 1870s and 1880s they had flooded the north-west of Bauchi Emirate, harassing or conquering emirate towns and flowing into the Zaria plains, ravaging the eastern section of Zaria emirate and Zaria itself.² It was the high tide of this expansionist policy and search for slaves³ that washed yet another people onto the jutting promontory of the northern Jos Plateau. The Chokobo were driven from the north and eventually formed a settlement called Kojong just east of the Chokobo hills. Here they stayed and were soon paying taxes through the Wali of Lere to Zaria. They were attacked by the Ningi a number of times and scattered, some going into the Chokobo hills in the 1870's, others seeking the protective arm of the Jere whom they considered the most powerful people in the vicinity.⁴ It is not known whether the Chokobo were re-conquered by Lere; some at least were paying tribute to Lere when the Europeans arrived.

The Kurama were yet another people who had come down from the north⁵

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1. Aliyu, Abubar Yaya, 'The Civil War in Bauchi, c. 1881-2,' *Savanna*, 2: 2, pp. 183-199, *passim*; MAK Zarprof 1820, op. cit.; MAK SFP 10/4.31, p. 194. Fitzpatrick, J. F. J., Assessment Report on Ningi District, Bauchi Division, Central Province, 1914.
 2. Smith, op. cit., pp. 185-187.
 3. JPP Chokobo, 19/7/73, IV, p. 86.
 4. Ibid.
 5. MAK Zarprof 1820, op. cit.

and reached the plateau at about the same time as the Chokobo. Some of the Kurama had settled in Kudara which was under the Wali of Lere. After being there a short time, they fled Lere's aegis as they found the amount levied for jiyaya too high. They also feared the Jere but unlike the Chokobo, they were unable to secure Jere protection from the Ningi raids.¹

The Ningi sweep to the west influenced an industry that was to affect the plateau in a profound way in the next century. The smelting of tin in this area was an industry of considerable antiquity; however it is necessary to leap from the Nok finds of two millenia ago to the tin industry of Kano Emirate in the nineteenth century. At first situated south of Kano, in Ririwai, a tin-bearing area eighty kilometres north of Jos, the Hausa immigrants moved south to Lirue-n-Delma² possibly because of the exhaustion of tin ore at Ririwai or perhaps because they were induced by the peaceful conditions of this area. Moreover in their new settlement they were able to follow the tin-bearing streams nearer to their source. When they arrived around 1870³ the chief of Sanga allowed them to stay, because "the Hausa people were very fierce" and he was already paying tribute to Lere. The tin produced was never traded locally but was usually sent

1. JPP Kurama, 19/7/73, IV, p. 95.

2. Lirue-n-Delma (place of tin) is five kilometres north of Sanga in an area where a number of tin-bearing streams converge and flow down from the mountains.

3. IAK SMP 9/2863/1918, op. cit.

out to Bauchi as tribute¹ or for trade. Expanding westwards, the Ningi subjected Lirue-n-Delma to a series of attacks forcing the Hausa to seek refuge in Badikko, fifteen kilometres to the south-east. Here they continued smelting in relative safety until the Ningi threat passed. Then they returned to Lirue-n-Delma c. 1890.

These tin settlements would appear to have been industrial, engaged in the prospecting, panning, and production of tin, and the artisan's work of producing trade objects. It was the desire for tin that attracted Borno,² as well as the Nupe, to these settlements.³ The neighbouring village of Sanga showed little interest in the tin miners, and any tin produced was never bought by them nor was any offered to them in the way of trinkets or other objects. The 'pagans' avoided Lirue-n-Delma and never went to market there.⁴

Internal Conflict and Adjustment

Throughout the nineteenth century, the threat from the forces unleashed by the jihad intensified. However, this is not to create

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1. Tin smelters paid tribute to the Bariya in Bauchi who administered this area. It is also said that a gate of tin was made in Bauchi c. 1814-15, but naturally it was not strong enough. This would suggest a substantial production and trade in the metal. Personal Communication with A. Y. Aliyu, Institute of Administration, Zaria, 1/11/73.
 2. In Borno, '... the principal medium of exchange consists of pieces of a metal which has some resemblance to tin.' The above appears in reports sent back to the African Association and appearing in its proceedings of 1810, p. 46. Hallet, Robin, Records of the African Association 1788-1831, 1964, p. 86, fn.
 3. NAK SNP 9/2863/1918, on. cit.
 4. JPP Goni Baleri, Sanga 21/7/73, IV., p. 122.

the impression that the jihad upset a tranquil plateau, a dormant land that held but static societies. The movement of peoples to the plateau in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought migrants who acted as catalysts in each society in which they settled. The incoming strangers met the owners of the soil and attempted to reach some accommodation with them as to ritual, land, and marriage. If this failed the newcomers might conquer the indigenes or be forced to move. The disruption of Riyom's political system, the increasingly powerful Irigwe and the accommodation between the Afusare and the Wiron were examples of this process.

Conflicts arose and increased in frequency especially in the central part of the Jos Plateau as the nineteenth century wore on and more strain was placed on the limited farmland area that was to support the ever-growing population. To label these conflicts as 'war' is to perhaps shade reality to a much harsher tone than it actually was. In almost all cases of civil strife within ethnic groups, the 'war' would be carried out with sticks.¹ It was a trial of strength but not mortal strife. It was a village's reply to any infringement of its land or property. If conflicting interests were not resolved by brief violent encounters they would be referred to the village chief and elders of both sides who would arbitrate in the dispute. When, however, boundary disputes took place with a different but adjacent ethnic group,

1. This applies mainly to farming or hunting wars, that is, questions of village property and rights, not to the struggle that may arise when one section invades another for reasons of military expansion or enslavement of the victims.

the resulting conflict was more likely to spark a violence that would claim a number of casualties.¹ In some cases it was a formalized combat with one village informing the other that a battle was to take place.² In others it was a spontaneous call to arms arising from a dispute over an animal killed in hunting, farmland or a real (or imagined) slight.³ It was this initial motive that sometimes justified the destruction of settlements and forced peoples to move to new areas. This type of almost natural expansionism drove Buji farther south of Jere and the Gyel farther east of Irigwe.

Naturally, the geography of the area must be considered when an examination is made of these internal conflicts. Among the Birom the most prevalent conflicts arose over hunting rights and land disputes. These conflicts occurred in some areas more than in others because of the type of land and the number of people that were trying to survive on that land. For example, the three Birom border areas of Bachit (Kyeng and Fang), Gashish (Gnar and Hukaruk) and Forum (Mabutt, and Kapwis) which are much more heavily wooded than the central or northern Birom areas, account for twenty of the twenty-five conflicts that are remembered among the Birom over hunting rights. Nine occurred in Forum, seven in Bachit, and four in Gashish. These areas also bore

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1. Here it should be noted that the number of deaths was very low. When asked how many were killed informants would reply 'many'. If pressured for actual numbers the elders would say two or three.
 2. JPP Rim 30/1/73, I, p. 83.
 3. The fight at Owobose between Jere and Buji came about because Buji was 'proud' and insulting to the Jere. No further reason was given. JPP Tocha Padu, Jere 18/7/73, IV, p. 83.

the brunt of foreign penetration from Bauchi, Ron and Monguna.

In the central area which was more heavily populated and cleared of primary vegetation, farming land appears to have been the major source of contention. Of the thirty-four altercations that are remembered to have been aroused by farming rights among the Birom, fifteen were in the actual area of Moss, Riyom, Rim and Jol, six in Wang area and five in Gyel. At this rate it is not surprising to hear the surrounding groups speak of the Birom as a people lacking in food.¹ Clearly the Birom suffered from a shortage of farm land.

Among other groups the Ganawuri trace 80% of their "wars" to land rights, the Irigwe five out of seven, and the Rukuba seven out of eight. The Ganawuri and Irigwe do not appear to have had any civil strife to speak of while the Rukuba, divided as they were into a widespread collection of independent villages were, like the Birom, at loggerheads with each other. Among the Rukuba the primary cause of conflict was marriage disputes.² In the northern areas of the Jere and Buji any combat was more likely to be with the Hausa forces. This area was heavily wooded and the villages widely dispersed and so was apparently able to produce sufficient food for its inhabitants without conflict. The population also remained in the hills because of constant

1. JPP Anaguta, passim.

2. JPP Rukuba, passim. For a complete examination of Rukuba dual marriage system see: Muller, Jean-Claude and Sangree, Walter H., 'Irigwe and Rukuba Marriage: a comparison,' Canadian Journal of African Studies, (CJAS) VII: I, 1973, pp. 27-57.

Hausa incursions and were therefore not entangled in boundary disputes with one another.

Jihad and Internal Effects

The action-reaction of one group falling back upon another should be mentioned here in the context of the jihad. To push one group beyond its habitual boundaries meant pushing its neighbouring group or forcing the first group to take another direction of migration. This can be seen in the case of the Moroa. They were threatened by Zaria Emirate and fell back on Gwong Kwott. The inhabitants of Gwong Kwott in turn dispersed and in a number of ricochet movements eventually settled in new areas. For example, the Ganawuri refugees of Gwong Kwott moved and removed eventually finding their most permanent settlement only after the Europeans arrived. The Kuru (Biron) refugees had gone to Kuhai near Vwang and after a war with Vwang c. 1840 moved on to their modern site near present-day Bukuru. The people of the Biron village of Zawan, who may also have been from Gwong Kwott, fled northward and here met and allied with the newly-arrived settlers of Du. However, conflicts between Iriwe and Gyal understandably arose over farmland in this overcrowded area and these struggles continued into the twentieth century.¹

1. It should be noted here that when Gyal and Zawan fought, heads were taken although they were both considered Biron. The only other settlements to take heads in intra-ethnic disputes of all the groups on the plateau were Vwang and Kuru. Of these four, three are wholly Bengai refugees while Vwang was heavily influenced by Bengai especially in Kuru. These exceptions point out the different cultural traditions of the proto-Biron and the Bengai group.

The Irigwe found that their herd had been strengthened by the jihad. The arrival of the Kaje - fleeing from the jihad on the plains - meant an expansion of the Irigwe from Kwall to Miango c. 1830. With the Kaje's trade connections in Zangon Katab, the Irigwe obtained large horses which were used for military purposes to push the Biron-Cyel and Kuru/Rukuba farther away from their original areas. The Irigwe also attacked and burned parts of Wwang in c. 1819-1826, a defeat which the later Borgai migrants to Turu helped Wwang to avenge.¹ Irigwe also acted as a trade centre for captives that were brought by other groups in exchange for large horses.² These horses the Irigwe passed on through the Kaje to Zangon Katab where horses were the standard exchange for captives. The benefit to the Irigwe was obvious if exchange rates are examined.

When trading on the plateau, the Irigwe would give one large horse for two captives. When the captives were taken to the west their value increased. In Zangon Katab, Irigwe received two large horses and a bag of crystal salt for a young male captive while from Chawai they would obtain as many as three large horses and three bags of salt.³ This is not to imply that the rates were firmly fixed through time but

1. JPP Turu, 28/8/73, III, p. 88-9.

2. The difference in size here should be noted. The small horse or pony was widespread on the plateau throughout all of Biron as well as Sure, Kuleri, and Ron. Dr. Sylvia Sikes, Dept. of Natural Resources, Benue Plateau State, argues that they are definitely a separate breed of horse. The faint dark stripes that are visible on their backs suggest an early breed. Personal communication with Dr. Sykes.

3. JPP Miango, 24/3/73, IV., p. 42.

it does provide some measure of the trade in large horses that the Irigwe controlled in the last half of the nineteenth century. Added to this wealth of war material was the ethnic cohesion of the Irigwe. The Irigwe were divided into two sections - Miango and Kwall - which were ritually linked. This prevented internal quarrels and led to the Irigwe forming one large economic unit. Economic power led to military power so that the Irigwe were the most feared of the ethnic groups on the plateau.¹

Farther north, the Jere held a similar military position although they did not have control of the trade like the Irigwe. All around the Jere were peoples conquered by the emirate who had been reduced by their conquerors and paid tribute to Lere. The Jere also had refugees joining them for protection. However, when such migrants were suspected of threatening Jere's authority, they were forcibly driven out as in the case of the Owoboze war with Buji. The Jere lacked the unity of the Irigwe and Rukuba. The incursions of Hausa and Ningi, as well as internal Jere bickering split the group to such an extent that the area of Sanga, although of the same origin as Jere, assisted the Bauchi Emirate against them.²

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1. The Irigwe sections will be dealt with in Chapter III. The Rukuba carried on their own trade with Chawai and Zangon Katab but were not entrepreneurs for others. Jere dealt directly with the Fulani. Neither these two nor any other group appear to have approached the Irigwe's widespread mercantile reputation.
 2. JPP Goni Baleri, Sanga 21/7/73, IV, p. 122. This assistance was given because the Jere were said to be 'stubborn people' which probably means that they resisted Bauchi attempts at suzerainty.

The Afusare were also internally divided by the jihad. The conquered elements in Fobur, Fusa and Fedare acted as military agents for Bauchi while the Afusare refugees in Du and a large contingent in Forum, joined with the Birom to fight Hausa raiders from the north and east. As mounted horsemen, the warriors of Forum were able to overrun the footmen of 'Jarawa' and to defeat them so decisively that tradition claims that Forum forces cut the Afusare bows before they could shoot.¹ The confederacy of Forum, Du and Heipang diligently guarded the eastern approach against the Pyem and Sura who were looking for captives. The Pyem traded captives to the Fulani. The Sura used them to work on their farms or traded them to Pyem for horses.²

The southern section of the Birom was not strong enough however to resist the powerful mounted incursion of the Ron and Monguna. Although Ron tradition mentions combat with Mongu (a Sura village) and Daffo (a Kuleri village) before their sweep northward, this does not seem to have been sufficient reason for an invasion of Birom land. All the southernmost villages of the Birom were attacked by the Ron-Monguna, from Kyeng in Bachit area to Labaring in Rop area. The search for captives as well as farmland has been put forward as reason for this attack.³ It was not until the Monguna and Ron had faced an alliance of the Bachit confederacy and Rim and Jol that their advance was halted. They fled back to the south.

1. JPP Adullah Song of Kapwis, 15/1/73, I, p. 21.

2. JPP Gimba Kelaham, Mishkahan (chief) of Kereng, 15/12/73, V, p. 93.

3. JPP, passim.

It is noteworthy that Rim allied with the Bachit confederacy despite the interminable wars over farming that these two Birom settlements had had.¹ Rim's military power was well known to the confederacies of Gashish Ropp and Bachit. Rim appeared to have been the most powerful of the central and southern Birom. Despite Rim's power some settlements abandoned during the Ron invasion were not re-occupied until the early twentieth century.² By then Monguna and Ron were once more south of the Gnar River in Gashish and only an occasional conflict arose over hunting or farmland in the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Resistance Factors

No one ethnic group co-ordinated the resistance to the jihad on the plateau. The military forces of these divided peoples were sufficient to keep the movement from deeply penetrating the plateau. To repel this century-long pressure a number of factors assisted the plateau peoples. The first and most obvious was geographical. As has been shown, the plateau is a natural fortress in which the conditions of siege are difficult to apply. Each confederacy was surrounded (Rim and Forum) or at least backed (Irigwe and Rukuba) by sufficient farmland to survive a lengthy siege. If penetration of the plateau had taken place, the mounted Hausa might have been more successful on the broad grasslands of the central plateau where they would have been able to

1. JPP, Rim 30/1/73, I, pp. 177-180.

2. JPP, Dagarang Tyop, chief of Luwa, 13/2/73, I, p. 251.

attack the individual villages and entrap them in their rocky inselbergs.

When three such penetrations were attempted, one in Sura, the second in Anaguta, and the third in Rukuba the forces of the emirate found themselves facing armies of equal military strength. The plateau forces combined three of the four military technologies that Goody attributes to West Africa, the bow and arrow, the spear and sword, and the horse.¹ Goody places acephalous societies in the bow and arrow category and the savanna states in the horse-cavalry category. Neither of these broad definitions can really be applied to the confederacies of the plateau.

The small fleet ponies of the Sura and the large imported horses among the northern groups were widespread on the plateau. Many villages had both. For tactical purposes, the large horses were favoured by those areas with an abundant flat expanse of grassland where their size and speed could be used to maximum advantage. For those settlements in the rocky hills, the ponies were preferred for they were enormously agile in rough terrain. The latter were used by the Sura to surround and rout Yakubu's forces after he had subjugated the unmounted Pyen to the north.² In another tactical situation, the large horses in Rufi and Du preceded their allies the unmounted Afusare and Anaguta in their ambush of Bauchi's force in 1873. This strategy was, in a manner, reminiscent of the dawakin zaggi of Sarkin Rimfa of Kano in

1. Goody, Jack, Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa, 1971, p. 43.

2. Temple, C. E. op. cit.

the fifteenth century.¹

Unity among the communities against the external threat was the third factor in the failure of the jihad on the plateau. Aside from the unity of blood and marriage as claimed in the alliances mentioned above, the enormous mobility of these confederacies plays no small part in allowing them to come very quickly to each other's aid. This was a situation that did not usually occur in those horseless societies that the emirates conquered in the lowland. They could be taken by surprise one at a time before assistance from kin could arrive.

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, a wider perspective must be taken when examining the jihad against the Jos Plateau. How important was the plateau and its 'truculent pagans' to the emirates of Zaria or Bauchi? After all, neither of the emirates can be said to have equipped an expedition to conquer this specific area. There were more pressing problems to pre-occupy them. The completing of the jihad in partially conquered areas was still to be accomplished. The military might of the Kingd threatened the security of the two emirates during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.² Within the capitals of the emirates internal disputes arose upon which the emir's energies were spent. Between 1880 and 1900 there was a civil war in Bauchi and a succession dispute in Zaria.³ To its advantage, the plateau

1. Palmer, H. R., op. cit., III, p. 112. This is a method of advance by which the cavalry leads and acts as a shield for the infantry.

2. Adeleye, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

3. Aliyu, op. cit., pp. 183-199; Smith, op. cit., p. 178.

is sufficiently distant from the emirate capitals to be the last and most difficult part of any expedition. It was already supplying captives to the emirates and engaging in trade. Finally, it was not inhibiting the trade routes which could pass north of it from Bauchi to Kano and Zaria and south to Jama'a-Lafia, Wase and the Benue River.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Jos Plateau peoples had shown themselves able to militarily resist the desultory attempts by the jihadists to conquer them. Within the plateau, movement and migration had continued and even increased as adjustments and re-adjustments were made by various ethnic groups to, at times, chaotic situations. These aspects of fission and fusion increased during the nineteenth century.

However, these are but broad observations of complex communities and it is much more important now to look more closely at each society and see what guided the social, political and religious life of the people in the late nineteenth century. When this is done, it will become easier to assess the reaction of a people about to resist yet another armed force - the British - which their armed might could not repel, and whose culture they found impossible to accommodate before 1935.

CHAPTER III

PLATEAU SOCIETIES ON THE EVE OF THE BRITISH INVASION

In order to obtain an accurate understanding of the effect that the British invasion had on the Jos Plateau, it is first necessary to analyze plateau societies in some detail. This is done below in order to assess in the succeeding chapters the immediate and manifest impact that the British forces had on plateau societies and long term effect of this impact. The more covert changes that the British presence brought will also be considered.

The written and oral sources are inadequate to attempt to trace the changes that the political, economic and social structures of the Jos Plateau societies underwent in the nineteenth century. As this chapter is dependent on oral history, the years just before the British arrival have been chosen for examination in order that the society being described by some of the informants will be the one actually remembered by them, at least with regard to the structure and institutions of society. It is assumed that the societal patterns to be presented in this chapter were those which the British met.

Anthropologist have examined over half of the ethnic groups in this study during the last two decades using a variety of

hypotheses.¹ Consistency of approach, of course, could not be expected. For example some did ethnographic surveys (Frank and Baker), one concentrated on the role of women (Smedley), while marriage customs and their social importance came under the close study of Muller and Sangree. It is from sources of oral and written evidence that relevant information can be extracted to show what the social, political and economic situation was at the turn of the century. A new force was about to intrude into these highlands and its effect on the peoples can only be measured by a firm understanding of what it would meet.

Cultural Survey

To present a complete cultural analysis of the diverse ethnic groups² is beyond the scope of this work. However, a few general statements can be made that will apply to all plateau societies. Generally, it can be stated that: (1) the Jos Plateau societies were

1. The ethnic groups and a few of the studies done are as follows: Anaguta: Diamond, Stanley, 'The Anaguta of Nigeria: Suburban Primitives,' in Three African Tribes in Transition, edited by Julian H. Steward, 1972, pp.361-505; Ba Ron: Frank, Barbara, op. cit.; Birum: Baker, Tanya, "The Social Organization of the Birum" Ph.D. University of London, 1955; Smedley, Audrey, "Kinship and Social Organization among the Birum of Northern Nigeria", Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1967. Davies, J.G., op. cit.; Ganawuri: Berthoud, Gerald, op. cit.; Irigwe: Sangree, op. cit.; Rukuba: Muller, J.C., op. cit.; A more general survey based on colonial reports is Gunn's Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria, 1953.
2. An ethnic group being defined as a people sharing common language, culture and territory.

monotheistic; (2) there was a politico-religious head of the village and/or clan; (3) the societies were basically gerontocratic, being ruled by the elderly heads of clans;¹ (4) every clan played a role either in ritual or government according to its importance in the community; (5) the farming, hunting and marriage festivals were all part of the areas of the authority exercised by the governing group; (6) these societies were ready to accept new immigrants and absorb them into the community order making the changes necessary to preserve this order by allowing them a certain status and certain functions in the structure of clans; (7) warfare arose between villages both inter and intra-ethnically when the community order was threatened by an external force and this force could not be absorbed by the village structure, and (8) the plateau ethnic groups lived on a subsistence-oriented economy and readily engaged in inter-village trade to satisfy their material needs. Trade was also inter-ethnic as was marriage and participation in ritual festivals. The latter two points were greatly dependent on belief in a common origin, geographical proximity and/or cultural similarities among groups. As will be shown, a complete cultural unity for the Jos Plateau could not be postulated except for those general points mentioned above. Even then there was a large number of variations within the above generalizations. However, the ethnic groups of the plateau co-existed amicably in a number of ways and none could be considered as isolated.

1. A clan being made up of a number of lineages all of which traced their origin to a common ancestor.

Although fortified by rocks and euphorbic hedges, their villages were not isolated from one another just as the plateau was not isolated from the wider area around it. The villages were, however, very firm about their independence, who was acceptable and who was not, and what could be adapted where necessary to preserve the existing order. What this order was it is now pertinent to examine.

Religion

As with many other African societies, government and religion among the Jos Plateau societies can not be easily separated. Each formed an essential part of the world view of the community. To understand the social structure of these various ethnic groups, a comment on their religion is relevant here.¹ As a detailed analysis of the religion of so many ethnic groups would go much beyond the scope of this thesis, only a general survey will be attempted below.

1. A number of books on religion in Africa are available; one of the most recent which is a good general source book is African Traditional Religion: A Definition (1973) by E. Bolaji Idowu, Studies of religion on the Jos Plateau are not abundant and usually they form a part of a much wider ethnographic study. See Baker, op. cit.; Diamond, Stanley, 'Anaguta Cosmography: The Linguistic and behavioral implications', Anthropological Linguistics 2:2, February 1960; Gunn, op. cit.

African Traditional Religion has been divided into five basic beliefs.¹ These are beliefs in (1) God, (2) divinities, (3) spirits (4) ancestors and (5) charms and magic. Each of these elements may occupy a position of greater or lesser importance depending on the historical and socio-political processes which a village or ethnic group has undergone. ^{Their categorization is} only for the convenience of analysis. In reality, the beliefs are intertwined and integrated in the cosmology of the people. For example, charms and magic are not objects, of worship but are part of man's attempt to tap the supernatural powers of the spirit world and of the supreme God. In the same way, when ancestors are removed from life as conceived on earth, they are deemed to be in communication with the supernatural world and partake therefore of the essence of the divinities.

The belief in one God was universal on the plateau. To the Birom, He was Gwi,² to the Afusare, Daxunum,³ and to the Rukuba, Katakuru.⁴ Whatever the name, God was unseen and all powerful and He could only be communicated with by a specially sanctioned individual in the village. Among the Rukuba, the Utu⁵ had the primary function of interceding with Katakuru on behalf of the people.⁶ Among ethnic

1. Idowu, op. cit., pp.137-202.

2. JPP Toma Tok, Kuru, 3/9/73, V, p.30.

3. Gunn, op. cit., p.62.

4. Ibid., p.41.

5. The religious heads of villages had different titles as follows:

Afusare: Agwam

Jere: Ugwomo

Amo: Ugo

Pyea: Bwolbwong

Birom: Gwom Kwi (Kwit)

Rukuba: Utu

Buji: Ogwomo

Sura: Mishkahum Kum

Gurru: Ogomo

6. Gunn, op. cit., p.41.

groups like the Ganawuri or Irigwe this communication between man and God was performed by every clan head as the clans were of greater importance among these groups.¹ Rituals were performed to worship God who in most cases was thought to be personified by the sun.² These rituals were performed by the whole village with the religious and therefore political head of the village playing the central role by direct participation or delegating to another the rites to be done. The calendar of events for the Biron suggests some of the many ways in which the deity was praised.³

It is difficult to separate the political and spiritual roles of the village head. In many cases he was recognized as village leader in all things because he was a descendant of the first clan in the village. Thus obedience to him and his representatives - the heads of each clan or a priest in charge of ritual - was fundamental to the stability of the social order. The clan-centred societies are more difficult to assess in this regard but it appears that each clan had a given responsibility and that the 'religious spirit' of the village rituals was not embodied in one man. Among the Irigwe for example each Angwel had particular religious duties and failure to carry out these duties could be disastrous for the welfare of the village.

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1. The Clan heads were called Angwel in Irigwe, Pozo Gboin Anaguta and Gwomahai in Ganawuri. These will be called the clan-centred groups.
 2. The Biron word for sun and God is Gwi which may be another way of calling attention to one of God's attributes. This presented theological difficulties in the twentieth century.
 3. Davies, op. cit., p.99.

The other aspects of African Traditional Religion as enumerated by Idowu can be discerned among the plateau peoples in varying degrees. Among the Birom, the ancestors occupied a position of importance, and in some compounds, special huts called Bi Gap were built to house the ancestral spirits.¹ Among the Pyem, the Hummat festival was held each year in remembrance of the ancestors and fermented millet was prepared for them to drink when they 'return from the dead.'²

Spirits both benevolent and malevolent were said to exist. The Birom believed that the leopard (Chwe) represented a powerful 'spirit' whose death was celebrated in the village. There was however, no evidence to suggest that other animals or living things were believed to have any spiritual significance.³ The Rukuba had various spirits and identified the European as one when he first came.⁴

Of the final two categories, divinities and charms, little is known. The former will have to await further research before anything definite can be said. There seems to have been a variety of charms and magic talismans. One that can be readily identified is the straw hat worn by the Jek (trader) of the Birom. This hat is said to protect the Jek and endowed him with supernatural powers to 'fly' or 'disappear' at will.⁵

1. Davies, op. cit., p.99.

2. JPP Kesin Yak, Pyem Geji, 13/12/73, V, p.79.

3. Davies, op. cit., p.59. Both Irigwe (JPP Tung Nwe, Miango 27/4/73 IV, p.29) and Ganawuri (JPP Ganawuri village, 28/8/73, IV, p.234) make a similar claim but again caution must be exercised in assessing such a claim until a complete study has been done of religious beliefs.

4. Muller, J. C., The British Conquest, unpublished manuscript, 1972, p. 2.

5. JPP Tafa village, 5/9/73, III, p.150. More will be said about the Jek later in this chapter.

Any discussion of religion on the plateau must for now be descriptive rather than analytical due to the lack of evidence. This is to say that festivals and rituals were the overt manifestations of religious beliefs and could be described but a much deeper understanding of the symbolic significance of these rites is necessary before the religious beliefs can be properly assessed.

Festivals played an important part in the religious life of every village on the plateau. These may be the Worongchun (the acha planting festival of the Birom) the Zaraci (the hunting festival of the Irigwe) or the Eleme (a Buji festival in which the new crop is first eaten by the village head and the elders).¹

Another similarity among the plateau societies was the sacred area which each village preserved for only those permitted to carry out the required ritual. Among the Birom these secluded areas were called Kwitland, Kwit being a term that referred to the whole collection of rites that made up the Birom belief system.² Thus the one in charge of the Kwit was the Gwom Kwit or Chief of the Kwit and as will be shown below he held ultimate authority in village government.³ It was in these areas that almost all of the important religious rituals were

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1. JPP Maigari Ningadu, Ogwomo of Buji, 4/8/73, IV, p.216.
 2. Baker, op. cit., pp.211-272, for a discussion of Birom religious beliefs.
 3. JPP Choji Chollum, Gwom of Pomwol, 22/1/73, I, P.102. The Gwom Kwit may often commune privately with God (Gwi) during Wohul a festival held in August of each year. At this time he goes to one of the Kwit places alone and spends the night there. While there, he asks of God for strength (or faith), a good harvest, and a good hunting season.

performed.¹ In Buji, for example, it was in this sacred area that the most important parts of the Uda (circumcision) and Opurunyempe (breaking of the flutes) were performed.² Both were presided over by a man chosen by the Ogwomo and the man so chosen was called the Chope (ritual chief). The Opurunyame ceremony was performed by the young men of the village seven years after circumcision. This was a ceremony marking the attainment of manhood of those males who were between twelve and nineteen years of age. The area where the ceremony was performed was marked by a distinctive rock design which was also common in other parts of the plateau.³

Despite the many overt similarities in ritual practice and of the various festivals held, it is still premature to speak of a plateau religion except in the most general terms. Until sufficient research has been done in comparative religions in this area, no statement beyond what is known about specific groups can be made. More details however, will be given in the following pages as to what roles each important figure played in the structure of these politico-religious societies.

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1. It was these Kwit lands which were to be directly threatened with destruction by the tin mining activities in the twentieth century. See Chapter VI. pp. 293-297.
 2. JPP, Maigari Ningadu, Ogwomo of Buji, 4/8/73, IV, p.215-216.
 3. JPP Ibid., This design consists of two rocks. One of them is almost perfectly round while the other is a long narrow rock. The latter is a standing rock about three to four feet high with a flat top. The round stone which is about eight inches in diameter rests on top of this shelf-like rock. I noted a similar site in Kwall and Davies (op. cit. p.97) notes one for the Birco in Gyel. The one in Buji was carried down from the old village site of Kekon when it was vacated in the late 1930s.

Government

The following will be an attempt to describe the various village or ethnic group governments¹ that existed on the Jos Plateau in the decade before the British arrived. This is not to say that these political systems were immutable, remaining unchanged through the decades or even centuries. Each was a product of a long historical process of adaptation and innovation and before 1900 each governmental system occupied a particular position on a continuum somewhere between a completely centralized and a completely segmentary type of government. During the twentieth century these societies were simply known to Europeans as chieftaincies² for their very complexity led to a tendency by colonial officers not to differentiate between them in any way.³ However, there were many variations in their political and social structures and it is pertinent now to point out these variations and in the process examine the governments of these societies as they existed before the arrival of the British.

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1. Government in these societies is the sum total of those actions in the society that make for a stable village order in which each interest group has a role to play. Thus, this would include marriage, festivals, production rites, jurisprudence and the role of the chief and elders or clan heads.
 2. This is still prevalent today for the reissue of Ames' Gazetteer of the Plateau Province, 1932, has been titled The Highland Chieftaincies (Plateau Province) Vol. IV in the series Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1972.
 3. Lloyd, Peter C., 'The Political Structure of African Kingdoms: An Exploratory Model' in Political Systems and the Distribution of Power, edited by Michael Banton, 1965, p.63.

Primary Governing Group

Basic to the government of the villages of the Jos Plateau is the religious head or heads. The governing authority might be a council of clan ritual heads or more frequently a hereditary king or priest-chief for the whole village. This hereditary position was usually held by a male from the royal house, that is to say the senior or founding clan. He and his subordinates controlled the ritual in the village or clan and he was appointed for life. He represented much of the political, religious, judicial and economic authority in the village. He was thus central to any authority system and shared power with other clans when the situation warranted it.

His selection as head could rest with the village elders among the Birom¹ or with the royal family, as in Rukuba. In either case, once the choice was made, the new priest-chief was presented to the village as a whole for their approval.² Perhaps the best list of qualities would be the following and could be applied generally to all choices. A religious head must:

have a sense of authority, be outspoken with sense, respect the customs and behave well towards the elders and in company, know how to talk to people and be sharp when occasion warrants.³

As a descendant of the original founding clan, the priest-chief was given the right to ritual authority among the clans residing in the village. This right however could be modified by new immigrants

1. JPP Birna, I, II, III, passim.

2. JPP Dankala Amawa, Kishi Nchara, 20/1/74. IV, p.203.

3. Muller, J.C., 'Rukuba Ethnography,' op. cit., p.60.

to the village with whom village rituals would be shared so the incoming group might be integrated into the social and political structure. This was true of most villages on the plateau. In some cases, the right to ritual authority was lost when the immigrants usurped the clan headship or priest-chief's position. The Bengai immigrants to Turu and Riyon are a good example of this. Their usurpation of the chieftaincy was most probably owed to their numerical superiority and power. The original inhabitants may have lost the Turu chieftaincy to the immigrants because of the migrants' possession of horses¹ which by the early part of the nineteenth century was already becoming essential for a sound power base. There were variations. The Kaje people arrived in Kwall in large numbers and with sufficient military power to be placed, by the founding Irigwe clans, in charge of war and 'foreign' relations with the Zaria Emirate in the lowlands.² Nevertheless they were unable to obtain ritual power of any kind within Kwall.³ In the northern region among the inhabitants of Pengana and Sanga, it has already been shown that there was segmentation and dispersal of the group arising from a chieftaincy dispute. This dispersal of some segments of the population was quite common among the Biron.⁴ The segment that left a village would found a new settlement with a new 'founding' clan. This settlement might then be joined by a few families

1. JPP Pam Daliyop, Turu 29/8/73, III, p.113.

2. JPP Irigwe, IV, passim. See chapter II p. 85.

3. Sangree, 1970, op. cit., p.13.

4. Baker, op. cit., passim, makes the point that the Biron are made up of small highly mobile units. This diffusion of units prevented the formation of large clans covering a geographic area. I endorse this contention for, although there was a substantial genealogy recollected, there appeared to be no kin basis or clan importance in such a recollection.

from other villages and the ritual authority of the settlement would be shared with the newcomers. The expansion of the Birom from Riyon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may well have followed this pattern.

There are, of course, a number of variations in the types of government found on the plateau. The following analysis will concentrate on what were the functions of government and how these were shared rather than on the actual structure of the government itself. The first was the 'chief-centred' system found among the Birom while the other, a 'clan-oriented' system, was more prevalent among the rest of the population, the Rukuba, Irigwe, Anaguta, Ganawuri, Afusare and Amo. Any analysis of these two governmental systems assumes that the basic structure remained; a council of elders comprising clan heads. There were various rituals to be presided over by the senior clan head or village-chief in consonance with his authority in the village policy. Disparity can be observed in the degree of control each had in the ritual functions of the village.

In the Birom villages, the chief was called the Gwom Kwit.¹ He was chief of religious matters, or priest-chief. The Gwom Kwit played the major role in the planting, harvesting, and marriage festivals. He also maintained a council of elders who advised him on festivals and

1. He may also be the Gwom Kwi or Gwom Pwi in other Birom villages. It may be related to Gwi, the Birom word for God and sun, but there was no evidence of any connection here. JPP Birom, passim.

helped him make judicial decisions.¹ To these elders fell the duty of choosing or recommending a successor from the royal family to the hereditary role of Gwom Kwit.² In a confederacy like Forum-Du-Heipang, the Gwom Kwit of Du or Heipang, once chosen by the respective village, must be confirmed in his gwonship by the Gwom Kwit of the Forum area in Zabutt. Thus the priest-chief's final acquisition of authority in the former two villages rested with the Gwom Kwit in Zabutt.

The clans as units of power and authority were very weak in the chief-centred system of the Birom. However within the clan-oriented system they had a much greater role to play in the political religious and social affairs of the village. The priest-chief had less power and this power devolved more on the three to six clans in the village. In Buji, the Ogwomo had authority over the two sections of the village made up of seven clans. One section was the Aguruzum or 'nobles' section which contained four clans including, of course, the Ogwomo. The other section was the Anazoo or 'commoners' section having three clans and within which lived the Chope. This official was the Anazoo's representative to the nobles and he was responsible for much of the ritual that the Ogwomo wished to perform.

In Gurrum, five clans (Anikutu, Anobare, Onotowo, Anagiru and Dugusa) as well as the chief's helper in ritual, the Ware, shared the village authority under the Ogomo. The Rukuba are made up of

1. JPP Chit, 22/1/73, I, p.109. There are variations of course. In Chit, the Gwom is said to only be in charge of Kwit and the people 'beat him' if they disagree with him. 'Only strong men could rule.'
2. JPP Birom I, II, III, passim. Succession methods vary and could be to brother or son. See Appendix II. pp. 426-437.

over twenty villages, each with an Utu or priest-chief elected by the royal family and approved by the village elders. These villages were made up of five sections scattered throughout a rugged mountainous area and the villages in each section were related along ritual and historical lines.¹

However, within this second system of clan-oriented groups, i.e. groups whose clans severely limited the priest-chief power was another class of clan government in which there was no priest-chief for the ethnic group at all, only clan heads. Ganawuri, Anaguta, and Irigwe appeared to have been even more clan-oriented than the Rukuba, Buji or Gurrum and will be called clan-centred. These three areas had a religious leader as did the Biron but he seemed to have been much more under clan control and was not priest-chief of all the clans as among the Rukuba. The Ganawuri consisted of three clans each headed by a Gwomahai (Chief of the clan). There was one Gwom Pwi (chief of ritual) for the whole area. In Anaguta there were five clans, three of which were directly related, the other two having come to join them at a later date. Again there was a clan head Pozo Gbou in charge of ritual but there was no chief of all the Anaguta. These two groups are each spread over a mountain range, the Ganawuri to the south-west corner of the plateau and the Anaguta in the north-east corner bordering the Afusare. Thus, the clans are not necessarily in close contact with one another, except, it would appear, in time of mutual defence or common festivals.

The third group, the Irigwe, lived in the fairly compact settlements of Kwall and Miango on the western edge of the Jos Plateau.

1. Muller and Sangree, op. cit., p.42.

Kwall, the earliest Irigwe settlement, was governed by the Angwels (clan heads) of three clans: Nuhwi, Chinke, and Zigwe. Miango was founded by three clans, Zavo, Taegbe and Tahu each of which separated from the three Kwall clans, Zavo from Nuhwi, Taegbe from Chinke and Tahu from Zigwe. This movement took place because of the coming of the Nadzia clan who arrived on the plateau in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of Kaje origin, the Nadzia clan joined the Irigwe for refuge from Hausa raids. Due to their numbers and trade links with the lowlands, they were placed in charge of warfare and 'foreign affairs.' The ritual authority within the village pertaining to economic, judicial and religious matters was kept in the hands of the founding clans.

Through a series of social manoeuvres and ritual accommodation, both Kwall and Miango remained as separate villages with Miango acknowledging Kwall's suzerainty. However, by assuming various roles, the two villages maintained an inherent unity. Due to the migration to Kwall in the first instance and the later split-off from Kwall to Miango each village assumed a familial role. Kwall was the 'parent' and Miango the 'child' or offspring of Kwall. In time of war, Nadzia led, but after them came the founding clans. The Zigwe clan of Kwall and the clan they call their "son", the Tahu clan of Miango, followed first. Nuhwi clan and their "son" Zavo of Miango came next. The Chinke clan and their "daughter" Taegbe came last. The last two clans, Chinke and Taegbe, would not take human heads in combat but would be responsible

for boiling the skin from them before they were displayed.¹

The second set of roles adopted by Irigwe society could be classified as sexual. Kwall and Miango were divided into twenty-four sections. All twenty-four sections were classified as either male or female.² Kwall had eight male and two female sections while Miango was made up of nine male and five female sections. Duties were allocated according to these sexual roles. The male sections were in charge of dry season activities such as hunting, building storage huts and planting while the female sections were in charge of cultivation, harvest and rainy season activities.³ This shows very generally how intricate the ritual arrangements and labour duties could become within one ethnic group. Unlike the Birom and the Rukuba there was no single priest-chief in either Kwall or Miango. Each clan had its religious head and the most important of these were the heads of the senior founding clans, Nuhwi, Zigwe and Chinke.

If the political structures as outlined above are to be categorized they may be placed on a horizontal grid with the chief-centred Birom on one end, having a priest-chief and little clan authority, the clan-control Irigwe, Anaguta and Ganawuri on the other, with no priest-chief

1. JPP Madaki Zamfara, Tahu, 26/4/73, IV, p.51. This order of precedence may reflect the three clans' order of arrival.

2. This classification does not reflect the real sexual composition of these sections. It does not mean that a male section is only composed of males or a female section of females. But these sections which were called male would carry out the duties associated with a male and these sections called female would perform the duties associated with a female. See Sangree, Walter H., 'Tribal Ritual Leadership and the Mortality Rate in Irigwe, Northern Nigeria' Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 25:1, 1970, p.34.

3. Ibid., p.33.

at all. The clan-oriented systems with a priest-chief and a strong clan authority would occupy some point between the extremes. This, obviously, is a simplistic classification for there exists a number of variations of governing systems within these three basic categories.

Generally the elders in all the above systems were advisers to the priest-chief or clan head on matters of judicial, religious and economic importance to the village. It was this unit of elders and priest chief that had to initiate hunting festivals, farming, weeding and harvesting. Once their decision was taken the community followed and in this way a regulated socio-economic system was guided and controlled by the elders. Individually the elders held responsibilities within their clans. They judged minor disputes in the compound; they looked after the religious observances of the clan or, if the clan was quite large, their own sub-clan. Finally, they negotiated arrangements for marriage.

A necessary component of the village in some areas was a personage who was in charge of ritual affairs if these rituals were not already included within the functions of the priest-chief. At Jere, this was the Atalibera, at Ganawuri the Gwom Pwi, and at Buji the Chope. The Birom often speak of the Gwom Ci¹ as the "chief of woodlands" and he appears not to have had any functions within the village and only a minor one in regard to the farms. He was noted

1. Gunn, op. cit., p.91.

for being especially concerned with rain-making.

In some areas a stratum of 'heroes'¹ existed which cut across lineage lines. This group consisted of young males who had exhibited a high degree of strength in farming, skill in hunting or bravery in warfare. One of these 'heroes', usually quite experienced, would act as leader in time of war. It was he who would call a meeting to outline the strategy to be adopted. In the village of Jere, he was even given a seat with the elders, a concession which other areas having such 'heroes' did not grant. This situation may have arisen out of Jere's rather precarious military position at the northern end of the plateau, necessitating emphasis on defence.

Representing a potential source of great political power, the 'heroes' nevertheless were firmly integrated into the village structure, being subject to the decisions of the elders and the priest-chief. The heads of duikers and antelopes were always given to the clan head for the ritual shrine, usually a mud hut, while leopard or buffalo heads went from the clan head to the priest-chief.² In war, anyone who killed a giant, that is an enemy warrior, took the head when possible and brought it to the priest-chief who placed it in the shrine himself or with the assistance of his ritual

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1. JFP passim for the following: The name for heroes was as follows: Irigwe (Sua); Anaguta (Wugari); Jere (Osati); Amo (Obarje); Buji (Obarje Kara).
 2. Ruel, Malcolm, Leopards and Leaders, 1969. Ruel in his research in south-eastern Nigeria observes that the village leader had a right to the leopard and '... to present a leopard is an act of homage confirming the legitimate status of the representative leader of a community; to fail to present it is to deny his legitimate leadership.' p.24.

chief (for example the Chope in Buji). In farming activities the strong, young farmer, although receiving credit individually as a 'hero', still worked for the elders of his compound or those of the compound from which he wished to obtain his wife.

It was these four major elements among the plateau societies, the priest-chief, the elders, the ritual chief and the heroes who played the political roles in village government to a greater or lesser degree. In a clan-centred society the priest-chief and the elders would be replaced by the various clan heads who together with the ritual chief and the heroes, would govern the community. Central to the majority of villages however was the priest-chief from whom the authority of the elders, ritual chief and heroes derived. The priest-chief then gave them their specific duties to perform.

The heroes almost always provided leadership in war. The practice of conferring this honour on those who were excellent farmers also served as a spur to agriculture production. The third element - the ritual chief - assisted the priest-chief in those duties that were important for the preservation of the social order in the village. His function varied from village to village. For example, the Birom Gwom Ci participated mainly in the rain-making ceremonies while the Chope of the Buji played a major role in circumcision rites. Fundamental to all, were the heads of clans - the elders - on whom fell the most important responsibilities of the village, namely the appointment of a new chief, initiating major festivals, performing

a judicial role in both the clan and the village and the arranging of marriages.

Marriage

Marriage was one of the most important aspects of social life that the elders controlled. It not only increased the population of the clan and the village but it also augmented agricultural productivity. As with the political aspects of these societies, there was again a diversity of types of marriages and these can be classified broadly into two types.

Among the northern plateau peoples, the Jere, Buji, and Anaguta, there was what was known as the sister exchange marriage system. As the name implies a male could not marry unless he had a sister to exchange for his prospective wife. He would then, by farm labour for his fiancée's father as well as presenting his sister to his father-in-law's son, be able to marry.¹ There appears to have been no exchange of goods to fore-stall debt accumulation as among the Tiv² arising from a lack of sisters. However, this is only a tentative

1. JPP IV, passim. Ames, op. cit., pp. 105-107.

2. Bohannan, Paul, 'The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy' in Tribal and Peasant Economies edited by George Dalton, 1967. pp. 123-135. Among the Tiv, a debt occurs when a man does not have a sister to exchange for the woman he wants as his wife. In order to get his wife, he must give a cow or some iron pieces to his wife's family to postpone the debt until someone within his clan can provide a sister. If the sister is a long time coming, and thus the debt is not paid quickly, the man must continue to give gifts to forestall the debt increasing through time. Diamond, Stanley, op. cit. 1967, notes that the debt accumulation was inheritable among the Anaguta who, as has been shown, were an offshoot of Gurrum.

conclusion until more work on this aspect of the society has been done.

The other type of marriage was the more familiar dowry marriage with a payment of horses, dwarf cows (Afusare and Birom marriages) or farm labour by the male and his kin to his prospective bride's father. This type was most common among the Birom, Ganawuri, Amo, Nchare, Rukuba, Irigwe and the Afusare. Both major types had variants to fit their historical and social antecedents. For example, although Rukuba and Irigwe have been placed in this latter section they were both very different from the Birom¹ as well as being quite distinct from each other. Both practised primary and secondary marriages.² Among these groups marriage was a source of great wealth for the father of the female because he received payment in goods and labour for his daughter. Any young men intending to marry had to work hard on the farms and acquire enough wealth to obtain a wife. Among the Irigwe whose political system has already been briefly described marriage tended to strengthen intra- and inter-segment links³ and this had direct political implications by unifying the villages of Niango and Kwall in one strong Irigwe entity. Sangree observed that Irigwe's multiple marriage system produces a fantastic number of

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1. Gunn, *op. cit.*, p. 89 points out that the Birom do not practise polyandry as the Rukuba do.
 2. Muller and Sangree, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Primary marriage was an agreement between two families that two of their children, usually a boy and a girl under the age of five, would marry when they reached maturity. A secondary marriage could be undertaken by either of these children after they had attained their maturity and fulfilled their primary marriage obligations.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

genetic and affinal ties between varying compounds, lineages and sections.¹

The Rukuba, however, had a different historical background. They were divided into five sections which were widely scattered over a rugged area of hills. The Rukuba marriage system did not appear to have had any direct political significance and neither helped nor hindered ritual divisions or historic alliances.² However, in some cases marriage and divorce were given as reasons for conflicts arising between villages.³ This was in direct contrast to other ethnic groups on the plateau who did not fight over women.

It can in no way be said that these cultural complexities made for a closed marriage system. Within the village, clans were exogenous and wives were also obtained from far afield both voluntarily and forcibly. There were always special rules for marriage rites as well as taboo areas in which marriages would not be carried out; however, inter-marriage, if not affected by these factors, covered a broad area. For example, a Jere man could marry a woman from the Limoro, Buji, Anaguta, Anu, Piti, Rukuba and Birom but would never marry an Afusare or Irigwe.⁴ An Anaguta man would marry with the Birom and Afusare but never the Irigwe, Buji, Jere, or Rukuba.⁵ Ganawuri claim not to have married outside their ethnic group.⁶

1. Sangre, Secondary Marriage, op. cit., p. 9.

2. Muller and Sangre, op. cit., p. 48.

3. JPP Rukuba, III, passim. Among the Birom on the other hand the male ties with women were non-competitive. Suedley, op. cit. p. 501.

4. JPP Jere, 18/7/73, IV, p. 80.

5. JPP Anaguta, 11/7/73, III, p. 9.

6. JPP Ganawuri, 8/12/73, IV, p. 282.

This, however, was an exception to a widespread practice of inter-marriage. Thus, there were very few closed villages; they merged socially into one another through cross-strands of kinship ties.¹

The Birom appeared to be the most adaptive in this respect which may explain the spread of the Birom language and culture. Usually a Birom woman could be obtained as a wife after the payment of a horse. This method applied to all ethnic groups except the Ganawuri with whom the Birom would not marry.² The Anaguta, Buji, Jere and Irigwe all speak of marrying Birom women in exchange for horses. There may have been some confusion over whether these were captives or free Birom women; nevertheless marriage ties existed between these groups. This may well have been a Birom method of accommodating the new groups with whom they came in contact. Theirs certainly appeared to be the most flexible marriage arrangement in this region whether born of necessity or custom.

Marriage then, from such a perspective, was an action of many consequences. It could serve a productive function by which the elders benefited since it gave them free labour and gifts. It served the political function of reinforcing the power of the elders and priest-chief in the village for it was to the elders that the youth had to go when they wished to marry. Among the Birom, the Mandyang

1. Greuel, Peter J., 'The Leopard Skin Chief: An Examination of Political Power Among the Muer,' American Anthropologist LXXIII: 5, 1971, p. 1116.

2. It is difficult to say if this was because they were too closely related to Ganawuri, which is doubtful, or because of the Birom's profound distaste for these fierce fighters.

(marriage festival) was presided over by the Gwom Kwit and his elders before planting was begun. It was to them that the youths had to turn for sanctification of their marriage. Its wider political function was one of uniting village segments and in some cases a complete ethnic group. Wider still were the matrimonial relationships between ethnic groups as outlined above providing one more interlink among these diverse societies.

Judicial

A major function of government was the establishment and enforcement of what was acceptable as customary practice within the society. Certain social norms were set, the contravening of which constituted an action against an individual or the society as a whole. On the Jos Plateau, the regulation of such norms, that is the judgement of the accused and the authority over the subsequent enforcement of the appropriate punishment was vested in the village priest-chief and the elders. It was this group that was the embodiment of the political and religious life of the village which must judge such cases and account, with ritual, for individual crimes that might occur. Where there was not a village priest-chief as in Irigwe and Anaguta, the clan heads judged cases. In the Birom area, however, it was the Gwom and his elders or in Buji the Ogwomo and the elders of the Zambere clan, the chief's house, who presided over any village judicial process.

The magnitude of the offence determined to which judicial authority it would be brought. A minor transgression in the clan would be taken care of by the head of the clan. This included fights, marriage disputes and miscellaneous offences such as breaking a calabash. More serious cases like murder, theft, witchcraft, or land boundary disputes went to the priest-chief and his council for decision. Again, this must be stated as a generalization. In Irigwe it would go to the meeting of the clans in Kwall or Miango. Once their decision was made, there might be a chance of an appeal. A case in Miango might be sent to the senior village, Kwall, while in the Birom village areas the Gwon of the chief village and his council could be the last appeal court. For example, Heipang area villages might take their cases to Zabutt or Pang village to Kyeng in the Bachit village area.

The Birom executed a murderer who was judged to be so by the Gwon and the elders. Birom society operated a religio-political system and murder was a crime both against the ancestors and unborn generations. It was considered an enormous crime, the concern of the entire village.¹ Since all the Buji were considered brothers they could not kill a murderer but sent him to Lere to be sold.² This practice also obtained among the Bukuba. The Irigwe, however, sent their murderers to Tinyi, nineteen kilometres to the

1. JPP Dung Zan, Forum 18/1/73, I, p. 64.

2. JPP Ogwomo Naigari, Buji 4/8/73, IV, p. 214.

south¹ where they had to remain for three years. They were taken there by the Nadzia clan. During their time in this place, they might be sold to the passing Hausa traders. If, however, they returned after the three years, the Tiyi people had the right to seize all their belongings. This was called yeshe.²

Among the Amo and Anaguta murder was often punished as if it were a secular crime only. This may have been related to the small population of these two peoples; even one man was too important to be lost permanently to the society. For murder cases in Amo, the murderer fled to Jere for asylum where he remained for some time before returning to Amo. As has been shown, Amo and Jere claimed a common historical origin. Finally the Anaguta did none of the above, relying, it would seem, more on repentance to cure human failing. They locked the murderer in a room for seven days without food or water and when he was released his head was shaved in order to socially humiliate him.

If a theft occurred, Anaguta was equally lenient, only beating the man and imposing a fine of a goat on him. Among the majority of the other groups, the thief was sold out or he would be set free if his family could bring a horse to compensate his victim's loss. In Buji where horses were scarce, a horse thief was automatically sold.

1. JPP Madaki Zamfara, Niango 26/4/73, IV, p. 55. These people are said to be brothers of the Tabi (Chawai) but do not speak the same language.

2. Ibid.

Horses were vital for marriage rituals¹ and possibly were also seen as a vital part of the defence system of the people. For the Rukuba the priest-chief alone judged the case and decided what compensation was to be paid. The Birom took cases of theft more seriously and a thief was usually sold to the Irigwe or in some areas he would be executed.

Withcraft was another major offence and this was considered a crime against the village inhabitants both living and deceased. In Buji a witch was sold as was also the case in Ganawuri, after a trial by ordeal using a chicken to personify the accused. The chicken was given 'medicine' and if it died the accused was presumed guilty. Among the Rukuba there was another variation. In Kakkek, the witch was ferretted out by a special person called an Onitva who supposedly had been chosen by God.² If the witch was found guilty, he was burned. In Imboe (Rukuba), if he was guilty, he was sold to the Piti for salt. Witches in Rukuba villages usually were accused of causing diseases or fomenting individual or general unrest. Muller also pointed out that if a man enjoyed too much economic success in the village due to his agricultural or trading activities, he might also be condemned as a witch.³ This suggests that the Rukuba believed in a reasonable equity of means among the people and this was a natural concomitant of a clan-oriented society.

1. Ogwomo Maigari, Buji, 4/8/73, IV, p. 214.

2. JPP Utu Adik, Kakkek, 18/1/73, III, p. 194.

3. Muller, op. cit., 1971, p. 60.

Although they had 'bad' witches the Irigwe had 'good' witches as well - the sua. As has been shown above,¹ the sua were 'heroes' in the field of valour and in farming output. For this seemingly supernatural power that was for the good of the villages, they were called witches. Nevertheless even as a 'good' witch they could never be appointed to be clan head, perhaps because they would be too powerful in such a position. They might threaten the egalitarianism of the Irigwe's clan-centred society.

In judicial matters, among the Birom, Rukuba, Jere and Buji cases went from the clan head to the village priest-chief. In areas, which had been conquered by the emirates, the situation was slightly different. In the Pyem region for example, the priest-chief Ewolbonga was only allowed to administer the trial by ordeal and judge those suspected of being witches. By the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Pyem chief, (the Rit) appointed by the Bauchi Emirate, was taking care of judicial cases like theft and murder in addition to his duties as tax collector.² There is no evidence to suggest that the northern plateau areas Sanga, Limoro, Chokobo and Kurama which were conquered by the emirates, had similar judicial adaptations. They appear to have kept their traditional jurisprudence intact.

If the village was part of a wider confederation of villages, as among the Birom viz. Bachit, Ton, Forum, and to a limited extent the Irigwe, this meant that there were three levels of jurisdiction. The first level was the clan head, the second the village priest-chief.

1. See Chapter III, p. 119.

2. JPP Pyem, 14/12/73, V, p. 38. See Chapter II, p. 82.

while the third was the village ^{priest-chief} / of the senior village in the village area. The latter would judge the most serious cases from all the villages in his area. The priest-chief and his elders thus presided over an authority system that passed and enforced a punishment commensurate with the offence. The variation in sentences was a function of the societal norms, the important thing being the exercise of authority by the governing body.

Economic Factors

The societies on the plateau cannot be called subsistent if this classification is understood to mean that the producer, be he farmer or hunter, was providing for all his needs within his village.¹ If his needs were defined in economic, social and religious terms, he must satisfy these needs by reaching beyond his social and political horizon for articles such as salt, horses and manufactured iron. There was a modicum of surplus in each of the societies examined to allow for such trade to satisfy its basic needs. This, as will be shown, provided difficulties for the British administration in its attempt to stimulate a commercial orientation among the plateau societies by creating a desire for its imported goods.² As the variations are numerous a general summary of economic activity on the Jos Plateau before the British arrived will be presented.

1. For a discussion of subsistence see Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 8-77 and Gray, Richard and Birmingham, David Pre-Colonial African Trade, 1970, pp. 1-23.

2. See Chapter VII passim.

All the ethnic groups on the Jos Plateau were almost wholly agrarian with the main crops being acha, guinea corn and millet. Livestock consisted of goats, chickens and dogs and in some areas, notably among the Afusare, Anaguta, Birom and Baron, a large number of dwarf cows. Also in this particular area as well as to the east among the Sura, small ponies were kept of a breed distinct from the horses used by the rest of Northern Nigeria.¹ Produce from the farm such as acha as well as cows were useful as trade currency. However, the pattern of agricultural activity must be examined first in order to provide some suggestion of its overall importance.

It is important to note that farming could not be successfully carried out without the compliance of the priest-chief or the clan heads of the village. Each ethnic group, with local variations, had their own calendar of festivals and these festivals were presided over by the priest-chief of the village or by one of the heads of the clans. Within the village, each clan usually had a specific duty to perform in connection with the agricultural activities. Each duty was important for economic and political reasons for its performance ensured the success of the crop as well as the continued political position of the clan that performed the duty. In some cases, among the Birom in particular, the festival would then be

1. See Chapter II. p. 94.

passed on to the next village in a known sequence.¹

If the Birom might be taken as an example,² two types of farming are noted; one being the compound cultivation of yams, cocoyams and beniseed surrounded by cactus hedges and near enough to be manured by the livestock, while the second and more productive, was the cultivation of the expansive farmlands in scattered areas outside the village. Each adult male might have a total of from two to eight acres.³

The major crops were acha, guinea corn and millet.⁴ Acha was the main grass crop for it grew well in the poor soil of the plateau. It was widely used for making gwete, a type of broth, as well as for the brewing of beer, both staple foods. Acha also began the Birom agricultural year with the Worungchun, the acha planting festival. A member of the Gyon's household must initiate this festival. Rites would also follow in May and June for the planting of tanba (cereal crop) and millet. By July the planting and transplanting had been completed and it was time for the weeding

1. Baker, op. cit., shows this in her thesis on the Birom in which three sequences spread out from Riyom the religious centre, the main festival being the Worungchun. As a dating device, this sequence compared favourably with the genealogies that appear in the appendix of this work; however, there were notable omissions including Shonong, Boss, Gashish and Ron. Thus I was not able to use this dating method other than to confirm the importance of Riyom as a ritual centre.

2. Gunn, op. cit., p. 90. Gunn presents the farming system in some detail.

3. Gunn, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 81.

4. The crops cultivated vary, with the Irigwe concentrating on millet, the Jere and Buji on guinea corn.

festival or Bidushe. Besides weeding and horse-racing, preliminary courting by young men of the girls took place. The Gwom must play a prominent part and ask for rains and good harvest. August brought the millet transplanting rite while in September the Gwom Ci who was defined as being in charge of 'bush' (non-farming areas outside the village) performed his ritual under the Gwom's direction. As has been pointed out, he appears to have had a rather minor role. In October, the harvesting had begun and in November the Bwana festival was held which was a thanksgiving for the harvest and featured dancing and horse-racing. The Gwom and his senior wife were in charge of both.

The villagers in some areas also had to deposit some of their surplus harvest in a communal granary. This was controlled by the chief and when the need arose grain was given out to clan heads to distribute.¹ During the dry season of December through to March the people engaged in non-agricultural activities. This was the time when huts were built or rebuilt, pots produced, iron smelted for hoes, spears and knives, and courting continued that led up to the Mandyeng marriage rites in March. Thus by April, the new cycle of crops had to be begun once more.

The above description could also be applied generally to the other agrarian groups on the plateau. The important position that the priest-chief occupied was also similar. In the more clan-centred

1. JPP Gwomo Maigari, Buji, 4/8/73, IV, p. 217. JPP Gwomo Damaji, Gurrem, 28/7/73, IV, p. 163.

societies like Irigwe and Ganawuri, the responsibility for the festivals was more likely to be distributed among the various clans. For example in Irigwe the annual hunt Zaraci was presided over by the Muhwi clan in Kwall, and the festivals themselves were divided between the two sexual divisions. Thus in the clan-centred, the clan-oriented and the chief-centred societies, the clan head or priest chief demonstrated at these festivals his importance for the proper functioning of village life. Also of importance in this regard was his prominence in the hunting festivals which took place in December and January. Aside from the food value of the game killed, they also had ritual importance. For example, in the case of Irigwe, the hunting route followed was, according to tradition, the same as that taken by the three founding clans of Kwall when they came from Rituvo.¹

The hunting festival was an event of mixed blessings for it provided a forum for inter-ethnic cooperation as well as inter-ethnic dispute. Thus, in the first instance, the Ganawuri would invite Wwang and the Irigwe to join them in the hunt. However once the game was killed there was a strong possibility that a dispute would arise over the head of the animal and a share of the meat. The head of the animal was especially important as a trophy of bravery and served as a prestige object for the hunter and his clan as well as an oblation for the priest-chief. Among the outlying village areas of Forum, and Bachit, hunting accounted for the majority of the "wars."

1. JPP Tahu clan, Nyango, 26/4/73, IV, p. 60. see Fig. 3 in back cover pocket.

...ing disputes between the Ron and Gashish area were also a frequent source of friction. In areas of more dense bush among the Garba, Jere, Buji and Ano, where game was more plentiful, such disputes did not arise.¹

For all these areas the village hunt was an important event. The usual quarry of duiker, antelope, hyena, and water buffalo were sought but the most important animal was the leopard which was considered the fiercest of all animals. Its death meant a special celebration. As a source of meat for the community it was of little value for it became the sole property of the priest-chief and the elders.² To the elders went the meat because the young men were told that they would cough and die if they ate it.³ That is to say that they were not strong enough to stand the power that the leopard personified. The skin and head went to the priest-chief who wore the skin at special occasions and placed the head in his own shrine or performed the requisite rituals and took it to the shrine in the next senior village. For example, among the Birom, those villages which claimed a Riyom origin all took the heads of the leopards to the Gwom Riyom as evidence that they were his children. Thus if the men of Sop killed a leopard, the head went first to Kyeng (Bachit) and then to Riyom. Among the Buji the skin went to the Ogwomo while the head was given to his chief ritual assistant the Chope. The chief of ritual in Ganawuri the Gwom Pwi received the head while the

1. JPP IV, passim.

2. Ruel, op. cit., passim.

3. JPP, I to IV, passim.

meat was distributed among the three major clans. In Irigwe, the head was placed in the Branyi Tede (religious house) of the clan from which the hunter originated. In Rukuba, the Utu ate the meat and the head was put in the Ici (leopard) room near his compound.

The leopard, then, among all animals, seemed to hold an aura of power that was almost supernatural. Among the Birom, the leopard also personified evil. When a theft took place, the Birom stated that a leopard was loose. When the first Bengai migrants to Turu arrived from the south they were pursued by a second Bengai group who told the indigenous Turu settlers that they wanted the "leopard" that was hidden in Turu. This referred to the leader of the first migrants whom the second migrants accused of stealing yams from their original settlement on the plains called Bengai.¹

With the death of the leopard, the skin which symbolized its power was given to the priest-chief or clan head, who had to wear it on all ceremonial occasions. It could be worn by no other in

1. JPP Pam Daliyop, Turu, 29/8/73, III, p. 117. Reverence for the leopard as a clan totem was pronounced among the Igala and Idoma. There was a massive dispersal of leopard clans from Idah between c. 1660-1760. (See P. Sargent, "The Origins of the Igala Monarchies" Benue Valley Project Paper, No. 16, 1976 and E. O. Erim's field notes). The first group arrived from Bengai in c. 1792 ± 28 and they may have carried leopard reverence into Turu. The second group who referred to the leader of the first group as a leopard may have been suggesting his leopard reverence. There was an earlier Bengai group which entered Riyom c. 1738 ± 32. It may have also brought leopard reverence into Riyom. The elders of Riyom however discuss the leopard customs as if they pre-date the arrival of the Bengai. See Chapters I and II. pp. 53-54; pp. 68-72.

the village.¹ The leopard head in the religious hut symbolized the power of the traditional religion and the meat, being limited to the elders, sanctified their position as leaders of the clans as well as advisors to the priest-chief.

Material Production

In the sphere of material production or small-scale industries which included pottery-making, potash-making, the construction of musical instruments and straw weaving, iron-making held a prominent place. Due to its importance as well as its uniqueness when compared with the Hausa 'smithing', it will be examined in some detail here. The Jos Plateau contains a wealth of ferruginous laterite from which iron may be made, and iron smelting was of considerable antiquity.² It had spread over the whole plateau with all villages doing their own work and each having their own smiths.³ The plateau method differed quite considerably in concept from the Hausa as well as from the southern Nigerian type. The plateau iron workers used a forced draft with the aid of skin-covered pots for bellows at the top of the furnace. The furnace itself was usually

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1. See Ruel, op. cit., and Evans-Pritchard, E., The Nuer, 1940. In Chapter V (pp. 139-191) Evans-Pritchard deals in some detail with the leopard skin chief but it would appear that his power is much less than that of the plateau priest-chiefs being confined for the most part to a judicial role. Also see Gruel, op. cit. for a more recent analysis.
 2. Sassoon, Hemo, 'Biom Blacksmithing', Nigeria Magazine, No. 74, 1964, pp. 25-31.
 3. The exception here appears to be the Irigwe who by the late nineteenth century were more satisfied with the iron from Zangon Katab than their own. JPP Ja Ucha, Nyango 26/4/73, IV, p. 66.

on a river bed and extended to a height of about five feet. The Hausa furnace on the other hand depended on an induced draft by using tuyeres at the base of a furnace which might reach a height of twenty feet.¹

Since the plateau furnace was easily made and the technique was not a secret, any individual could smelt his own iron and then take it to a smith in the village. Here he could obtain a hoe or spear head in exchange for some millet and acha as well as the left over iron.² Newcomers like the Buji claim that they only learned to make iron when they came to the plateau and were taught by the Nchara and the Birom.³ However, the Jere and the Amo who are of very similar origins to the Buji, claim to have known iron-making for as long as they can remember.

Because of its universality, iron smelting and smithing were not professions of great ritual importance in the villages of the plateau. There was no evidence of a smith having any particular power or sitting in the council of elders. There was also no monopoly of this profession by any clan.⁴

The iron objects produced were both functional and decorative. Spear heads, large hoes, knives and arrow heads were produced for productive activities like hunting and farming as well as the destructive

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1. Personal Interview, A. Rackham, Jos Museum, Jos, 24/11/73.
 2. JPP Amil Asantu, Binango (Sukuba), 19/1/74, III, p. 198.
 3. JPP Jemaka Jogel, Buji, 1/8/73, IV, p. 203.
 4. Sassoon, op. cit., p. 29, also points out that the smith farmed like everyone else and was under no prohibition in regard to participation in all village festivals.

activities of war. Iron leg greaves were also made and were worn by the Birom, Sura, Ganawuri, and Ron as a spur for the horses as well as a sign of wealth. It was therefore limited to the older men who had enough children to farm for them and make them prosperous.¹

The priest-chief also wore the leg greaves as a sign of his authority.

The Pozo Gbou in Anaguta wore iron bracelets as a material sign of authority.² As a trade object, it was used among the Rukuba to

exchange goats and grain.³ Beyond village boundaries the Birom in the north traded it to the Ron in Bokkos and Batura.⁴ Commercially

however, it cannot be said to have been very widespread, at least as a general currency. There is no evidence that it was produced for any special social function, such as currency to buy wives for example.

It was claimed that it was taboo for some villages to smelt it, for

example in Rim and Jol among the Birom. It was also forbidden that

it be present in the sacred grove in Forum, the habitat of the ancestral spirits.⁵

1. JPP Nafok, 18/1/73, I, p. 56. A man must begin his wealth with iron and if he has plenty of that the rest will come.
One bull = two leg greaves.
2. JPP Igem Afangagwai, Anabor clan, 16/7/73.
3. JPP Amil Asantu, op. cit., III, p. 198.
4. Personal Interview, B. Frank, 15/9/73.
5. Gunn, op. cit., p. 82, Only stone axes are used in this grove, which may suggest a ritual remnant from a stone age agriculture. However, I could not find any oral evidence to further explain this custom nor could I find evidence to support Gunn's contention of an iron taboo in Rim and Jol.

Other metals were not worked or smelted on the plateau. Tin was not smelted by the plateau peoples and copper, already shaped into bracelets and sword sheaths, was being imported from the lowlands via the Irigwe and Piti¹ and through direct contact with the Hausa.²

The Irigwe also specialized in making bits for horses, a trade of which the Birom took the greatest advantage.

Horses

Horses were the most important factor for human mobility on the plateau. They facilitated relations between villages and ethnic groups and made commercial activities between villages feasible. They were also the first line of defence in time of war and played a large part in halting the advance of the jihadists on to the Jos Plateau.³

In the late nineteenth century, a large number of 'Hausa' horses, bigger than the plateau pony, had been brought to the plateau. The indigenous small pony was still preferred but the bigger horse was dominant among the Irigwe and the Kukuba and was rapidly gaining favour in the northern Birom villages of Vwang, Turu, Gyel and Zawan. These areas had ready access to the source of these bigger horses while settlements in the Gashish and Rop areas of the Birom, the Ron and the Sura were isolated from such contact and maintained their small ponies. The Irigwe had increased their power

1. JPP Chit, 22/1/73, I, p. 106.

2. JPP Aware Sha, Fobur, 11/12/73, V, p. 69.

3. See Chapter II. pp. 97-99.

on the plateau became of their trade in this 'new' breed of 'Hausa' horses.

The horse, whether large or small, was very common on the plateau. Each compound usually had at least one, with the wealthier compound having from five to eight. They were widely used for hunting, war, festivals, and marriage. If a wealthy man died, he would be buried in a horse skin.¹ Horse meat was eaten mostly among the Birom, Irigwe, Jere, Mubaba and Ganawuri but not by the Inaguta, Afusare, Ron or Sura.

Interestingly enough, the Birom villages of Rim and Jol claim they buried the horse as if it were a man and never ate it.² In those areas where a wife could be obtained with a dowry, the horse proved to be of enormous social value. This was especially true among the Birom where possession of a horse by the suitor was necessary before a woman would marry him. This marriage custom appears to be limited to the Birom, Ganawuri, and Nchara and to a lesser extent among the Buji. As has been shown, this practice may have proved itself to be an integrating instrument among these societies.³

The most valued unit of exchange among the Afusare, Birom and Inaguta, would appear to have been the dwarf cow. It was valued as a measure of wealth with more value than the small horses⁴ yet it was not widely used as a trade object. Its function was mainly as the marriage

1. JPP Chit, 22/1/73, I, p. 106.

2. JPP Cyang Dung, Rim 28/1/72, I, p. 156. This again raises the question of Rim's origin. See chapter II p. 71.

3. See above pp. 121-125.

4. JPP Birom, I, II, and III. Generally one cow was equivalent to one large horse or two small ones.

price and occasionally it was used as meat. Herds of up to twenty or twenty-five per compound were not uncommon in the late nineteenth century. In Ra Rung, a village in Torun village area, a rich man could have up to one hundred cattle while the Gwon might have as many as two hundred.¹ Allowing for some exaggeration of numbers through time, it can be said that the dwarf cows were widespread and numerous before the British came, each village having at least fifty.

In absolute value it is difficult to make a material comparison between cows and horses. In terms of exchange, they appear equivalent but they may well fall into the category of 'special purpose' exchange goods² where the mode of payment was more important than the actual value of the object. This is especially true when it is realized that a horse or cow must be included in any bridal price before the marriage could take place, yet a cow was never used as a trade object outside of the village while a horse was.

Trade

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Zaria Emirate had made its last thrust into the hills before the British came and had subjugated the Piti as well as the Ruruba village of Kunyen. Internal warfare, as will be shown later, was also disrupting the villages on the plateau.³ This is not however to infer that the overall village relations were being greatly disturbed. Skirmishes and combat took

1. JPP Dung Gwon, Ra Rung, 19/1/73, I, p. 69.

2. Bohannon, op.cit., passim.

3. See below pp. 153-156.

place but these were rare when compared with the number of ritual and marriage links established. Trade also continued despite military incursions or village dislocations.

The trade method used on the plateau for inter-village as well as inter-ethnic trade was barter and this system of exchange continued well into the colonial period. To speak of a "currency" is only to apply this label to objects that were traded most frequently. Generally speaking, the basic currency of the plateau peoples was either captives taken in war or individuals bought from a village. These individuals were usually adults sold because of serious crimes committed by them, such as murder, or for misdemeanors, such as consistent disobedience by a 'stubborn' child.¹ For our purposes such individuals will also be called captives. Although at times captives were kept to farm for the chief or his captor, as in Sura, parts of Biron, Irigwe or Rukuba, they were usually more valuable as a portable and universally acceptable means of exchange. This usually meant the adult male captives. The females would be kept in the village to marry a local inhabitant; her children, as well as any other child captured, were raised as indigenes with little stigma attached to their origins.

In return for this common currency the most valued objects of exchange were salt and horses. For those villages in the northern part of the plateau, Jere, Buji, Gurrum as well as the Rukuba, Irigwe, and Anaguta groups, were the two Hausa emirates neighbouring

1. JIP Ja Mankwon Riyon, 7/9/73, I, p. 229.

horses.
 them. were the major suppliers of salt and large Δ . These products were obtained either directly from villages under direct emirate suzerainty or via ethnically related groups who had been partially subjugated. For example, in the latter case, the Irigwe obtained large horses through the Kaje who in turn had got them from the traders in the Hausa settlement of Zangon Katab. The Afusare of Fobur used their common ethnic origin with the Afusare among the Anaguta and in the Forum village area to exchange horses for Forum and Anaguta captives.¹

There were also villages like Lere in Zaria Emirate and Lere in Bauchi Emirate which acted as centres for trade as well as tax. The Pyem obtained copper or horse meat from Lere Bauchi in exchange for captives while at the same time taking their tax which was payable in captives.² To the west Zaria Emirate conquered the Rukuba settlement of Kumyen who then took large horses to Lere Zaria for tax while other Rukuba traded captives for salt with their neighbours to the south, the Piti.³ The Piti in turn perhaps used these captives to pay their tax to Lere Zaria.

To the north, among the areas conquered by Zaria - the Chokobo and Kurama ethnic groups as well as the settlements of Gusu, Linoro, and Sanga - there was an increasing trade in cowries which were introduced by

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- JPP Adullah Song, Kapwis, 15/1/73, I, p. 24.
 - JPP Kesin Yak, Pyem Geji, 13/12/73, V, p. 79.
 - It was to Rukuba (Kumyen) that the Piti fled when the Zaria Hausa came. JPP Kumyen 23/1/74, III, p. 241. The Piti and Rukuba did not have wars but only fights perhaps because three of the six Piti clans claim a Rukuba origin. Personal communication, with J.-J. Chalifoux, University of Montreal, Canada.

the Hausa emirate.¹ Aside from Sanga, the other groups did not deal in captives but paid a certain amount in cowries to Lere Zaria. The cowries could be obtained from Lere in exchange for foodstuffs (corn, pepper, and goats) and then used to buy salt, big horses and copper from Lere or the itinerant traders who frequented this area. Sanga was the only area which dealt in captives on any scale, selling them to passing Fulani for cowries and then paying cowries to the Limoro and Choko'bo for their goats and iron.²

Generally speaking then, this area had a substantial short and long distance trade pattern in which cowries were introduced as a basic currency. None of these settlements was big enough to obtain war captives and they therefore, were of little military importance. Probably Zaria also realised that if too harsh a tax payment was levied such as a captive, it would be most difficult to enforce. It could be that the 'new' cowry currency was the most convenient for all.

The larger centres of Bui and Jere were also affected to a limited extent by the introduction of cowries. Both were much more powerful than the scattered settlements just mentioned and had a greater opportunity to take captives. Jere usually sold their captives to passing Fulani for cowries with which they bought big horses or

1. Hopkins, *op.cit.*, p. 68 states that this currency originating in the the Maldive Islands reached Bornu in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, Kirk-Greene in an earlier study dealing specifically with currencies states the cowries were being used in Kano by the early eighteenth century. See Kirk-Greene, L.H.M. "The Major Currencies in Nigerian History" *J.H.S.N.*, 2(1) December, 1966, p. 137.

2. JPP Coni Baleri, Sanga, 21/7/73, IV, p. 121.

salt from Sanga to the north. Buji also used cowries in trade and for tax to Lere Zaria. They sold food and bought salt and horses.¹

When the mode of exchange is considered, much depended on whether an area was conquered or not. Those areas under the emirates were visited by itinerant traders and were able to travel on their own to the trade centre, be it Sanga or Lere. However, within the unconquered areas there were trade agents of various kinds whose duty it was to carry out the trade; the necessary qualifications being courage and a reputation of having protective supernatural powers.

These agents were usually solitary figures who went on horseback unarmed, within the plateau area. Buji and Gurrum called their agent Gwarjo Kara or Hero; a title also given to notables in hunting, farming or warfare. Since he was powerful in supernatural matters and was believed to be able to disappear or 'fly' when in danger he was sent on trading expeditions. He would sometimes go as far afield as Piti to trade. To the south, the Ganawuri did not have any special man or men to perform such a function because they were continually at war.² Like the Ganawuri the Anaguta did not engage extensively in trade activities but waited for trade to come to them, usually giving food in exchange for captives. These they passed on to Bauchi through a particular clan, the Andugwohom, who had links with the Afusare. In Irigwe it has already been noted that the Madzia clan appeared to

1. Buji appears to have been independent after coming to the plateau, conquered by Lere and independent again. Nevertheless Buji had access to the Lere trade which Jere did not have.

2. JPP Ganawuri, 22/8/73, IV, p. 231.

have been in charge of trading as well as matters relating to war. The most extensive trade pattern was that of the Birom and this was taken care of by the Jek the title given to the man who was in charge of internal and external trade.

The Jek was both the transmitter of trade - travelling near and far with trade goods - and the host to other Jeks who came with objects to trade or with the aim of being escorted on to the next village. His only means of protection besides his 'supernatural powers' was his straw hat which identified him as a Jek as did his stock for trading which usually consisted of captives, salt or horses. He might also travel in the company of other Jeks. Although he was to be given safety of passage even by warring villages, he usually avoided travelling in such battle areas.

Information varies as to whether a Jek was an independent agent or sent out purposely to trade for a member of the village. The village of Chit, for example, stated that the Grom had nothing to do with the Jek;¹ however the village of Pahng said that the Grom's compound was a sort of clearing house to which the villagers brought their goods for the Jek to transport.² Grom Rim might send a Jek out to trade. In Tatoo, wealthy men, usually the heads of the large clans, might do so. In Bachit it was claimed that the Grom sent the

1. JPP Chit, 22/1/73, I, p. 108

2. JPP Pahng, 23/1/73, I. p. 111.

Jek as far south as Richa for salt¹ which the Grom then sold to the villagers for acha.²

The Jek system worked in a similar way to the emirate-oriented areas described above. Under the Jek system a village wishing to trade would make contact with a village nearby which was related to it in some way. The Jek would take goats or big horses to the Jek in Gashish Kukaruk who would take the Shonong Jek to Tarangal, a settlement between Gashish Kukaruk and the Ron village of Bokkos. This settlement would then pass the Shonong Jek on to Bokkos, complete with interpreter if the Jek couldn't speak Ron.³ Salt from Richa was obtained in Bokkos for the goats and horses. This salt was taken back to Shonong who sold it to Rim or settlements in the Bachit area for big horses. Such ethnic border area villages were usually related by marriage or contained a clan or two which came from the neighbouring ethnic group. Among the Birom such relationships were frequent, for example Gvel with the Irigre, Du with the Anaguta, Forum with the Afusare and Hoss with the Ganawuri.

In this way trade routes criss-crossed the plateau with, for

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1. It is very possible that the Richa salt came up from the south a very likely origin being Keana thirty-two kilometres north of the Benue. Aside from this crystal salt, potash was widely used on the plateau being produced from the ashes of the cotton tree pods (*Rimi eriodendron orientale*).
 2. JPP Bachit, 12/2/73, I, p. 237.
 3. JPP Yohanna Sunjwan, Bokkos, 12/5/73, II, p. 89.

example, Ron salt meeting the Irigwe salt in Vwang a village which was supplied with it from both the north and south. Big horses were brought in by the northern Biron from the Irigwe and were moved south into Ronland where many of the small horses were located. It appears that neither the trade from Zaria nor Bauchi emirates reached the Sura who rode and perhaps preferred small horses. Captives for the most part appear to have flowed northward. The range of the Jek trade was quite large, for a Biron village area as far south as Gashish sent captives north to Kwall for big horses a distance of fifty-five kilometres as well as south to Bokkos for salt twenty-five kilometres.¹

Bearing in mind the social exchange in barter, it may be useful to mention a few exchange values which appear to be evident in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The rates must be qualified by stating that they varied through time, that is, fluctuations occurred according to supply and demand as well as according to the quality of the merchandise. The third consideration is the social aspects of the exchange; however these specific social exchanges² do not enter into what is considered here to have been average rates.

numerous population

Because of their large population the Biron appeared to have had the widest ranging trade system and thus statistics on trade rates were

1. JPP Gnar, 4/3/73, II, p. 89.

2. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 53, points out that this social exchange whether for a show of extravagance or a specific currency to obtain a wife occurs in virtually all societies.

more plentiful from them. It should be pointed out again that captives, salt and horses were the trade objects that were always in demand. Salt and horses were more essential than the captives and this latter was the intermediate currency used to obtain the other two. Being easily transported, the trade in these three commodities could range widely over a considerable area.

The major exchange appeared to have been in horses and captives, the captives going north and the big horses moving south replacing the small plateau ponies. The Ron for example, in order to obtain a big horse, would give two captives to their Biron neighbours. By the time these captives reached Kwall and Niengo they had become worth one big horse each or in a few cases two. It would appear that the rate was a function of distance. The Ron were over seventy kilometres from the Irigwe and trade did not go directly to the Irigwe but went through Biron intermediaries. Among the Biron villages of Shonong, Bengai, and Pop (all over fifty kilometres from Kwall), traders received one horse for one captive, while in Kwang and Sho, thirty kilometres or less from the Irigwe they received two horses for one captive. The Irigwe could then trade the captive to Zangon Katab for two horses and salt or to Chawal for three horses. The Forum village area also received large horses but these did not come in abundance. Despite Fobur's relationship with the Afusare villages of Kapwis and Ket in the Forum area, Fobur could not obtain enough horses from Bauchi to carry on an extensive trade.

The horse was also a standard unit of exchange when salt was acquired. Although potash could be produced by the bulk of the population, crystal salt was preferred. In this regard the Birom appear to have been the only ones to have a standard unit called ngoot.¹ All of their salt they obtained from the Ron at times getting twenty-four ngoots for one big horse and ten ngoots for a pony. (Usually one big horse equalled two ponies). The big horse was, as was shown, desired by the Ron and they in turn brought the salt from the village of Richa which in turn had obtained it from Keana.² Again generalizations do not cover all cases. Gyel, for example, received salt from the Irigwe as did Vwang, both of whom were 'related' to the Irigwe. However, their immediate neighbours, Kuru and Zawan, were both supplied by the Ron.

Rates in salt trade to the north were less well defined and therefore not calculable. However, the general trend points to very little trade extending southward. This, as well as geographical factors, indicates less mobile societies to the north, with the added qualification that those who were under the Hausa emirates had

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1. Ngoot was a grass sack, cylindrical in shape, fifty centimetres long and fifteen centimetres wide.
 2. Sciortino, *op. cit.* 'At Keana in the South-east corner, there are salt "mines", the workings being the monopoly of the Keana Arago. This salt is then widely distributed by traders, being cheaper than imported salt.' p. 24. Keana is a town 30 kilometres north of the Benue River and 45 kilometres south east of Lafia. For the extensive Benue lowlands salt trade, see A. Adefuye, "Keana: The Gift of Salt" and A. C. Unomah "Salt Production and Trade in Awe District in the Nineteenth century," Benue Valley Project Papers, Numbers 13 and 9 respectively.

more extensive commercial contacts to the east, west and north due to the itinerant Hausa traders.

Despite the detail related above on long distance trade, internal or short distance trade was widespread both within the village and between villages of the same ethnic group. Foodstuffs, iron, pots, meat and horses were exchanged frequently. acha was a prime trade commodity within the village - being exchanged for labour or other items. Dwarf cattle were less likely to be traded as they were a sign of wealth as well as the main currency in obtaining a wife. A horse could be used in marriage but these were scarce and goats had to be included in such an exchange for the horse to be acceptable. Goats appear to have been widespread as a 'small change' unit, an object which went along with the major trade object to increase the value. Palm oil was a trade object obtained by Gashish from the Ayu people who lived fifteen kilometres south-west of Gashish.¹ Copper was rare but it did appear in the northern Birom areas. This, for the most part, came from the Irigwe. Farther north the Rukuba were getting copper and cowries from the Jere and Imo and winnowing trays from the Nchara.² The Irigwe also engaged in foodstuffs and livestock exchange between Kwall and Miango as well as importing grains and goats from nearby Cyel.

The villages of the plateau can thus be seen as producers and

1. Sciortino, op.cit., 'Some of the richest oil palm areas are situated along the broken country near the foot of the Bauchi Plateau, such as Ayu District near Jema'a.' p. 2.

2. JPP Lari Akusu, Zagon, 18/1/74, III, p. 185.

consumers within an area of extensive trade relations which were fitted to their needs. Surplus grain plus war captives were exchanged for horses to increase the wealth of the compound, while salt promoted its health. The outside ring of settlements, excluding the Birom, had commercial contact of some kind with the surrounding emirates. Some villages, such as Kwall and Miango, gained tremendously by this commercial advantage and became entrepôts of trade. Other ethnic groups like the Jere and the Rukuba did not seem to benefit greatly by their indirect ethnic contacts with the emirates despite the connections of the Rukuba with the Piti and the Jere with the village of Sanga. The small and scattered areas subservient to the emirates were of little economic importance. However, the Anaguta, broke away from Bauchi suzerainty and, using their Afusare and Ribina contacts, were able to serve as middle men for captives coming from the Birom and these were sent on to Bauchi. The Buji also rebelled in this case against Zaria, but they were now economically isolated in Kekon which they had occupied to avoid reconquest.

Military Relations

It is necessary now to turn to that aspect of the plateau societies that was most emphasized in colonial literature. It should be borne in mind that military relations were yet another form of contact between ethnic groups. Some mention has already been made of the settling of internal disputes in a village as well as the wider range of inter-village and inter-ethnic disputes.

Perhaps it would be of some value here to examine the effects of warfare on the social organization of the village.

As has been pointed out, there were two types of 'war', the first in which death would very rarely occur and classified as fights over property, wives, farms or hunting. The second was actual combat in which men were killed and heads taken. The former was generally between two settlements of the same ethnic group while the latter was usually between different ethnic groups.

The horse was most important for military engagement on the plateau. In combat, horse and rider acted in coordination with the horkmen. They would line up about twenty to fifty yards from the enemy and fire their missiles. The winner would be the side that did not retreat. This retreat usually took place when two or more warriors were killed. The battle formation quite often varied according to the propensity of a village to fight. For example, Min very often broke rank and charged the enemy and fought at close quarters. The Irigwe followed the same pattern. This perhaps contributed to the respect that these villages had in matters of war.

Another variation that occurred in warfare was the weaponry used. The horsemen always fought with spears while the footmen used the bow and arrow. Both weapons, however, were not necessarily universal. A broad belt of spear users only extended throughout the Biron and Ganawuri from the Gashish area to the south, up to but not including the Forum area to the east and the village of

Wuang to the west. North, beyond that point, all groups used bows and arrows and spears with the exception of Yuru which it has been noted was a refugee group together with Ganuwuri from Gwong Kwott.

The priest-chief's part in battle was invariably one of passivity. He blessed the warriors but never led them. Rim was an exception but this may have been mere bravado.¹ The priest-chief reinforced his authority in the community by his participation in time of war. It was he who either outlined the strategy to be used or more often gave the authority to the heroes to plan the battle. It was to the priest-chief that the credit for victory went and to him also went the human heads that were taken. He received them at times near the battlefield² and performed the necessary ritual with the elders there.

A word should be said here of the heroes. A 'hero' in warfare was not only one who was brave but also one who had magic powers to appear in the midst of the enemy and slay those around him without being seen. Among the Iriwe the sua who had these powers were therefore regarded as a type of witch. Such a person was not allowed to be a clan head. The Charge Kara and Caati were under a

1. Rim in this aspect of their oral history appeared to be more interested in their long standing dispute with Riyom. By the late 1800's Riyom had lost much of its prestige and Rim was the major military bastion. In the twentieth century Riyom was made the centre of the Birom again and Rim is still in Riyom district, and under the district capital of Riyom.
2. JEP Anaguta passin.

similar social pressure to keep their military power in check. Thus, they were not allowed to take power in the community by custom or by force. It should be pointed out here that these plateau societies were not subject to such 'incessant warfare' as to allow for a rise to power of a military class cutting across kinship lines. Inter-ethnic warfare, although seemingly frequent, in the overall view, was not prevalent if the history of individual societies is examined. Ties of kin and culture peacefully resolved more disputes than did warfare.

Conclusion

As the plateau societies entered the twentieth century, they had adapted sufficiently in the face of the forces around them to repel or absorb any element that entered their terrain. By no means isolated, these village chiefdoms and segmentary societies were inter-connected by ritual, trade and marriage, such bonds also extending at times beyond the plateau. These bonds, however, were not strong enough to halt inter-ethnic warfare but seem to have been of sufficient strength to maintain a balance in a village's relations with its neighbours.

Within the village, the political structure varied but on the whole, lines of social control were well laid down and obeyed. It was these political and social arrangements that gave a certain stability in the village with duties accorded to the deserving

elders or clan heads. It was such a structure that provided for a resistance to the hostile emirates around them - to the north, east and west - without endangering a social system that allowed an absorption of stray families, clans or even whole groups from another area.

To repel militarily was the primary means of resistance. However, quite often a village might simply absorb an incoming group that sought refuge. When neither resistance nor assimilation worked, another course would have to be adopted. The British could neither be finally resisted nor assimilated. Their arrival in the first decade of the twentieth century was a new phenomenon. Although invasions from the plains had occurred before, the rapid British conquest of the plateau using their military superiority opened a new chapter in Plateau history. Little in the past history of the plateau peoples prepared them to deal with these newcomers.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH MILITARY INVASION OF THE JOS
PLATEAU AND PLATEAU RESISTANCE (1902-1906)

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Jos Plateau peoples were successfully defending themselves against the raids of Bauchi, Zaria and the Ningi, a new imperial force was consolidating its position in southern Nigeria.¹ By the end of the century, this new British force, with the aid of a large trading concern - the Royal Niger Company² - had defeated her commercial competitors in the 'scramble' for commercial and political power in the lower and middle Niger. The British then prepared to move northward and conquer by force what was to become the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

The occupation of this protectorate - for the most part governed by the Sokoto Caliphate - was left to the newly appointed High Commissioner, Sir Frederick Lugard. Details of this conquest are of no concern here and can be found elsewhere.³ For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to learn what interest the Jos Plateau held for these invaders, what were the immediate effects of the British invasion and,

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1. For background on this area see: Anene, J. C., Southern Nigeria in Transition 1885-1906, 1966; Dike, K. Onwuka, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885, 1956; Flint, John E., Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, 1960; Jones, G. I., The Trading States of the Oil Rivers, 1963.
 2. Flint, op. cit.; Anene, op. cit.
 3. Adeleye, op. cit., passim; Muffet, D. J. M. Concerning Brave Captains, 1964.

finally, what means of resistance did the plateau peoples employ to maintain what they had defended so zealously throughout the nineteenth century, in the face of the jihadists.

The Niger Company played a direct role in the rapidity with which the Jos Plateau was reached by British forces, although the conquest of the Jos Plateau as part of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate was inevitable. The company was attracted to Northern Nigeria and, specifically, the Jos Plateau, by the abundance of tin ore that was thought to be there. Since 1887, agents of the Royal Niger Company had been obtaining tin ore from Bauchi Emirate¹ and, at the same time, attempting to find the source of this mineral.² This trade was never really pursued by the company, due to the problems of transport between Ibi and Bauchi, the troubles Bauchi was having with its rebellious areas, and, most importantly, the rapid fall in the price of tin on the world market. In 1899, the Royal Niger Company charter was revoked by the British Government. However, Sir George Goldie,³ the company chairman, did not relinquish the Niger Company's mineral rights. He obtained a half share of all mineral royalties collected by the British in Northern Nigeria and, in this way, freed the company of any risks in what was considered a speculative venture in an unknown area.

With strong pressure from the Niger Company in London for

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1. Zweifel to Royal Niger Company, London, April 13, 1887
Extracts from Coast Letters re New Products (Collection of United Africa Company, U.A.C. Building, London).
 2. Calvert, A. F., Nigeria and Its Tin Fields, London, 1910, p. 14.
 3. Flint, op. cit., passim.

prospecting licences, Lugard quickly drafted a mineral ordinance for Northern Nigeria in 1902. The British prospecters virtually shadowed the British military forces into Northern Nigeria for, less than two months after the fall of Bauchi Emirate in February 1902, a mining expedition was in Keffi on its way north. The location of the tin deposits was soon narrowed down to the area around Badiko (twenty-five kilometres north-east of Maraguta) and rich alluvial deposits were found by Niger Company agents in the Delimi River. The first attempt at a penetration of the Jos plateau by the Europeans was made, significantly, by a tin prospector. In 1902, R. C. Nicolaus of the Niger Company followed the Delimi River upstream to look for mineral deposits. He reached the Maza valley¹ and the north-east edge of the plateau. Here he turned back, deterred by the Afusare and Anaguta awaiting him or as Laws puts it "by pagan horsemen massed on the crest of the Flat Topped Hill and silhouetted against the setting sun."²

On his return to London with his samples, it was found that this high grade ore would fetch £73 per ton without smelting. It was so free of metallic impurities that it could be purified by washing. Even mining in a rough manner and with a lack of easy transport to the Niger-Benue rivers the 'possibilities and capabilities are great.'³ Nicolaus then advised the Niger company to wait until the country was

1. Maza was a secluded valley heavily farmed by the Anaguta.

JPP Anaguta 13/7/73, III p. 27.

2. Vitoria, J. L., op. cit., p. 104.

3. Annual Reports: Northern Nigeria 1900-11 No. 409, 1902, p. 128.

in a more settled condition than at present, because for the time being, no attempt was being made to subdue these highlands.¹ Scarborough, however, felt that such a delay was not necessary, and in 1903 sent a further expedition under H. W. Laws, this time to actually set up a viable mining concern on the Jos Plateau.

It is essential, however, to look a bit more closely at the British presence in Bauchi, and how the resultant expectation of the tin miners to rapid access to the tin fields affected the plateau. In order to gain a clear perspective of British military policy, plateau resistance and how these two forces affected the Jos Plateau, a number of the military expeditions to the plateau will be examined below. Due to the differing interest groups, these expeditions can be classified into three categories; British government expansion, tin interests and consolidation of the conquest. These categories cannot be separated from each other, as government and tin mining interests very often coincided. Although the British military action in the villages they visited will be mentioned, stress must be laid on the reaction of these villages to the intruders, the presence or absence of militant resistance and the short term effect on the villages. The seeds of change will thus be observed, when and where they fell in the initial stages of British presence on the Jos Plateau; and the long term effect of these changes can then be dealt with in later chapters.

1. Royal Niger Company Papers, 1888-30. Rhodes House, MSS Afr. s. 85. Proceedings of the 23rd Ordinary General Meeting July 17, 1903, p. 3.

The British Invasion and its Effects

Initially, the most obvious aspect to the plateau peoples of the British expansion onto the Jos Plateau was the way in which it followed the pattern of the jihadist forces of the nineteenth century. Based in Zaria and Bauchi, with Nigerian soliders and usually guided by a Hausa man, the British forces appeared to the plateau peoples as yet another alien invader in the same pattern as the century before.¹ In effect, British forces were attempting to expand their conquests, not for the good of the emirates, but for themselves and, later, for the tin miners. For the Jos Plateau peoples, this meant four years of British expansionist expeditions as well as a series of follow-up expeditions to 'consolidate' what had been conquered.

Soon after the submission of Bauchi to the Lower Bornu Expedition under Col. T. L. Morland on February 15, 1902, Resident C. L. Temple began to reach beyond the city to lands that lay within and without the emirate. His first sortie southwestwards met the Jarawa people of Dass who were independent of emirate control.² He sent messengers to the chiefs informing them that 'the white man came as a friend' and that he would be pleased to receive them.³ The results of Temple's efforts were not in the least encouraging, as he received a reply which he considered impertinent from the chief of one of the Jarawa villages of Dot. One of the

1. JPP Forum village, 14/1/73 I, p. 14.

2. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 38 Bauchi Report February 1902. Fig. 6 in the back cover envelope shows the areas affected by the British expeditions.

3. Ibid.

messengers he had sent was beaten. By April, however, Dass had sent some men to work on the fort in Bauchi, and Temple, with such encouraging signs was optimistic. 'I think that I shall be able shortly to administer the whole of the Pagan district to the S.W. of Bauchi without resorting to punitive expeditions.'¹

Barely two months after Bauchi was taken, the tin prospectors had begun to arrive. Despite the rains which inhibited prospecting, Temple felt it necessary to investigate the south-west corner of Bauchi emirate anew where the mines were most likely to be. His only report on this area was that it was hostile; however, this communication he largely discounted as he had heard the same about the Dass people and they 'have nearly all come in.'² If they were hostile, however, Temple would have to carry out his operations quite quickly because he realized that the miners would wish to commence prospecting when the rainy season was over. He had clearly taken it upon himself to assist the miners with a plan to provide a guard of fifty men and a white officer if necessary for their prospecting expeditions. A tour was probably in order to assess the new area but an armed escort was obviously beyond Temple's responsibility and Lugard noted to Temple that 'the only reasons you should be in the prospecting area is to meet Abadie and Mason, not to tour for the prospectors' and again, 'Clearly understand that you are not responsible for their safety. Their risks are their own once you have warned them.'³

1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 39 Bauchi Report April 3, 1902.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Temple began his tour of this unconquered area by going to consolidate Dass and, in fact, had plans to secure the whole of the hill country.¹ He met the chief of Dot and felt he was 'a very sensible chief who I think would be the man to make chief of all the hills if that should prove feasible.'² Already Temple was looking beyond the local chief to a ruler over a wider area of jurisdiction. This search for paramount chiefs on the plateau was to continue throughout the whole period of this study, for it was a basic part of the British policy of Indirect Rule. From the Dot Jarawa he extracted the promise of non-interference with travellers, free trade and no cattle raids on the Fulani. He then returned to Bauchi.

By the fourth week in April 1902, heading a patrol of forty soldiers, Temple was on his way to the south-west again, this time not to 'tour for the miners' but to further expand British influence in the Bauchi emirate. He proceeded to Lirue-n-Delma on April 25, where he was told that an ethnic group in the hills close by, called the Jengre, had taken two Fulani slaves.³ They described the Jengre (actually Jere) as cattle raiders and highwaymen, a charge which the Jere willingly accepted.⁴ Temple, or 'Dogon Lamba' as he was known by the plateau people, sent for the chiefs of the villages in the rocks. Banga and Gusu, both subordinates of Bauchi, readily came and most probably received a display of European firepower which was a common

1. Ibid.

2. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 40 Bauchi Report, April-June 1902.

3. Ibid. Report on tour of April 22 to May 21, 1902.

4. JPP Tocha Padu, Jere, 18/7/73, IV, p. 86.

procedure when the British arrived in a new village area. It was this exhibition that so frightened the small groups of Limoro and Kurama that they refused to come down to meet the European.¹ The elders of Chokobo had already predicted his arrival by their contact with Sanga, who in turn obtained the information because of their trade and tribute contact with Bauchi.

Sanga sent word to Jere that they should not fight, and Temple sent a messenger to tell the Jere chief that he (Temple) wished to visit his town. The messenger was sent away. The Jere obviously were not going to allow a force that had proceeded from Bauchi, the centre of hostile actions towards them in the past, to come to Jere without a struggle.

Moving into the uplands, Temple went through Sanga to Gusu. It was in Gusu that he made the first political change in traditional government, a change that would be repeated in other settlements on the plateau. As he was proceeding to the area of Gusu, the head of Ebo, a man called Dukuru met him, and Temple and his force set up camp near his compound. Dukuru was then made the Ogwomo of Gusu settlement, which was made up of two clans, Ebo and Rini.² From here, Temple again sent a message to the Jere, which was ignored. His presence in Gusu was already well know, for the elders of Jere who normally associated with the Gusu elders had carried the news to Jere.³ Presumably, they also carried back information about the European

1. JPP Limoro village 20/7/73, IV, p. 101.

2. JPP Gusu village 21/7/73 IV, p. 117. See Chapter II. p. 77.

3. JPP Jere village 23/7/73 IV, p. 138.

weapons that had been displayed in Sanga, but the Jere do not appear to have been particularly impressed.

Being thus forewarned, the Jere came out to meet the British force which had left Gusu and was approaching their settlement. In three groups of two to three hundred each, the mounted Jere advanced in a flanking movement on the British force. A few shots were fired but these were not enough to dissuade the Jere advance. Consequently, Temple's force retired to a ridge and commenced volley firing at the two groups in the front until they began to disperse. Then, turning their guns eastwards, the same procedure was followed until the third group retired.¹ Temple reports that the number of Jere killed was sixty-five, which it should be noted was a massive number of casualties when compared to the casualties of the Bauchi raids and inter-ethnic warfare that had previously taken place.²

The following day, the British force advanced on Jere village. They met some resistance, which they dispersed to the caves and rocks,³ and the Ugwomo's house and several houses in the village were burnt. However, Temple did not feel he had done enough and feared that any leniency he might have shown 'would certainly be construed by the natives as a sign of fear'⁴, despite the fact that the Jere had scattered to their caves in the west and as far south as Gurrum, to take shelter from the invasion. Thus, Temple returned again

1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 40 op. cit.

2. See Chapter II. passim.

3. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 40 op. cit.

4. Ibid.

the next day and burned more compounds of the Jere until the Ogwomo, Masamu, came to them. From him, Temple demanded the Madaki (Mai Dawaki), who was considered not only the instigator of resistance but also a horse thief. This latter epithet obviously came from biased Fulani sources in Lerui-n-Delma. It is perhaps significant that Temple relates that the Jere 'pagan' 'has encroached upon the territory of the Fulani',¹ an incorrect observation, considering the origin of the Jere and their attempts to survive in the hills free from the suzerainty of Bauchi or Zaria. Temple also appeared greatly surprised by the resistance to the British, stating:

My experience at Jengre [Jere] has shown me that one cannot count on always taking the natives in a reasonable frame of mind and I consider that an escort of twenty-five soldiers, some of them Hausas is required to enable the Resident to travel in safety in any part of this Province.²

Temple moved his forces to Tilden Fulani and to Gustig, an Afusare settlement in the Shere Hills, where he met no resistance. It is likely that Temple made contact with the Anaguta at this time. They lived in the western section of the Shere Hills and claimed that Temple came from the north.³ The Anaguta claim that they never fought him as they had heard the European was 'very strong'. Presumably, rumours of his 'strength' may have come from Gurrum, a village related to the Anaguta, and to which the Jere had fled after Temple's invasion of Jere. Seeds of change were again introduced

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. JPP Anaguta, passim, pp. 1-56.

as the man who met the Europeans first, Ademe of Andoho, was made 'chief' of the Anaguta. Although Ademe was a Pozo Gbou and had some claim to traditional authority, a chief had been made where there had been no chief before.¹ The Anabor clan mentions that the Europeans met Babel of Anabor as well as Ademe and 'gave them both cloth.' This was in later years to become the major source of conflict. However, in 1902 it was neither recognized, nor even noticed, by the plateau people that the Europeans were searching for a political authority through whom to rule.

Temple then moved on to Badiko where Ajang, chief of Fobur (an Afusare settlement), met him and swore allegiance to the white man. Fobur was already paying tribute to Bauchi at that time.² Temple's only source of anxiety among the Afusare were the people of Shere village, who had defeated a jihadist force from Bauchi before the British arrival. Temple sent a policeman to Shere village for the purpose of commanding the chief to appear before him. Fobur had reported that Shere had been taunting Fobur with charges of cowardice for not fighting the white man. Temple thus determined to do battle with Shere as soon as Captain Monck-Mason's forces were available. By this action, he would subdue the peoples of the northern and north eastern edge of the plateau.

After receiving word that the policeman he sent had been killed, Temple sent to Monck-Mason³ for reinforcements. Those towns

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1. JPP Jatau Tunu, Andoho clan, Anaguta, 14/7/73, III, p. 40.
 2. JPP Aware Sha, Fobur, 11/12/73, V, p. 68.
 3. Monck-Mason's forces had already made their presence felt with a tin mining expedition. See below Chapter IV. pp. 172-174.

already visited in the area, Anaguta, Buji, Fobur and Gustig immediately sent messages affirming their subservience to the British and condemning Shere's action. On the 27th of May, Monck-Mason arrived with sixty soldiers and this force advanced on Shere accompanied by Dr. Lewer, a tin prospector. As was later to happen in Ganawuri, the young men jeered at the weapons of the white man and Temple felt that 'a lesson must be driven home for them.'¹ The village was burnt and a reported one hundred and thirty men were killed and as Lugard puts it 'as is the custom of the pagans, they agreed that we were the stronger and came in and made submission.'² The expedition then proceeded via the newly acquired Dass, back to Bauchi.

Just as in the nineteenth century, hostile forces were wending their way from Zaria and parts of the Zaria emirate towards the western side of the plateau. In March 1902, Lieutenant R. P. Nicholson led a force of two hundred and fifty rank and file into the southern Zaria emirate against the previously unconquered Kaje and Kadara peoples. He arrogantly noted that the punitive expedition brought home to the hill tribes the fact that raiding and murder were punishable offences which brought retribution.³ He also makes a remark which

1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 40, Report on tour of May 23-June 3.

2. Annual Reports op. cit., p. 64.

3. This observation by Nicholson assumes that those 'hill tribes' subject to these punitive expeditions realized that their raids were punishable offences in British law and that the retribution levied by the British was punishment for these offences. This was not the case and expeditions were seen by the Plateau peoples as yet another threat to their security and sovereignty.

very early characterized the expeditions on the Jos Plateau.

The full effect [of the expeditions] however was not realized because military action could not be followed by effective occupation and administration.¹

In May 1903, he wrote again of the unsettled state of the emirate of Zaria with the white man sitting in Zaria while break-away movements occurred on the emirate's perimeter.² The interest of the British occupation forces was mainly in the affairs of the capital Zaria especially the accession of the new Emir Aliyu³. In addition, a shortage of staff meant touring was next to impossible. However, expeditions were not impossible and once more Nicholson proceeded farther east to Lere, Tude and reached Amo, an independent 'pagan' town.⁴ The Amo had been accused of raiding by the Resident of Bauchi, an accusation that was quickly confirmed by Lere and Tude. More concrete evidence was forthcoming from two Fulani men who stated that some of their cattle had been stolen a few days previously,⁵ a charge which the Amo would be the last to deny⁶ since they had been in almost continuous seige by the Fulani for fifty years or more. Nicholson and his force entered both Amo hamlets finding first hostility and then an orderly retreat in the face of the British force. Nicholson

1. Lugard Papers, Rhodes House, British Empire, s.62. Report for Gadas - Kaje Expedition by R. P. Nicholson.

2. Ibid.

3. Smith, M. G., op. cit., p. 203.

4. Lugard Papers, op. cit.

5. Ibid.

6. JPP Amo village, Passim, IV.

moved on, and the Amo returned as soon as they had left.¹ This was not interpreted by the Amo as punishment for their offences.

The Rukuba were next. Temple had narrowly escaped being attacked by them a few months² earlier, and Nicholson now decided to penetrate the area with his larger force. However, he was only able to make contact with a few villages, including Kishi Nchara and Baudi,³ the former already having been conquered by Zaria and paying a tribute through the Piti.⁴ The Piti at that time were giving seven horses as tribute, while Kishi Nchara gave two. In Piti those were collected and presented to Zaria by the Ures who fulfilled a function similar to the Rit in Pyem and was, in this case, the Zaria representative in Piti.⁵ Because of this Zaria connection, Nicholson was welcomed by Asagaki, Utu of Kishi Nchara. When Nicholson asked the Utu of Kishi Uzel to meet him, however, the Utu refused, due to Nicholson's Zaria connection. Kishi Uzel, safely ensconced on a hill just east of Kishi Nchara, had not been conquered by Zaria and felt Nicholson had come to extend Zaria's conquests. Nicholson bombarded the town⁶ and, turning southward, he visited Piti and returned to Zaria. The greater area of the Rukuba, including the villages of Opwara and Kikala, had yet to be visited.

1. Lugard Papers, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. Oral evidence of his arrival in Kishi Nchara is shown below, but the settlement of Baudi I was unable to identify.

4. JPP Dankala Amawa, Kishi Nchara. 20/1/74, III, p. 206.

5. Personal communication with J. J. Chalifoux, Dept. of Anthropology, University de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, see Chapter II, p. 82, fn. 4.

6. JPP Dankala Amawa, op. cit., III, p. 206.

In Bauchi, for the remainder of 1902 and most of 1903, Temple was content to leave the plateau free of expeditionary probes, feeling that the area was not big enough to bother about until absolutely necessary. After all, the Jere were now trading freely with the Bilani and the representative from Shere and Fobur had come in to see about taxes.¹ By late 1903, he was expressing more apprehension about the situation in Burmi, and its effects on the Bauchi garrison,² than about the plateau.

Concerning the plateau, Temple's only real worry was the Rukuba people, who could not be approached by the neighbouring groups who feared them. He was not, however, going to repeat the difficult experiences he had had with Jere by going there with a small escort. The Jos Plateau, then, was not one of Temple's immediate concerns, ill-equipped as he was to patrol the area. Thus, he contented himself with attempting to improve the British administration in Bauchi, not knowing that he was about to be pushed to take action on behalf of British tin prospectors who were interested in the tin-rich plateau.

Mining Interests and Their Invasion

The tin prospectors were totally in favour of the expansion of the 'emirates' sway over the tin fields, for obvious reasons. However, they wanted more effort than the government seemed willing to expend

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1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 42 Bauchi Monthly Report for September, 1902.
 2. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 55 Dass Expeditions 1903. The town of Burmi, led by the Caliph of Sokoto, Attahiru, was the site of ferocious resistance to the British conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903. See Adeleye, op. cit., pp. 288-313 for details.

on a conquest of the plateau. Although Ingard states in his Annual Report for 1902 that 'some time' after June a prospecting party arrived and visited the Jos Plateau with an escort,¹ Temple stated that they came just two days after he had completed his first tour of the area. He reports on May 23, 1902, that a tin expedition under Mr. Provis and Captain Monck-Mason had gone through Tilden Fulani and on to Buji, a village which Temple had passed through without incident after defeating the Jere. Buji informants acknowledge that 'Dogon Lamba' came through Buji, which, having heard what had happened to the Jere, were not about to undertake militant resistance against an obviously superior force. Passing through Gurrum, Monck-Mason legitimized another Ogomo, this time Sambo of Gurrum. Up to that time Gurrum had played off Amo and Buji against each other as to which of these two would obtain Gurrum's allegiance. When the founders of Gurrum, the Onoberte clan, arrived they had stayed with the Amo then settled in the rocks of Gurrum together with Buji; thus both Amo and Buji felt they had a legitimate claim. When the Anikitu clan under Sambo arrived in Gurrum village. late in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Sambo was trying to establish Gurrum independence from both Amo and Buji.² The British accomplished this for him. When Monck-Mason arrived, Sambo met him and took him to other villages in the area and explained to them why the white man had come.³

1. Annual Reports, op. cit., p. 64.

2. JPP Jemaka Jogol, Gurrum, 1/8/73, IV, pp. 204-205.

3. JPP Gurrum village, 28/7/73, IV, p. 157.

His action thus made it impossible for the other village chiefs to take any punitive measures¹ and also made Sambo, Ogomo of the area. To the Plateau peoples tin or government interests were one and to the extent that both wanted a conquest of the Jos plateau this was true. The only difference appeared in the rate of conquest. The tin miners were not prepared to delay and any hope the government may have had for "peaceful penetration" was quickly lost.

Nicolaus had returned to London to report to the Niger Company during the twenty-third Ordinary General Meeting of July 17, 1903 and stated that considerable profits could be made but advised also that little more could be done other than securing the recommended areas and waiting for some months until the country was in a more settled condition.² With the dry season approaching Scarborough felt there was no time for delay and by September an engineer, H. W. Laws, was on his way from Western Australia to undertake an expedition into the Northern Nigerian tin fields and set up actual tin production.³

By late November 1903, Laws had arrived on the Niger Company lease and had begun buying tin from the labourers recruited in Toro, Tilden Fulani and Badiko. He and his assistant, T. Lowry, were greatly dependent on Lerui-n-Delma smelters to process the ore. Within two weeks of their arrival, the Niger Company agents had secured six hundred and seven pounds of tin smelted but already Lerui-n-Delma

1. Ames, op. cit., p. 104.

2. Royal Niger Company, Rhodes House, op. cit.

3. Diary of H. W. Laws, Rhodes House, MSS. Afr. s. 888.

was complaining of the presence of this new competition and they threatened to close down the smelter to the European.¹ Laws in turn complained to Bauchi, Tilden Fulani and Toro about this but there are no details of the exact nature of the complaint nor of the remedy. Nevertheless the smelting continued.

By mid-December, Laws had gone up on the Jos highlands and made contact with the Afusare settlement of Joss and met the Gwom of Zawan to whom he showed the use of the rifle. Zawan informants acknowledge this and say that Laws came with Hausa bodyguards. He was met by three Jeks who spoke some Hausa and he was made welcome to Zawan. The reaction in Du was somewhat different however and this provided fertile ground for future disputes between Zawan and Du. The Gwom of Du, Chung Donyap fled in fear from the European and Zawan was recognized by the European as being the spokesman for both villages a situation which had not occurred before.²

The two different reactions to the strangers in Du and Zawan also affected their internal political systems. Zawan put forward a member of the Gwom Kwit's clan named Bareya³ and he was, from Zawan's point of view, to look after European (Nasara) affairs and to be called Gwom Nasara. At the same time, Zi Dung who was Gwom Kwit of Zawan would carry on as before. Thus there were two different understandings

1. Ibid.

2. JPP Zawan Village, 11/8/73, II, p. 171.

3. Ibid., II, p. 172.

of who the political leader of Zawan was, one by the Europeans and one by Zawan itself. As will be shown, this misunderstanding was common on the plateau and led in later times to administrative problems.¹ Du presented a different picture however. Although the village had sent someone, probably the Jek, to meet the European and find out what he wanted, the head of the village, Chung Duryap, remained unchanged. Both Du and the Europeans recognized the Gwom Kwit of Du as the Gwom Masara.

Attempting to trace the source of the tin-laden Gimpi River, Laws moved east to Fobur where he found the people disagreeable and they complained that his carriers had killed three of their goats.² However, he moved on northward without incident eventually finding the source of the river at the foot of the Shere hills.

On such tours, Laws soon learned that Gyel, the Ganawuri and the Irigwe were not ready to submit peacefully to his forces. By early February, the Joss people (Afusare) sent a delegation to Laws to complain of Gyel's hostile actions and convey Gyel threats of violence against the British. By late May 1904, all work in Joss and Zawan-Gyel area, the latter known to the British as Bukuru, had to be stopped as the Niger Company employees had been driven from Joss by the Joss and Gyel people,³ this incident showing a sudden change of allegiance by the Joss people. Because of this, Laws was

1. See Chapter V. pp. 224-232.

2. Diary of H. W. Laws, op. cit.

3. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 62, Bauchi Report 1904.

forbidden to go to any part of the concession where he might meet an unfriendly reception.¹

It should be said on closer observation that in this area of what is now Bukuru there was still a great deal of unrest caused by the repercussions of the Gyel migrants trying to find a permanent settlement. Having just occupied a settlement in the Irigwe area at Langyel, they were now being pushed eastwards by the Irigwe into Zawan's sphere of influence where they were not particularly welcome. Although Zawan treated the new-comers very paternally² and Gyel resented this, conflict was avoided for two reasons. Although the Gyel force was militarily aggressive having been tempered by their conflict, with the Irigwe, conflict with Zawan was unlikely due to the preponderance in numbers of the Zawan population backed by their allies from Du and Forum. Secondly both Gyel and Zawan were part of the Bengai Birom migration³ and although Zawan was not effusive in welcoming Gyel they at least co-existed with each other with only a few minor flare-ups.

To the west, however, the Irigwe were still hostile towards Gyel. The initial combat with Gyel had arisen over a serious smallpox epidemic, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for which Gyel

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1. Royal Niger Company, Rhodes House, op. cit., 1905 report.
 2. JPP Dahwol Bali, Gyel village, 19/8/73, II, p. 265. Gyel informants remark that when they came as 'strangers' to settle, they cooked beer and invited Zawan to come. Zawan indeed came and seized goats a practice which they continued, as 'owners of the soil' well into the twentieth century.
 3. See Chapter II, pp 62-68.

was blamed,¹ and disputes over farmland, a conflict that Irigwe accused Gyel of always initiating. Thus, faced with Irigwe, Zawan and occasional Afusare skirmishes, Gyel might be expected to be truculent to any new force that came into its area.

It was in this situation that Laws found himself. Faced with disruptions which were repercussions of these Irigwe-Gyel disputes - it being the beginning of the farming season - Laws realized his force was too small to take and hold what he knew to be the tin-rich areas between Joss and Zawan, and so applied to Lugard for assistance in the form of more troops. Lugard was not enamoured of yet more expeditions, but after pressure from Laws,² and even more persuasion from Lord Scarborough,³ a company of the First Battalion was sent to open a direct route from the tin mines to Loko (via Keffi) on the Benue,⁴ a measure that was quite beyond the peaceful penetration previously advocated by Lugard, and also unnecessary, as there were adequate trade routes already via Katab and Jema'a. However, interest in tin had added a new weight to the balance between conquest and peaceful persuasion, and the former would now take precedence.

Commanding a company of the First Battalion, complete with a machine gun, was Captain Gallagher, and accompanying him was the requisite political officer,⁵ Webster, Resident of Nassarawa Province, and

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1. JPP Gyel village, 16/8/73, II, p. 232.
 2. Archbold, R. A., Rhodes House, MSS Afr. s. 141, Early Memories of the Nigerian Plateau, p. 3.
 3. Vitoria, J. L. "A Tin Mining Anniversary in Jos" Nigerian Field, 19(3), July, 1954, p. 112.
 4. PRO CO 446/45 345 Wallace to CO July, 27, 1905.
 5. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 476, 1904, p. 331.

G. F. Phillips, Assistant Resident of Bauchi Province who joined the expedition at Darroro. Webster, apparently, had received orders from Lugard to turn back if opposition was met 'whereas Captain Gallagher, a fine soldier, on asking the G. O. C. what he would do in that event, was told that he could go home if he did anything of the sort.'¹

By such actions are men considered manly and it should not be surprising that Webster proceeded with the expedition through to the north side of the plateau despite the opposition. For Laws, who guided the expedition this was his opportunity to trace the shortest route for transport purposes as well as to effectively subvert those peoples on the plateau most resistant to his activities. He thus said little about the Ganawuri, Gyel and Assobs (Sop) who were in the path of the direct route he wanted.

Advancing from the south-west in early November, the British force, by November 10, was in the vicinity of the Ganawuri as Laws had planned. Their first contact was with Ganawuri's eastern ally Kwakwi who were harvesting their crops. The expedition requested foodstuffs which the Kwakwi refused to give and a struggle ensued. Kwakwi, shouting that 'meat' had come to them, advanced on the patrol fearlessly. After all, this enemy was armed only with 'sticks' while they had spears.² Two miles to the north-west and on the same scarp, the Ganawuri heard the Kwakwi shouts but came too late to assist their

1. Vitoria, op. cit., p. 112.

2. JPP Da Gyang Kit, Ganawuri village 24/8/73, IV, p. 268.

allies.¹ In the ensuing battle, over one hundred Kwakwi were reported killed.

The company then preceeded north-east to Vwang where they were greeted as conquerors, given food and generally welcomed to the village.² At this time Vwang's relationship with the Ganawuri, particularly in regard to farmland was not friendly.³ It is interesting to note that despite Vwang's military prestige and preponderant population they did not resist the Europeans when they arrived. In fact, Vwang and Turu initially had taken up their weapons to resist their intrusion; however, the company's guide quickly dissuaded them from such a measure by telling them what had happened to the Kwakwi. His warning had an additional impact as he was Dachung Mancha from Chugi, a section of greater Vwang, who had been a slave freed in one of the emirates in 'Hausaland' and brought by the Europeans as a guide.⁴

Travelling east north-east the force passed near Kuru and set up camp at Zawan. Here it received a full account of all the evils that the people of Gyel had perpetrated. Phillips, having already heard of Gyel's threats against Laws, was determined to arrest the

1. JPP Dandong Fai, Ganawuri village, 23/8/73, IV, p. 243.

2. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 62, ou. cit.

3. JPP Vwang, III, passim. Vwang like many other Biroms, called them Jal or cannibals, a charge not denied. See JPP Ganawuri village, 24/8/73, IV, p. 269. Vwang had little contact with them as they were greatly feared.

4. JPP Nwankwon Davou, Ful village, 28/8/73, II, p. 110.

chief of Gyel. He sent Gwom Zawam to call the Gwom Gyel,¹ presumably to arrest him. Gwom Gyel, Ja Mang, refused to leave Gyel and so it was decided that a more forceful solution was necessary.

The Company formed a square near the town of Gyel on the south-east side. The political officer, Webster, made an attempt to meet peacefully with the Gwom according to orders laid down by Lugard. In this, however, he failed for he was not even allowed to enter the village. He ultimately withdrew from all discussions as to what should be done. Apparently not wishing to see the Gyel people remain a threat to the mining enterprise, Laws went into the town with an escort, against all the rules of customary plateau warfare, and took Ja Mang back to the square. Gyel horsemen converged from both sides of the village and charged the square. The British paused, then opened fire. As Laws remarked

It was a fine charge, taking them up to close quarters with our men, and it was only their frightened horses that stopped what might have been, to us, a costly melee.²

The Gyel women and children fled to Gyel's ally Kuru and after the first day of battle, the men joined them there. Phillips now demanded of Kuru that the other Gyel chief be handed over, being under the mistaken impression that there were indeed two. Phillips

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1. JPP Pam Doji, Gyel village, 16/8/73, II, p. 239.
 2. Vitoria, op. cit., p. 113. As Gyel puts it, in song,

'Why do you want to seize my land?
Do not laugh at the Birom.
Do not fight me in my father's land.
You said you would drive us? No!'

See JPP, Gyel village, II, p. 271.

demands for the chief were either ignored or what is more likely, misunderstood. Instead Kuru sent adult males to the British believing apparently, that the British were after slaves. Finally Phillips resolved to proceed to Kuru which he did on November 16th. Phillips sent for the Gwom of Kuru, and while he waited the Gyel people began making their way back to Gyel. Deciding that the Gwom Kuru was not coming Phillips commented 'having waited half an hour, I requested Captain Callagher to attack and burn the town.'¹ Kuru was greatly surprised by this action and felt that the Europeans opened fire for no reason. However, cognizant of what had happened to the Gwom of Gyel, the Gwom of Kuru, Bos Dung, fled from the town with all his people until the patrol had finished burning the village and had departed.²

Retiring to Zawan, the Company found the villagers extremely pleased by what had occurred and they were told that if they had any further trouble with Gyel, to send a messenger to the Resident. The Gyel people were not slow in suspecting that the Zawan people had recruited the newcomers to help them against Gyel.³ The British forces had thus assisted two villages Vwang and Zawan against their enemies and learned that alliances of shared interests also meant shared enemies.⁴

1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 62, op. cit.

2. JPP Mandung Sukudu, Kuru village, 26/2/73, II, p. 70.

3. JPP Dahwol Bali, Gyel village, 19/8/73, II, p. 265.

4. Vitoria op. cit., p. 113.

The Afusare of Joss having seen the carnage that the European guns brought, were soon cowed and their Ogwomo reported to the patrol that he had only been obeying orders from Gyel. The force moved on to the Tilden Fulani mining camp with presumably a peaceful plateau behind them. Their prisoner, Ja Mang, committed suicide there by self-starvation or poisoning. Gyel, of course, could not know this, and there was a considerable interregnum in the village before a new Gwom was chosen because Ja Mang had not been proven to the satisfaction of Gyel to be dead.¹

Thus a corridor had been opened by the British armed forces for the tin miners. One long term benefit for the miners was that the 'hostile peoples' of the plateau would now fear these newcomers looking for tin.² To Laws this meant that the plateau was now safe to any prospector or trader but the total effect was three years of intermittent expeditions that terrorized the area sufficiently for tin miners to stake their claims.

Phillips' account of this expedition cannot be put aside without touching on the comments of High Commissioner Lugard on his report. His withering sarcasm and obvious rebuke of the actions taken seem to set the standard of what the official government attitude should have been.

On the subject of burning towns, which the expedition had done extensively, Lugard expressed strong disapproval and claimed to be

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1. JPP Dung Kwa, Gyel village, 18/8/73, II, p. 259.
 2. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 62, op. cit.

very averse to town burning expressing the belief that 'they [have] suffered enough casualties.'¹ In reply to Phillips' 'foolproof' method of dealing with the aggressive Gyel by driving them from the country, he asks bitinglly if Phillips thought to enquire what country they belonged to.² Lugard's most telling thrust occurred when he commented on the arrest of the Gwom of Gyel which he felt was ill-advised. The expedition had acted on Zawan's reports and in the margin opposite the Gwom's capture, Lugard pencilled 'a mere hearsay and for no specific offence and before administrative control had even been established.'³

From Lugard's last comment, the most important aspect of the British invasion of the Jos Plateau had been stated. Three years after the conquest of Bauchi emirate, administrative control had not been established on the high plateau. It seems to have been left in the ambitious hands of Niger Company officials to 'pacify' those areas they thought important.⁴ However, more expeditions were yet to come before the Jos Plateau would be considered subservient to the new order from Bauchi. Beyond this area, eastwards and southwards, among other 'pagan' people of Northern Nigeria, every year would bring an annual civil disruption of some description until 1929.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Naturally in his Annual Report No. 446, 1904, p. 256, Lugard speaks only of the strenuous efforts of the political officers to maintain peaceful relations.

4. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 551, 1906-07, p. 493.

Attempts at Military Consolidation

Beyond the immediate areas now conquered by the tin interests were areas yet to be "pacified" and re-visited to fully establish British ^{governmental} serainty - be it for \angle or tin interests. By 1905, the two were linked for all interests and purposes, the Government now policing the mine fields and 'protecting' the tin miners from the indigenes. Protection also had to be extended to the communication route for supplies, mail, and new prospectors and this meant further expeditions.

In the early part of 1905, not long after the Phillips patrol of the preceding year, Resident Temple left Bauchi with fifty-two rank and file. This force proceeded due south of Bauchi, via Lere and Pyem both Bauchi subordinates and on to the lands occupied by the Sura and the Birom.¹ This expedition was undertaken in order to open a direct route from Bauchi to Keffi via Lere for the Royal Mail. There was no difficulty for the force in Pyem as Bauchi had sent word that the British patrol was coming.² However, eleven kilometres beyond Pyem the expedition met its first opposition. The mounted Sura, who had defeated a jihadist force also coming from Bauchi in the nineteenth century,³ attacked the expedition and were repulsed. They were pursued to their villages of Kумыen and Kereng which were burnt. There is no record of further contact. However, Lugard in

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1. MAK SNP 15/1 No. 94 Bauchi Operations 1905. Much as Yakubu had done some seventy years previously.
 2. JPP Matto Dakat, Gindiri, 14/12/73, V, p. 88.
 3. See Chapter II. p. 83.

his Annual Report of 1904 states that 'friendly relations were soon established after the initial trial of strength.'¹ The Sura were conclusively defeated with sixty Sura reported dead. It is difficult to see how their attitude towards the British could be seen as friendly. Kereng for example was very hostile towards any large force coming from the direction of Bauchi and aided by the Pyem people. Under the leadership of a fearsome Mishkahan Kum (political and religious chief) named Jebnuan, they were especially hostile.² The village of Kereng refused to listen to 'peaceful' entreaties and attacked.³ Their forces were eventually dispersed by the superior weapons of the British and they suffered a high number of casualties. Jebnuan himself was taken and eventually executed.⁴ In addition to this, the Pyem who had accompanied the expedition looted the Sura village.

Birom villages were still presenting problems. The messengers sent to Kassa were chased out by spearmen. Although warned by a trader from Rangai in Pyem not to resist the British forces, the Kassa army came out of their village to test the British patrols. Apparently they had taken the rumours of this new foe's firepower to heart and drove their dwarf cattle in front of them for protection.⁵

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1. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 446, 1904, p. 256.
 2. JPP Gimba Kelaham, Kereng 15/12/73, V. p. 103.
 3. JPP Kereng village, 15/12/73, V, p. 88.
 4. Ibid. p. 103 and 106. Among the Sura the Mishkahan Kum led in time of war and Jebnuan was considered by Kereng informants to be exceptionally brave and aggressive.
 5. JPP Kassa village, 21/2/73, II, p. 47. A battle innovation also attributed to Songhai forces in the sixteenth century when they advanced on al-Mansur's musketeer formation. 'See J. O. Hunwick, 'Songhay, Bornu and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century' in Ajayi and Crowder, op. cit., p. 238.

The patrol responded by killing four of the cows and the Kassa forces fled suffering twelve casualties.. The patrol then burned the town.

Turning northward, a number of scattered Jarawa hamlets, the main one being Ziggam, were again visited and any offering resistance were burnt. One hundred and thirty people were reportedly killed. Arriving back in Bauchi on April 2, 1905, Temple's only comment on his tour was that the Sura were similar to the Ganawuri and Gyel but he did not specifically say in what way. Perhaps his comment was in reference to the fierce resistance exhibited by the three groups.¹

The greatly feared Rukuba and the rest of the Jos Plateau, especially the bulk of the Birom villages, had yet to be visited. Thus in June, 1905, a further expedition was equipped. The numerous scattered Rukuba villages were to present constant difficulties for the British. The British became involved in disputes going on within the ethnic group. Previous to the British arrival among the Rukuba a dispute had arisen between Kakkek village area and Ohit. Oral history traces the dispute to a woman, a common source of Rukuba conflicts.²

Apparently a woman of Igbak left her husband and went to Asak in order to marry another man. Her husband followed, an argument ensued which quickly gave way to a scuffle. Battle lines were drawn and the usual alliances were formed with Kakkek helping Igbak and

1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 94 op. cit.

2. See Chapter III., p. 123.

Chit assisting Asak.¹ Contemporaneous with this event, a Gyel man came to Kakkek at night and told Utu Zagun of Kakkek of the European arrival and warned that the Rukuba should not resist them.² Thus when Temple arrived in June Utu Zagun was waiting and paid a tribute of thirty-four horses.³ The request was then made by the patrol for the 'sons' of Zagun and the Utu answered that his sons were all in Igbak. The patrol visited this village accompanied by a Kakkek guide and met the Utu without any conflict. However, when the patrol went on the next day to Chit, this time without a guide, it found the villagers there ready to fight them. The patrol was assumed by Chit to be an ally of Kakkek.⁴ The patrol then returned to Kakkek to try to get a guide and while there, received word of seven Niger Company porters being killed by Asak. Asak was attacked immediately and fourteen compounds were destroyed and large storage bins of grain taken. On the 7th of July the remaining porters were escorted to Naraguta and on the 8th the patrol returned and burned sixteen compounds and commandeered goats, sheep and grain. Ubomo, an Asak ally, was shelled on the eleventh while Utu Chit sent a 'truculent' message, and his village was shelled and burnt. Thus sections of what Lugard called the 'most powerful cannibal tribe' were reduced

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1. JPP Chit village, 22/1/74, III, p. 227.
 2. JPP Ogi Aduku, Igbak, 21/1/74, III, p. 223. At this time and still, there were a few families of Gyel origin living in Kakkek.
 3. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 94, op. cit. It was this visit that gave the name Zagun to the central hamlet of Kakkek area, a name derived from the Utu's name.
 4. JPP Ogi Aduku, op. cit., III, p. 224.

despite the fact that Resident Temple had been 'at great pains' to get into friendly relations with them.¹ For stepping into this civil conflict, the patrol was accused by Ohit of being a willing tool of Kakkek who had sent for the Europeans to help Kakkek in its war with Ohit and Asak.²

The patrol went on to Kwall where it met no resistance³ through the subservient Zawan and Du, and then, with a man from Du as guide, moved on to Zabutt the most powerful village in the Forum federation. This federation included Du and Zawan as well as the village areas of Forum and Heipang. Zabutt was shelled, four people were killed and a number of cattle and horses were captured. The following day, July 19th, 1905, the town was systematically destroyed and twenty-one Birom, and eighty head of sheep and goats were killed.

Although the documents do not pinpoint a particular cause for the war, Zabutt claims that two policemen came, took and slaughtered a goat. The Zabutt people were incensed by this and killed one of the policemen.⁴ The patrol came with guns including a machine gun⁵

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1. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 516, 1905-06, p. 391.
 2. JPP Ohit village, op. cit., III, p. 230.
 3. Both Kwall and Miango speak of the European coming three times and the first time he told them to stop fighting, then went away. At that time Irigwe was fighting with Gyel. However, 'once he had gone, we thought he had gone for good, so we never stopped fighting.' JPP Miango village, 24/3/73, IV, p. 44.
 4. JPP Forum village, 14/1/73, I, p. 13.
 5. JPP Adullah Song, Kapwis village, 15/1/73, I, p. 25. The informant gave the name in Afusare for the machine gun as the 'Kwukwukwuk'.

and after the initial skirmish Zabutt as well as many of the surrounding hamlets were burnt.

After this combat, Lieutenant Thornton and Temple went to Jol and Rim while Lieutenant Briefly and the rest of the patrol went to Sop which, not surprisingly, was deserted. By the 25th of July, the expedition had regrouped and visited Bachi (Bachit) and Apomogai (presumably Bengai), where they were greeted with hesitant courtesy. The universal reaction in Bachit, Afang, Luwa, and Bengai, according to oral tradition, was one of fear for they had heard what had happened elsewhere. Rumour had it that if the Gwom of the village met this new enemy with goats and chickens he would be pacified and go away. A more important factor may have been the severe buffeting these areas had taken in a recent war with the Ron and Monguna to the south.¹ This push northward had taken place at some point after 1890 and swept through Gashish, Bachit, Bengai and as far north as Rim and Jol. These two villages, especially Rim, were militarily quite powerful and drove the invading force back over the boundary, the Gnar River at Ruku, south of Gashish. It is not surprising then to see the strong resistance that Rim displayed in the face of British firepower as compared to the submissiveness of those areas south of Rim. Nevertheless, all that Bachit and other villages had heard was correct. The new enemy took the foodstuffs and went away.²

1. JPP Birom notes, passim, I-III, See Chapter II. pp. 96-97.

2. JPP Afang village, 13/1/73, I, p. 247.

By early 1906, the situation on the plateau was still not stable. Mining production was being hampered and disrupted and H. W. Laws was complaining 'bitterly of the inconvenience caused by the unsettled state of this district.'¹ It was no longer Gyel that was to blame but now their farming rivals and once near neighbours the Irigwe. The Resident, Bauchi Province, felt that it was 'most important that the whole of Bukuru should be settled and that a strong detachment should be left to patrol the district.'² Tin mining was beginning to give some return on the initial investment and Laws was opening up an area that could be most prosperous.³ Therefore based on Gyel complaints, an expedition was sent to Kwall on April 11th and met with considerable opposition.⁴ It proceeded to Nyango (now Miango) then south to the Birom village of Hoss, both of which presented firm resistance. Hopefully the plateau was finally 'pacified' and the first Assistant District Officer was then stationed at Bukuru (an area previously unoccupied and lying between Zawan and Gyel) in 1906. This measure was more to keep the miners in line and as a lookout for prospective patrols than to administer the indigenous population.

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1. NAK SNP 6 File No. C.140/1907. Patrols and Expeditions, Bauchi Province, Resident Bauchi Province to High Commissioner, No. 339/1906. March 31, 1906.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Naraguta Tin Mines: First File of Letters to their London Office, 1905-07, passim. Collection held by Jos Museum, Jos.
 4. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 551, 1906-07, p. 515.

Later in the year Amo was again visited by Assistant Resident Malcolm¹ for the first time in three years. He came to open yet another road from Keffi to the Naraguta tin mines a route which was being obstructed by the pagan tribes.² Amo claims that the first European came from the east and was met peacefully by Amo Ketara. He then went on to Amo Kadis which he burnt.³ In this case Amo Ketara - as in Rukuba mentioned above - did not provide an intra-ethnic introduction that was common between friendly villages on other parts of the plateau. This may have been due to the 'stranger' Rukuba element present in the Amo Kadis population⁴ or simply a precaution that the European force failed to observe.

After burning Amo Kadis, the European force went to the once 'subservient' Kakkek. Here however, they also met stiff resistance before eventually burning the village. The once-friendly Kakkek appear to have realized that the first expedition was not simply an aberration that would never re-occur and they reacted accordingly. The rest of Rukuba District was then traversed without further resistance.

Those areas in which initial peaceful contact with the British had been established, as in Kakkek, were now beginning to realize to what they had committed themselves. In his Annual Report of 1904,

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1. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 125 Bauchi Report 23 April-July 1906.
 2. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 551, 1906-07, p. 517.
 3. JPP Amo village, 22/9/73 IV, p. 301.
 4. Ibid., IV, p. 306 and Ames op. cit., p. 102.

Lugard had already laid down a two or three shilling capitation tax to be paid through village elders as 'a tribute to a power whose laws they acknowledge',¹ because until this time the plateau inhabitants had been paying tribute in kind. Within a year, Vwang, previously considered peaceful, had realized that it had come to and when British Colour Sergeant Barker attempted to take food in the village the people refused. In panic, Barker and five of his men opened fire with the result that one Vwang man was killed and a number injured. The officer commanding Barker's 'D' Company noted that Vwang people resent paying their tax.² The Resident felt that patrols had not gone far enough because Vwang 'rather takes advantage of the fact that it was never punished,' they never came into Bukuru to submit.³ Vwang had internal problems as well, for they had a relatively powerless individual named Jamang who was chosen as the 'European chief' by Vwang and accepted as Gwom by the British basically because of his ability to speak Hausa, his sole qualification for the position. Any attempts by him to collect taxes were immediately rebuffed because of his weak traditional authority. This naturally led to trouble when it came to collecting taxes.⁴ This was the first such protest on the Jos Plateau against taxation which could be called the second pillar of Indirect Rule, the first being the appointment

1. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 476, 1904, pp. 223-4.

2. NAK SNP 6 op. cit., Report No. 30 Bukuru District.

3. Ibid.

4. JPP Madugu, Vom (Kaduna) 3 miles north of Vwang, 5/9/73, III, p. 139/5.

of a village head.¹

By September 1906, yet another expedition was going into Birom country under Assistant Resident A. C. Francis, now stationed in Bukuru, with thirty rank and file and a maxim. Hoss had refused to pay their taxes and rejected all dealings with government messengers.² Him, Sop, and Wereng had also refused to meet either government obligation. The Gwom Kuru had also refused to deliver his tax money and so Kuru was attacked. Compounds were burnt and grain and goats seized. Vwang was found to be not well disposed and Francis comments that it may be necessary to depose the Gwom 'a truculent and foolish old man.'³ Hoss was a military problem being centred in the hills, and a larger force was necessary to defeat it. Therefore, Resident Howard, with fifty rank and file and a maxim, advanced into the Hoss hills, destroying a considerable amount of Hoss town as an example to other towns. Wereng thus awed, presented no opposition and their tax was collected. Even Zawan was trying its hand at resistance, albeit passive, by refusing obedience and the Gwom was deposed. Apparently he had either no power over his town or had no desire to carry out instructions given him.⁴ This could refer to two types of disobedience on the Gwom's part, either failure to obey the tin miners who were encroaching into the Birom area or failure to fulfill his

1. See Chapter IV. p. 165.

2. NAK SNP 6, op. cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

'tax responsibility' to the government.¹ Tin miners were considered by Francis and by themselves as part of the government administration.² Tin was also visited and a portion of it was burnt for 'consistent truculence' and menacing Niger Company convoys.

Despite Temple's feeling in 1902 that Ningi was the only problem remaining in Bauchi province,³ the south-west of the province had shown itself to be a major centre of resistance to invasion.⁴ On the Jos Plateau however, there were very few patrols after 1906 and these will be mentioned in later discussions.⁵ Of more concern is the administration of the Jos area. The fact that the area was laid bare for the convenience of the tin miners has already been outlined. To what extent were the British forces prepared to administer areas newly conquered? Lugard expressed the following desire for Bauchi Province in 1904:

The pagan districts to the south and south-west which occupy, perhaps, the largest portion of the province, require more direct supervision by Government than that under Fulani rule.⁶

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1. As can be gathered by now, the Gwom Nasara's (European chief) power to enforce such measures was not recognized in traditional society. See JPP Madugu, op. cit.
 2. Annual Reports op. cit., No. 551, 1906-07, p. 493.
 3. NAK SNP 15/1 Acc. 39 Bauchi Report No. 3, April 3, 1902.
 4. This area plus the rest of what was to become Plateau Province was subject to yearly expeditions and patrols until 1929.
 5. Such patrols were usually a result of the non-payment of taxes by some villages. For an example of such patrols see Chapter V. pp. 235-237.
 6. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 476, 1904, p. 252.

Were Lugard's subordinates aware of this and sufficiently attuned to new political realities to carry out his wishes? To what extent were Lugard's sentiments an accurate measure of his concern for the 'pagan' districts?¹ And finally, what part did the 'pagans' actually play in his scheme for Northern Nigeria?

British Administrative Policies and New Political Systems

The initial concern of the British forces from the time the Union Jack had been raised in Lokoja by the West African Frontier Force was to conquer the emirates. Only when this was done could British administration be imposed over Northern Nigeria. Once each emirate was captured, as has been shown in Bauchi, patrols could be sent out to 'pacify' both those under the aegis of the emirate and those areas that were not. In those areas south and south-west of Bauchi including the Jos Plateau, this presented particular problems as has been pointed out. No concrete proposals had been made to deal with those peoples who would not surrender when the neighbouring emirate had and in fact Lugard himself had shown very little interest in outlying areas not under emirate control.² He thus left the initial contact with these areas to a simple military solution. Given his personnel, such a solution was unquestioned.

1. Nicolson, I. F., Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960, 1969, pp. 124-179. Nicolson examines Lugard's career in some detail and notes how often Lugard's writings were more for British public consumption than a true measure of what he had done in Nigeria.

2. Anjorin, op. cit., p. 103.

The orientation of the British W.A.F.F. had been military in nature, many of the officers coming from the disbanded Royal Niger Company Constabulary. It was men like these - William Wallace, Captain U. F. Ruxton, and J. A. Burdon - who became Lugard's cadre of political officers. However, even as early as 1901, there was a growing consciousness that a military training does not always suit one for the running of a district on a political basis.

Wallace complained that 'the training of a soldier tends to make him arbitrary and masterful whereas a political officer should, while being firm, be at the same time tactful and conciliatory.'¹ To Lugard, those areas unconquered by the jihadists would only understand, and therefore could only be controlled by, force. To him, these were wild pagan tribes who had long defied the power of Bauchi, given to raiding caravans and to acts of robbery and violence,² or, like the Sura, Birom and Jere were 'wild tribes that have only lately been brought under any kind of control by the (Bauchi) patrols.'³ Lugard did not lay down anything in the way of flexible guidelines as to how to approach these areas which recognized only a village chief or no village head at all. It was a matter of force⁴ not diplomacy

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1. PRO CO 446/16 Despatch 328, Wallace Acting Commissioner to C.O., July 19, 1901.
 2. Annual Reports op. cit., No. 409, 1902, p. 64 and No. 476, 1902, p. 252.
 3. Ibid., No. 516, 1905-06, p. 388.
 4. Lugard, F. D., Political Memoranda 1906, p. 160. In Memo 7, on 'Political Offences and Punitive Expeditions' Lugard spends much time on law and the use of force when the 'normal process of law' has become inoperative. Nicolson (op. cit. pp. 147-150) on Lugardian administration points out that Lugard is only trying to justify his constant recourse to military solutions.

and his officers could take the cue from his attitude. And, of course, tin miners found it useful to imitate such policies as well. Such 'cues' were not difficult to find.

Among the Tiv, for example, a segmentary or clan centred society similar to a few groups already described on the Jos Plateau, Lugard found what he called a people who had 'no recognized chief' and were always 'fighting among themselves.'¹ The burning of Abinsi in 1905 he laid at the door of the Tiv and an expedition was sent. He proceeded against them once again in 1906 only being deterred from a fiercer struggle by the Satiru rebellion.²

Meanwhile in other areas such as Idoma,³ the Benue Lowland,⁴ as well as in the eastern part of the plateau itself among the Angas and, as has been pointed out, the Sura - expeditions were 'harassing the harmless pagans.'⁵ In this initial period of conquest, there had been some unfavourable comparisons made, equating these punitive patrols with a Fulani raid, an accusation that Lugard echoed in his

1. C.O. 446/10 Lugard to C.O. No. 153 of July 4, 1900 cited by Ikime, Obaro, 'The British "Pacification" of the Tiv 1900-1908', J.H.S.N. VII: 1, December 1973, p. 104. Also see R. Sargent "Anglo-Tiv Relations 1885-1914: the era of Aggression" Benue Valley Project Papers, 48.
2. Ibid., p. 107 and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 149.
3. O'kwu, V. G., 'Idomaland under Colonial Rule 1900-1950', paper presented at the Niger-Benue Seminar held in Jos, Benue Plateau State, April 26-27, 1974.
4. Agi, John Ola, 'Protest and Rebellion against British Rule in Lowland Division of Plateau Province 1902-1930', paper presented at the Niger-Benue Seminar held in Jos, Benue Plateau State, April 26-27, 1974.
5. Lugard Papers, MSS British Empire s.61 op. cit.

Political Memoranda of 1906.¹ The plateau people, as has been shown in the case of the Ganawuri and Rukuba, had no idea what was going on and expected the British intrusion to be a transitory phenomenon. The Colonial Office at the end of Lugard's term of office (1906) was decrying the ferocity of the expeditions as being carried out 'just for the sake of teaching the natives the efficacy of the maxim.'² Perhaps closer to the truth was the observation made in a different context and applied to Kenya, that 'punitive expeditions were often waged by British officers who were hungry for medals.'³ However, given the long tradition of resistance on the plateau it seems quite unlikely that many of its peoples would have sat down quietly and bargained away their independence to British diplomacy and a few presents.

At least for the plateau area, Lugard was beginning to realise by 1904 that these groups could not be placed under Fulani rule.⁴ However, he also realized that at this time many of these ethnic groups were still beyond the 'pale of the administration.' Thus it was not until 1906 that a government representative from Bauchi,

1. Lugard, op. cit., p. 163.

2. PRO CO 446/52 C.O. to Wallace January 4, 1907. A year earlier, colonial secretary Churchill had suggested that these 'savage tribes' be allowed to 'eat each other' until a more suitable time to pacify them arose and closes with the comment 'At present we are simply drifting along under the current of military enterprise and administrative ambition.' See CO 446/52/5712, February 24, 1906.

3. Rotberg, Robert I., Editor, Rebellion in Black Africa, 1971, p. 171.

4. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 476, 1904, p. 252.

A. C. Francis, was resident in Bukuru, and if the tin miners had not been there, he most likely would not have been there either.

By the time he compiled the Annual Report of 1905-06, Lugard was beginning to propose some quite definite aims for the 'pagans' of Northern Nigeria, all of which revolved around production and trade, a major prerequisite of 'civilization'. He spoke of new modes of cultivation, access to formerly closed markets, the introduction of industrial missions and a light taxation to spur them on in the above mentioned endeavours. These were Lugardian policy statements, none of which had much connection with the reality of life on the Jos Plateau. Time and again the plateau farmer was observed to be most efficient in his agricultural production.¹ Markets on the plateau, as has been shown previously, cannot be said to have been 'closed' except for the British ban on the slave trade. The industrial mission and light taxation were yet to come, and these will be dealt with later. These were but proposals by Lugard, made in a vacuum of knowledge. The reality of his world was still expeditions.

In 1906, the Political Memoranda presented more precisely what expeditions were and when they could be applied for. By then, Northern Nigeria, with its established provinces, Residents, Emirs and District Heads, could be said to be under some sort of administrative and legal control. Consequently, any expeditionary force applied for

1. Falconer, J. D., On Horseback Through Nigeria, 1911, passim.
Raphael, John R., Through Unknown Nigeria, 1912, (?)
passim.

would have the 'law at its back'.¹ In this Memorandum, Lugard sets out in detail what has already been described in reality on the Jos Plateau. The procedure, thus laid down,² could be interpreted quite unilaterally by a field officer, and he could still be pretending to follow what Lugard had formulated. For example, Lugard wrote of the war-cry in 'Pagan' districts as a warning that, beyond doubt, there would be an attack. On the Jos Plateau, it was usual for each village to post young men as lookouts. These young men would shout a warning upon the approach of friend and foe alike.³ If a British force did not have a local guide, as was the case, for example, among the Rukuba, these shouts could easily be misunderstood. Thus Lugard's instructions could be interpreted by an officer in charge of a patrol to justify the use of force in almost any situation.

In an 'unexplored' area, it was necessary for the political officer to send ahead conciliatory messages to the villages which he was approaching. In this way, he could presumably allay any suspicions that the villagers might have concerning his coming. This was practised on the Jos Plateau before 1906 to a limited extent, and may sound very little different from the 'peaceful penetration' policy begun in 1907 when Sir Percy Girouard took over as Governor

1. Lugard, op. cit., p. 160.

2. Apparently the Colonial Office thought so highly of this Memo that when Kenyan administration was criticized in 1908 for 'needless slaughter' a set of Lugard's Instructions for the Control of Expeditions' was sent to the East African authorities. See Rotberg, op. cit., p. 170.

3. JPP, passim.

of Northern Nigeria.¹ However, the seemingly slight shift in policy grew out of a spate of correspondence originating with Acting Governor W. Wallace and concerned with Oliver Howard's (Bauchi Resident) many expeditions.² The interminable and widespread bloodshed was abhorred by the colonial office possibly because of the public reaction. When Girouard came out a year later, he made the pertinent observation that

patrols for the establishment of a civil government in portions of the country not yet under control could without the knowledge or concurrence of the High Commissioner carry on war-like operations of almost indefinite character and over lengthened periods.³

Bringing together the regulations on the subject, Girouard tried to bring home to the political and military officers that they were not fighting 'enemies' of the government. He obviously felt that ignorance of British Law by those beyond the reach of the British administration was not cause enough for instant retribution by an expedition. In its practical application in Tivland, Girouard's new regulations met with success. However, two factors must be raised in any query as to how well such a system could have worked on the Jos Plateau.

The first of these factors was that of time. Captain Ruxton, Resident of Muri Province, with the competent assistance of Captain Gordon had ample time in which to manoeuvre his way into each hamlet

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1. Dorward, David C., 'British Colonial Administration among the Tiv (1900-1948)', African Affairs, Vol. 68, No. 273, October 1969, p. 317.
 2. PRO CO 446/64, Confidential Despatch Girouard to C.O. August 24, 1907.
 3. PRO CO 446/64, Confidential Despatch Girouard to C.O. July 10, 1907.

and compound of the Tiv.¹ Patiently moving from hamlet to hamlet, they were able with a very small escort to 'invite themselves' into Tivland. This also raises the second factor of personnel. Captain Gordon was greatly concerned with the peaceful occupation of Tivland and resisted any attempts to play his cards hastily.² Ruxton's backing, of course, weighed heavily in his favour. On the other hand, both time and personnel worked against the Jos Plateau peoples.

Time, obviously, because of the ^{impatience}~~urgency~~ of the tin miners to reach the mineral rich area, was not favourable. It was the Mining Department of the Niger Company and particularly H. W. Laws, which finally pushed the government into taking action. With little if any control from government headquarters in Zunguru, aside from an occasional slap on the wrist,³ the Resident in Bauchi could send out or accompany any expedition he thought necessary. From this arises the second factor of personnel.

In this particular case, it was not the patient Ruxton but a very young and aggressive Captain Honourable Oliver Howard.⁴ And in words that proved prophetic Lugard warned that his posting 'is an experiment which would not unlikely result in bloodshed and disturbance.'⁵

1. Dorward, op. cit., p. 319.

2. Ibid., p. 323.

3. For an example of such a case on the Jos Plateau see above Chapter IV. pp. 183-184.

4. PRO CO 446/31. No. 142 Lugard to C.O. April 16, 1903.

5. Ibid.

By 1906, he was Resident of Bauchi Province and until his death in September 1908¹ he succeeded in alienating any good will that Temple may have generated in Bauchi town itself² as well as cutting a wide rather bloody swath through the 'pagan' areas.

It was the latter action which brought the censure from Wallace in 1907, the details of which it is not necessary to enter into here. The evidence shows four expeditions between July 1906 and January 1907 which, according to Wallace, were carried out with undue severity, with one among the Sura alone accounting for two hundred and forty-seven killed.³ The Colonial Office after extensive correspondence with Wallace and Howard, left the latter in Bauchi and closed the matter with the rather flippant remark that 'punitive expeditions cannot always follow the rules of civilized warfare.'⁴ It was with such personnel that policies were made⁵ and any number of memoranda by Lugard or Girouard would not have curbed the power that such individuals exercised. Given adequate time, would peaceful penetration have worked on the plateau and perhaps have cut down on the enormous number of casualties that resulted and the consequent disruptions that followed?

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1. Rev. George Fox, a missionary in the Bauchi Province, states that Howard had died of an overdose of morphine and implies that it was suicide closing with the comment that 'his rule was one of fear rather than love.' See Reverend George T. Fox's journal, Vol. II, September 24, 1908. Church Missionary Society collection, CMS Headquarters, London.
 2. Ikime, Obaro, 'The British in Bauchi 1901-1908: An Episode in the British Occupation and Control of Northern Nigeria'. Presented at the History Seminar, University of Ibadan, on October 25, 1973, pp. 8-11.
 3. PRO CO 446/64 op. cit.
 4. Ibid. No. 14060 enclosure.
 5. Ikime, op. cit., 1973, p. 11.

Resident Howard sums up his attitude as follows:

I sincerely trust that there has been no unnecessary killing in this Province, I have always been most careful to avoid unnecessary bloodshed; it is not my wish to depopulate my Province. I am afraid that the policy of peaceful penetration would not have been successful in the Bukuru, Hill Angas, Tengale, Tula Wenge, and Waja Districts and that apart from the question of Revenue, the deaths resulting from internecine warfare, from raids on cattle Fulani and from attacks on traders, would have exceeded the numbers that we have killed, had such a policy been pursued.¹

It is perhaps germane to point out that the deaths from 'internecine' warfare as well as raids on cattle Fulani were relatively few on the Jos Plateau (as has been shown earlier) when compared to the single expedition undertaken by Howard against the Sura. The attacks on traders did not occur unless the traders were non-indigenes of the area and even then, only if they were not being escorted by a plateau trader. More to the point, if a firmer stand on tin mining policy and a more definite direction on non-Muslim areas had been given by the British Administration perhaps much of the 'necessary bloodshed' could have been avoided.

The Tiv during the first decade of the twentieth century had received both the fist and the open hand from the British administration, the former offered by Lugard and the latter by Girouard. Pursuing Lugard's policy the British very quickly learned that a confrontation with a central village of a particular ethnic group as was done in each emirate was not enough. Each village and hamlet had to be met

1. NAK SNP 15/1 No. 123 Bauchi Report 29, August-September, 1906.

and pacified either by force of arms or friendly overtures. With segmentary societies, the latter policy, where possible, would be in the long run the least expensive in men and material for both sides. The peoples of what was to become the Plateau Province resisted militarily the European intrusion for twenty-five consecutive years while the Tiv had come to terms with the new order within a decade.

It may be argued that the Jos Plateau was much more diverse than the Tiv area having a multiplicity of ethnic groups each ready to resist any intrusion. This is quite true. However, the marriage, trade and ritual links already outlined in Chapter Three may well have been put to greater use by the British administration if it had not been pushed into conquest by impatience and, more directly, by tin interests. The plateau had to be conquered and conquered quickly. Thus by 1906, the year Lugard left Nigeria, virtually every village on the plateau had been visited by expeditions coming mainly from Bauchi. Taking into consideration the changes already made by these expeditions in the villages they entered, it was perhaps too late to halt the long term effects of such expeditions.

The sole concern in terms of administration of this area soon became obvious - the tin camps. To the east of Jos Plateau among the Gura, Angas and Kuleri, a permanent administrative centre was not set up until 1920 at Pankshin under District Officer B. R. Lawrence, while Bukuru had its D.O. by 1906. Touring in Bukuru district was a kind of mining camp inspection although by 1910 the Bauchi reports could speak of prompt payment of taxes which were but 'tokens of submissions'

with a capitation tax not being inaugurated until 1912.¹ Tax and tin mines would be uppermost in the minds of District Officers for some time to come.

Meanwhile, the Plateau peoples had their own reactions to the aliens and ~~their~~ imposition of new political forms. Because of their own historical background, the Plateau peoples had provided the British invaders with an inconsistent opposition. Traditionally, when a new group arrived on the plateau it was either resisted if it proved threatening or absorbed into the sedentary community. The necessary political and social adjustments were then made to accommodate it. With this previous pattern in mind, a number of communities attempted to 'absorb' the European force and use the expeditions the Europeans undertook for their own purposes against their immediate protagonists.² For example, the Bauchi-allied Sanga aided the British against Jere; the Pyem, again pro-Bauchi, looted Kereng after the Kereng horsemen had been defeated.³ Within the Jos Plateau the peoples of Gashish village area followed or accompanied the British force south to Monguna and looted Monguna after the expedition's skirmish there,⁴ thus continuing their long standing struggle with those south of the Gnar River boundary. To the north, Joss and Zawan,

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1. NAK Josprof 373/1912 Annual Report on Central (Bauchi) Province for 1912.
 2. It is important here to note the migrations recounted in Chapter II in order to fully grasp the various relationships among the Plateau villages. pp. 63-73.
 3. JPP Kereng village, 15/12/73 V, p. 105.
 4. JPP Gashish Kukaruk village, 5/3/73 II, p. 109.

in particular, complained to Laws about the depredations of Gyel¹ who in turn after being subverted, made their own accusations against the Irigwe. Miango and Kwall had driven Gyel eastwards and although they acknowledged having been warned not to continue fighting,² they did not take these reproofs seriously. Consequently, when they continued their attacks on Gyel, they found the white man waiting for them and he drove them back to their 'country' and beyond into Shawai where they took refuge.³ It was obvious to the Irigwe that Gyel had a new ally.

The same suspicion existed between the Birom and Ganawuri. When the British patrol came back to Ganawuri after the initial conquest, the D.O. is reported to have entered the Ise section first and nobody came out to meet him. He fired into the air but still nobody came. The Ganawuri, who were hiding, refused to come out as they were afraid the Birom (from Vwang) who guided the European would take their livestock. However, the European interpreted this action as intransigence and burnt the Ganawuri houses and the Birom collected the livestock anyway, while the Ganawuri fled to take refuge in nearby caves.⁴

Such collaboration as mentioned above was not surprising. It was not a matter of helping the new force in its conquests but utilizing

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1. JPP Dahwal Bali, Gyel village, 19/8/73, II, p. 265.
 2. JPP Chinke clan, Kwall, 19/4/73, IV, p. 7.
 3. JPP Miango, 24/3/73, IV, p. 45.
 4. JPP Dandong Fai, Ganawuri, 23/8/73, IV, p. 244.

its conquests to assist the collaborators. It could be passive assistance as above, or an active participation as when the Fante allied with the British against the Asante, the Yoruba of Ketu with the French against Dahomey and the Ibadans with the British against the Ijebu.¹ As can be seen from the foregoing accounts of the expeditions, collaboration was not a particularly widespread phenomenon. It was after the military 'test' that the collaborators were appointed as 'chiefs.'

With or without a battle, the British Officer asked for the chief in all villages whether there was a chief or not. This simple question would shape a large part of the villages' future. The village elders had two problems to solve when the British officers' request was made. The first was to decide whether to take up arms or not. The second decision to be made followed from the first and it was whether to identify the real chief to the invaders or not. Whichever solution was decided on would inevitably bring more difficulties. If the chief was not identified, military force was used by the British. After this, if the real chief or his representative met the conquerors, he risked his life. In Gyel, Gwom Jamang and in Kereng Mishkaham Kum Jebnuan were taken by the British and did not return. Other villages quickly realized the dangers posed by this new force, a danger which in previous times had not existed. The

1. Crowder, Michael (ed) West African Resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation, London, 1971, p. 13.

leader had been sacred - as priest chief - who was above war, an aspect of the society better attended to by the 'heroes'. The priest-chief's sole duty in this respect was to bless the fighters and pray for victory. With the coming of the European, however, he was being summoned to meet the enemy. This was an action unthought of before 1902 and from recent experience with the European forces, was felt to be most dangerous. Thus, someone else was sent to represent the chief, a junior member of the chief's household for example. At times it would be this individual who was made chief. Such was the case in Zawan.¹ In other villages, the man chosen by Kwogo and Wwang² for example, could speak the newcomers' language, Hausa, and was therefore sent out and recognized by the British as chief of those villages. In Ganawuri, which had no chief, the Gwomahai Gyan of Chus clan met the British on their second arrival in Ganawuri.³ By then the Moroa group to the south had warned them not to fight.⁴ Thus Gyan was given a turban, a gown and some money the latter of which he saved because these newcomers might come back for it.⁵ The gown and turban he had no use for and did not understand what the invaders wanted of him. At that time, a former Ganawuri slave Dumbok had escaped from his owner in Kano⁶ and made his way back to

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1. JPP Zawan village, 11/8/73, II, p. 172.
 2. JPP Kwogo village, 1/2/73, I, p. 218.
 3. JPP Madugu Vom Kaduna, op. cit.
 4. JPP Dandong Fai, op. cit.
 5. JPP Da Gyang Kit, op. cit., IV, p. 269.
 6. Ibid.

Janawuri. As he did not 'go naked' and could speak Hausa, it was thus assumed that he could understand the European. He was also found to have been closely related to the Chus clan, being Gyan's hyem.¹ When the European came back he sought the man with the turban and gown. Dumbok now owned the turban and gown even though he was Gyan's messenger. The Europeans accepted Dumbok as the new chief a parade which like so many others was carried on for twenty years.

It is surprising that war leaders did not play a bigger part in these 'representative' chieftaincies. Only in Vwang was an acknowledged war hero of considerable stature, Madugu, made Gwom.² In Irigwe, though, a more interesting situation arose in a chiefless society.

In the Irigwe migration, previously recounted, it was pointed out that the Nadzia clan had come in c.1820 from the lowland area of Ije. Numerically superior, they formed a welcome addition to the Irigwe military forces as well as a valuable trade link with Hausa traders in Zangon Katab. They were absorbed and their position was one of little ritual importance. However, in matters of external affairs - trade, alliances or combat - they led. It was this clan which spearheaded the attack on Gyel and inevitably bore the brunt of the British counter-attack. Leaders in war, a clan containing the

1. If a woman from chwang (clan) 'A' marries in chwang (clan) 'B', her children will call her father's brothers in 'A' sai, while they (the brothers) will call the children of this marriage hyem.

2. JPP Madugu, op. cit., passim.

most war sua, it was they who negotiated with the British. Gwa Brei, a renowned warrior was taken away when Gyel brought in the British forces because of his leadership of the Irigwe in combat.¹

As a matter of course, the expedition asked to meet the chief. The Nadzia clan quite naturally presented Chingay, their clan head, to the Europeans as the chief of Irigwe for these matters. The other clans accepted this as Nadzia's right, for not only was Nadzia in charge of external relations but they could also speak Hausa, the strangers' language. Chingay thus became, in European eyes, chief of Kwall and the Irigwe while Tinga of Tahu clan became chief in Miango and at the same time, Chingay's assistant because he too could speak Hausa.²

As has been pointed out, these were European chiefs.³ To the Irigwe, an obvious political step had been taken. Chingay was their contact with the Europeans and he was to ensure that fighting with the European was kept to a minimum.⁴ The real power of the village - the ritual power - would remain in other hands. Thus a situation arose where the British established indirect rule but not as they understood or intended it, while the people over whom they established this rule were not in fact submitting at all. The collection of taxes was often the first realisation by plateau peoples that they were

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1. JPP Nadzia clan, Kwall village, 23/4/73, IV, p. 18.
JPP Chinke clan, Kwall village, 19/3/73, IV, p. 5.
 2. JPP Tahu clan, Miango village, 26/4/73, IV, p. 54.
 3. See Chapter IV. p. 193.
 4. JPP Miango village, 24/3/73.

being treated as conquered.

To summarize then, perhaps a few observations may be made about the military resistance of the Jos Plateau.

(1) In most cases, a severe 'test' of the British guns was enough to halt active military resistance.

(2) Those groups who offered the greatest resistance appear to have been on the edge of the plateau, e.g. Jere, Rukuba, Ganawuri, Inigwe, and Sura. These were villages which had already had long contact with the jihad forces and they were prepared by experience to resist foreign military advances.

(3) Internal disputes and alliances played a part in the conquests of some villages as old enmities were not forgotten with the arrival of the British. Often these were used, at times unwittingly by the British, to subjugate an area.

(4) The 'European' chief when created within these societies had very little if any power and was relegated to the role of the chief's spokesman to the Europeans. His importance both to the community and to himself would increase as he was given more responsibility over the village but this was a process spread over two decades and will be dealt with in the last two chapters.

The heavy hand of the Niger Company, working in tandem with British forces, played a most important part in the conquest of the plateau, especially in the northern and central section where tin ore was known to be concentrated. The invasion of the Jos plateau

occurred in three waves. The first expeditions of the British government were undertaken very tentatively in order to extend the British territory. The second expeditions initiated by the tin interests in late 1903 and 1904 were to complete a conquest of the tin bearing areas on the plateau. The third set of expeditions in 1905 and 1906 was to consolidate and extend British suzerainty as well as tin mining interests over the Jos plateau. It was the latter presence that was largely responsible for the conquest of the plateau and its future activities would also shape very markedly the colonial period into which the plateau peoples had entered.

It would be well to note that although many of the societies were conquered by force, it must not then be assumed that this meant a shattering change to the society, a sort of traumatic shock with which the people could not deal. This is to apply to the conquest and its effects a series of suppositions that would produce a distorted picture of the real situation.

The plateau peoples had fought, resisted and been defeated by a technologically superior force which used weapons that invoked fear and wrought destruction. To attempt further military resistance would be suicidal. It now fell to the community to survive as best it could, given the new set of circumstances, and to defend those constituent parts of the society which they felt of importance. As military strength had not succeeded in routing the invaders, the next course chosen was that of isolation, not from each other but

from the intruder and his 'camp-followers'. This meant maintaining contact with this new power in only those aspects of village life in which the intruders expressed interest. Contact between the villagers and the invaders in all other things would be discouraged.

However, as the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close, and the second decade passed, the 'contact demands' increased and pressure was no longer limited to the overt political level but also the social, economic and religious aspects of the society. New means of resistance or a further refinement of 'isolation' had to be sought to stem these more subtle and at times not so subtle demands. The manifestations of this new form of resistance will be outlined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V

PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN GOVERNMENT (1906-1935)

The initial repercussions of the British conquest of the Jos Plateau peoples and their resultant resistance have been dealt with in the previous chapter. Before an analysis is made of the economic, social and political changes that occurred on the Jos Plateau prior to 1935, it is important to examine the framework within which these changes prevailed. The framework to be considered is the British administrative system on the plateau.

The governmental systems existing on the Jos Plateau before 1900 have been defined.¹ The British administration after the conquest of the plateau sought to replace these indigenous systems with governmental systems of British design. Between 1906 and 1935, three types of government were introduced - Direct British rule, 1906, the Muslim emirate model of indirect rule 1912, and "Pagan Administration" 1935 - none of which proved effective.

The imposition of Direct British rule was the immediate consequence of the conquest of the Plateau villages. A villager was appointed by the British as headman and in most cases he had held no traditional authority but was merely the person responsible for dealing with the

1. See Chapter III, pp. 110-121.

aliens upon their arrival. He became the British agent with little authority of any kind. Therefore, the District Officer had to handle most of the judicial work and tax collection. Such a political system could not endure. The British did not have the personnel to administer each village individually. Given the overall British commitment in Northern Nigeria to indirect rule, a system of direct rule had either to be justified as temporary and moving towards the emirate model, or as partially if imperfectly indirect.

The Muslim emirate model of indirect rule was the system the British wished to impose on all Northern Nigeria. This model was effective only in governing the traders and mine labourers who were for the most part Muslim. The British entertained some hope that an emir of Jos could be installed and that he would govern the Muslims and the non-Muslim plateau peoples as well. By the end of the first World War, they found that this could not be done. The emirate model under a Sarkin Jos and theoretically part of Bauchi emirate was retained in order to judge Muslim cases and collect taxes from the aliens on the plateau.

The third governmental system which will be called "Pagan Administration" was not attempted until the late 1920's and 1930's. This was a term used by the British to describe their hopes that a 'powerful man' would emerge from the diverse plateau governmental systems. By investigation, the British expected to 'find' and elevate such a man to be chief. Such an innovation would be an improvement

on the inefficient Direct rule system but they planned to take the system a step farther. Under these 'chiefs' the British wished to combine historically autonomous villages into units according to 'tribal' criteria. This would create "Pagan tribal administrations" with one man - a chief - heading them and responsible to the British administration. To the British this was believed to be an adaptation of the emirate model to the 'Pagans'. It was assumed that ethnicity rather than Islam was the proper basis for creating larger administrative units among the indigenous people of the Jos Plateau.

British Administration: Indirect Rule for the Aliens

In any comment on the British Administration of the 'pagan' plateau it should first of all be pointed out that the 'trinity' of Native Courts, Native Authority and taxation¹ were quite difficult to introduce, let alone operate or enforce. As will be shown an emirate 'system' was attempted for Jos and the newcomers to the plateau up to 1920 but its function was mainly to look after the mining communities. The indigenous communities presented more difficult administrative problems. With the Muslim concept of government and their own policy of Indirect Rule always before them, the British did not favour 'direct' rule which the segmentary societies seemed to require to prepare them for indirect rule. From the beginning, the

1. Ikime, Obaro. 'Reconsidering Indirect Rule: The Nigerian Example,' JHSN, 4(3), December, 1960, p. 424.

policy followed was one of training these 'wholly uncivilized pagan tribes' in the system that was in vogue throughout the Muslim areas. As no allegiance to a paramount chief existed, the political officers were obliged to undertake a more direct responsibility for courts and administration and this, in reality, became direct rule.

Such a system meant more personnel, a major difficulty in British colonial administration and a prime reason for the inception of indirect rule.¹ Availability of staff was not a strongpoint of British colonial rule in Bauchi Province or anywhere else in Nigeria. In 1906 there was an average of 5.6 political officers in the province; by 1908 the figure was six. This small number took care of the two emirates, Gombe and Bauchi, as well as the other two administrative districts of Bukuru² and Kanan. In the Jos Plateau alone there were over eighty villages or hamlets to be toured, each relatively independent of the other. Tin mining became the constant cause for touring and by 1911 with the tin boom, there were eight officers in the province.³ In fact, the provincial headquarters in Bauchi was transferred to Naraguta in 1910 as this centre required 'more urgently the presence of the Resident in charge.'⁴ Undue emphasis should not be given to this factor, however, as official policy was, regardless of tin interests, emirate-oriented. There was always the hope that

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1. Lugard, Lord. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, London, 1965, p. 225.
 2. Bukuru District included all of present day Jos Division See Fig. 8.
 3. NAK Josprof 373/1912, Annual Report on Central Province, 1912.
 4. Ibid.

a paramount chief could be appointed to ease the burden of administration and pave the way for a 'proper' Native Authority.¹ Lugard, as early as 1904, had already divided the north into Muslim and ^{non-Muslim} areas and he made a further division of the latter into (1) areas under the centralized rule of a single chief, for example, the Jukun or Argungu and (2) those independent communities in a 'low state of civilization.'² It is the last group - the independent communities - which is of interest here since the 'centralized pagans' were administered much the same as the emirates.

In his Political Memoranda, Lugard summarized the two opposing theories of administration in Northern Nigeria that continued to be entertained from 1903 onward. It was not a questioning of indirect rule as a policy but of the extension of indirect rule over the independent 'pagan' areas and whether Muslim rule would be more viable as compared to British direct rule. Lugard came out in favour of the latter with the truism that 'Good government is no equivalent for self government,'³ and that such direct government that is necessary will only be of a temporary nature. In 1906, he had been more explicit as to the type of system for the 'chiefless' areas. He wrote that

In those Pagan communities in which there are no chiefs of recognized authority Residents may substitute an elected Council of Elders, but they will endeavour to find a man of influence, and

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1. Annual Reports op. cit., No. 594, 1907-08, p. 606. 'Proper' in this case meant the Muslim emirate model of indirect rule.
 2. Ibid., No. 476, 1904, p. 223.
 3. Lugard, Lord, Political Memoranda, 1913-1918, 1970, p. 303.

appoint him, and enforce his authority. Such Councils may be entrusted with powers of dealing with very petty offences in the absence of a properly constituted Native Court.¹

The plateau societies had had three types of authority systems as described in Chapter three; chiefly, clan-oriented, and clan centred. The chiefly Birom would have been more susceptible to the establishment of an administration based on the chief. They should have fallen into the category in which Lugard had placed the Jukun and Argungu. Most legitimate chiefs among the Birom were not recognized by the British until the late 1920s. Before that the Birom were ruled directly with the assistance of non-traditional agents.

Those people who were clan-oriented or clan-centred would probably have responded better to the administrative device of a Council of Elders on conditions, of course, that the British abandoned the search for the "man of influence". Until the system was introduced in the 1930's, agents and direct rule were employed. Given these differences, no single type of administration created by the British could ever claim to be based upon indigenous foundations. Throughout colonial rule, the British never gave up the attempt to create uniformity of administration.

Prior to 1920, Lugard's ideas regarding 'pagan administration' were ignored and the British concentrated upon the setting up of an emirate model to cater to the pressing problems raised by the new urban centres and the tin mining camps. The emirate model for the aliens

1. Lugard, (1906) op. cit., p. 199.

and direct rule for the indigenes operated side by side on the plateau until the 1920's. This lack of uniformity constantly irritated the British authorities; given British preferences it was obvious that any future change towards uniformity would be towards the emirate model. Let us first look at the emirate model created for the aliens.

In 1909 the District Government Headquarters had been transferred from Bukuru, the military garrison between the Birom villages of Ewan and Gyel, to Naraguta near the Anaguta which was rapidly establishing itself as the tin mining centre. Naraguta held such a prominent place after 1910 that the provincial headquarters in Bauchi was moved there until 1915.¹ The district headquarters was finally established in Jos in 1921 by which time ^{it} had become the tin and market centre on the plateau.

It was quickly assumed that the large alien population drawn by the tin mines could not be placed under local indigenous leaders whom the British believed could not even control their own areas, Indirect rule was brought into effect for these aliens in 1911 with its accoutrements of Native courts, taxation, and administration. This system affected only the non-indigenous peoples. To provide an effective ruler for the Hausa people, the Emir of Bauchi was persuaded to allow his brother Bunu Abdul Kadiri to come to Jos. as Sarkin Jos. His sole occupation was to rule the mining areas, namely Jos, Naraguta and Gana Ropp, collect the taxes and have an alkali to judge Muslim

1. Perchonak, Norma, 'Jos and its Hinterland', Paper presented at the Niger-Benue Seminar held in Jos, Benue Plateau State, April 26-27, 1974, p. 9.

cases under the direct supervision of a political officer.¹ Thus within the administrative hierarchy of Bauchi Province only the Emir of Bauchi and his advisers, the Emir of Gombe and the heads of the Hausa settlements in Naraguta Division,² received a fixed salary.

Despite this government-backed structure, there was a constant encroachment by the mining company managers who wished to control their mining camps both through the 'Sarki' of the camp and the Alkali in Jos. Quite early after the imposition of the N.A.s, the Resident in Naraguta warned in 1913 of the dangers of the N.A.s 'becoming too dependent and subservient to the managers.'³ The Alkali, in particular, had to be severely warned that his appointment was for the purpose of trying cases in a legal fashion irrespective of whether or not the European manager desired a conviction or acquittal in any given case.⁴ Indeed it would appear that in those days of shortage of government staff and the expansion of mining interests, the companies played a large part in administration since most disputes were referred to them.⁵

In 1916, Bunu died and was replaced by Barde, the son of the Saladima of Bauchi. He was to be the last ruler in the British

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1. NAK Josprof 373/1912. Annual Report for Central Province 1912. This also covered the Fulani and their herds as well.
 2. Naraguta Division had roughly the same boundaries as present day Jos Division.
 3. NAK Josprof 155/1913, Quarterly Report for Naraguta Division 1913.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Interview with indigenous tin miner, Jos, 27/11/73. See Chapter VII, pp. 334-335.

government's apparent attempt to establish an extension of the Bauchi emirate in the previously unconquered plateau. In 1921, Barde was deposed as Hausa district head for 'misappropriation and abuse of position.'¹ The British let this particular position lapse with Barde's dismissal.² Continuing a policy of separate administration,³ the British now appointed any Hausa member of the Jos community, usually a former messenger in the Jos N.A., to carry out any chiefly duties that might be necessary.⁴ This system remained intact until the late 1940's when the two types of political systems one for the aliens and one for the plateau peoples were amalgamated. Until the 1930's, Jos continued its parasitic relationship with the hinterland having little or nothing directly to do with the 'pagans' nor they with it. Thetin camps which had attracted the merchants were not able to tempt the indigenes with labour or trade goods and they were left to the occasional visits of the D.O. as their only contact with the new order and its governing system.

British Administration: Direct Rule of the Indigenes

By 1920, the British had become convinced that the Muslim emirate model was not suited to the independent plateau villages. British administration, or what there was of it, was direct British

1. NAK Josprof 329/1920 Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1920.
2. NAI CSO 21/124 Annual Report on Bauchi Province, op. cit.
3. Ibid.
4. JPB Mallam Dandada, Jos 11/9/73, V, p. 48.

rule through collaborating agents. The British concern was more with the aliens in the tin camps and markets and the Fulani herders than with the development of a system of administration for the Plateau peoples. Even well into the 1920's, one can hardly write of an administration in any real sense. A make shift judicial system was in operation but it probably handled about ten percent of the civil and criminal cases in the villages; the rest were taken care of in the traditional way by the indigenes. The collection of taxes however was most efficiently done. Before 1920, British D.O.'s, their agents in the villages and their military forces were engaged in collecting taxes almost to the exclusion of anything else. To the peoples of the plateau, the British, like the Hausa-Fulani before them, only appeared interested in tribute. Among the Plateau peoples there was a constant effort by the British to find an acceptable village head as well as an efficient administrator. It should not be surprising that difficulties occurred, for many times the candidate acceptable to the British was in reality not recognized as chief or even an important man in the village. The British agent would then have to rule through the traditional authority.¹ However, in most cases the British did not realize this and already the administration was looking beyond the village level towards a 'tribal grouping' and what they thought would be a convenient administrative unit. The faster a 'tribal grouping' could

1. See Chapter IV, pp. 209-213.

be formed the easier it would be to introduce indirect rule, or so the British believed.

In 1909, vocabularies were being collected from the Sura, Birom, and Fon as an initial step to finding connections between these peoples.¹ By 1911, 'tribes' were being tabulated and located on a map of the province while a history of the province had already been written.² Despite such interest, knowledge about the Jos Plateau was very superficial and the indigenes of the plateau were still viewed as 'cannibalistic and drunken pagans'.³

Between 1914 and 1917, assessment reports were carried out on the Jos Plateau but they contained very little information as a basis for uniting various villages. However, it was on these very reports that the governor of the Northern Provinces based his recommendations for ethnic unions. In 1917 it was felt that, the Jere and Buji could be united into a district village area and to this the Resident of Bauchi Province added the Amo, Nchara, Jarawa and Anaguta peoples to make up one district for 'they lie together and have some similarities of custom'.⁴ Perhaps more important, was the fact that they were 'all near opportunities for obtaining money and paying taxes,⁵ the major concern of the British administration on the plateau.

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1. NAK SNP 7/10 1212/1909. History Ethnology - Bauchi.
 2. NAK Bauprof 1152/1909 History of Bauchi Province, November 30, 1909.
 3. NAK SNP 7/13 1412/1912 ~~#328~~/1910. Central Province, Historical-Geographical and Ethnological Notes.
 4. NAK Josprof 516P/1917 op. cit., #361/1917 Resident Bauchi Province to SNP, November 26, 1917.
 5. Ibid.

Naturally, much administrative work would be saved by such an amalgamation.

Among the Birom who were more accustomed to chiefly rule, the question of grouping certain villages under one chief had been discussed for some time. Before 1915, it had been suggested that Sop, Afang, Shonong, Gashish and Machi (Bachit) be grouped under Gwom Bachit.¹ There was some disagreement over this, so a 'man of influence' was sought and found in the person of Gwom Rim', 'the best known man in that quarter and a man who has the character necessary to carry out the duties of a group head successfully.'² It must be borne in mind here that Dabiong, Gwom Rim, had every reason to be well known having presided over the defeat and eventual rout of the Ron before the Europeans arrived.³ Thus he had saved those areas over which he was now being considered as ruler. However, the Resident did not wish to act with such haste and felt that this was 'a matter of greatest care and study'⁴ which could only be carried out when really feasible. Some areas like Sanga, Marabunu, Jere and Buji were already solving the British problem by becoming 'Hausa-ized' and therefore amenable to an emirate system.

Turning now to the British system of justice, it was clear that

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1. NAK Josprof 255/1915 Half Yearly Report on Maraguta Division to June 1915. #1608/1915 Molyneux A.D.O. to Resident, Bauchi Province. July 16, 1915.
 2. Ibid.
 3. See Chapter II, pp. 96-97.
 4. NAK Josprof 255/1915, op. cit., Resident Bauchi to D.O. Maraguta July 17, 1915.

the D.O. was the ultimate authority if he was consulted. In his role as the chief judicial figure, he ran into immediate difficulties. In cases considered serious, like murder and theft in a village, the 'European chief'¹ would be called and the suspect taken to Naraguta to be tried. It appears that in the first twenty years of the twentieth century, with the lack of authority of the 'European chief', cases such as the above were tried locally and traditionally and punishment enacted by execution or exile. The pre-conquest policy of selling the offender must have been cautiously carried out for the villagers were well aware of the British attitude to the selling of human beings. In Nafok, a hamlet in Forum village area, at some time before the missionaries arrived in Forum (probably pre-1912), two men were accused of selling people to Miango. The British came, shot one of them who was trying to escape, and levied a fine on the village.² It was thus much safer to allow the European to judge these cases and carry out the same punishment that would have been carried out in the village.³ Other cases like land disputes and minor crimes were judged by the elders in the traditional way. There was, however, an increase in one particular 'crime' in the village that the European could not prevent, other

1. This was the man the Europeans took to be chief of the village. See Chapter IV, p. 212.

2. JPP Nafok, 18/1/73, I, p. 60.

3. JPP Maigari Ningada, Ogwomo of Buji, 4/8/73. IV, p. 218. The European would often prescribe a jail sentence which effectively removed the offender from the community in the same way that sale to another community would have done.

than react to it after it was committed. This crime was witchcraft.

Among the Piti, in 1908, three men were accused of murder by the Zaria Provincial Administration. However, it was not judged as murder in Piti but simply an execution of a practitioner of witchcraft as convicted by the elders. As the man could not be sold out, this being forbidden by the white man, he must be killed.¹

Although there is little basis in documentary or oral evidence that such an incident could have taken place on the plateau, there was certainly some disquiet by the plateau peoples over the lack of concern that the British authorities in Naraguta showed towards a witch. A trial by traditional means had been forbidden for serious crimes² and this meant that charges of witchcraft increased in places like Ganawuri for the punishment was very slight even if a case could be proved.³ In Du, the British Administration stopped the killing

of witches which had been significantly on the increase when the Europeans came.⁴ Gyel also complained that witchcraft flourished as no accusation could any longer be levied in the traditional way. It is perhaps not strange that these problems with witchcraft increased in those areas like Du, Gyel and Ganawuri which were all in the vicinity of the tin miners or the markets. These villages, having

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1. NAK Zarprof 360/1909 Quarterly Report on Zaria Province, Progress in Pagan Districts, April 30, 1909.
 2. JPP Chai Mang, Gwom of Ganawuri, 22/8/73, IV, p. 239. See Chapter III, pp. 125-130.
 3. Ibid., p. 240.
 4. Ibid., Dung Wang, Gwom of Du, 9/8/73, II, p. 159.

no means by which to express their resentment of these ever-present foreigners, could only appeal to the supernatural for assistance. Other outlying areas did not express any concern about a prevalence of witchcraft¹ with the exception of the Rukuba in Kakkek. This latter case was of a slight increase in witchcraft which was quickly halted by Utu Zagun.² An increase in witchcraft did occur as a consequence of the British presence but there is little evidence to suggest that it was of major proportions as among the Tiv.³

By 1915, nine Native Courts had been established in Naraguta Division, one Grade 'B' court in Naraguta, two Grade 'C' courts and six Grade 'D' courts, all being introduced under the Native Court Ordinance of 1914.⁴ On the Jos Plateau, larger market and mining centres like Bukuru and Rop had Grade 'D' courts. There had been little response to these courts by the Plateau peoples and by and large about 95% of the cases concerned Muslims. The majority of non-Muslims were still bringing their major complaints to the political officer not to the Native Courts⁵ and no 'pagan' court had been established even by the 1920's.⁶ The political officer was the last resort when the village authority had not adequately dealt with a

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1. JPP I-IV, passim.
 2. JPP Adik Adomo, Utu Kakkek. 18/1/74, III, p. 194.
 3. Dorward, D. C., 'The "Awakening" of 1934-1936: A Tiv Religious Response and Initiative.' Paper presented at Niger-Benue Seminar held in Jos, Benue Plateau State, April 26-27, 1974.
 4. Lugard (1970), p. 265.
 5. NAK Josprof 392/1915 #N 1967/1917 Lonsdale to SNP, December 24, 1917.
 6. NAI CSO 21/124 Annual Reports on Bauchi Province for 1920 and January-March 1921.

case in the defendant's opinion.

In Irigwe where no indigenous tribunal had been set up, any case requiring judicial treatment came before the political officer.¹ To a staff severely depleted by war this meant constant touring and constant contact with each village head being dealt with separately. The political officer by the last part of the decade was beginning to bear the brunt of the judicial cases. Increasingly, cases were being brought to him as the village head was no longer the last resort in judicial matters. By 1916, the resident of Bauchi commented that 'the pagans look upon their political officer as being their Chief and from him only will they accept and obey judgement and authority.'²

After almost two decades of British Administration, there was no judicial structure as far as the British were concerned except the political officer. As a direct ruler the European was the chief judicial officer. Nevertheless, limited as the European's role was the traditional judiciary and consequently the authority of the traditional chief was being slowly eroded. As it eroded the European officer became saddled with more and more judicial work. This was a factor in forcing the British to change the system.

The collection of taxes was thought to be a major duty of British administration in Nigeria. The collection of tax was not

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1. NAK Josprof 515P/1917 #313/1917 Assessment Report of Irigwe Tribe for 1918.
 2. NAK Josprof 516/1917 #361/1917 Assessment Report of Sangawa Tribe for 1918. Resident Bauchi Province to SNP, February 25, 1918.

only financially useful but also demonstrated that the new suzerainty was accepted. For the plateau people, the paying of tribute to the invader was expected. When, however, the Europeans returned again and again for more tribute and made other demands on the socio-political system of the village, the plateau peoples realized that they had totally lost their sovereignty.

After the initial conquest, tribute was paid rather than tax but by 1908 an incidence of taxation had been fixed at three pence per adult male.¹ From the beginning however, the wage earning opportunities presented by the tin mines in Bukuru District became a factor and Lugard hoped for up to two shillings per adult male.² The difficulty came in establishing a centralized authority to collect the tax. Each village head created by the British was responsible to the District Officer. His role was tolerated as he was part of the village structure responsible for dealing with the Europeans. Thus the political officer handled each village separately as independent units and his main duty as far as these units were concerned was to collect tax.³

In 1914, the first assessment reports were carried out and supplemented the area census taken in 1912.⁴ Based on this census, a more accurate capitation rate was introduced which varied in

1. Ibid., No. 594, 1907-08, p. 620.

2. Ibid., p. 261. See Chapter VII for taxes on the mine fields, p. 331.

3. JPP Zabutt, 14/1/73, I. p. 16.

4. NAK Josprof 259/1914. Assessment Report on Burrum (Kibyen) tribe of Bukuru District, Naraguta Division, June 30, 1914.

inverse proportion to the distance of the villages from the mines. For example, among the Birom, the remote and 'primitive' villages paid six pence, while those in the vicinity of the mines paid one shilling and three pence. This capitation rate, doubled the tax from a level of £206 in 1911-12 to £431 in 1912-13, and again to £796 in 1913-14. In 1914, the tax rate was doubled to one shilling in remote areas and two shillings in those villages near markets and mines, who were thought to have a definite advantage.

A similar policy was being pursued in other parts of the plateau; taxation of the Buji and Jere climbed from £76 in 1911-12 to £115 in 1913-14, and the hope was entertained of £196 in 1914.¹ Again, from the Anaguta, tax income had tripled from £50 in 1911-12 to £150 in 1914, while the rate of 1914 would be raised, from two shillings and six pence per adult male to three shillings.²

Despite this rapidly increasing source of income, there was still a rather premature hope that a proportional tax could soon be introduced in the area. This necessitated a word of caution from the resident in 1914, who noted the timidity of the indigene and his fear of venturing into markets. 'Hasten slowly' appeared to be his motto and he went on:

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1. NAK Josprof 260/1914. Assessment Report on Anaguta and Jarawa tribes of Bukuru District, Naraguta Division, June 30, 1914.
 2. NAK Josprof 257/1914. Assessment Report on Anaguta and Jarawa tribes of Bukuru District, Naraguta Division, June 30, 1914.

Moreover, apart from the difficulty of collecting large sums of money from people who have absolutely no respect for the authority of their own chiefs who can thus render comparatively little assistance, it would be a mistake from the political point of view to endeavour to collect a largely increasing tax from people whose amenability to pay is as yet far from being equal to their ability to do so.¹

Constantly in oral tradition, work on the mines, roads, or rail was viewed as a means of paying tax only.² Paid out of fear, there was no question of working extra time for these tasks might bring death to the labourer.³ This yearly ritual done, the indigene returned to the village and his own life style, unencumbered with those incentives that the administration wished to encourage.

With the completion of assessment reports in 1918 for the Jos Plateau, a more detailed mode of taxation was introduced which was already in use in the emirates. A man's wealth was assessed and he paid according to his access to means of making money to pay taxes rather than his ability to pay the tax itself. The assessment aimed at ten percent of the value of the farm produce to be paid in tax with an additional sum to be added if markets or mines were nearby,⁴ a policy wholly consistent with what had gone before. In 1920, the 'pagan' tax had increased by twenty-eight percent over the previous year. Meanwhile in 1920, Pankshin Division, not a

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1. NAK Josprof 492/1914, Assessment Report of Burrum Kibyen tribe, Bukuru District, Maraguta Division, 1914.
 2. JPP I-V, passim.
 3. JPP Fon Zi, op. cit.
 4. NAK Josprof 208/1918. Gazetteer of Bauchi Province. Resident, Bauchi Province to Secretary, Northern Province, June 17, 1918.

major mining centre, was still under a capitation system.

In the years before 1920, during Lugard's prolonged tenure as Governor of Nigeria, tax was very frequently a cause of civil strife and patrols were often inevitable. In the area of Ganawuri, the District Head, Dumbok,¹ was killed by the villagers of Hoss when he arrived there to collect taxes. Again, the District Head of Pankshin, Lankuk, was killed in 1918 for the same reason.² In neither case was there any consideration given to the pre-colonial political patterns. A chief had been created in clan-centred Ganawuri and he was expected to govern the chief-centred Birom village of Hoss. It was obvious to the Ganawuri, if not the British, that Hoss did not want a 'Jal' (Ganawuri) chief over them.³ Lankuk had been made district head of the Hill and Plain Angas and this attempt at amalgamation also ended in tragedy. In 1918 Lankuk and fifty-one of his followers were killed by the Tal people when he went there to collect taxes.⁴

A no less violent encounter occurred in Vwang when the attempt to collect taxes escalated into violence. A war hero, Madugu, had been village head since quite soon after the Europeans arrived. Again at issue was taxation. Due to the impression among the Birom that there were no longer any whites over them, (the Bukuru garrison

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1. JPP Ganawuri, IV, pp. 225-287.
 2. PRO CO 583/66, #379 Lugard to C.O., June 8, 1918.
 3. JPP Pafang Dakum, Ganawuri, 23/8/73 IV, p. 254.
 4. PRO CO 583/66, #379 Lugard to C.O., June 8, 1918.

had been closed down) some compounds had refused to pay their tax. The police constables were then sent to assist Madugu in his tax collection. In pursuance of their duties an argument arose and blows were exchanged between the 'pagan native police' and the villagers. The police constables then opened fire on the crowd killing two.¹ Madugu was accused of collecting the taxes and squandering the money; then with the people refusing to pay him a third time, he had sent for soldiers in Jos.²

During the subsequent investigation, the Vwang people demanded that Madugu be deposed³ and they repudiated him, refusing to have him back as their headman and even forbidding him to live in the village.⁴ As a man from Ful, Madugu would hardly be in a position to be very widely supported, given the population preponderance of Vwang and Turu. Madugu, for his own part, denied all accusations of corruption but admitted sending the police to collect the tax which precipitated the shooting.⁵

Cases of what the British labelled maladministration also occurred in Zawan and Gyel and these also had their genesis in tax collection. By 1920, it was finally recognized that the appointment of chiefs

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1. NAK SNP 10/6 op. cit., #1586/1918 Resident II Jos Division to Lonsdale, Resident Bauchi Province, March 14, 1918.
 2. JPP Turu 28/8/73, III, p. 92.
 3. Ibid., III, p. 93.
 4. NAK SNP 10/6 op. cit., #1586/1918.
 5. JPP Madugu Mandyeng, Vom 5/9/73, III, 139/5.

and the merging of villages must be a gradual and natural process "the initiative coming genuinely from within, with no more than guidance from without."¹ This was a local reflection of a new national policy voiced by Governor Clifford who replaced Governor Lugard in 1920. This theoretical change will be dealt with later in this chapter.

As has been shown the only impact that the British government had on the plateau peoples was the establishment of British sovereignty and tax collection symbolized this sovereignty. The use of patrols was virtually the only method the British Administration used to enforce their authority.² Their use even created a minor scandal in Britain.³ Although many of these patrols could be characterized as putting down resistance to the 'new order', it should be noted also that in some cases old enmities and rivalries continued long after the British had arrived. This showed a continuing cultural pattern that the newcomers had not wholly disrupted. In 1915,

1. NAI CSO 21/124 op. cit.
2. NAI CSO 1/32/10 No. 847. Lugard to Harcourt, September 14, 1914. Between 1909 and 1913 in Northern Nigeria, 1,964 casualties were reported by patrols that had been carried out in non-Muslim areas for the most part. Of this total 455 occurred in Bauchi Province and 444 in Naraguta Division.
3. Ibid., Also NAI CSO 1/32/13 #102, Lugard to Harcourt, February 2, 1915, and NAI CSO 1/32/15 #308 Harcourt to Lugard, March 5, 1915. This followed out of Campbell's death in Mada country and the 179 casualties that the patrol caused. The issue was raised in Parliament and reported in the newspapers. See The Times (London) June 19, 1912, p. 5.; June 28, 1912, p. 5; July 26, 1912 p. 10, and October 25, 1912, p. 10. The questions raised on the reliability of the reporting on patrols led to an investigation into such patrols by Nigerian officials and Temple was found at fault in the casualty statistics that he had submitted.

Kwall attacked Vwang over a farming dispute.¹ As has been shown Hoss and Ganawuri were quite ready to continue what had been interrupted by the British invasion² and again Ganawuri and Kwall fought in 1920 over a land dispute.³ Thus it can be seen that traditional solutions to traditional problems were still being applied and were now being halted by direct British intervention.

Along the same lines, civil strife like that into which the British had marched in 1905⁴ erupted in Rukuba. Not all instances were recorded. The documents tell of a hunting dispute between Balsa (Asak) and Bomo (Ubomo) with the result that one Bomo man was killed.⁵ The elders of the respective villages were called and a fine was levied on the two villages. However, oral evidence tells of disputes of long standing that flared up after the British came, and were settled by the elders only. The inter-village battles that had taken place at the time of the British arrival were continued when sufficient cause arose for a call to arms. Whether over women⁶ or a hunting dispute⁷ the traditional alliances were unbroken with Kakkek and Igbak against the more easterly villages of Asak, Ohit

1. NAK Josprof 71/1915 Escorts and Patrols 1915 #97 A.D.O. Naraguta to D.O. Naraguta, May 30, 1915.

2. See Chapter II, p. 86.

3. NAI CSO 21/124 op. cit.

4. See Chapter IV.

5. NAK Josprof 11/1914. Trial under the Collective Punishment Proclamation of Villages Balsa and Bomo, Bukuru District, January 6, 1914.

6. JPP Ogi Aduku, Igbak 21/1/74, III, p. 219.

7. Ibid., Itap Achakka, Ohit 22/1/74, III, p. 227.

and Kisagyp. Also, traditional solutions were found without the intervention of the political officer. Friction continued throughout this period of study and perhaps pointed to the continuity of social interaction, assigning the European presence to a peripheral place on the wider stage of village and ethnic affairs.

From Direct Rule to 'Pagan Administration'.

Prior to 1930, there was no real attempt to understand the systems of indigenous government.¹ Taxation was the only effectively administered arm of direct rule. Although there was a great deal of theorizing on 'pagan administration', it was not really practised as a distinct system until after 1935. Due to problems of taxation, an investigation was begun in the early thirties. It expanded to a more complete political and social study after Governor Cameron's emphasis on re-organisation reports, which ultimately led to the introduction of 'pagan administration'.

The conquerors of any society usually create a mythology to explain why they rule. The myth of the 'indifferent pagans' of the Jos Plateau was the one utilised by the British. The administrators and miners viewed the indigenes only as perpetual spectators to the rush of 'civilisation', who might occasionally, but unwittingly and involuntarily, play a minor role. Their scanty dress was always seen

1. See above, p. 226.

as representing the complete image,¹ the personification of their society and its lack of complexity. It wasn't until the early 1930s that any attempt was made to understand and utilize the very complex social and political institutions on the plateau. In 1920 the dominant sentiment was that:

The pagans remain much as usual, indeed our twenty years occupation and all the European influence of the mining industry have made singularly little difference to their actual daily life and appearance.²

Such a comment can be linked by a common thread to that expressed by the Resident of Plateau Province, H. Hale Middleton, who stated in 1934:

Perhaps the most striking feature about the indigenous population of the Plateau Province is the almost negligible effect that a quarter of a century's close contact with Western civilization and the alien mining community has had apparently on their manners, customs, religion and and more noticeably, on their dress.³

In both these statements the myth occurs of an unchanging indigenous society, a society unaffected by the invaders. This British belief found support in the unchanging dress and appearance of the indigenes and led to the immediate conclusion by the colonial authorities that these were static societies. If however the effect of the invaders

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1. Many of the old men I interviewed wore only a blanket and a loin cloth and some of them still wore the penis sheaths. When asked about this lack of clothing, most referred to poverty as a reason rather than desire. This is probably a correct expression of modern sentiments but it seems likely that in the first half of the twentieth century their form of dress was a symbol of their uniqueness and the maintenance of it was a form of passive resistance to Hausa-isation and Europeanisation.
 2. NAI CSO 26/03487, Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1921.
 3. Ames, op. cit., p. 3.

was limited in 1920, by 1934 a number of changes had taken place. A depression, a locust invasion and a new administrative concept would, as will be shown below, greatly affected the peoples of the plateau.

It is not relevant in this thesis to discuss the types of British colonial rule in Nigeria beyond what has already been noted in this chapter. This has been done most adequately by other scholars.¹ However, one cannot examine the differing models attempted in the area under study and omit any reference to the policies being preached and practised elsewhere. The 'Pagans' of Northern Nigeria² were usually omitted from any debate on the type of rule adopted. They were inevitably the addendum to any general statement on Lugard's 'Indirect Rule' and it was hoped that they could slide under its umbrella sooner or later. Governor Clifford's concern was generally with Muslim rule in spite of his work for the creation of Plateau Province in 1926. This province would centralize non-Muslim administrators in one area. In the last half of the 1920s 'pagan' policy was again submerged by the fierce struggle between H. R. Palmer,

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1. A few specific works that may prove useful are the following: this list is by no means exhaustive. Atanda, J. A., The New Oyo Empire, 1973; Ikime, O., Niger Delta Rivalry, 1969; Tibenderana, P. K., "The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule 1900-1946" Ph.D. thesis, Ibadan, 1974.

For a 'period piece' see Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1937.

2. For greater detail on the administration of the non-Muslim North see Ballard, J. A., 'Pagan Administration and Political Development in Northern Nigeria', Savanna, Vol. I: 1, June 1972, pp. 1-14.

Lieutenant Governor for the Northern Provinces and Governor Graeme Thomson in Lagos¹ over Native Administration which to Palmer meant emirate administration. D. C. Cameron's arrival as Governor of Nigeria in 1931 closed the door to the extension of Palmer's philosophy to the south and brought into effect a more rigorous examination of those Native administrations already in existence. At the same time this examination questioned the reason for their existence.

Although Governor Cameron has been given credit for the lifting to prominence of the 'pagan' areas,² his policies were not the first signs of recognition of the non-Muslim areas in the Northern Provinces. His was but a continuation of a practice, however unorganized, already in existence. Having identified the main governmental figures the constant occurrence of experimentation and change should be examined beginning with Governor Clifford's gubernatorial term.

From his arrival in 1919, Governor Hugh Clifford's initial and abiding concern was with indirect rule and its manifestations in the emirates rather than those areas of non-Muslim population. He had no ready answer for the administration of the latter in his early years, feeling that a district officer was the best 'ruler'

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1. White, J. J., "The Development of Central Administration in Nigeria, 1914-1935", Ph.D., thesis Ibadan, 1970.
See particularly Chapter VI on Palmer's Lieutenant Governorship.
 2. Perham (1937) op. cit., p. 332; Sharwood-Smith, Sir Bryan, But always as Friends, 1969, p. 101.

until an indirect rule policy could be enforced.¹ This of course reinforced a policy already in existence on the Jos Plateau that of direct rule. However, he did establish his own policy in the field of taxation and sent out a minute on taxation in 'Pagan Areas'.² In it, he agreed with the basic theory Lugard had expounded but renounced in no uncertain terms 'the implied suggestion that the institution of a system of taxation is one of the principle raison d'être of the establishment of British rule in an area inhabited by tribes in a "very backward" cultural condition.'³ He felt that this policy had its origins in 'the straitened condition of the finances of old Northern Nigeria and in the state of bondage to a balance sheet,'⁴ and that the British had become simply revenue collectors, a statement which the plateau indigenes heartily agreed with.⁵ He went on to compare British tax patrols to Fulani raids stating that taxes were exacted before any benefits accrued.⁶

Clifford also condemned the artificial Native administration of Jos where no Native administration had been before and he did not

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1. NAK SNP 17/8 K. 4046. Minute by Governor Clifford to Lieutenant Governor, June 1, 1920.
 2. NAK Josprof 242/1920, Circular #49/203p/1920 of June 29, 1920, Taxation in Pagan Areas.
 3. NAK Josprof 242/1920, Circular #49/203p/1920 of June 29, 1920, Taxation in Pagan Areas.
 4. Ibid.
 5. The Plateau peoples virtually always in oral tradition interpreted the role of the political officer as a tax collector. To them, he had no other duty. JPP I-V passim.
p.184.
 6. See Chapter IV, Lugard had also made a similar criticism.

want to see Muslims have any power over non-Muslim peoples. The latter point was not an issue in Jos. At this time the Native administration had no authority over the indigenes of Jos Division anyway. They were administered directly by the D.O.¹ Clifford, however, renewed his criticism of this 'fifteen year old edifice of administrative procedure' when he stated that these "primitive" systems will never be converted into Native administrations on the emirate model.² This 'procedure' has had a destructive and disintegrating influence on local 'tribal' organizations which the Lugardian wished to build up to so-called native administrations fashioned on Muslim emirates. This, he points out, was foreign to the natural idiosyncrasies of the people.³ Although minute, a shift had occurred not to 'pagan administration by pagans' but at least a dawning realization that the Native administration as constructed in Muslim areas was not suited to the segmentary areas of the north and a more cautious policy of hastening slowly was emerging.⁴

It was during Clifford's governorship that the idea of a separate non-Muslim province was mooted. Although the ideological debate between Palmer's Kaduna and Thomson's Lagos over the Native administrations and their authority continued until the end of the decade, Plateau Province or perhaps more correctly 'Pagan Province' was created.

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1. NAK Josprof 373/1912, op. cit.
 2. NAK Josprof 242/1920, op. cit.
 3. PRO CO 583/89 Confidential Clifford to C.O. June 25, 1920.
 4. Orr, Charles, The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911, p. 299.

Nevertheless there were other elements in its make-up besides the type of Native administration.

One of the foremost reasons for creating this separate entity was the rather chaotic nature of Jos Division. Despite the fact that it was only a small part of Bauchi Province (6% of the area), it nevertheless presented difficulties which required more personnel than other areas.¹ This was mostly due to the careful consideration necessary for

the administration of the Hausa Settlements, the pagans, the Fulani, the Mines Labour, the personal employees each presenting separate problems which require much thinking out at the present stage.²

It was felt more advisable to separate the emirate system practised in Bauchi Province from the more direct system being utilized among the Jos Plateau indigenes. This decision did not affect the emirate system operating in Jos. This would also rid the province of the difficulties of administering a major mineral producing area. A third reason for the re-arrangement of territories was the almost completed Eastern Railway.³ With such a change the necessary paper

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1. NAI CSO 26/09506 Annual Report for Bauchi Province for the year 1922. This report notes that there were 109 headmen in the province of which 58 were in Jos Division. The touring in the province was thus concentrated in this area.
 2. NAI CSO 26/03487 Annual Report for Bauchi Province for the year 1921. Palmer commented that the Jos '... peninsula is a troublesome mining area ...' in his report on the creation of Plateau Province. See PRO CSO 583/139, #663/55 Enclosure to Confidential Despatch of February 5, 1926. SNP to CSO, Lagos, Dec. 31, 1925.
 3. See Chapter VII, pp. 348-350.

work, traffic operations and rail repairs could be confined for the most part in the one province that was benefitting the most rather than in Bauchi Province which maintained only the last forty-eight kilometres from the provincial border into Jos.

Thus the idea was broached and found acceptable to Palmer who perhaps saw an opportunity to keep 'his north' isolated from the disruptive forces of missions, mines and 'pagans'. He could also establish 'chiefs and district heads, whether alien or not ... over [his] pagan tribal authorities.'¹ The Plateau Province was seen as a part of but different from a Muslim north. This was particularly true following the surveys taken by G. J. E. Tomlinson in 1924 on the Native administration in Northern Nigeria.² It was this report that crystallized into a school of thought concerning 'pagans' and 'Pagan Administration.' The 'school' had a definite policy of separateness from the Muslim mainstream and seemed to refute the indirect rule approach which had assumed that some areas would take longer than others to become 'civilized'. Lugard's legacy had been '... the tradition that uniformity in local government policy throughout Nigeria was a consummation devoutly to be wished.'³ However, the

1. Ballard ... Savanna, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

2. NAI CSO 26/2 Pagan Administration in Northern Provinces. Tomlinson's tour followed a similar investigation trip into south-eastern Nigeria in 1923. See Afigbo, A. E. The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in South-eastern Nigeria 1891-1929 (1972), p. 197.

3. Afigbo, Ibid., p. 299.

boundary lines for the new non-Muslim Plateau Province had been drawn and a different local government policy would be followed for Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Both Clifford and Palmer had different views of the situation but both supported the same solution. Clifford did not wish non-Muslims to be put under Muslims and Palmer wanted his emirates to be freed of the chaotic non-Muslim areas like Jos Division. It was left to Governor Cameron to make 'Pagan Administration' a viable alternative to Muslim local government in Northern Nigeria. For now, however, local problems had to be dealt with before a 'Pagan Administration' was possible.

In his report of 1924 on Native administration, Tomlinson had noted the existence of what the British called the 'buffer' chief who stood between the administration and the real authority in the village. He also remarked on the constant policy of 'tribalism' which the government pursued. The problems involved in treating each village unit separately were insurmountable and it was therefore necessary to hasten the transition 'from patriarchal to tribal stage'.¹ Then, once the 'tribal' level had been reached the administration could revert to indirect rule through a tribal chief. There was always, however, the warning against premature centralization. The fate of Lankuk in Pankshin Division had not been forgotten and eager officials were constantly being reined in by their superiors

1. NAI CSO 26/2 op. cit.

when they attempted to make sweeping federations of various groups.¹

Clifford's comments on this report are instructive for they indicate to some extent the immediate direction these 'pagan groups', so difficult to administer, were to take in the Northern Provinces. He felt it fundamental that there be (1) a continuity in administration of all pagan areas, (2) a more detailed knowledge of the past history of the tribe and (3) a separation of such non-Muslim administrations from the emirates. He was particularly concerned that the powers-that-be in the Northern Provinces realized the importance of these points.²

In reply, according to Lieutenant-Governor W. F. Gowers, his final point had been considered for some time and action was taken two months after Clifford's comments to create a province 'inhabited wholly or mainly by Pagans'.³ After some discussion over whether it should have a lieutenant governor of its own - a measure Kaduna was decidedly against - the Plateau Province was created in 1926. The province was to have its headquarters in Jos, basically because of difficulties in dealing with the problems presented by a rapidly growing number of Europeans in the area. Again, mining was a prime

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1. NAK Josprof, 260/1914, Assessment Report on Narabunu Tribe (Buji, Jere, Nchara, etc.) Bukuru District. NAK Josprof 523p/1917, Assessment Report on Pakara (Nchara) Tribe, Bukuru District. NAK Josprof 516p/1917 Assessment Report on Sangawa (Limoro) Tribe for 1918, Bukuru District.
 2. NAI CSO 26/2 op. cit., 11512/40 CSO to SNP, October 6, 1924.
 3. NAI CSO 26/2/11996 Creation of Plateau Province, 2807/1923/27 SNP to CSO May 15, 1924. See fig. 7 in back cover envelope.

motive for this change, but Clifford's second point of 'history' was given more stress, for such a province must 'study tribal customs and institutions which even now are imperfectly understood.'¹ Without this knowledge, a secure foundation for 'tribal' administration could not be built.

To consolidate his final point, he wished to see a 'school for Pagan Administration', which would be shaped by those who served in these areas exclusively. It soon became clear, by the end of the decade, that such areas outside of the emirate system were being used more as punishment posts than learning centres.² In 1926, simultaneous with a general re-alignment of the Northern Provinces, Plateau Province was formed, consisting of Jos and Pankshin Divisions which were in the old Bauchi Province, as well as such 'pagan' areas as Shendam Division from Muri Province, Southern Division from Nassarawa Province and including Jema'a emirate, an area almost wholly non-Muslim.³

There now began a series of reports on the indigenous political organization, with the intention of solving the administrative problems

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1. Ibid., #83 Clifford to Secretary of State, January 29, 1925.
 2. Crocker, W. R. Nigeria: A Critique of British Colonial Administration (1936), p. 54.; White, op. cit., p. 139. Despite the flurry of interest in the 1930s the stigma remained into the 1950s that these were 'punishment posts'. See Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria Selected Documents 1900-1947 (1965) footnote 123, p. 41.
 3. In 1926 the D.O. Jema'a had requested that the Jema'a emirate be dissolved 'and direct relations established between himself and district heads.' Resident Jos to D.O., November 6, 1926, K. (NAK) as quoted in Heussler, Robert, The British in Northern Nigeria (1968), p. 116.

that conquest had created. The search, however, began not for the political structure of those societies being examined, but for a political system which could or would in the future allow for a village or a tribal chief. The village heads now governing were to be deposed if found illegitimate,¹ and the 'ritual' chief put in his place, whether he had ever in fact been 'chief' of the village or not. With such various political and cultural backgrounds, problems were bound to occur. In the Irigwe village of Kwall, the investigations showed that the village head, Odaw of Nadzia clan, was found to be of non-ritual importance and was replaced by Da of the Nuhwi clan who was thought to have greater authority.² A similar measure was applied in Miango.

The Rukuba were in three sections, with the Utu of Achakka (Ujja) village area considered to be the most important village head, for historical reasons.³ By 1928, the re-organization of Pankshin Division was well underway and, faced with the plethora of independent villages, a federation was felt to be best for the present. In this way, each

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1. NAI CSO 26/12601 Vol. V Annual Report for Plateau Province for the year 1927.
 2. JPP Nadzia clan, 23/4/73, IV, p. 22. The 'proper order', however, was restored when the locusts' invasion came. Da was replaced by Odaw as the European representative and Nadzia as well as Nuhwi resumed their traditional roles.
 3. NAK SNP 17/1 9096. Anthropological Notes on Rukuba Tribe No. 97/1929/7. Resident, Plateau Province to SNP February 28, 1929. Apparently Ujja had bribed a Rukuba local policeman to plead their case with the District Officer. See Muller, J. C. 'The British Conquest' n.d. MS p. 6. See also NAK Josprof 446 Vol. 1 Administration of Rukuba Tribe.

village could maintain its independence and yet meet for the good of the area to 'decide questions of public policy.'¹

Naturally related to a change in chieftaincy was the question of taxation. Two years after the creation of Plateau Province, Jos Division was felt to be ready for a graded tax rather than the capitation tax in use. The Division itself was now in fifteen Districts with the re-organization. Eight of these were Birom while the remainder were called Jere, Buji, Amo, Irigwe, Naraguta (Anaguta), Kwall, (Irigwe) Achakka (Rukuba), and Ganawuri. This change in taxation did nothing to assist the new political system in collecting such taxes. A problem common to the whole of the division was the insistence of clan heads to bring taxes directly to the Divisional Office in Jos, a practice which would produce 'only one result, the under-mining and eventual total elimination of the village heads' authority.'² Direct rule was obviously still in effect. It was the duty of the political officer to build up and then uphold the authority of the chief as a district headman.³ Such authority to be enforced meant that the base of power must be a traditional authority and recognized as such. It wasn't until the next decade that any careful research was being undertaken to ascertain just what this base was.

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1. NAK Josprof 208/1928. Re-organization of Pankshin Division 72/1925/100. A.D.O. Pankshin Division to Resident, Plateau Province. February 27, 1932.
 2. NAI CSO 26/3/22686 Assessment Report on Jos Division No 183/1927/10A Resident Lonsdale, Plateau Province Remark June 4, 1928.
 3. Ibid., No. K 7404/196 SMP to Lonsdale October 11, 1928.

The 'theory' and the practice of 'pagan administration' if it can really be called that up to 1930 was continued taxation,¹ direct rule and a half-hearted attempt at central administration. In the period up to 1930, the plateau peoples, were encountering more problems from the economic and social forces of the mines and the missions than from the British government. The 'European' chief system was beginning to collapse as greater power was given him to judge cases and assist in the collection of taxes. With over fifty 'headmen' in Jos Division - the major ones on government salary - there were frequent depositions of villages chiefs for example in Zawan and Gyel.²

In Rim, in 1921, there were a large number of complaints against Sarkin Rim,³ and the Rim villagers refused to recognize him any longer as their rightful chief because of his incompetence.⁴ He was eventually deposed in favour of another pretender.

The cause of such depositions was many times not just an illegitimate chief but also the taxes and judicial systems introduced by the British which he had to enforce. In one incident which took

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1. See Chapter V, p. 243.
 2. Up to 1930, Gyel had five appointed chiefs since the Europeans had arrived. In the same period, each religious chief had averaged twelve years in his ritual position. See JPP Gyel village, II, pp. 229-273, passim.
 3. Dabiong was Gwom Kwit at this time and was Gwom Rim up to the 1930s. The Sarkin Rim, who was complained about here, is hardly remembered now. JPP Rim, village, 30/1/73, I, p. 179.
 4. NAK Josprof 511/1921 Tour in Jos Division by Captain C.G. McKenzie, A.D.O.

place in the 1920s, the village area Chief Gwom Bullus of Pomwel, judged a Tapo villager to be guilty in a theft case. The accused did not agree with the sentence and complained to the district officer in Jos that Bullus was not the rightful Gwom of the area. An investigation was made and Bullus was removed with the new Gwom being Swadatuk of Ban, a rival village to Pomwel.¹ This incident takes on the nature of a plot when one notes that Tapo looked to Ban as their 'father'.² It is perhaps not surprising that given the new role and the possibility of the above type of incident occurring, the village headmen were reticent about giving court decisions.

In Amo, Ugo Doya was deposed by the provincial administration for collecting taxes when they weren't due.³ With the introduction of salaries in the 1920s chiefs had gained some financial independence and respect which they had not had before. Those who were chiefs illegitimately, were attempting to assume many powers for which they had no authority. When his power was challenged by village elders, it soon raised in the official mind questions as to the legitimacy of the incumbent's chieftaincy. The changes of chieftaincy mentioned above had little political impact on the plateau settlements in the late 1920's. Many of those chosen were historically of little account among the people as for example the Rukuba chiefs and the Birom

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1. JPP Choji Chollum, Gwom of Pomwel, 22/1/73, I, p. 102-3.
JPP Ban village, 25/1/73, I, p. 133.; JPP Tapo village, 26/1/73, I, p. 143.
 2. JPP Tapo village, Ibid.
 3. JPP Amo village 23/9/73, I, p. 305.

village chiefs. In Irigwe a chief was appointed in a clan-centred system which already had a perfectly acceptable "foreign affairs" representative. It was obvious that not enough was known of the various governing systems on the plateau. The British administration continued in ignorance however until an economic catastrophe occurred that threatened the taxes, the most important aspect of their government and led to widespread political and economic difficulties for the plateau peoples.

In 1930, a severe plague of locusts spreading from the east cast its shadow over the Jos Plateau and grain - upon which the indigenes of the plateau had for the most part depended as a staple crop - was consumed by this invasion. The Plateau province administration supplied imported grain to those areas that were particularly hard hit. About this time, the average price of tin on the world market had sunk from £203 in 1929 to £113 in 1931. To the companies this meant a drastic cutback in production and labour. The labour force had shrunk in that same two year period from an all time high of 38,678 to 20,763.

The first of these double catastrophies left virtually no grain for the plateau people to sell to the labourers to earn their tax money, an income which had provided a welcome alternative to working in the mines. The occurrence of the other tragedy, the consequences of the depression, meant that there was a drastic reduction in the

consumer market for the good harvest that was reaped in 1931.¹ Cheap labour in tin workings had now to be concentrated on labour viable areas and so there was a sharp cutback in machinery used.² Much of the alien labour had been drawn away by an increased interest in gold mining as well as reduced salaries on the plateau and so unskilled cheap labour was called for by the mining companies. Thus, the movement to the mines by the indigenous peoples begun in the late 1920s dramatically increased in scope. When the question is posed as to when or why the plateau peoples went to "work the tin" the answer is usually "after the locusts" or "because of the locusts".

The real reason of course was to earn tax money, because both food and other material needs could be satisfied through agriculture. For the purpose of alleviating the glaring problems that the dependence on the tin industry had brought, a newly arrived political officer, J. S. Synge, was instructed to find a means of reducing the tax load by spreading it over a number of years.³ Aside from this task, he was also given another commission, that being a complete detailed re-organization of the Jos Division. Locusts and depression had disorganized an already rather ineffective Native administration,

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1. NAI CSO 26/2/12601 Vol. X Annual Report for Plateau Province for the year 1932. Guinea corn in the Jos-Bukuru area was so abundant that it brought £2 per ton in December 1932 as compared to £14 per ton in April 1931.
 2. In 1934, the machinery in use on the tin fields amounted to 4,922 h.p. while in 1929, in the peak year of tin production it was 11,100 h.p. See UIL Annual Report for the Mines Department for the year 1938, Appendix C.
 3. Personal Interview with J. S. Synge, August 30, 1972.

and Synge's work to found a Birom Tribal Council, would perhaps solve the problem.

At about the same time, Nigeria witnessed the arrival of Sir D. C. Cameron as governor, a man who brought a widely heralded new approach to Nigeria government. He gave 'tribal' research a great impetus. This was mainly due to the problems which had arisen in south-eastern Nigeria which had culminated in the Aba Riots of 1929.¹ For our purposes, the most important effect arising from this riot was the realization by British officialdom that they did not fully comprehend those societies which they were attempting to administer. A spate of Intelligence Reports followed the Aba Commission Report² and such work was greatly encouraged by Cameron. He had recently arrived from Tanganyika where his concern for indigenous government had been noted and his policy of 'complete investigation' using anthropology was widely admired.³ He now came to Nigeria and attempted to demolish the rising wall of indirect rule. However, in actual practice, his policy of 'indirect administration' as the name suggests,

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1. Afigbo, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-248.; Gailey, Harry A., The Road to Aba (1970), especially Chapters IV to VII for the administrative account.
 2. Between 1922 and 1949, there were 117 Intelligence Reports presented with the majority between 1932-36 and most of these were on the south-east. See Gwam, L. C. A Preliminary Index to the Intelligence Reports in the Nigerian Secretariat Record Group (1961).
 3. Brown, G. G. and Kutt A. M. Anthropology in Action (1935). This was a joint effort by a political officer and anthropologist to see the ways in which one might assist the other and was undertaken in response to Cameron's policies.

straddled the issue. Perhaps his governmental policy can best be summed up in his own words. Basically it was

to administer the natives through their own tribal institution, explaining that I mean thereby the authority which according to tribal tradition and usage regulated each unit of native society before the advent of the British Government.¹

It was thus that political officers and slightly later anthropologists set out to discover pre-colonial norms. The new training scheme at Oxford and Cambridge Universities had included anthropology in its curriculum,² and within anthropological circles the rising science of functionalism was replacing the now outmoded comparative approach. This in effect meant a more thorough examination of a given society and thus its political and religious government, for it would now be treated as a unit.³ The plateau peoples were faced with both professional and amateur anthropologists who were assigned to try to find what had been hidden by them for thirty years.

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1. Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., 'Principles of ...' op. cit., p. 206, My underlining.
 2. Heussler, Robert, Yesterday's Rulers (1963) p. 46. Applications by Political Officers were to study 'Functional Anthropology with reference to the impact of European culture upon native races in general and African cases in particular.' See NAI CSO 1/32/110 No. 1200, A. C. Burns, Governor's Deputy to Secretary of State, November 23, 1931.
 3. For colonialism and anthropology see Forde, C. D., 'Applied Anthropology in Government: British Africa' in the book by Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology Today (1953) pp. 841-865. Malinowski, Bronislaw, 'The Rationalization of Anthropology and Administration', Africa 3(4), October 1930, pp. 405-430.

The Re-organization Reports.

When discussing the work done by J. S. Synge, it would be useful, at this juncture, to consider also the anthropologist E. H. Counsell who worked in the other areas of Jos Plateau. Between these two, Jos Division was carved up into three important 'tribal' areas by 1936, a far cry from the numerous autonomous villages the British expeditions had met in 1904. Ironically, the framework assembled was an attempt at re-creating precisely that pre-colonial society.

Synge was a member of that class of officers looking for a paramount chief. He found one in time at Riyom. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say he found the traces of an antique system that had become run down long before the British arrived. There were signs, however, that the societies had survived the battering they had taken in the thirty year storm of change around it. To Synge, the Bong Gwom (Supreme Chief) of the Birom was to be in Riyom. It was a beginning, and he searched farther afield to find all those whom he felt were remotely connected with the Birom in any way. This was not difficult, given the historical background mentioned earlier in this work,¹ and Synge added what Biroms called the Bi Bot (Afusare), Bi Jal (Ganawuri), Bi Kwon (Irigwe) and Biguta (Anaguta) as kin groups. These were then considered part of the greater Birom Tribal Group and were to join the 'proper' Birom villages under Bong Gwom Riyom.²

1. See Chapter I, II and III passim.

2. Synge thus confirmed a chief-centred system for three clan-centred groups - the Ganawuri, Irigwe and Anaguta. The Anaguta accepted the chief. The Ganawuri had just undergone a struggle which led to a chief-centred system (See pp. 302-304). The Irigwe had solved this problem of 'chief' before the British arrived with their foreign affairs officer.

With this bare political outline, which Synge substantiated with his own anthropological work, perhaps it would be well to look at his report in greater detail.

The basic problem for the provincial administration had not changed. A Native Authority was required, be it a single chief, federation, or tribal council. In 1932, it had been admitted by the administration that a 'tribal' head could not be found even after the intensive study carried out in 1927 and so such a personage did not exist. The Birom were but an amalgamation of eight districts.¹ By 1933, however, with a different "wind" blowing out of Lagos, the plateau province resident was speaking of the formation of a Birom Tribal Council and commenting on the readiness of elders to speak out in the infrequent meetings among the Gwoms.² When this statement was made, Synge had already spent two years gathering his material on the Birom and pseudo-Birom. Early in 1935, his report was submitted and for the most part accepted.

His time had not been ill-spent. His plan provided for a central Birom Tribal Council consisting of Gwoms in Riyom which would also serve as a supreme judiciary. Below this were to be the district councils of village heads who again performed a judicial and executive function. Beneath this was the village Gwom and his council of elders.

1. NAI CSO 26/2/12601 Vol. X, op. cit.
2. NAI CSO 26/2/12601 Vol. XI, op. cit.

All Gwoms were to be placed on a salary which would vary according to the size of the respective villages. No separate Birom treasury was yet to be set-up, the tax money still was to be paid to Jos and used for the whole division.

With such a system, it was hoped that the Birom's chiefly system could be left to administer itself and thus allow the divisional officers to deal with those difficulties raised by the immigrant population.¹ The foundation of the whole system was the constant reference to its being 'traditional', a governmental pattern that had existed and functioned unknown to the British officers, and now had been uncovered sound and intact. It was thought that the 'buffers' or 'European' chiefs had all been replaced by the Gwom Kwit, and with this combining of church and state, ultimate authority had been found. Several assumptions, however, had been made based on the truths and half-truths collected, that could flaw this system.

First and basic, was the 'pure tribe theory', that all those who were thought to be Birom were Birom and subject to a Birom chiefly political authority. Secondly, the religious centre of Riyom was surely of some importance to a number of Birom but by no means all.² The new plan made it into a political and judicial centre, a role it could not and never had fulfilled. Thirdly, the inclusion of the Maguta, Irigwe, Ganawuri and Jarawa as 'Birom' and the expectation

1. NAI CSO 26/2/12601 Vol. VII. Annual Report on Plateau Province for the year 1937.

2. See Chapters I and II on Birom migrations, passim.

that it they would obey Riyom was misplaced. More came to Riyom for fear of being deposed¹ for not coming than out of a sense of 'tribal' unity. These problems and the unwieldy 73 Gwoms who were to assemble in Riyom were problems yet to be faced.

It should be pointed out, if not already inferred, that the Birom and Anaguta were much more affected due to their geographical position vis-a-vis the tin and the invaders than others. Beyond them, on the fringe of the plateau, were other groups which came under the administrative eye of not a political officer who dabbled in anthropology but a trained anthropologist who had been seconded to Plateau Province for research purposes. To him was left the task of rectifying boundaries which had divided ethnic groups e.g. the Rukuba, and to unite into a federation if possible all related groups.

The Rukuba were the first to be examined. Their 'truculence' had not ceased since the time of the initial conquest. Since 1920, four - known² internal skirmishes had taken place over hunting and spouses. Nevertheless, tin mining had affected the area very little and neither Christianity under the SIM nor Islam had gained a very high proportion of adherents. In fact, it was Counsell's feeling that:

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1. JPP Dandong Fai, Ganawuri, 23/8/73, IV, p. 243 For details of Syngé's report see NAI CSO 26/11/30536. Re-organization of the Birom Tribal Area, Plateau Province, 1935.
 2. These conflicts were carried on with the usually alliances being formed i.e. Kakkek-Igok vs Ohit-Asak. One such altercation was settled in a pre-colonial manner by a meeting of the Utus and their elders. This action reflects the Rukuba attitude to the effectiveness of the British administration. See JPP Ohit village, 22/1/74, III, p. 227.

the tribe is probably much the same today as it was thirty years ago, except that it has had to give up the more repellant of its customs.¹

His assignment then was to unite these rather fractious villages into a Rukuba central authority through which the district officers could work. His conclusions were notably different from those reached by Synge who appears to have found what he set out to find namely a paramount chief for the Birom. Counsell, on the other hand, recognized six 'equal' native authorities with no 'chief' superior or paramount. The court system was similar with village native courts having no superior 'tribal' court over them.² Finally after much persuasion, Kisheka, the only Rukuba village area conquered by Zaria in the last century, returned to Plateau Province and joined the Rukuba Council.³

By their persistent adherence to their pre-colonial structure (which meant difficulties for the British administration) the Rukuba had brought about an investigation which it was hoped would solve yet another thorny provincial problem. Old 'buffers' had been found out and the supremacy of the Ujja village area denied.⁴ A more searching,

1. NAK Josprof 446 Vol. I, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. 1841/120 SNP to Resident, Zaria Province, January 21, 1936. 446/176 Resident, Zaria Province, to SNP March 3, 1937.

4. Ibid. Counsell's assessment of Ujja's position was that 'Utu Ujja ... is not recognized as a tribal chief by any but his own people; to the others he is a white man's servant to whom unfortunately they have been made subordinate.' Also see JPP Zagan village, 22/1/74, III, p. 237.

less politically oriented examination had been made and it was found that 'the highest functioning natural administrative unit is ... the village area.'¹ From 1935 on, it would be up to the constant touring of the district officer and the cooperation of the Rukuba to make such a system work.

The year 1936 brought yet another report from Counsell this time on the Northern Jos Plateau. In this area, it was hoped that these disparate groups would be united with the Rukuba with whom they had lived together in pre-colonial times. This would have simplified the patchwork administration on the plateau into two very neat N.A.s, the Birom and the rest. Such a scheme, although probably tempting to Counsell, was soon seen as impracticable and Counsell's report concentrated on a re-organization of the Amo, Buji and Jere Districts.²

Counsell, again with a rather non-political bias, did not attempt to federate these areas but left them in their administrative districts, changing only the character of the native authorities where it was felt a 'rightful' chief had not been appointed. Any suggestion of a federation was rejected by the Amo and even within each district there was resentment against being placed under a particular village head.³ The Kurama and Chokobo were 'indifferent to our administration', but objected to Ugwomo Jere being put over

1. Ibid.

2. MAK Josprof, 407, Vol. I Re-organization of Amo, Buji, Jere Districts, Jos Division, 1936.

3. JPP Teria village, (Lett. No. 31/7/73, IV, p. 195. The Nchara were not and are still not content being within Buji District.

them.¹ This led to the abolition of the posts of the district heads in Jere and Buji and the formation of a council consisting of each village head with no overall 'paramount' chief. A similar councillor system was set up in Amo with the village head of Amo Ketara as president.

Counsell had thus interpreted his research in a less dogmatic manner and implemented what the people would accept at that time rather than what was historically traditional. The elders of the villages had been consulted and whether or not they had a chief-centred or clan-centred system of government before, they had come to the conclusion in some cases that a village head was being called for by the administration.²

For now, the government of the plateau peoples, at least as far as the British were concerned, had been founded upon conditions as they had been before 1902. But this was 1935 and contrary to British assumptions of the unchanging and unchangeable "pagans" many significant changes had taken place. To those who had just been placed within this antique structure, their power had been diluted. For many, a new intrusion had been made on their villages and their insularity was being imperilled. Avoidance of contact with the non-plateau peoples

1. NAK Josprof 407, Vol. I, op. cit.

2. NAK SMP 17/8 4046 Vol. III Native Administration 129/1934.
SMP to Residents of all Provinces, May 11, 1934.;
Ballard, op. cit., 1972, p. 14.; JPP Kumeny village, 23/1/74,
III, p. 246.

was still common. This was interpreted by the colonial administration as apathy. A new means of accommodation with the new order was sought however and the villages most influenced by the factors of change turned to the young men who had gone out of the village to the mines, the missions and the schools. Perhaps they would better understand what the white man expected. This solution was, inevitably, a two-edged sword and those who had been sent out and/or rejected by the elders and other villagers were now being requested to return as intermediaries.¹ The appointment of a new, legal chief to a paid position with government responsibilities had changed the very essence of his role.² His installation meant disenchantment to many whose clan had been deposed or who saw the role of the 'European chiefs' as a go-between over shadowing the traditional ruler. The affluent permanent mines workers whose influence had grown according to their wealth had their own ambitions and the growing class of educated Christians felt that an illiterate chief was a disadvantage for their

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1. A danger which the British were not wholly ignorant of, terming it an 'insidious danger that the elders in course of time might find their ancient authority usurped by the upstart products of alien contact.' See NAK SNP 17/22/564, Organization of North and 11/1930/33 Resident, Plateau Province, to SNP July 13, 1934.
 2. By 1927, payment of village chiefs was quite widespread with all district heads getting anything from #1 to #4 per month in salary, a considerable sum with taxes in the 1920s around four shillings per year. See NAK Josprof 519/1926, District and Village Staff Organization in Plateau Province #327/1921/16 Resident i/c Jos Division to Resident Plateau Province August 19, 1927.

village.¹ A thorough examination of this 'fifth column' is not intended, but suffice it to say that resistance, especially in Birom society, very much exposed to the Europeans had by the 1930s shifted ground enormously. The earlier militant and later passive resistance had perhaps given these villages a time-shield to protect them while they equipped themselves to meet the different kind of struggle that the economic, religious and political changes had brought. Or perhaps behind a wall of indifference, they had allowed those, once rejected, to acquire a new type of cultural armament which they turned inward on the villages and the old order.

With Counsell's report, taking us to 1936, it was felt that the problems of Pagan administration in the most troublesome division of the Plateau Province had been solved. Thirty years of isolation and passive resistance had, it was hoped, been overcome by three years of research. Now the provincial officers looked to three sets of 'Tribal Councils' which would eventually come under a more orthodox 'indirect rule' and thus into line with the practice of colonial government in the rest of Northern Nigeria.

1. Baker, T. M., 'Political Control Among the Birom', West African Institute of Social and Economic Research Proceedings 1956, p. 116.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN RELIGIONS, 1906-1935

The major alien religious influence on the plateau peoples up to 1935 was Christianity. Although resisted both actively and passively, it initially penetrated the village structure with its medicine. A decade after its introduction, the first converts to the new faith were made in Jos Division. It was not until education facilities were firmly established that the Christian mission realized its greatest impact. Many of the plateau peoples turned to the graduates of mission schools when the new political systems were introduced in the 1930's. Islam was a more latent force on the plateau. It did not actively engage in proselytization nor was it as closely identified with the alien conquerors as was Christianity. Islam's following was confined in both senses of the word to the tin mining camps and was never really enlarged by the plateau peoples in this period of study. The use of Hausa as a lingua franca on the plateau was the most important factor for the later spread of Islam. It was not however widely spoken until after the re-organization of the councils during the 1930's. Most of their meetings used Hausa, a language understood by both the political officers and the councillors.

Alien Religious "Pioneers" and Plateau Resistance

Before the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate, a number of attempts by British mission societies had been made to carry the Christian faith to the Muslim north of Nigeria.¹ One of the leaders in this effort was the Church Missionary Society² which worked in Bida before 1890 and by the last decade of the nineteenth century was making firm attempts to move northward. In 1900 five C.M.S. missionaries set out to reach the heartland of Islam in Northern Nigeria.³ Buoyed by their reception in Nupeland and Zaria, their vision of successful Christian proselytization faded and then vanished in the face of a humiliating experience in Kano when they were given three days to get out of the city. This action presaged the future of the Christian missions in the Muslim north. Although the missions were given some support by the Lugard administration from 1900 to 1906, in the years following 1906 indirect rule, as an administrative tool, ossified under Governor P. G. Girouard. This meant a complete lack of interference in the native administrations of the Muslim emirates by the British administration, a doctrine which was then extended to include any

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1. Ayandele, E. A. The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914 (1966) pp. 118-152.
 2. For a rather biased general history of the C.M.S. see Stock, Eugene, A History of the Church Missionary Society, IV, 1916. See also Hewitt, G., The Problem of Success: A History of C.M.S. 1910-42, 1971. Their Nigerian activities are closely examined by Ayandele, *op. cit.*, and Ajayi, J. F. A., Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891, 1965.
 3. Ayandele, E. A. 'The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria (1870-1918)', J.H.S.N., 3(3), December, 1966, p. 509.

interference by religious missions. This was as much to 'protect' the emirates as it was to screen off the, at times, autocratic rule of the resident.¹

There were yet areas untouched by the jihadists of the nineteenth century. With the establishment of British rule in the early 20th century, it was feared by religious interests that Islam would spread widely into these unconquered areas.² Those missions whose initial zeal was to preach in Muslim areas, redirected their enthusiasm to these 'pagan' lands. One of those mission groups to be so diverted was the interdenominational Sudan Interior Mission.

After an abortive attempt to enter Northern Nigeria in 1893, with only its founder Reverend Roland Bingham surviving,³ a second attempt was made in 1900 under the name 'African Industrial Mission'. However this undertaking did not get beyond Lagos. The third try the following year, was successful and a station was set up at Patigi among the Nupe. However there was a high mortality rate among the missionaries and the accomplishments of the mission in Patigi can only be measured through the work of A. W. Banfield and his research into the Nupe language.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 516.

2. C.M.S.: Hausaland Mission G3/A9/10 Miller to Baylis March 7, 1903.

3. Hunter, J. H., A Flame of Fire: The Life and Work of R. V. Bingham, D.D., 1941, p. 58-59.

4. Ayandele, op. cit., JHSM. 3(3), p. 522.

In its initial stages, the African Industrial Mission found the name 'Industrial' most valuable as this appellation would attract some capital from western capitalists, some of whom would not donate from religious motives but might be more willing to donate in order to help create industrial and progressive 'natives'.¹ By 1905, the African Industrial Mission had decided to show its real motives and changed its name to the more accurate title of 'Africa Evangelistic Mission.'² This was to destroy the notion that 'the object of the mission was to civilize rather than to evangelize.'³

Meanwhile, the Sudan Pioneer Mission was founded in 1902 and embraced as its major aims the stemming of the tide of Islam and providing the non-Muslim population of Northern Nigeria with a choice.⁴ The choice was between Christianity and Islam, for it was assumed that the 'pagans' would not wish to adhere to their own traditional religion. By 1904, this mission, now named the Sudan United Mission, sent its founder Dr. Karl Kumm and three other missionaries to Nigeria. It was not to the Muslim north that they were going but to a great plateau of comparatively healthy country with a large population of 'pagans'. This is the way the Jos Plateau had been described to them by the resident of Bauchi, C. L. Temple.⁵ However, Lugard felt it better for

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1. Faithful Witness (early SIM periodical) August 1899, 12(33) p. 27.
 2. Missionary Witness (replaced Faithful Witness in 1904), October 17, 1905, p. 94.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Grimley, J. B. and Robinson, G. E., Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria, 1966, p. 44.
 5. Maxwell, J. Lowry, Half a Century of Grace, 1954, p. 26.

them to stay in Wase, a Muslim town, perhaps due to the rather unstable military situation that the British expedition had created on the plateau. This delay in Wase was resented by this initial group but by 1909, they had moved north-west to Langtang much nearer the plateau population. Other members of the S.U.M. were in the now well patrolled area of Cyel and Zawan among the Birom.

Despite the wishes of the colonial administration for a united mission movement which would have proved much easier to deal with,¹ the British Sudan United Mission and the Canadian Africa Evangelistic Mission could not remain united for more than one year (1906-07). The latter, after the rupture, became known as the Sudan Interior Mission. A more manageable situation for the British administration was realized with regard to the C.M.S. and the newly formed Cambridge United Mission Party (C.U.M.P.) in 1904. The C.U.M.P. agreed to fall under the administrative aegis of the C.M.S. and to let the district known as the Bauchi highlands be considered the one for which they would be responsible.² To this end, F. E. Alvarez undertook a tour of the plateau south and west of Bauchi in 1906 to find a suitable sphere for the C.U.M.P. Acclaimed by Wallace as good missionary ground,³ Alvarez decided on the area from Bukuru (location of the British garrison) stretching south to the Birom town of Sop. However, his report on

1. The Lightbearer, 2, October 1905, p. 15.

2. C.M.S. Hausaland Mission op. cit., C.M.S. and C.U.M.P. #42, July 16, 1906.

3. C.M.S. Niger Mission G3/A3/78. Thomas E. Alvarez report on Northern Nigeria tour 1905-06, June 15, 1906.

this favourable site fell into the hands of Dr. Karl Kumm,¹ who was also looking for mission sites and consequently the C.U.M.P. sphere moved west to encompass the Angas and Sura while the S.U.M. undertook the work among the Birom around Bukuru. It is this work in Bukuru that will be examined to gain some insight into the type of contact that the plateau peoples had with the missionaries.

The S.U.M. set up its first mission station around Bukuru under J. M. Young and Dr. A. Emlyn in 1907. By intention, they settled in Zawan, the first Birom village to have welcomed the British when they initially arrived. The mission was joined a short time later by H. W. Ghey who settled in the town of nearby Gyel. Ghey had a rather difficult beginning, for the indigenes of Gyel were compelled to build his living accommodations. The resident had sent some policemen to round up all able-bodied men to complete the building of his hut a half a mile from the village. This caused some discomfort on Ghey's part who asked himself 'what would be their thoughts regarding the new white man?'² This prompted him to hire some labourers from the Naraguta tin mine camp to finish the work, telling the Gyel men they were not needed.

This raises two issues that were to shadow the presence of every missionary who came to this area then and for sometime afterward.

The first was the firm and natural identification of missionaries

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1. C.M.S. Northern Nigeria Mission 1907, #83. Alvarez to Baylis September 28, 1907.
 2. The Lightbearer, 4(4), June 1907, p. 197.

by the plateau peoples with the government and/or tin miners - a reaction completely justified by the fore-going incident concerning Ghey's hut. Gyel in this case would not differentiate as to whether it was a governmental or missionary hut that they were building.

The second issue was that of the complete dependence by these incoming strangers on the villagers among whom they proselytized. The cash economy of the mines carried no such difficulties for the miners. In Gyel, money or trade goods, which was all the missionaries could offer, were rejected as the villagers had no use for these objects. The missionaries could only offer salt, 'the one connecting link between the natives and ourselves,'¹ which was readily accepted; otherwise they were totally boycotted.² Even the collection of firewood 'takes all our time in order to cook our food.'³ With such tasks a necessary part of survival and thus leaving little time for religion, it became imperative for the missionary to make close contact with the villagers as early as possible. His mission depended upon the symbiotic relationship that he could set up with the villagers. Otherwise he would be forced to find his supplies elsewhere, i.e. Maraguta. At this time, however, the logistics required to obtain food and firewood were non-existent. As for Gyel indigenes, Ghey found that it was 'rather difficult to get near them. They are still afraid

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1. Ibid., p. 203, Ghey also points out that Gyel could not get salt which means that their traditional sources both to the west, Irigve and to the south, Ron, had been disrupted by the British military advance.
 2. Ibid., p. 203.
 3. Ibid., p. 198.

of us and cannot understand what we wanted (sic) in their country.'¹

Gyel, for their part, remembered Ghey or 'Masa' (master?) as they called him, but not in a very favourable light. They refused to allow him into the town out of fear of him. They refused also to go near him and would not listen to what he said.² Their major concern was that he should not go near the Kwit places, to which he was forbidden by them to go. Eventually, according to Gyel, he went away to Forum because of their resistance.³

Ghey was quite persistent in Gyel, however. A system of barter for firewood, yams and sweet potatoes was begun late in 1907, and Ghey set about trying to learn the language, which he found exceptionally difficult and had to fall back constantly on his knowledge of Hausa and/or interpreters. By 1909, a few classes were attempted for the children, in which some reading and writing were taught in Hausa as well as Biron. When Ghey went on leave late in 1909, the school closed and Reverend E. Evans replaced him for a short time. By mid-1910, the Gyel station was closed and moved to Du. The Gyel mission had failed.

Two possibilities for this closure may be suggested here. The first has been dealt with above, that is, the inability of the mission to overcome the suspicion and fear entertained by Gyel people. Ghey, for example, expressed his disappointment in not obtaining one or two of his hopes; one was that of inducing the 'natives' to wear clothes, a sure

1. Ibid., p. 200.

2. JPP Pam Doji, Gyel 16/8/73 II, page 246. 'Masa' was remembered as a 'fierce animal'.

3. Ibid.

sign at that time of 'civilized people', and the second was maintaining a regular school.¹ Both of these objectives were common in the missionary's work among the 'pagans'.

The second possibility that might have brought about the closure was the pressure of the tin miners, who wished to possess the very area on which the mission hut was built. Not being allowed to enter the town by Gyel people, the mission station had been built by the river near the town. Tin was plentiful in the area, and the land was soon leased to the tin miners at the expense of closing down the mission station. Thus, economics took priority over spirituality.

The S.U.M. now concentrated much of its activity in Du and Zawan, itinerating only occasionally in outside areas. The Zawan station, in constant operation since 1907, had set up a dispensary to attract followers, and in 1911, four or five patients a year were coming from as far away as Forum. Zawan appears to have been the most receptive to this new presence, as it had also been to the tin mining influence, and the missionaries set up their headquarters there. The Du, however, refused to come down from their homes in the hills.² Very few in Du were interested in this stranger and what he said. Most were terrified by his complexion and avoided him completely.³ For his part he continually encouraged them to leave their Kwit which they, naturally, refused to do. However, he never went near the Kwit

1. The Lightbearer, 6 and 7, August-September 1910, p. 160.

2. JPP Du village, 11/3/73, II, p. 151.

3. Ibid.

place because he was forbidden to do so.¹

In Shen, a hamlet north-east of Du, the same resistance was provoked when they were urged to leave the Kwit. The elders were quick to point out what would occur if the villagers followed this new religion and attended its church and school. If the young men followed it, there would be no one left to farm and the young men would then become lazy.² The missionaries realised this distaste for indolence was widespread, and noted that it had been the pre-colonial custom to sell a child who showed a disinclination to work. They did not, however, equate laziness with the attending of mission schools. This sentiment was not shared by the elders, who expected their youth to follow pre-colonial work patterns.

By 1912, the missionaries were looking with some trepidation at the incoming labour force for tin, or more precisely, the Hausa merchants that this labour force spawned. These Hausa Muslims, especially in Bukuru, were 'pressing in on every side with Government protection', and unlike the Christians, every Muslim was considered to be a missionary and his influence was soon felt in Bukuru.³ The tin boom had begun in 1911 and was becoming exceedingly active. Bukuru was growing rapidly; attracting miners, labourers and Hausa merchants. From the Hausa markets came the Muslim call to prayer

1. Ibid., p. 152. Both Du villagers and the Provincial Administration forbade such actions.
2. JPP Nyam Bading, Shen, 10/8/73, II, p. 194.
3. JPP Usuman Bello, Bukuru, 4/4/73, V, p. 1.

each morning.¹ It is not surprising then that the mission began to look farther afield to those areas more isolated from these influences. Thus, by 1913, Forum and Vwang village areas both very large Birom areas and traditionally of considerable importance in pre-colonial days, were chosen for mission expansion. Unfortunately Forum already had a tin mining area within five kilometres of Zabutt but perhaps the sheer size of the population in the Forum village area overcame this obstacle. Also, not all missionaries were anti-mines for some like Reverend E. Evans felt that the influx of white men to the district would 'prove advantageous to mission work and not otherwise.'²

However, to continue in this vein would be to give S.U.M. a preponderant importance in mission work which was not the case. There were others in the field to be considered and an examination of their activities would be useful here. As early as 1907, the plateau, already chequered by the boundary lines of mining leases, was being further divided by the mission organizations which were being diverted from the Muslim areas to the 'pagan' plateau. Emlyn in Bukuru agreed with Alvarez of C.M.S. that the S.U.M. would not work among the Birom and Rukuba while the C.U.M.P. went into the territory of the Sura and Angas, an area closely bordered by the interests of the C.M.S. in the lowlands. Thus missionaries set out to delimit their area in order to concentrate on a particular sphere of activity and especially a

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1. The Lightbearer, 9(3) March 1913, p. 74.
 2. The Lightbearer, 10(1), January 1914, p. 16.

particular language. There were three partitions of the plateau, one political, another economic and yet another spiritual.

The union of the S.U.M. and what was to become the S.I.M. lasted less than a year, being dissolved in 1907 for the 'good of the older work in America'¹ and because it proved impracticable to cast the two efforts into the same mould.² The Canadian effort was indeed of a more evangelistic bent with little interest in its earlier promises of industry and education.³ The S.I.M. work continued in Patigi, Egbe and respective out-stations until it began in 1910 to look northward. Dr. A. P. Stirrett, one of the most dedicated of the S.I.M. missionaries⁴ journeyed through the highlands of the Jos Plateau with a view to opening a sanatorium for workers stationed in the lowland areas. Patigi and Wushishi were both considered unhealthy areas. However, he soon judged this area to be in dire need of a more direct Christian influence and sent a call to the S.I.M.'s home board in Toronto to open work among the Baron, Birom and Ganawuri. In succeeding issues of the Missionary Witness Stirrett reiterated his call and pointed out that the planned railway so beneficial to the miners, could also serve the missionaries by

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1. Missionary Witness, July 2, 1907, p. 97.
 2. The Lightbearer, IV, June 1907, p. 152.
 3. Missionary Witness, December 13, 1904, p. 37. Also see Graham, Sonia, F., Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919, 1966.
 4. Dr. A. P. Stirrett came out as a missionary rather late in life at the age of 37; however, he was in Nigeria, notably Jos, from 1902 to 1948. See, Percy, Douglas C., Stirrett of the Sudan, 1948.

transporting them to the still dreamed of sanatorium.¹

Finally with the full approbation of the residents in charge, a site was selected near Miango in 1911 for the sanatorium. Thus, the S.I.M. gained a toehold on the western edge of the plateau among the Irigwe and found similar problems to those the S.U.M. had faced. The Irigwe still had little use for money and would do nothing for the missionaries.² The Irigwe did not particularly appreciate the arrival of these newcomers. They harassed non-European workers and thus obliged G. Sanderson, who was in charge of the sanatorium, to be accompanied by an escort of his own men when he journeyed to town.³ Kwall, in the meantime, paid no attention to these newcomers, and ignored them completely.⁴ Zanfara, a member of the Tahu clan, who had been made chief of Miango by the British, had a more difficult time remaining aloof. His elders, however, isolated themselves from the newcomers and could not see this new faith as anywhere near as strong as Tede, the main pillar of traditional beliefs.⁵

Unable, by prior agreement, to enter the S.U.M.'s Birom parish, the S.I.M. spread westwards off the scarp into areas inhabited by the Chawai and Kagoro. They also made their presence felt in Rukuba

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1. Missionary Witness, December 1911, p. 329.
 2. Evangelical Christian, May 1913, p. 155.
 3. Ibid., April 1914, p. 121.
 4. JPP Nadzia clan, Kwall, 23/4/73, IV, p. 2. Kwall, it should be remembered, is five kilometres from Miango and the two are separated by a fast flowing river.
 5. JPP Miango town, 24/4/73, IV, p. 48.

where a station was set up in 1916. C. F. Hummell opened a station in Kakkek because it was the most senior and largest village area among the Rukuba. It became known as Zagun because the first Utu the British met here in 1904 was named Zagun. Hummell quickly attempted to ingratiate himself by asking who the father of the Rukuba was. When told it was a man called Apookadoo, he told the Rukuba to call him by that name as he was now their father.¹ He, unlike other missionaries, did not employ Hausa but insisted on acquiring the Rukuba language.² However, despite his efforts, he was avoided and ignored; the people showed a lack of concern for his trade goods and his English money. Much of his attention he devoted to the medical dispensary he had set up, in the hope that a more lasting contact could be made through that medium.

With the S.I.M. and the S.U.M. now firmly entrenched on the Jos Plateau at least on paper, it would be well to take a brief glance at the work done in the Pankshin area as a means of comparison with the C.M.S. and C.U.M.P. work. Due to its intense interest in the Muslim north the C.M.S. was committed to extensive political maneuvering with the British government in order to reach its Christian goals among the adherents of Islam.³ The C.M.S. were thus quite pleased in 1904 to welcome the C.U.M.P. a group which had the avowed aim of proselytizing the 'pagans'. This could very well have

1. JPP Utu Kakkek, Zagun town, 22/1/74, III, p. 236.

2. Evangelical Christian, June 1916, p. 186.

3. Ayandele, op. cit., 1966, pp. 117-152.

aided the C.M.S. in refuting the constant British suggestion that they divert their enthusiasm to the Bauchi highlands. Although C.U.M.P. had been founded in 1904, by 1907 it still only had one missionary, J. W. Lloyd, in the field. In the mission 'division' of 'pagan' groups, the Angas and the Sura had been allotted to C.U.M.P., about whom Alvarez had enthused claiming that the Mission got the best of the deal because the Angas and Sura were superior in intelligence to the Birom and Rukuba in the Jos area.¹ Thus, an initial station was set up in 1907 among the Sura at Panyam with two missionaries, Lloyd and a newly arrived missionary, George Fox. The invariable problems of a non-monetary economy combined with lack of interest in the mission were met. Attempts were made to learn something about the Sura religion but little progress was made. Some itinerating was done which although not extensive took Fox to Kabwir and Boi, both Angas towns. By 1909, there was a Yoruba mission agent working among the Angas at Pankshin and in 1910 a C.U.M.P. station founded at Kabwir.

Communication was most convenient in Hausa in which missionaries to Northern Nigeria had been given some basic knowledge and the local language was not used to translate what the missionaries wanted to say about Christianity. The rather arbitrary transfer of mission personnel did not assist matters. Lloyd was rather upset to be

1. C.M.S. Northern Nigeria Mission, 1907, #83, op. cit.
 An attitude obviously originating with the governmental officers. See Annual Reports: Northern Nigeria, 1900-11, No. 516, 1905, p. 393.

transferred from the Sura to the Angas just as he was beginning to learn Sura.¹

Perhaps because of the comparative isolation of the Sura - Angas area from British administration, there appears to have been a greater tendency by the missionaries to meddle in local politics as compared to those much nearer Jos, who, due to government and mining attentiveness, tended to **remain** aloof. For example, Lloyd in 1910 succeeded in convincing Bewarang, the Gwolong of Kabwir, to have nothing to do with the rites of Kum, particularly as they pertained to the planting of crops.² The ensuing quarrel³ quite rapidly involved the resident, who told the elders and the Gwolong to worship as they saw fit. However, this action did not solve a crisis of leadership, and when the annual rains were late the Gwolong was said to be at fault and, indirectly, the missionaries as well. There followed a sustained political duel between the Miskam (council of elders) and the Gwolong. Eventually the resident arrived, in November 1910, and announced that he would not depose the Gwolong, but if the people wished to do so, they could. The Gwolong was at once turned out and the mission took this as a blow to their mission, for now the indigenes looked upon the Resident Bauchi as supporting

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1. Ibid., 1910, #30 Lloyd to Baylis, February 5, 1910. Such actions reinforced Hausa as the lingua franca.
 2. Ibid., 1911, #13 Lloyd to Baylis, November 30, 1910. An excellent study was done on the Angas by a third year student at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, as a special paper in 1973. See Gonyok, C. K., The Ngas and the Coming of the Colonial Administration 1906-35.
 3. PRO CO 446/98 #402. Temple to C.O. June 6, 1911.

the Angas religion.¹

The missionaries were also greatly concerned about the possibility of appointment by Bauchi Emirate of a Sarkin Angas whose subordinates would be chiefly Hausa speakers.² The fear was also rife that a similar approach would be taken in the Sura towns and eventually in Jos.³ Alvarez had already complained to Lugard in 1913 about the Muslim 'presence'. During his tour of the Bauchi area he said he had found Jekadas (Muslim tax collectors) who were operating in pagan districts.⁴

In late 1913, the first baptisms had taken place in Kabwir of four Angas and in 1914 the first Christian marriage had taken place. Increased mission agitation for an extension of the work into new area like Gwolong, Kereng and Mpan were rebuffed by the government who felt these areas were not yet ready for the missionaries (or the miners); it having being declared an 'unsettled' district. The miners lent some impetus to the mission penetration of the plateau for, many times, they personified the alien influence, both European and Muslim, which would destroy the villagers' sense of values.⁵

The missionaries had little confidence in a 'pro-Islamic' as well as

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1. By 1914 this deposition had become a 'government action' which had turned the people in authority against the mission. CMS 1914 #43. Hayward to Staples, June 15, 1914.
 2. Ibid., 1913, #47. Minutes of Executive Committee, January 25, 1913.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ayandele, op. cit. JHSM, 3(3) p. 516.
 5. Graham, op. cit., p. 123.

pro-mining administration.¹ One missionary, C. V. Wedgewood, felt that 'some of the government officials will have no scruples in accusing us of stirring up strife.'² The administration for its part, particularly during World War I, was in no position to administer adequately missionaries and miners alike and attempted to limit the areas that the two groups might wish to traverse. However, even without such limitations, the greatest struggle for the missionaries was with those they wished to save.

To speak of a missionary 'impact' before 1920 is to give its efforts a greater import than they actually possessed. As could be seen in the foregoing, if success was to be measured in converts, then the missionaries made hardly any impression whatsoever; It is necessary then to look at the problems met and accomplishments attained in this settling-in period, for the missions had yet to spread beyond the immediate area of the villages in which they were located. The procedure followed would shape the future work of the mission in the succeeding years as it gained religious adherents and became an even greater factor in the political and social changes of the 1930s.

Christian Missions: Adaptations and Policy

Despite the fact that some missions had reached their 'pagan' area, the British administration in Northern Nigeria still hampered

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1. CMS., Northern Nigeria, 1917, #20 Fox to Manley, March 20, 1917.
 2. Ibid., 1915, #23 Wedgewood to Manley, March 20, 1915.

their work. The conflict between mission and government over access to Muslim areas was ever present¹ and in non-Muslim areas where Islam was also entering there would always be conflicts. The missionary had also to combat the tendency of the indigenes of the plateau to group miners, missionaries and government officials as Europeans, united to all intents and purposes.² Given their previous experience with the patrols, it is not surprising that this became a basic reaction of fear and distrust. After all, the European missionary introduced himself in the village in the same way as the European conqueror had done with a gun display.³

The missionaries for their part did not wish in any way to be linked with the government but it was inevitable. Dr. Karl Kumm, the founder of the S.U.M. in Nigeria, commented on his own experience when he entered the Birom town of Kafan on his tour of the plateau in 1909. The villagers had run away at his approach for fear that the white man had come to levy a toll.⁴ In Panyam, Reverend George Fox wished to dissociate himself from a punitive column of two hundred soldiers that passed through his area. He desired to have nothing to do with them other than was compulsory by necessity or loyalty.⁵

When, however, trouble arose as it did among the Angas in 1915,

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1. Graham, op. cit., passim.; Ayandele, The Missionary Impact . . ., 1966, passim.
 2. JPP, I-IV, passim.
 3. Church Missionary Gleaner, April 1, 1911. 37(48), p. 57.
 4. Kumm, Karl H. From Hausaland to Egypt through the Sudan, 1910, p. 26.
 5. CMS Reverend George T. Fox's Journal, I and II, MSS, March 23, 1908.

the missionaries were grateful for the government protection extended to them. Difficulties had arisen over a frequent source of friction, that of farming. In this case, the Christian men and women refused to work on Sunday and the rumour was abroad in the village that they would be killed and the white man driven out. The resident sent a few soldiers to the area and 'all the men (except the Christians) ran into the bush for three days.'² Thus the missionary had to begin again to convince the villagers that they did not have to do something for him out of fear of the government. J. Lowry Maxwell put it quite accurately in an imaginary dialogue. He imagined a Nigerian making the following comments about government officials:

They are the same colour, speak the same language, wear the same kind of clothes, live in the same way as you, you eat with them and they with you...³

The logical conclusion of collaboration must follow.

The missionaries, however, did not come to make people loyal to the British government nor to lower the 'prestige and dignity of Europeans in a savage country.'⁴ Lugard, who voiced the above feelings, went on to define this 'lowering' as 'familiarity of a class that breeds contempt'.⁵ It was with such dictums in mind that missionaries were prompted to avoid the government representatives who may dislike

1. Gleaner, op. cit., December 1, 1915. XLII, p. 504, p. 167.

2. Ibid.

3. Maxwell, J. L., Diaries as a missionary with SUP, Northern Nigeria, Rhodes House.

4. PRO CO 446/40, #405 Lugard to Kumm, September 2, 1904.

5. Ibid.

their mingling with the villagers and thus, where possible, avoid accusations of 'disrupting' village life. It would appear that they succeeded in some cases in drawing a line of identification. In Ganawuri for example, a missionary was one that the villagers never bowed down to while they always had to bow to the district officer.¹

Direct confrontation between government and missions perhaps eased this problem of identification in both a positive and negative way. This could occur when direct intrusion into a village area was permitted by the District Head or the District Officer. The SUM had crossed swords with the Bauchi Provincial Administration many times and one example was their attempted intrusion into Kanna (Kannam) some forty-five kilometres north of Wase and just east of the Angas. Here the Sudan Mission had entered a Muslim town without informing the Bauchi Resident in 1906. The missionary, J. G. Burt, had behaved in a 'high-handed' manner and made no payment for work done. Sarkin Kanna evidently was alarmed and Burt was ordered out of the town by the resident who suggested that they, the missionaries, might do some good in Bukuru but only if they were closely watched. This again stresses how nearness to the government centre of Jos made missionaries less likely to intervene in village affairs. The number of such cases in oral and written sources for areas like Wawayang, Gabutt and Rim is considerably less. In 1913 as will be shown² the branch line of the Baro-Kano Railway, the Bauchi Light Line, was about

1. JPP, Gwom Chai Mang, Ganawuri, December 8, 1973, IV, p. 287.

2. See Chapter VII, p. 344.

to reach the plateau and it brought an influx of traders and labourers.¹ This meant an increase in goods which the missions had found difficult to obtain by local purchase, but markets also meant more mosques, a direct challenge to the Christian missions.² Rather ironically, however, the very method of approach of the missions in the village perhaps opened the door for Islam.

All the missionaries who had come to serve in Northern Nigeria were given language courses in Hausa.³ Thus, when the occasion arose in a village to preach or teach, Hausa was much more convenient to use than to go through the long process of learning the local language, given the self-imposed time limit made necessary by the belief that the villagers would soon be drawn away by labour and to the mosques.⁴ Translations were indeed attempted but these were not of immediate value. Hausa for the missionary could express religious concepts better and also textbooks were already available in the language.⁵ Islam could only benefit from such a policy for was not Hausa the language of the Muslims who brought the Quran?

The mission's policy towards dress also fell into the same rather contorted logic that led many 'pagans' to Islam. Professing

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1. Church Missionary Gleaner, May 1, 193, 40(473), p. 66.
 2. This also raised the issue of restricting the construction of churches while allowing the mosques to be built a matter which brought vociferous complaints from the missions. See PRO CO 446/100, #696 Bell to C.O. September 11, 1911 and International Missionary Council Archives, (I.M.C.A.) London, File Box 269, Lugard to Tugwell, February 11, 1919.
 3. The same practice held for political officers. See NAK Josprof 90/1910, op. cit.
 4. Graham, op. cit., p. 123.
 5. Interview with Harold Potter, SUM missionary, 22/8/72.

horror at nakedness which was equated with primitiveness,¹ the Northern Provinces Council of Nigeria in 1913 wished also to deprecate the wearing of English dress by the 'native' Christians and mission agents.² For those who wished to wear clothes, they chose the garments of the merchant, the government messenger, or the Hausa chief. As early as 1908, Fox in Panyam was remarking that the people in his district had a distinct desire to get robes of the Hausa type and headmen wore them on any possible occasion.³ The headmen, of course, were provided with a turban as part of their attainment of office. Many villages then, in close proximity to the tin mines especially in Jos Division, were faced with such pressures from within by the missionaries and from without by the Muslims.

Aside then from such problems as the missionaries had with Muslims and the government, there was also the practice of the new religion that they were introducing at a village level. The attempts at a rapid conversion of villagers meant the innovation of some rather haphazard make-shift theological teachings. For example, Ghey remarked that the Birom worship their God Gwi, which is also the Birom word for sun. This belief permeated the whole of Birom society. To overcome this rather superficial understanding of the Birom religion

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1. Sudan Interior Mission Headquarters (Toronto), File: History material, Note by Hazel Ryckman.
 2. I.M.C.A. File Box 270, Northern Provinces Council, Nigeria Conference at Lokoja, 1913, This was one of many resolutions passed at this conference.
 3. CMS Reverend George T. Fox's Journal, op. cit., January 26, 1908.

and explain the 'greater power' of Christianity, the mission decided to use the term Da Gwi (father of the sun) to denote the god they wished worshipped.¹ This became the accepted pattern among the Birom under the impact of the S.U.M. Among another group, another situation had a different solution to the same problem. In this case, the S.I.M. noted that the Irigwe perceived the sun as the equivalent of the Christian god. This coincided with the Birom belief. However, a different solution was adopted by the rather more evangelistic S.I.M. The god perceived by the missionaries was said to be the Irigwe 'sun' god while Jesus, upon whom greater stress was laid in prosyletizing, became the son of the sun.² This meant that between two ethnic groups only eight kilometres apart there was a problem in finding an accurate indigenous name for god. The difficulties for evangelisation within these groups can thus be imagined, and this points out the rather uncoordinated theology preached by each mission group.

Finally, the whole element of resistance in the village was the major, and constant, problem. The 'old men' whose authority was threatened were against the mission,³ and immediate converts to the new religion were not forthcoming. The forthright policy of 'save the chief first,' attempted in Nigeria as early as the sixteenth century

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1. The Lightbearer, 1908, #6, March 7, 1908. JPP Interview with one of the first Birom Christians, Toma Tok Bot, Bukuru, 3/9/73, V, p. 30.
 2. Evangelical Christian, April 1918, 14(4), p. 108.
 3. JPP, passim, I to V.

by the Portuguese in Benin¹ was avidly followed. The situation in Kebwir has already been mentioned and it can be generalized into a mission policy to persuade the chief to accept Christianity then 'they (the non-Christians) would all follow him.'² This dictum was perhaps easily attempted given the political situation of the villages in the first two decades of colonial rule. The 'chief' would indeed make the missionaries welcome at least in the Jos Plateau area for was it not his responsibility to look after communications with the Europeans and give expression to their demands? Having no major rituals to perform in the village as has been shown in the case of the Irigwe and therefore having no political power within the village, his conversion would probably pass unremarked in the village and it would certainly not set an example for others to follow. It can then be realized why this practice of indifference in the villages was common.³ The mission sought recognition in the village and received only recognition from the 'European chief' in the village. In those areas where the chief was also the ritual head of the village as in Zabutt, Wereng or Ra Rung, he refused to be converted for the obvious reason that this meant a diminution of his power⁴ and possibly his removal as among the Angas mentioned above. As a general rule

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1. Ryder, A. F. C., 'The Benin Missions', JHSN, 2(2), December 1961.
 2. Church Missionary Outlook (formerly Gleaner), February 1922, 49(575), p. 35.
 3. Interview with H. G. Farrent, O.B.E., (SUM Missionary), 16/8/72.
 4. JPP Gwom Dung, Ra Rung, 19/1/73. I, p. 70.

then neither the chief nor the royal family followed the new faith.

Thus, the early years of the twentieth century were not particularly productive given the handicaps that the missions faced. However, a handful of converts, were made and it would be on these converts, like Toma Tok Bot and Da Dusu from Forum village area and David Lot from Panyam in 1921, that the missions would depend if they wished to penetrate the numerous villages with a faith that was not limited to the conquerors.

Resistance of Plateau Traditional Religion to Alien Influences

Although Islam was identified by the mission as their major rival, the traditional religion of the plateau peoples played and still plays a most important role in village life. Its adherents ostracised fellow villagers who followed the new faiths and apart from accepting the medicine offered, avoided contact with the carriers of this new faith. Fifteen years after the mission's arrival virtually no penetration had been made into the village religious system. In the 1920s, the traditional religion was of such importance that it halted, temporarily at least, the advance of the tin miners. The miners required yet more mining areas. The indifference that the plateau peoples had shown to the labour demands of the miner would not be effective in this situation. A firmer stand had to be taken to protect plateau land, which was their sacred trust with the past and the ancestors and to be passed on to their children for their survival.

As the tin boom continued into the 1920s so did the land expansion beyond the river banks which had formerly held the bulk of the tin. As long as the tin being acquired was alluvial, there was little contact with the agriculturalists. The pressures of the first world war and after, meant increased production of tin and therefore increased expansion into mineral rich land. Little, if any, compensation had been paid previously and this was due to fear of the Europeans more than anything else.¹ Now, however, the encroaching miners were threatening farmland and more important sacred (or tsafi)² land. The D.O. in Jos Division, H. E. W. Bovill, felt in 1923 that the expansion was so rapid that '... in a few years time little or no earth will be left for cultivation.'³

Sacred property in the form of land or material possessions is universal on the plateau and in this case, especially among the Birom, that which was sacred was a number of groves in which the religious ceremony or Kwit was carried out by the elders of the village. This was of ultimate importance to the village and in the early 1920s complaints were being lodged by the Gwoms of the villages about the

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1. Personal interview with Charles L. Williams, August 22, 1972. Also see Chapter IV, pp. 172-184.
 2. Tsafi is a general term used on the plateau to represent customary or sacred objects or rituals. Abraham's definition in his Dictionary of the Hausa Language is 'fetish', which in no way can be said to describe the religious beliefs of the plateau peoples.
 3. NAK SNP 16 CR 347. Personal File on E. A. Langslow-Cock, Langslow-Cock to SNP Oct. 23, 1923. Bovill's sentiment was deplored by Langslow-Cock and he noted that only 1/35 of the plateau was under mining lease. He did not mention however whether these leases occupied arable land or not.

trespassing of the tin companies on sacred land. These complaints were sent to the district officer who assessed the claim and enforced the land rights of the people. There was virtually no incident in which the tsafi land was not safeguarded by the government when the matter was raised.¹ In fact, the tsafi claims even prompted the Bauchi provincial government administration to request a special study by an expert anthropologist,² a concession that was not granted.

The miners for their part were a bit more cynical about these religious claims and feared that the reserving of this sacred land would in time '... be extended to cover other areas for the purposes of cultivation ...'³ By this time, there was much less chance of arbitrary action on the part of the itinerant miners⁴ so they had to depend on the D.O.'s decision as to where they could or could not mine. The plateau villages were in a similar position having already begun to depend on the political officer for a number of judicial decisions. They quickly realized that he was more sympathetic to their sacred land claims and therefore pressed these on him. They knew that for their farmland claims they would only be paid compensation for the crops and then be asked to vacate the land for an indefinite period.

1. JPP passim, Vol. I-IV.

2. NAI CSO 26/12537, Vol. I. Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1923.

3. NCM, op. cit., #85, September 26, 1923.

4. See Chapter VII, p. 334.

Although it could not be confirmed definitely by oral evidence,¹ it appears that the village chieftaincies had found a card to play in order to retain their farmland as well as their sacred land. If the land was claimed as tsafi land, it could not then be touched by the tin miners, and who was to say, except the villagers, whether it was sacred land or not.

The mining community suspected just such a ruse. In a general meeting of the Nigerian Chamber of Mines a tin miner, Mr. G. R. Ord, told of a 'pagan chief' who, on being asked if all the sacred land had been pointed out, replied that all was tsafi, that it was the whole area that the mining company had applied for. His suspicions aroused, Ord concluded:

His description of the inspection confirmed previous experiences, and that the Pagans were quick to take advantage of the opportunity offered them to reserve extensive areas from exploitation by the mines.²

Little cooperation, as mentioned above, was elicited from the government officers, who were accused of not even waiting for a complaint from the plateau peoples before an inspection was carried out.³

Finally, in 1924, the miners decided to challenge this concept of tsafi land. Provided with a theological interpretation of tsafi

1. Only the villages of Zawan and Rim would agree that this was the case. J. S. Syge felt that land claims were made that were not tsafi. Personal interview with J. S. Syge, August 30, 1972. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that all land given the pre-colonial economic situation was sacred and belonged to the plateau peoples.
2. NOM, op. cit., #94, June 4, 1924.
3. Ibid., #92, April 3, 1924.

by Reverend T. L. Suffil, a missionary in Forun, the miners agreed among themselves that there was no sacred land for this would imply a religion and the 'pagans' had no religion.¹ Plainly Suffil was allying with the miner to get the full support of the government to destroy that which he was not allowed to touch. The missionaries were forbidden by plateau indigenes and government officials to enter sacred areas. If such areas could be confiscated and mined, the missionaries felt that the traditional religion would suffer a major defeat from which Christianity could take an immediate advantage.

The miners charged that this sudden 'solicitude for sorcery' after years of no complaints from the plateau peoples showed a lack of knowledge of the plateau by the new political officers. The mines council decided to take the matter to the governor of Nigeria in order to question why the government should support tsafi 'witchcraft'. In a meeting with the chamber late in 1924, Governor H. C. Clifford pointed out 'that the principle of tsafi undoubtedly meant something akin to religion to the older pagan and that his duty was to protect these tsafi areas which on due investigation were found to warrant it'.²

The indigenes had thus made their claims and had had them backed by the administration. They were able to prevent, at least for a short time, increasing land losses whether they were tsafi lands or not.

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1. NCM, op. cit., #95 Laws Humbold and Co. to Secretary Local Councils, Jos, June 14, 1924.
 2. NCM Minutes of a meeting between the Chamber of Mines and Governor of Nigeria, #98, November 1, 1924.

The pressures on land did not abate however and farmland that was obviously being used for farming was very difficult to protect. By 1928, 1,039 square miles of land were claimed for prospecting licences in the three tin bearing districts which totalled an area of 6,839 square miles.¹ By the mid-1930s shortage of farmland in such districts had become a serious difficulty due to the large areas being expropriated for mining and public purposes. In his farm survey of the Birom in Gyel J. G. Davies had noted the breakdown of traditional shifting cultivation of land by the Birom to that of rotational farming. This change was basically brought about by mining pressures. The pre-colonial system by which the Gwom had held the land for the village as a whole gradually broke down until, in 1927, the tenure of land was, in practice, held by the head of the family for the use of his family alone. He had the sole right to lease it to mining concerns or to farm it.² Such an increasing individualism in some areas brought yet more pressure to bear on the village political system and reduced by yet another measure the power of the traditional chief.

Land was not the only issue that threatened the plateau peoples

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1. NAI CSO 26/12601, Vol. VI, op. cit.
 2. Rhodes House, Oxford MSS Afr. s. 309, v. 4.; J. G. Davies undertook a farm survey in 1942-43 of the Birom with particular attention to Gyel an area most affected by the tin mine. My own investigations found that the process he describes did not occur in all villages. However, more investigation of land usage must be made before any definite statement can be made.

religions. There was fear that the village morality was being endangered by the activities which went on in the mining camps to which some of the young were going. The British administration had already accused the mining camps of being a haven for undesirable elements and Jos itself in 1922 was called a 'sink of iniquity'.¹

The village chiefs held similar opinions and feared that the mining camps were drawing away the farm labour upon which the village depended. Although men desiring to go to the mines could not be prevented, due to the government interests in a free-market situation, there were other means to accomplish the same end.

The village chiefs were not hesitant in standing firmly against the Bori cult and prostitutes that the mining camps were accused of introducing to attract more labour.² Such did not exist in the

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1. NAI CSO 26/09506 Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1922.
 2. NCM op. cit., #52 July 11, 1920. Communication with the spirits, iskoki, of the Fausa religion was carried out partially with sacrificial procedures. If the spirits took possession of human beings, these humans, would be called bori. A 'bori' cult is widely practised in Hausaland and the priests (bokaye) of this cult play an important political role in the Hausa states. Aside from the bokaye, there are also the mayu witches who specialize in capturing people's souls and the yan bori who are generally social outcasts such as prostitutes or slaves. This is presumably the section the chief were complaining about. For more on Bori cults see: Last, Murray, "A Note on the Attitudes to the Supernatural in the Sokoto Jihad," JHSM, IV: 1, December 1967, p. 4; Ajayi and Crowder, op. cit., p. 196.; For an earlier work see Tremearne, A. J. N. The Ban of the Bori, London, 1914.

traditional religion. In order to ensure strict adherence to the village faith, the traditional chief had insisted that those who went to work on the mines were to turn over their earnings to the head of the clan and were not to remain in the camps overnight. Such threats and actions were of limited value when the young saw that the balance of political and economic power was shifting slowly away from the traditional chief as well as the elders. Perhaps, the religious power would also shift. They saw the boundaries beyond the village being crossed and recrossed by those who took a new religion or a new mode of production and a new life style yet did not suffer from the threatened consequences.

Attempts at Mission Expansion

The period of mission activity on the Jos Plateau from 1920 to 1935 was marked by mission entrenchment and later expansion.¹ The stations had been established previously and the personnel were in place. Methodology and infrastructure had for the most part been

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1. Missions and government in Northern Nigeria were still at odds over proselytization in the Moslem north and there was always a flurry of concern in Mission centres over the attitude of any incoming governor. However, policy towards non-Moslems is of interest here and the resultant reactions, not the SIM-SUM merger attempts nor the SUM's takeover of the CIMP work. See IMC, Box #271, Church Missionary Society, IMC Box #271 Church Missionary Society, IMC Box #270 Northern Province Council, Nigeria and Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 137-213.

decided earlier on¹ and although not fixed, it formed a fluid base from which a particular pattern of preaching, medical works and education could be carried out. There remained yet the first converts from amongst the 'shy pagans'. The 1920s witnessed few obvious signs of change although factors for change both human and material were being slowly rooted in hostile soil.

The Vom Christian Hospital in Vwang was opened in 1923 and by the end of a decade it was catering for a wider and wider area. Outstation itinerating was expanding and prayer houses were being constructed in villages where ten, even five years previously, a missionary had been forbidden to go. Most importantly, indigenous plateau personnel were being trained as lay preachers and were being given increased responsibility in the new areas.

To the villager on the plateau this was yet another arm of the invasion force that clamoured for his attention and intruded on his life style to get it. Just as there was little interest in the fortunes of tin mining, so too did the mission activities encounter the same apathy. The early years of establishment had passed but still there was no 'take-off', no great droves of people 'coming to Christ'. To a mission historian this was the harvest to come and

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1. The S.M.U. had adopted a set of 'Indigenous Principles' placing more stress on Nigerian response to Christianity rather than employing non-plateau agents. Personal correspondence with Harold Potter, 15/8/72. The Conference of Missions at Miango in 1929, unlike that of 1922, considered papers on the approach to the Muslim and the Pagan for the purpose of conversion. See Miango Papers 1929 in S.M.U. Headquarters, Jos.

... the graph of church attendance shows that there were long periods of preparing the ground and planting the seed, and very little sprouting until 1930.¹

The historian finds it difficult to analyze an abstract subject like faith or redemption from within those affected. It can be said however, that this long 'preparing of the ground' was a reflection of the basic indifference shown by the plateau peoples for the religion of the newcomers. If the plateau indigene had shown no interest in the new material aspects of the invasion why indeed should he exhibit any interest in their spiritual revelations. The village communities were still self-sufficient for their own needs in their own terms. Each village must then be seen in the light of the mission efforts and how each reacted to this persuasion.

Before 1930, the intensive efforts to convert the village chiefs had met with little success. In the Biron village of Ra Rung² near Sabutt, as in many villages, the chief was just a friend to the missionary, giving him a place to stay but never directly involving himself with the mission activities. Some, as in Du³ became Christians after they had lost their chieftaincy title. They perhaps saw the Christian faith as a way of ingratiating themselves with the British administration and eventually finding a way back to power. In many cases, as mentioned before, the missionaries concentrated unwittingly

1. Grimley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 80.

2. JPP Ra Rung, 19/1/73, I, p. 70.

3. The Lightbearer Newsletter #4, Vol. 19, July-August 1923, p. 1.

on the 'European' chief, a man whose conversion would make little impact on the village as a whole and whose 'conversion', given his necessary contact with the Europeans, would be much easier than that of the traditional chief.

In Miango for instance, a Tahu clan member, Zamfara, who was 'European' chief of the village, became a Christian in the 1920s. This was expected, however, because of his diplomatic position in the village. He and his clan were not an important part of the ritual group of clans **that** governed the village and his responsibility was in all external dealings with the Europeans.¹ Becoming a Christian was but an extension of these relations. When, however, some members of Zamfara's clan came to preach in Kwall, the senior village showed no interest whatsoever.² The only conversion in this period of one who could be considered a traditional chief was that of Gwom Chai Mang of the Ganawuri. His, however, was a conversion achieved in abnormal circumstances.

In 1926, the British administration in Jos advised the Ganawuri to leave their hilltop home of Dagarang to avoid the outbreak of sleeping sickness which had plagued their clans the year before. As Gwom Mang was getting old, Chai Mang his son had been exercising

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1. JPP Madaki Zamfara, Tahu clan, Miango, 26/4/73, IV, p. 51.
 2. JPP Miango, 24/4/73, IV, p. 48.; JPP Odaw Chinge, Kwall, 23/4/73, IV, p. 21. From a random sample of 25 men I took in Miango only four would claim to be Christians and these were in their early thirties. This, despite the fact that there is a concentration of SIF missionaries at the sanatorium and primary school close to the old town.

much of his authority and it was he who led most of the clans to the plains south of their rocky habitat in 1929.¹ Shortly after this Gwom Mang died and Chai became Gwom. As he was now on the plains the remainder of the village now moved down to join him. Some of the old men chose to stay behind because of the important Pwi sites necessary for the well-being of the people. Many elders who came down usually went back up the slopes to worship.

Quite soon after the descent, Gwom Chai Mang with the backing of the provincial administration forbade anyone to go into the hills due to the severity of the sleeping sickness.² A crisis of authority followed and Chai Mang was firmly supported by Jos.³ Quite soon after this, sometime before 1935, Gwom Chai Mang became a Christian and many of the young followed him for 'they had left the mountains'.⁴ This, in fact, reversed the very recent purge of Christians in 1928,⁵

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1. JPP Dankim Godze, Majing clan, Jal 23/8/73.
 2. Due to the complaints by the Gwom Pwi, the head of traditional religion, to the D.O. Mr. J. S. Synge, who arrived in 1931, Gwom Chai Mang allowed his priest to go into the hills. JPP, Gwom Pwi Bong Nyi, Jal village, 24/8/73, IV, p. 276.
 3. In the Native Court cases of Jos Division under the heading 'Resistance to Authority', Ganawuri had three of 103 cases in 1930 37 or 73 in 1931. This figure declines rapidly to one in 124 in 1932. See NAI CSO 26/2/12601 Vol. VIII, IX, X, XI which are the Annual Reports for Plateau Province, 1930 to 1931 respectively.
 4. JPP Gyang Kit, Jal 24/8/73, IV, p. 270. This alludes to the fact that the religious sites of the people are in the mountain and are not to be returned to. Chai Mang's authority as Gwom was not secure, there not being a tradition of a chief of all Ganawuri, so he and some of his supporters, perhaps, 'converted' to ensure the backing of the provincial administration.
 5. The Lightbearer, #1, Vol. 25. January-February 1929, p. 4.

as well as the refusal of the Ganawuri to accept the faith while at Dagarang.¹ It also consolidated a chief-centred system of government among a clan-centred ethnic group.

This, however, was an aberration in an overall pattern of resistance before 1930. In Kuru, the Gwom of the town Pwajok Bos, drove out one of the first Birom Christians, Toma Tok, and beat those who had been converted to the new faith.² Less obvious pressure was being exerted in other areas. In Rafan, the elders beat any in their compound who went near the mission. In Tahoss, the children were warned to keep away from the missionary. Those who followed the new faith in Pul had to move near to the mission compound in Vwang.

Besides this physical retribution, there was always the more subtle pressure of social interaction. The most important interaction in any village was marriage and here the converts were completely excluded. The Christian church frowned on any convert taking a 'pagan' spouse while the village society would not recognize any marriage not performed in the traditional fashion. Da Dusu, who was converted the same time as Toma Tok in 1922, had to wait until the first Birom woman became Christian in the late 1920s before he could marry.³ Such social pressures usually meant that it was safer for the new Christian to move close to the chief's or the mission compound.⁴

1. JPP Gyang Kit, Jal 24/8/73 IV, p. 249. Also see Chapter V, p. 258.

2. JPP Toma Tok 3/9/73, V, pp. 26-27. See also NAI CSO 26/2/12601, op. cit., Vol. VIII.

3. JPP Da Dusu Gyang, 30/8/73, V, p. 34.

4. JPP Joseph Mankwon, Zawan 15/8/73, II, p. 204.

If he became a preacher, he was usually sent out to another village, where he was identified with the mission only. There he avoided any village pressure that might have occurred in his own village.

The missions, for their part, relied on a dual purpose presentation of preaching and medical work, the latter being a powerful attraction in many areas. Dispensaries were set up and basic first aid was administered with a short prayer before and after. The S.U.M. hospital in Vwang, despite early resistance by Turu and Ful, finally came into operation under Dr. Barnden in 1923, and by 1929, 4,296 patients were being treated, with some coming from as far away as Fobur and Ropp.¹

Schools, another common appendage of the missions, were being established in the major centres of Vwang, Du and Forum. These were religious schools under no government supervision or curriculum, and cannot be said to have met with much response.² However, change was in the wind as the Native Authority, by the mid-1930s in Jos Division, was setting up elementary schools separate from, but in most cases due to, missionary influence.

Missionary efforts had been made previously, and in the early 1920s the Toro Training Centre in Religious Studies was established

1. See below, p. 306, Table I and Fig. 2 in back cover pocket.
2. In Forum, the oldest station, there were fifteen pupils on the roll in 1921 and 35 in 1929. In Vom the first year, 1924, saw eleven pupils, which went up to 24 in 1929. See The Lightbearer, Vol. 17-25. See p. 306, Table I.

TABLE IMISSION SCHOOLS FROM 'THE LIGHTBEARER'

	<u>PUPILS ON ROLL</u>			<u>TOTAL ATTENDANCE</u>		
	<u>Wwang</u>	<u>Du</u>	<u>Forum</u>	<u>Wwang</u>	<u>Du</u>	<u>Forum</u>
1921	-	-	15	-	-	2,590
1922	-	-	-	-	-	-
1923	-	9	16	-	1,219	2,615
1924	11	8	25	3,218	1,585	5,636
1925	13	12	42	3,674	2,371	7,260
1926	16	8	31	2,715	1,459	4,612
1927	Not available			2,257	1,215	3,801
1928	17	61*	34	2,302	10,712*	4,565
1929	25	14	35	2,682	-	5,770

* includes all outstations

VWANG CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL

<u>PATIENTS</u>	<u>1924</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1927</u>	<u>1928</u>	<u>1929</u>
Out-patients	1670	1384	2764	1936	2017	3616
In-patients	107	34	162	193	182	341
Visits	76	28	38	31	30	32
Others	-	-	-	1764	407	112
Lepers	-	-	11	38	253	195
TOTAL	1853	1446	2975	3962	2889	4296

under joint S.I.M.-S.U.M. auspices.¹ By 1929, it had become an Elementary Training Centre for 'Pagans', run by the provincial government. Its first graduates in 1933 helped set up schools in Heipang, Rim and Gyel sponsored by the Native Authority now operative at a local level.² From among the first literates came the candidates for a new governing system which would replace, to some extent, despite British efforts to the contrary, the more traditional governments on the plateau.

It is difficult to say whether the perseverance of the first missionaries and indigenous lay preachers like Da Dusu, Toma Tok and David Lot, was the fundamental factor in the increased interest in the new faith, or whether it was the locusts of 1930, as described below,³ that brought a new social and economic situation and a greater 'harvest' of Christians. Nevertheless, the 1930s saw converts in Hoss, Buji, and at the same time some Anaguta and Jarawa were being baptized. Meanwhile, Afang and Sop had asked for teachers. Perhaps the corner had been turned, as the statistics claim. Nevertheless, the numbers were still small in Rukuba,⁴ in Birom the majority were little interested, and the recently arrived Seventh Day Adventists in Amo were experiencing a new

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1. Minutes of Conference of Missions in Northern Provinces, Nigeria, Jos, March 18-23, 1922.
 2. Clarke, A. Fielding, "An Experimental School in Nigeria", Journal of the Royal African Society, 34(154) January 1940, p. 40. Rwang Pam, later to become Gwom of the Birom and Chief of Jos, was among these graduates.
 3. Grimley and Robinson, op. cit., See rapid increases in church membership shown by graphs on pages 93, 99, 205 and 229.
 4. Islam and Hausa by 1935 had not had much impact either. See NAK Josprof 446 Vol. I, Administration of Rukuba Tribe by E. H. Counsell.

type of resistance with the introduction of Bori cults from the neighbouring Hausa villages. This phenomenon was ostensibly to consolidate the political power of the newly-appointed village chief.¹ Politics was all part of the greater whole of the village structure, and this included the traditional religion, which the missionaries had come and told them to stop following.²

The missions, as can be seen from the above, had a diverse influence on the plateau. In purely religious terms, there was a limited number of converts to the new faith. The traditional religion in the village was still strong, as evidenced by the persecution of Christians in some areas in the 1930s. Traditional religion had been preserved, although its role in the new village government was not altogether clear. With customs such as trial by ordeal and witch finding being abolished, and more secular duties such as tax collection and recruiting of labour, the traditional religion found itself in a quandary. It had to adapt or die. Increasingly, the villagers felt that the new chiefs should be educated, and this meant either that he be a Christian or a Christian-trained leader who had gone to mission schools and was trained to speak Hausa. The re-organisation reports provided the last real opportunity for the British and the plateau elders to re-establish the pre-colonial order. Neither could really accomplish this. Even if it were possible, the British did not have

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1. NAK Josprof 407 Vol. I, Re-organisation of Amo, Buji, Jere District, Jos Division 407/85 Resident, Plateau Province to SNP October 4, 1936.
 2. JPP Amo village, 23/9/73, IV, p. 304.

the necessary knowledge. On the other hand, the elders wanted a political system designed for 1935, not one for 1902. This meant for the younger generation a new religion as well - either Christianity or Islam. Traditional religion was not acceptable to either the white or the black alien.

Up to 1935, then, the missionaries' performance on the Jos Plateau was weak, despite their numbers. Converts were not plentiful and African lay preachers were still being imported from Southern Nigeria. Education was just beginning to have some effect, an effect that would be far-reaching in the years to come. For, despite thirty years on the plateau, no secondary schools for the plateau indigenes had been built. Medical facilities were the one major plus in the missions' performance. A hospital and a number of clinics had been established. The firm resistance of the Plateau peoples to the new religion was strengthened by their indigenous faith, the practice of which kept them apart from the aliens and played a major role in maintaining the village structure against the powerful alien political and economic forces.

CHAPTER VII

THE PLATEAU PEOPLES AND ALIEN ECONOMIC SYSTEMS TO 1935

For the first decade after the conquest, tin mining, was of little importance. Little was yet known of the extent of the tin ore and the Niger Company, being the major interested party, was simply exploring possibilities while at the same time staking a large number of prospecting claims.¹ However, with the discovery of large tin deposits in 1909, a mineral boom began which continued up to the onset of the world-wide depression in 1930. It was this tin boom which exposed the plateau to the most aggressive and destructive of the alien influences.

The Tin Companies, Hausa Smelters and Labour

The practical aspect of making the tin mines a success lay in the hands of the first company to be established on the Jos Plateau, the Naraguta Tin Mining Company, and its engineer in charge, H. W. Laws. His efforts at tin extraction had little effect on the indigenous people of the plateau area, but it certainly did affect the tin smelting that was already being done by the Lerui-n-Delna miners. The British conquest of the Jos Plateau affected the Hausa miners

1. NAI CSO 26/6 2374/1905 Niger Company's Application for licences to mines on Naraguta and Jos Districts. Also see Appendix III for an explanation of mining terms.

as well as the Niger Company, for the former now had relatively free rein to mine on the north-western edge of the plateau. Initially, their presence was a boon to Laws, for it meant he could buy tin directly from them and have it smelted in their furnaces. His operation grew in Naraguta and a smelter was set up in May of 1906¹ However, it became increasingly obvious that competition with Lerui-n-Delma in both tin exploration and production was inevitable and, from Law's point of view, most unwelcome. He soon took action to halt both.

In 1908, the tin workers of Lerui-n-Delma were told by the Bauchi provincial government that they could not continue to mine in an area over which the company had 'rights'.² Protests were made but these did not achieve anything. In 1910 Sarkin Lerui-n-Delma reported to Bauchi that the white man had ordered his people to stop working on the River Delimi. He then offered to explain to the resident 'the history of their native rights.'³ By 1910 however, the Naraguta Tin Mines Company was operating at full production and the newly arrived horde of companies soon stripped Lerui-n-Delma of what industry now remained to it.

The colonial government felt obliged to prolong this sole indigenous smelting concern by granting them one hundred acres of land which was

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1. Naraguta Tin Mines First File of Letters, op. cit., Laws to Scarborough, May 15, 1906.
 2. The Naraguta Tin Mines, Northern Nigeria, Official Diary, September 2, 1908.
 3. Ibid., May 16, 1910.

poor in tin ore.¹ In 1911, their sole occupation was as tributors² for the Tin Area of Nigeria Limited, and they sold the tin to this company at much below market price. In exchange, they were permitted to explore the company holdings, provided that whatever they won was smelted and sold to the company.³ This agreement, however, only lasted a year, as many tin workers from Lerui-n-Delma found it easier to simply work as tributors for any company they wished to. By 1914, even the grant of one hundred acres had been cancelled and replaced by an annuity.⁴ Thus, the smelting furnaces at Lerui-n-Delma were closed down and, aside from an interest in smelting by British officials during World War I, were never reopened. By the 1920s, the former tin working village based its livelihood on farming.⁵ The control of tin mining in Nigeria was now firmly in the hands of the European tin miners.

The Annual Reports of the first twelve years of British administration in Northern Nigeria made no mention of what government policy towards indigenous mineral exploitation in general might be. However, Lugard in his first Political Memoranda had set out that:

minerals can only be discovered and exploited by the science and capital of Europeans, and to them the Government can provide at once more security and more control than native chiefs and can allocate the royalties for the good of the country as a whole.⁶

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1. Hastings, A. G. G., 'Tinstons', Empire Review, 49, January-June 1929, p. 400.
 2. See Appendix II for an explanation of "tributors", pp. 438-442.
 3. NAK Josprof 31/1915, op. cit.
 4. NAK Josprof 31/1915, op. cit.
 5. Hastings, op. cit., p. 400.
 6. Perham, M., Native Administration in Nigeria, 1937, p. 317.

The function of the Government, then, was to assist the European entrepreneurs and 'protect the native occupier of the land from injury resulting from mining operations,'¹ but not to allow indigenous mineral exploitation, which deprived the indigene of his means of livelihood. The 'good of the country' was really the further entrenchment of colonial dominance. Even those metals that were of no value to the Europeans, such as Tosali (Galena), were placed under stricture. Tosali was used as a skin cosmetic as well as to give a high gloss to indigo dyed gowns. In his correspondence with the government inspector of mines, the acting resident of Central (Bauchi) province requested that the indigenes be allowed to work the metal, as 'it seems a pity to lock up minerals simply because Europeans do not find it worth their while to take them up.'² Langslow-Cock replied that he was against the issue of giving titles to mining to indigenes as it would be 'too difficult to supervise.'³ Restrictions such as 'proper' supervision, mining leases, water rights, etc., were all part of the paraphernalia of the mining administration that excluded the indigenous miner completely for over four decades.

A factor of great import from the onset of European mining was that of the labourer. The success of the indigenous tin operations at Lerui-n-Delma in the early years precluded obtaining specialised labour from there; so it had to be sought elsewhere. The immediate reservoir was the plateau.

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1. Lugard, op. cit., 1965, p. 350.
 2. NAK Josprof 115/1910. Tosali Mines 2520/1910 Resident, Central Province to G.I.M. October 22, 1910.
 3. Ibid., 781/10 G.I.M. to Resident November 1, 1910.

By 1906, with the submission of the Birom villages of Gyel and Zawan, the Anaguta and all those groups near to Laws' tin operation, Laws found that he could engage labour locally, thus dispensing with the more expensive contract labour that had been brought from Iokoja.¹ Extended prospecting leases had been obtained in Gyel for twenty-five square miles and this was one of the major rich lodes on the plateau.² The repercussions that this had on the missionary effort have been pointed out in chapter VI. Labour, then, was necessary for the new mining leases that would soon follow in new areas. In September, 1906, Laws reported that he had employed forty-four 'naragans' from Zawan and Gyel. In October, twenty-four came from Kurrum to work and eleven from Gyel. Again in December, thirty men came from Vwang to do local work, and Archbold remarked that they were excellent workers and 'they can be very profitably employed.'³ By early 1907, the formerly 'truculent' Rukuba of Ohit⁴ were coming to the mines. Oral evidence states that this labour was forced.⁵

With the first rains, Laws soon found that his initial wave of optimism was ephemeral, as these 'new tin workers' began to return to their farms in late April and were soon unavailable. Archbold feared that this labour might be lost altogether.⁶ Such an erratic supply

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1. Naraguta Tin Mines First File ... on. cit., Laws to Secretary, January 1906.
 2. Ibid., Laws to Scarborough, February 20, 1906. See Appendix III for resume of tin leases and licences, pp. 438-442.
 3. Naraguta Tin Mines First File ... on. cit., Archbold to Secretary, December 3, 1906.
 4. Ibid., Diary, March 9, 1907.
 5. JPP I-IV, passim.
 6. Ibid., Archbold to Secretary, July 3, 1907.

was not in the best interest of the tin fields; however it would have to suffice until a more permanent arrangement could be reached. It was this labour obtained from the district that was to fade away by 1910. This lack of indigenous labour was primarily because of the competition from off the plateau but also because of two internal factors, food and fear.

With the numerous punitive patrols roaming the plateau, the trade patterns of the nineteenth century were quite naturally disrupted. No longer could captives be taken in war and traded with neighbouring villages. This stopped some imports into the village and the most important of these, salt, had to be found in other ways. Lams, from the beginning usually paid his wages in kind,¹ thus drawing a number of villagers to the mines for salt as well as grain in the dry season between October and May. However, by 1908, trade patterns were returning to normal² and the necessity for mine work purely for the purpose of obtaining salt and grains no longer obtained.

With the increase in companies in 1910, cash labour for the tin mines was in greater demand and the flood of labour from off the plateau began. The plateau indigenes who had previously worked for payment in kind were not interested in cash. Alien markets, mostly Hausa,³ very soon sprang up around mining camps and together with old trade patterns these could supply the indigene with the few

1. Ibid., nassim, JPP Du 11/3/73, II, p. 151.

2. JPP Tafan, 5/9/73, III, p. 155.

3. JPP Mallam Dandada, Jos, 11/9/73, V, p. 42. See Chapter VII, p. 336.

necessities he desired in exchange for some of his food crops.

These migrants also helped to mitigate the second factor that had taken the indigene to the tin fields - that of fear. As has been previously shown, Laws did not play a minor role in the conquest of the mine fields and the plateau peoples already had a great fear of the white men and their weapons. The young men of the Anaguta went to work because they were afraid of the Europeans¹ or in the Birom village of Vwang because the Gwom forced them to go.² It is perhaps not unlikely that Laws used the Niger Company's rather favoured political position on the plateau as well as his own intimate knowledge of the area to force the plateau people to work on the mine fields. British policy stated that labour must be paid.³ In the case of the plateau, then, the 'force' used was in getting the labourer to the mine for work but paying him after he got there. In 1906, the resident of Bauchi Province, O. Howard, addressed the people of Tilden Fulani and told them that they need only work in the mines if they felt like it and that the miners had no right to compel them.⁴ Laws' assistant, Archbold remarked;

Although this is perfectly true it has not done us any good, and many of our regular tin workers have been absent for the whole month.⁵

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1. JPP Andugwohom clan, Anaguta 12/8/73, III, p. 13.
 2. JPP Vwang, 27/8/73, III, p. 78.
 3. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 476, 1904, p. 253.
 4. Naraguta Tin Mines First File ... op. cit., Archbold to Secretary of the Niger Co., December 3, 1906.
 5. Ibid.

British labour policy and a reliable source of labour from off the Plateau lessened the need for indigenous labour. Thus, the plateau peoples very rarely went to the mines for work or trade for another two decades.

The government had hoped that labour in the mines by the plateau peoples would mean that higher taxes could be levied. Within a 'free economy', given that taxation had to be paid, no coercion would be necessary once the population had realized the way their taxes could best be obtained. Expressing this view, and including a minor rebuke, Gowers wrote to the miners in the following words;

You are of course aware there is no forced labour and that I do not undertake to compel men to work for you. The Pagans in the Bukuru District have to provide themselves with a certain amount of money to pay their tax and the Assistant Resident at Bukuru will use his influence to induce them to obtain it in the way most easily available to them, by labour at the mines and transport.¹

Labour, at the mine rates of sixpence per week would pay off the tax in four weeks while carrying tin from Naraguta to Jema'a, meant, conveniently, two shillings per load per trip, the amount then being paid by the company directly to the assistant resident in Bukuru.² Neither of the above procedures were particularly satisfactory to the mining companies but they were temporarily appeased by the increase in off plateau labour. The issue of 'pagan labour' and taxation was thus to lie dormant for awhile until the labour influx could not

1. Ibid., #895/1907, Gowers to Archbold, July 25, 1907.

2. Ibid.

satisfy mining needs.

Before continuing with the problems of indigenous labour, a brief look at the activities of the tin companies is necessary. The slump in tin prices up to 1909 and the rapid expansion of tin companies after that date was to have a great effect on the demand for labour. The average price of tin metal per ton had peaked in 1806 at £180, a dizzy height it had never reached, surpassing £150 per ton for the first time in one hundred years. However, it dropped rapidly in the next three years to £130 per ton perhaps discouraging any investment in a risky venture like tin exploitation on the Jos Plateau given the transport and labour difficulties. Meanwhile tin production in Nigeria remained insignificant when compared with world production¹ although advancing quite rapidly from the four tons in 1904 to 772.8 tons in 1910.²

By 1909, tin prices were beginning to rise once more and by the time it had reached a new peak in 1912 of £200 per ton, there were seventy tin companies on the Jos Plateau with an estimated capital of four million pounds.³ The slump in the gold mines of Ghana had meant a re-investment of capital and Northern Nigeria seemed to promise the best opportunity. The London money market had a plethora of capital⁴ and, in late 1909, spearheaded by the Champion Gold Reef's

1. In 1910, Malaya exported 45,000 tons of tin ore. See Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

2. NAK SMP 7/1323/1911 Mines Department Annual Report, 1910.

3. McPhee, Allan, The Economic Revolution in British West Africa, 1926, p. 56.

4. Ibid., p. 57.

of West Africa Ltd., companies (some nominal) soon flooded the Jos plateau.¹

This increase in companies naturally meant an increase in demand for labour. However, with the large amount of labour available in the Hausa states and Borno, Laws felt that no supply difficulties need be anticipated.² Thus labourers were migrating from Zaria, Bauchi and Kano. Often the resident in these cities would encourage the Emirs to allow their people to go to the tin fields and in this way increase the emirates' tax revenue.³ Coincident with this was the opening of the Lagos to Kano rail line in 1912 and the consequent availability of wage labour that had been laid off. By 1912, the labour force on the plateau numbered over 12,000⁴ virtually all being from outside the plateau.

The First World War brought a steady increase in the demand for labour for the tin mines. Tax continued to be a most useful weapon in inducing indigenous labour but there never seemed to be enough labour. Carrier transport to the railhead of the Bauchi Light Railway at Bukuru was also crucial and, if given the opportunity, the miners certainly tried to exert more pressure on the British administration. This pressure was for the colonial government to make a greater effort to supply labour taken from the immediate vicinity rather than importing it.

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1. Calvert, A. F., Nigeria and its Pinfields, 1916.
 2. Calvert, 1910, op. cit., p. 159.
 3. Mallam Dandada, op. cit., V, p. 43.
 4. PRO CO 657/34 Annual Report for the Mines Department, Nigeria, for the year 1932. Appendix B.

The Colonial government's opportunity came early in 1918 when the Ministry of Munitions in London, due to the war effort, requested a greater production of tin in Nigeria. Both transport and mines labour were then needed and the mines officials suggested to the government that the best way to acquire this was for the local villages to provide a certain number of men each week to the nearest mines.¹ They would furnish the labour for the mines while the Native Authorities would provide carriers for transport when requested to do so by the mine managers.

The Colonial government acted only on the latter suggestion but even then it was modified. Having already had some experience with the mine managers in a position of control, the Native Authority was only to provide carriers if requested to do so by a government officer. This measure had some success for it freed other labour for tin mining. Over and above this, labour was acquired as usual from aliens off the plateau. The government stated that it did not wish to use even 'mild coercion on the plateau pagans'.² This was consistent with the governor's policy reiterated in late 1918 that the government was not prepared 'to force any man from any district to labour on the mines'.³

With the termination of World War I the war-boom economy in

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1. Nigerian Chamber of Mines, Minutes for meeting #39 for June 22, 1918.
 2. Ibid., #40, November 3, 1918.
 3. PRO CO 586/76 Central Secretary (Lagos) to Call, Resident, Bauchi Province, December 31, 1918.

Europe continued. Despite a small cut in production, both the approximate value of tin and the demand for labour increased.¹

The mining community still pressed the government but this time in such a way as to satisfy a tax-oriented administration.²

In June 1919 the Local Nigerian Chamber of Mines unanimously passed a resolution that higher taxes should be imposed on the 'pagan' in order that he work in the mines more often.³ As it was, he was only working three or four days to obtain his tax. Thus a higher tax meant that he would help the mines with their labour problem, the government with his tax money and himself by becoming more 'civilized'. The acting governor of Nigeria, A. G. Boyle, expressed support for this suggestion with the reasoning that '... if the tax is according to a man's ability to pay, the pagans are at present undertaxed'.⁴ J. M. Fremantle, the acting resident of Bauchi province, interpreted the collection of tax in a similar fashion for he noted that: 'the tax is imposed primarily as a recognition of authority; it is increased from time to time ... because the means of acquiring wealth are available'.⁵ The word 'means' here should be interpreted

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1. PRO CO 657/4 Annual Report on the Mines Department, Northern Provinces for the year 1918.
 2. Tax was all important to an incoming political officer. C. G. Ames notes that it was always stressed and was quite important as it played a part in the officers advancement. Personal Interview with C. G. Ames. August 26, 1972.
 3. MAK SNP 10/7, 215P/1919, 'Labour for Mines'.
 4. Ibid. Also see Chapter V for British Colonial government attitudes to taxation, pp. 231-239.
 5. Ibid.

to mean the proximity of the villagers to the mines and markets.

By September 1919 the administration of the northern provinces notified the Chamber of Mines that a ten percent increase had been levied on the 'pagans'. By 1920-21 the pagan tax had gone up by a total of twenty eight percent over 1919.¹ An external factor was about to intervene here, however, that would affect the pressure exerted by the tin miners for higher taxes.

In February of 1920, the ever-increasing price of tin on the world market peaked at £395 per ton, then with the lack of a market caused by the recession in Europe during 1920-21, it plunged to £250 in June 1920, recovered briefly, then went down to £166 per ton by February, 1921. It was not until 1923 that any substantial rise in price occurred and, during this period of low prices, the labour utilized on the Jos Plateau reflected the price drop. From an all time high of 22,976 labourers in 1920, the labour force went down to 13,481 in 1922. The annual value of tin won in Nigeria fell from £1,566,969 to £864,998 in that same period.² Labour, which the miners had tried so hard to increase, either drifted off the plateau or formed a labour pool around the mines while the indigenes went back to selling crops to pay a tax that had been inflated to secure their labour which was no longer necessary. In fact jobs could not be had.

1. NAI CSO 26/03487, op. cit.

2. PRO CO 657/6 Annual Report for the Mines Department, Nigeria, for the year 1920.; PRO CO 657/7 Annual Report for the Mines Department, Nigeria, for the year 1922.

Throughout this decade, 1920 to 1930, revenue rose dramatically for the government, mostly obtained from mines labour. For example, the total revenue for Jos Division in 1926-27 rose from ₦14,479 to ₦33,213 in 1928-29.¹ Both the government need for revenue and the miners' need for labour was temporarily appeased although the connection between tax and tin was never severed. In 1925 it was noted that even among the Buleri, so recently an unsettled area,

The assessment of tax is having a general and increasing civilising effect amongst the pagans of the Division who are seeking work by short periods on the Mines Field.²

By 1928 the policy of taxing according to a settlement's proximity to the mines was still being closely followed.³ The extreme northern and southern areas of the plateau were being assessed approximately three percent of their annual wealth in tax while the central areas, where the greatest mining activity was, totalled over five percent. This brought in some plateau labour but never sufficient to meet the demands for cheap labour.

By the middle years of the 1920s the tin industry was again on the upsurge and entering what C. G. Ames called their boom years from 1924 to 1929.⁴ By 1930, coincident with the depression in Europe and North America, tin prices dipped slightly in 1929, and then,

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1. NAI CSO 26/12601 Vol. VI Annual Report for Plateau Province, 1928.
NAI CSO 26/12601 Vol. VII Annual Report for Plateau Province, 1928.
 2. NAI CSO 26/12537, Vol. III Annual Report for Bauchi Province 1925.
 3. NAI CSO 26/3/22686 Assessment Report on Jos Division, 1928.
 4. Ames, op. cit., p. 302.

gathering momentum in 1930, reached their nadir in 1932, the lowest level in twenty years.

The boom years, however, were a different story and a labour demand was always there. In 1924, labour on the mine fields numbered 22,702 while, by 1929 it had reached 39,757 workers. It is interesting to note that the pressure on government for indigenous labour by increased taxation had decreased for it was possible that labour requirements were being supplied from elsewhere, that sufficient numbers of plateau peoples were coming to participate in tin labour or finally that the taxes which were manipulated to get plateau labour could not take an increase without indigenous resistance.

Both the above sources of labour, non-plateau and plateau, were being utilized. The first source was directly related to the increased assistance given by the government in recruiting labour.¹ In the first labour survey done in 1930, a mixed bag of various immigrants was in evidence. Out of a labour force of 14,817 the Hausa numbered 6,498, Beriberi 1,906 and Bagirmi 1,677 with a smaller number of Tiv, Nupe, Yoruba and Igbo.² The completion of the eastern railway from Port Harcourt was yet another boon to the mines for it not only brought those who had worked on the railroad³ and wished to continue at a similar type of physical work but it also brought a new influx of traders (mostly Igbo) and a greater variety of trade

1. NCM, op. cit., #114, April 21, 1926.

2. NAF Josprof 5/1931 Annual Report for Plateau Province, 1930.

3. See Chapter VII, pp. 344-346.

goods. Produce brought up from the south, yams, plantain and fruit, flooded the markets, especially Bukuru and Jos, and these same trains brought machinery which would counter balance the enormous dependence on labour.¹

As for the second source ^{of} plateau labour, it yet remained virtually untapped, although a slight trickle had begun to flow to the mines.² Oral sources could not give a date for this beginning but it would appear to have been just before the depression.³ This, however, must be distinguished from tax labour, that is, labour for tax, for in the late 1920s, mines labour was no longer being done simply for tax but now for a livelihood. Dissident members of the community, the young not wishing to farm, or simply those attracted by the new mode of living, moved to the burgeoning mining camps. This movement, however, was but a ripple with a larger wave yet to occur in the 1930s.

Such a movement must eventually undermine the chief's authority.

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1. In 1923, there was in use labour-saving machinery representing a total of 3,600 horse-power which, by 1928, shortly after the completion of the eastern railway, had reached 12,200 hp. See respectively PRO CO 657/9 Annual Report of the Mines Department, Nigeria for the year 1923, and PRO CO 657/22 Annual Report of the Mines Department, Nigeria, for the year 1928.
 2. NAK Josprof 5/1931. The survey of the mines labour identified rather hesitantly 55 Berom (Baron).
 3. JPP Gwom Dung Wang, Du 9/8/73, II, p. 160.; JPP Pam Doji, Gyel, 16/8/73, II, p. 242. Note that both Du and Gyel are in the centre of the tin mining area and quite close to Bukuru.

Those young men needed for working the land went away to the camps and acquired some wealth. When they returned, they flaunted such things as they were able to acquire for their labour in the mines. The objects they were able to pay for would take an elder a lifetime to possess.¹ Thus, standards of acquisition, measured by time, as well as standards of wealth, measured in material possessions, had gone askew and would continue to shift to the disadvantage of the older generation. The constant pressure for labour and the other intruding forces which the presence of the tin mines brought into play were beginning to take effect by the 1930s. The active² and passive resistance shown by the plateau peoples was beginning to be broken down by the economic forces around them as well as the political forces that the British government was introducing.³

It seems clear that the economic forces were the major ingredient in the changing life style of the younger generation of the plateau peoples. Finally they were becoming 'civilised' by being drawn into the labour force and the market place. Missions were about to rejoice as their statistics proclaimed their 'success'. The social cohesion of the numerous plateau peoples was beginning to crack. Ironically this was also the period when the administrative system

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1. JPP Gwom Dung Wang, op. cit., II, p. 161. There was some resentment that the young men could thus acquire food, blankets and pay taxes and not give any of this salary to the father. Dung Wang dates this as occurring at the time of the locusts c.1930.
 2. See Chapter VI, pp. 292-297, on 'Tsafi' land.
 3. See Chapter V, pp. 258-266, on re-organisation reports.

was being remodelled on the basis of conditions in 1902. If British relations with the plateau peoples had been turbulent thus far, they would continue to be so because the younger "civilized" generation promised to be more difficult to deal with than their truculent fathers whose main aim had been to be left alone.

The Companies and the Camps

The increase in companies and prospectors after 1909 meant more contact with the indigenous population and a greater demand for land by the newcomers. The mining community was never satisfied with government policy towards the plateau peoples. It was to them "mollycoddling" and they would have welcomed any effort by the government to use forced labour when the shortage was acute as well as a more pro-European land policy.¹ The Mineral Ordinance of 1902 had laid down that adequate compensation would be made for land leased and used by the tin miners. However, the actual practice appears to have been a different matter. Villages beyond the administrative centres of Bukuru and later Naraguta were not compensated. The Birom village of Fan, Heipang, and Wwang² all let the white man come and go as he wished without any resistance. After all, the tin Miner said that the land belonged to the new government,³ and they had

1. In the Nigerian Council Proceedings of 1916, the Commerce representative Mr. E. D. Maidman had expressed the view that a great deal more tin would be won if the field was systematically developed by small settlers as in Rhodesia and Australia. See PRO CO 657/11, December 1916.

2. JPP I-IV, passim.

3. JPP Wereng, 29/1/73, I, p. 173.

already crossed swords with it. Again, exploiting the fear which the Plateau peoples held for the government by identifying themselves with this government, the miners staked claims on plateau land. These claims were, for the most part, along river banks where the alluvial tin was richest. With such a method there was very little interference with farmland initially, although the effect on the water supply was far from desirable. Although regulations had been laid down to take care of the 'tailings', still there were reports of dwarf cows dying from drinking the sediment-laden water.¹ Overt protest by the plateau peoples had not yet overcome their great fear of the conquerors and this allowed the British miners their way in the initial years of occupation.

Beyond this well-protected area dealt with above, matters were different. Large tracts of land were still being explored for tin and government patrols were undertaken to meet and protect mining interests. For example, in 1912, in Kuleri District, the villagers of Bergum attacked the assistant resident of Bukuru and his patrol which was 'sent to open up this country for mining purposes'.² Due to the 'truculence shown', an officer and fifty rank and file from the Bauchi military garrison were sent out to patrol the district thoroughly. For these incidents, the "Unsettled District Ordinances" were passed and by 1916 Southern Sura, Southern Kuleri, Southern Maron (Non), Chip, Tal and sections of the Hill Angas were declared

1. JPP Bature Gwong Tok, Mazat, 20/2/73, II, p. 33.

2. NAK Josprof 265/1912. Central Province Report for Quarter ending June 30, 1912. No. 51.

closed to all except government officials.¹

The enforcement of such ordinances was, at times, too late to save the lives of the indigenous peoples or those of the intruders. For example, in 1905 eight carriers had been killed by the Yoruba because of their intrusion and a punitive patrol by the British was the retribution. Carriers naturally made the initial and most frequent contact with the indigenes. Very often they behaved in an abrasive manner for they travelled in the shadow of the conqueror and acted accordingly. None were from the plateau area through which they travelled and they invariably frowned on the "primitive" customs of these highland peoples.² They 'bullied' the 'pagans', stole their women and in general oppressed them.³ Thus they were under strict instructions from the Europeans to remain apart from the plateau people, a practice that continued for some years after the conquest.⁴ Later restrictions were also applied by the government to the now burgeoning alien labour force. In 1913, a circular was sent out to the mining community warning them not to allow their labourers to sleep in 'pagan' towns or interfere with the inhabitants in any way.⁵

It is perhaps surprising that more Europeans were not killed

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1. NAK Josprof 493/1916. Unsettled Districts in Bauchi Province, 1916.
 2. Personal Interview in Jos Local Authority, September, 1973.
 3. Kumm, op. cit. p. 17.
 4. Interview with Yoruba merchant, op. cit. See Appendix I, p. 423.
 5. NAK Josprof 126/1913 Central Province Report for Quarter ending March 31, 1913.

because of their unwarranted intrusion. On the plateau each area was systematically 'opened' by a patrol. In those more remote areas off the plateau, however, there was a greater physical danger to intruders. A Benue Company employee was killed in 1912 by the Mada when he attempted to erect survey beacons on their farmland. His action rather than that of his followers appears to have been the major cause of the attack for none of his followers was touched.¹

The ordinances, although legitimate in some cases, were also subject to manipulation by a miner to his own advantage. The Sha Falls (Nigeria) Tin Fields Limited in 1914, attempted to manipulate these ordinances for just such a purpose.² In the Kuleri area this company held a lease on a block of land on which insufficient work had been done to allow for a renewal of their lease. Company officials reported to the resident of Central (Bauchi) Province that the Kuleri 'might' have killed some mining labourers. If the district were to be closed, the company could then alleged that they had been driven out and thus would be able to obtain a renewal of their lease in the future. Although the government acknowledge the possibility of such a manoeuvre, they eventually closed the district because the 'constant alarmist and tactless attitude [of the] particular

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1. As a European had been killed this was considered a 'rebellion' and the Mada Hills Punitive Patrol caused 179 casualties. See PRO CO 446/105. Goldenith, Officer administering Northern Nigeria, to C.O., May 22, 1912.
 2. NAK Josref 26/1914, 'Attack on Mr. Perceval of Sha Falls (N) Tin Fields Ltd.

Coy [sic] may react upon the natives and cause trouble.¹

With the military consolidation of the Jos Plateau reasonably accomplished within a decade, the attention of the British government shifted to administering the rapidly growing mining companies and their labour camps. The relations between the mining companies and the government has been mentioned in Chapter V. The mining camps themselves should be briefly described here to provide some understanding of their relationship with the indigenous communities. Each mining company had its labour camp in close proximity to the area to be mined. There was usually a head-man (Sarkin Kasa - chief of tin) of each camp who was responsible to the mine manager for the camp's activities. He would organise the labour force, arbitrate disputes in the camp or refer them to the mines manager or the Alkali in Jos. Government taxes might be collected by the Sarkin Kasa or might be deducted by the European mines manager from a labourer's pay. What was not deducted for taxes and company housing was spent in the markets.²

These camps operated on a different level of government³ and a different economic and social value system from the indigenous plateau village around them. To the plateau villagers these camps were a menace and were to be strictly avoided.⁴ The Bori cult,

1. Ibid.

2. See Chapter VII, p. 336.

3. See Chapter V, pp. 316-318.

4. JPP I-IV, passim.

prostitutes, alcohol, and moral laxity¹ were all present in these camps and the village elders complained bitterly about them. Their land had been threatened,² their youth had been forced to work for the aliens, and now these camps threatened their morality and a widespread pre-colonial industry - iron making.

The theft of iron had increased out of all proportion to what obtained in pre-colonial days when harsh punishments had been laid down. This was not a problem within the village as much as with those areas outside the village. The rapid decline of the iron-making industry had meant a search beyond the village for a new supply and the result was a rash of iron thefts which initially brought an attempt to strengthen the powers of the village chief but ended with a loss of power by the mines managers themselves.

It was always assumed to be much easier for the government to work through a single, powerful chief in a village.³ This the plateau villages did not have. The mining interests would also have welcomed such a singular authority with regard to the labour recruitment among the indigenous population and were not adverse to suggesting at each turn, new powers for the village chief, as long as these did not interfere with their own. They took advantage of such an opportunity when the issue of iron thefts arose.

1. See Chapter VI, p. 276 and pp. 288-289.

2. See Chapter VI on Tsafiland, pp. 292-297.

3. 'The final evolution should be for each (mining) settlement to be subjected to the pagan chief in whose district they are.'
See NIA CSO 21/124 Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1920.

The theft of iron from the tin camps as well as from the railway line was a crime for which no agreement could be reached as to who the culprits were. The miners felt that the 'pagans' were to blame as they were the ones found with the tools.¹ The plateau peoples disagreed, stating that they obtained their iron from the Hausa for trade or labour.² In either case, this misdemeanor occurred and was not effectively halted by the importation of iron hoes in 1918-19. These were too small for the work that was to be done when compared to the indigenous ones.

By 1921, the Nigerian Chamber of Mines complained to the resident that these thefts had to be stopped and the only way to go about effecting this was to make the village chiefs responsible "... for crimes of which they were perfectly cognizant and their villages compelled to pay compensation in full for the lost (sic) or damage occasioned by such crimes."³ Such guilt by proximity did not find favour with the administration more from the fact that they realised the very limited power that the village chief had rather than a consideration of the strict legality of such a measure. Nevertheless, their reply was increased touring by the political officer and another flood of imported iron.⁴

With the renewed tin output of 1922, increased food production

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1. NCM, op. cit., #62, May 19, 1921.
 2. JPP, passim, Vol. I-IV.
 3. NCM, op. cit., #62, May 19, 1921.
 4. Ibid., #64, July 14, 1921.

was required and this pressure was transmitted to the indigenous farmer. The imported iron, he had found, was not as durable as the locally produced type but it was now larger, much sharper and lighter.¹ The old type was becoming too difficult to make while the imported hoe could be obtained relatively cheaply and was immediately available. Thus, in 1922 an increased spate of iron thefts brought an even more demanding letter from the mine owners. In it, they stated that, if the village chiefs were not to be given authority, then the mines managers should be allowed to 'assume the powers of the police until a responsible government official arrives on the spot.'²

The government demurred at this suggestion of returning to the mines managers those powers which they had held in the first decade of British occupation. They also stressed that the theft of iron should be laid more at the very doorstep of the mining camps themselves where a number of undesirable elements were loitering, usually unemployed. This echoed the sentiments of the plateau people. It also brought home to the government that the mines managers in 1922 still held complete control over the social and at times judicial aspects³ of the camps although a few court cases were going to the Alkali in the Jos Native Authority. It was this very duality of administration, 'Pagan' and 'Mines' direct and indirect rule which

1. JPP, *passim*, Vol. I-IV.

2. NAK SNP 17/2/16053 Prevalence of thefts by Pagans on the Plateau. #55 Local Council of Nigerian Chamber of Mines to SNP, July 24, 1922.

3. Personal Interview with 'Major' J. L. Vitoria, September 1972. I could not find documentary examples of this action but Vitoria gave me two instances where he had judged cases one involving a land dispute and the other a marriage dispute. It should be remembered that the camps were not completely Muslim in population.

lent impetus to the move for a separate wholly 'pagan' plateau province. For the present, however, to solve the problem of iron thefts, the government simply stated that the recently amended Collective Punishment Ordinance was sufficient.¹

These complaints then by the mining communities led them into deep waters for very soon after, the local autonomy of the mining camps themselves was being investigated. The iron thefts had raised another issue and the government wished to investigate more thoroughly this aspect of Native Authority whereby the European miners held so much power in a system that was supposed to be run by 'Natives'. A further discussion of the administration by non-indigenes of non-indigenes appears in Chapter V.²

It is sufficient to say that the plateau indigenes continued to receive a supply of iron either from the scrap iron of the camps or, what is more likely, from the village headmen who distributed at a price the 10,000 hoes imported especially for them. Those complaints about iron thefts were no longer heard after 1924 for they had induced the government along a course which the mines managers had not intended. The tin miners' complaints had led to the strengthening of the non-indigenous local government authority over the camps as well as the protection of the outlying 'pagan' villages

1. NAK SNP 17/2/16053, op. cit., No. 237/1919 Resident Bauchi Province to SNP September 19, 1922. This ordinance levied a village fine on any village which was thought to have been connected with a crime or allowed it to be committed without making an attempt to stop it.

2. See Chapter V, pp. 218-224.

from an external non-governmental authority, in this case the tin mines managers. In the process however, the iron smelting industry had collapsed entirely and now both iron and crystal salt attracted the plateau indigenes to the mine camp markets. This in turn broke down further the relative isolation of the plateau villages.

Alien Traders and Merchants

Before 1900, tin had attracted traders from Kano, Bauchi and Zornu to Lerui-n-Delma. With the advent of large-scale European tin mining, the focus of trade shifted south, first to Naraguta and then to the new settlement of Jos. The Hausa merchants soon realized that the indigenes had little need for their clothing, foodstuffs and imported goods. The alien traders were largely dependent on the mining camps for their customers.¹ Given a large permanent population with a regular income, Hausa markets very quickly sprang up near the mining camps. Their far flung trade connections brought in merchants mainly from Kano but later on increasing numbers ^{came} from southern Nigeria as well.²

These trade connections brought to the plateau salt and iron which were the only two products in which the indigenous people showed any interest. With salt now widely available on the plateau

1. Raphael, op. cit. p. 229.

2. NAK Josprof 417/1915, op. cit.; NAK Josprof 432/1916 Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1916.

in exchange for firewood and grain,¹ the old salt trade routes to the south collapsed² as did the natron industry. The pre-colonial iron industry suffered a severe blow when the imported iron pieces proved to be of better quality than the local ones. These were distributed initially by the British government to the village headmen for his services. Later, they were sold to the Hausa traders who re-sold them to the plateau peoples. The availability of iron pieces led to the decline of the indigenous iron industry and to the iron thefts mentioned above. These Hausa traders had diminished the volume of indigenous long distance trade, made the plateau peoples to some extent consumers rather than producers and disrupted a commercial system of inter-village and inter-ethnic trade.³

The plateau traders although holding a special position, were primarily farmers and did not rely on trade alone for their livelihood. After the arrival of the Hausa commercial class, the indigenous trading role seems to have disappeared as each individual if he were in need of something neither available in his village nor in other plateau villages could go to a Hausa market. No one took on the role of transporting or distributing goods within the indigenous society. This might be a reflection of the lack of desire for the Hausa goods, a sense of insularity in the face of these newcomers, or there may have existed in some societies a contempt for those who traded and

1. JPP I-IV passim.

2. See Chapter III, pp. 150-152.

3. See Chapter III, pp. 142-153.

did not farm to support themselves. Berthoud points out, for example, that the Ganawuri even now are not interested in trade activities and scorn those who trade to support themselves.¹

The tin miners and merchants were not only groups awaiting the 'opening' of the plateau. Fulani herdsmen were also attempting a penetration of this rich trypanosomiasis-free grassland area. In a collection of photographs taken by H. W. Laws, a number of Fulani herdsmen are shown accompanying the first British military expedition on to the plateau.² To the north, the Fulani had been present in 1900 only at the sufferance of the Jere. Elsewhere they were open to cattle raids by these highland peoples.³ East of the plateau, a much larger migration had taken place. Here the Fulani lived in a symbiotic relationship with the Pyem in Gindiri, Murru and Langai. This relationship probably had been forged at the time Yakubu annexed Pyem territory in the 1830s.⁴ The Pyem acted as middlemen in return for Bauchi 'protection', bringing captives from Ron, who brought them to Gindiri to be sold to the Fulani, who either kept them for labour or sold them to Bauchi.

The Fulani tended to maintain a pattern of migration. They had followed Bauchi conquests southward, but the Sura defeat of Bauchi

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1. Personal Communication with Dr. G. Berthoud, Department of Anthropology, University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada, 29/7/73.
 2. Col. H. W. Laws, Photograph Album, Rhodes House, Afr. S. 888.
 3. JPP, I-IV, passim.
 4. See Chapter II, p. 82.

in the nineteenth century had stalled their progress. The Batan Ko'en clan was the major group of Fulani in Pyem and by 1900 they had extended their dry season movements (always a southward movement) to Gindiri before going back to Lere during the wet season.¹ This was a pattern of migration which covered twenty kilometres.

By 1904 the first British expedition had arrived and the struggle with the Sura did not end until the final defeat of the Sura in 1908. Now the migratory drift of the Fulani continued unimpeded southwards for the British operations had 'opened up to the pastoral Fulani a range of unrivalled pasture which they had coveted for some years, and they proceeded to make their way on to the Plateau.'²

When compared to other parts of Northern Nigeria, the plateau was very useful as a dry season pasture due largely to its abundant rainfall. Now however, the Fulani wished to use it as wet season grazing as well which meant a continual movement southward to the plateau limits and westward to the land of the Birom. By 1904-08, the southward extension had reached Panyam (Sura), by 1908-15 it was in Kumbul (Sura) and by 1915-20 in Bokkos (Ron). By the end of the 1920s the high plateau in Pankshin Division was both wet and dry season pasture for the Batan Ko'en and other groups.³

To the north-west, the same type of movement was taking place in

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1. Stenning, D. J., 'Transhumance, Migratory Drift, Migration, Patterns of Pastoral Fulani Nomadism,' Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 87, 1957, n. 68.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., p. 69.

Jos Division as Fulani from the Zaria side were attracted to the area. They soon held relatively free rein over the pastureland engaging in a number of running disputes with the agricultural plateau peoples. A more serious result to the plateau peoples, however, was the loss of their dwarf cattle. This is almost universally blamed on the Fulani who 'brought sickness' to the plateau.¹ The dwarf cows started eating dirt and purging themselves² which was a symptom of trypanosomiasis.³ The plateau had been free of trypanosomiasis before the Fulani arrival and the dwarf cows - said to be immune to the disease - had in fact lost their immunity because of lack of exposure to the disease for a number of centuries. Immunity was only possible if the cows had been infected as new-born calves, when they possessed a degree of natural resistance and then were re-infected continually throughout their lives.⁴ With the absence of the tsetse fly on the plateau, this balance was upset and when the Fulani cows introduced the disease in this century it took a tremendous toll of livestock. The number of cows the Birom possessed before the Fulani arrived can only be approximated with each village claiming to have had anywhere from fifty to two hundred and some clans claiming twenty or more.⁵

1. JPP I-III, passim.

2. JPP Shen, 10/8/73, II, p. 183.

3. Federal Veterinary Department (Von), F.V.D. Annual Report for 1930.

4. Gates, G. M., 'Breeds of Cattle Found in Nigeria,' Farm and Forest, 2, 1952, p. 24.

5. JPP I-III, passim.

It was the loss of such numbers that the Birom blamed on the Fulani.¹

Although the administration attempted to control Fulani cattle by eventually imposing a wet season cattle quota on their movements to the plateau, it took no interest in the plateau livestock. In 1923 a veterinary station was built five kilometres north of Wang in what was to become the village of Vom but it was not built to care for the local cows but the Fulani herd which by 1925 numbered over 10,000 and were increasing steadily.² Thus the dwarf cows became a curiosity on the plateau virtually unremarked upon in the documents and their position as a currency in marriage, so prevalent in the nineteenth century among the Birom, was replaced by horses, later goats and grain and later still by paper currency.

As for the use of the plateau grasslands as fodder for Fulani cattle, the administration's attitude was the same as its attitude towards mining leases, that is, "unused" land was free to be used by others. The plateau peoples were given no say in the matter. The question of paying 'pagans' for this right of pasturage did not arise for the fear was that this would be admitting to the 'pagans' that they possessed a right to all land inside their boundaries, a point which the British administration was not prepared to concede.³ It is only

1. It is possible here that the Birom have laid the blame correctly but not in the chronological sense. The severe dislocations of the pastoral Fulani due to the ravages of rinderpest which swept Northern Nigeria from 1887 to 1891 may equally have affected the plateau and taken an enormous toll among the dwarf cows. See Stening, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
2. F. V. D. Annual Report for 1925. By 1945 Davies in his survey reports that there are only 159 dwarf cows remaining. See Davies, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 229.
3. HAK Josprof 90/1910, *op. cit.*

when Fulani cattle traverse cultivated land that the Fulani could be found at fault and since the 'pagans' had not as yet complained, this problem had not arisen.¹ Here, as in other matters already outlined, the indigene was keeping a safe distance from the new administration and their followers and would not provoke them by complaining about those who had accompanied the initial expeditions to the plateau.

The British administrators of Bauchi Province and later Plateau Province were acutely aware of the economic advantages of having the Fulani and their cowherds grazing on the plateau grasslands. In this regard, the thousands of Fulani cows were always of primary concern and the income from jangali (cattle tax), the hides sold to the trading companies, and the supply of meat they provided to the tin fields,² justified measures taken to make their stay in the Jos and Bankshin Divisions a prosperous one for all concerned. With this end in view, the Vom Veterinary Station undertook a massive anti-Rinderpest campaign in 1925-1928 and it attracted an enormous number of Fulani cattle to the plateau. In 1928 alone, 237,146 Fulani cattle were in the Plateau Province.³ Any research and veterinary work done was specifically aimed at the Fulani cattle⁴ and not the

1. Ibid.

2. Ames, op. cit., p. 293.

3. F.V.D. Annual Report for 1928.

4. Governor Clifford doubted the validity of having the station there at all, feeling that it was only because the climate was more pleasant for Europeans that it was built on the plateau. NAI CSO 26/12537, Vol. I Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1923.

depleted numbers of the 'Pagan dwarf cows' which were considered economically unviable and regarded as an oddity.¹ By 1929, few could be found in the plateau province at all and a number were imported from Benue Province before research of a limited nature could be carried out.

The Plateau cows were not the only ones to suffer from the administrative neglect. By the 1920s, the plateau peoples were ready to voice their complaints as farmland disputes were rampant. The large influx of Fulani herds which roamed freely over the grassy plains also ranged over farmland and protests were immediately made to the district officer. In the early days of British administration the indigenes had not prevented the Fulani herds from trampling their grains,² but now there was some effort to protect the farmland³. However, the acute overgrazing of certain areas affected the use of much of the farmland⁴ and this together with the economic pressure from the tin mines reached a crisis stage by the late 1930s. Nevertheless, a return to a Jos Plateau without the Fulani was not possible and with the re-organization attempts of the British

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1. F. V. D. op. cit., 1928. In this report the first rather sketchy descriptions of the dwarf cows were made.
 2. JPP Rafan Village, 6/9/73. III, p. 171.
 3. MAK Josyprof 693, Report on Rim District, by C. H. L. Rubb, 29/9/31. There were also Fulani claims that the 'pagans' never paid for the cattle they agreed to buy. The District Heads permission had to be obtained before the sale could be completed.
 4. 'Land Rehabilitation: Plateau Province (Report of a sub-committee of the Plateau Provincial Development Committee) Farm and Forest, Vol. 8:2, July-December, 1947, p. 61.

government in the mid-1930s they became a part of the newly-formed tribal council.¹ The problems that their presence had brought were given over to the new political structure. But the dwarf cows could not be replaced. Substitutions for their social and economic role were eventually found with the social changes this entailed. The Plateau peoples now looked to the Fulani for beef while the young men went to herd Fulani cattle.²

Railroads and New Commercial Centres

A factor of enormous importance for the opening of the plateau was the construction of the Bauchi Light Railway which reached Zikuru in 1914. In order to facilitate close communication between the central emirates of Zaria and Kano and the Nigerian coast, the British Colonial Government had begun building a railroad in 1907 from Baro on the Niger River to Kano.³ By 1911, tin production on the Jos Plateau had quadrupled in two years⁴ and the tin miners were demanding a railroad to the plateau. The motor road linking the plateau to the new rail line at Rigachikun was inadequate for the transport of tin ore, tools, foodstuffs and machinery over it.

In 1911 the Bauchi Railway on a two foot six inch gauge was begun

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1. MAK Josprof. 407, Vol. I, op. cit.
 2. This is very common today on the plateau and is virtually an assimilation process of plateau youth into Fulani life. Personal observation, Porum Village, 7/1/73.
 3. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 59h, 1907-08. p. 596.
 4. Jones, W. R., Tin Fields of the World, 1965, p. 50.

with the primary object being 'the development of the tin mining industry on the Bauchi plateau.'¹ This move by the government followed what Calvert called a public agitation for such a branch line² as well as offers by capitalists in Britain, who were closely connected with the tin field, to build this linkup with the Baro-Kano line.³ By 1912, the line had been completed to Jengre at the foot of the plateau; it was then extended to the heartland of the tin fields by 1914.

From the government's point of view, the railway would not only assist the mining industry by opening a relatively inaccessible area to new investment but it would also help to 'civilize' the 'wild savages' of the Jos Plateau by labour. This view particularly applied to the sixty-five kilometres stretch between Jengre and Bukuru which passed through Gurrum, Buji, Jos and Waraguta. An average of 4,520 labourers were recruited each day among whom were the peoples of Pankshin, Dass and Bukuru districts. The miners were entertaining the fond hope that a new labour pool would be created and would be available for the mines when the Bauchi Light Line was completed.⁴

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1. Annual Reports, op. cit., No. 704, 1910-1911, p. 773.
 2. Calvert, (1912), op. cit., p. 165. In this connection the Northern Nigeria Mines Association, later to become N.C. of M., was formed to find a way to deal with the transport problem. See Royal Niger Company Papers, op. cit., Triage to Scarborough, July 10, 1911.
 3. PRO CO 446/95 op. cit., #24696 Maglesome to C.O. August 9, 1910.
 4. NAI CSO 1/33/1 Copy 40932/1912. C.O. to Chairman to Niger Company Ltd., January 3, 1913.

The government's aim was the 'civilization of the Pagans'.

Due to the belief that trade and a monetary economy were the only way to this ideal, local labour was recruited as the railway wound its way onto the plateau and then south to Bukuru. This was one part of indigenous "education" which was not to be neglected.¹

It gave a guarantee of a future wage-labour class who would after their mill experience, come forward of their own free will later to earn regular wages.² Lugard had already laid down in his Political Memoranda of 1906 that such political labour was beneficial to the labourer. Paying cash for labour and collecting it again as tribute would allow the people according to Lugard to learn that they are paid for their labour and also to understand that taxes had to be paid.³ Taxation in Lugard's definition was "a moral benefit to the people, by stimulating industry and production."⁴

Needless to say, the above sentiments were not shared by the indigenes. The work they performed they were forced to do. There is some disagreement in oral tradition as to whether they were paid or not possibly because most of the money they received went directly to pay taxes.⁵ The district officer would usually get in touch with the chief of the village who would in turn request an able bodied

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1. NAK Josprof 126/1913. Central Province Quarterly Report, on. cit.
 2. MAI CSO 1/33/1 No. 113 Lugard to Harcourt, June 9, 1913.
 3. Lugard (1906), on. cit., p. 214.
 4. Ibid., p. 87.
 5. JPP I-IV, passim. The tin-miners might have tried to get free labour in the more isolated areas if they could have gotten away with it. See Chapter VII, pp. 310-327.

man from each compound to work. No one refused, as they were 'afraid of the European', and usually the Native Authority police were there to back up the chief's request.¹

Placed under local headmen, the workers were usually out for two weeks and then they were permitted to return to their homes.²

It was a dreaded time for many. Some remember it as a time when many died from disease and overwork, for they were pushed at their work by the headmen.³ To what extent railroad work gave the plateau labourer an 'awakened intelligence' and made him alert and self-respecting⁴ cannot be measured, but it certainly did not make him any more interested in working for wages than he had been before. It was but a harsh two week interruption of farming activities that caused some disruption in the village. It was yet another overt sign of submission to the conquerors for the money thus earned was passed on as tax money. The railway the indigenous labour helped build, provided transport for yet more labourers to swell the plateau labour market from the 5,832 of 1911, to 17,883 in 1914 and 22,976 by the end of the decade.⁵ This in turn, diminished any further pressure for the time being on the plateau peoples to join the wage-labour economy so rapidly built around tin.

1. Ibid., Danaji Maikarfi, Oqwono of Gurram, 25/7/73, IV, p. 158.

2. Ibid., Nadzia clan, Kwall, 23/4/73, IV, p. 20.

3. Ibid., Pon Zi, Kabona, 13/9/73, IV, p. 225.

4. Orr, op. cit., p. 189.

5. PRO CO 657/34, op. cit.

With the tin boom during and after World War I the infrastructure of commercial enterprise on the plateau was refined and extended. Internal and external transport as well as banking and trading facilities had to be improved. All were requisite parts of the new system and the institution of one would assist the growth of another. Increased banking facilities meant greater capital outlay and therefore more trade flow both by the major European companies and those Nigerian traders who got goods from them. An examination of Jos¹ and Bukuru in these terms would be of enormous value but cannot be dealt with here. The average villager of the plateau saw and felt some of these new forces albeit in an indirect way and their presence could not fail to affect him.

The construction of the eastern railway from Port Harcourt in the 1920s had provided another opportunity to 'civilize' those on the plateau who had missed their turn the first time during the construction of the Bauchi Light Railway to Jos and Bukuru. Due to the discovery of coal in 1914 and the increased production of tin, it was felt that a railway connecting the tin fields with the Udi coal fields would be very viable economically and that a smelter could be built in Udi to process the ore.²

1. See Perchonak, *op. cit.*, and Plotnicov, Leonard, Strangers to the City, 1967. A study of the urbanization of Jos and Bukuru and its effect on the plateau indigenes will not be attempted here. The major urbanization of these centres occurred after the depression ended and therefore beyond the time period of this thesis.

2. A smelter was not built in Udi but in Jos and that in 1948.

The labour recruitment for this undertaking was carried out much as it was for the Bauchi Line but for the plateau work the supply was mostly drawn from the southern Birom and the Ganawuri. This meant compulsory labour would be expected from villages like Shonong, Bengai, and Afang. Again the hope of producing a future labour supply was entertained but not fulfilled. The indigenous labourers finished their work and returned to the villages.

A railway ordinance had been passed to bolster the village chief's authority and make recruitment easier.¹ However, it gave to the village chief powers which he could not or would not enforce. When the line came through in 1925, each village had to supply a quota of young men for a period of one to four weeks; those who did not go were beaten.² It is not surprising then that in this year, a large number of recruited labourers downed their tools and deserted the job and their village, only being persuaded to return by the district officer under a police escort.³ But labour was not the only outcome. In Gashish village area, one 'European' chief was deposed when he embezzled the money given to him to pay the village

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1. NAI CSO 26/03487 Annual Report for Bauchi Province, 1921. For some detail on labour recruitment in all of Northern Nigeria see Oyemakinde, J. O., "A History of Indigenous Labour on the Nigerian Railway 1895-1945". Ph.D. thesis University of Ibadan, 1970, pp. 54-56. This work however concentrates mostly on the trade union activities on the Nigerian railway system.
 2. JPP Bengai village, 15/2/73, I, p. 274.
 3. NAI CSO 26/12537 Vol. III.

labour in the Birom village of Gnar.¹ Around the heavily farmed area of Kuru, Gyel and Zawan, the coming of the railway meant a diminution of farmland and in Kuru's case this led to a descent from the hills as farmers went farther afield to seek fertile soil.²

The eastern line linking Port Harcourt and Jos was opened in April, 1927 and once their onerous chore was completed the plateau labourers went back to their villages. To some extent, they had, by completing the railway, replaced themselves as labour units. The flood of machinery and its fuel, coal gave the mines a constant labour supply as long as tin production was of sufficient quantity to warrant the use of such costly investments.

The major termination point of the two railway lines, the Bauchi Light and Eastern, was Bukuru. It was from this railhead that most of the tin was being exported. In 1926-27, for example, of the total amount of tin shipped from the plateau by rail, seventy five percent left Bukuru.³ Transport to this railhead had been provided by a Railroad Motor Transport Service begun in 1915. This service ran lorries from Rop to Bukuru loaded with tin ore and by the 1920s had increasingly found a market for passengers and market goods. In 1925, 12,730 passengers and 8,192 tons of goods were being transported. Into this flourishing market in the 1920s came a large number of

1. JPP Gnar village, 4/3/73, II, p. 93.

2. JPP Mandung Sukudu, Kuru, 26/2/73, II, p. 67.

3. HLL Annual Administration Reports for the Nigerian Railway, 1927.

private lorries owned and operated by Yorubas.¹ They provided a cheaper service and soon the volume of goods carried by the Rail Motor Service declined and it was closed down in 1927. It should also be realised that many of the tin companies by now had their own vehicles and could ship their own tin to Bukuru. It is not difficult to assume that at least some of those transported were from the villages of the plateau and that some of this number were taken to places where they may not have gone otherwise. For these young men, a world, whether frightening or exciting, did exist beyond the farm and the mining camp. The elders would no longer be the sole possessors of "truth".

Bukuru then had become a major emporium and in 1929 a new market was laid out to allow for the numerous merchants who needed stalls for their trade. Still the villages were left alone in these matters and few villagers ventured into this growing town despite its proximity to Gyel and Zawan. The sale of cloth, old clothes, or foodstuffs did not interest them and only salt and iron could attract them to the market.² As has been mentioned, it was very rare that a trader would itinerate through the 'pagan' villages for fear of being killed.³ The mining camps were both more lucrative and much safer.

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1. NAI CSO 26/12601, Vol. V Annual Report for Plateau Province 1927.
See Fig. 8 in the back cover envelope for the road system on the Jos Plateau.
 2. Personal Interview with Trade Merchant, Bukuru, 9/12/73.
 3. Ibid.

Jos had also built a market in 1929 at a cost of £12,000,¹ but although it was the administrative centre of the recently established Plateau Province set up in 1926, it did not have the same allure for the more active Nigerian traders. Jos had become the entrepot from which imported goods were bought by Nigerian merchants to sell in the mining camps or Bukuru. A partial list of alien trading firms in 1931 gives some idea of the scope of this trade. In Bukuru the only large firm operating was the United African Company while in Jos, John Holt Company Limited, G.R. Ollivant Company Limited, Ambrosini Company Limited, United Africa Company and a number of others all thrived.² There were also three firms that dealt specifically with motor vehicles.

The 'Coast African', (Nigerian, Ghanaian and (Sierra Leonean) who did much of the clerical work in these firms, had formed an active community. Aside from their commercial activities, they established in 1926 a primary school in Jos Township.³ The Koranic schools of the Muslims were also most active and in 1925 had 476 pupils in 84 schools.⁴ The indigenes of the plateau were left then

1. Ames, op. cit., p. 38.

2. NAI CSO 26/2/12601, Vol. IX, op. cit.

3. NAI CSO 26/12601 Vol. IV, op. cit., Ames (op. cit. p. 314) notes that there were also four other schools in Jos with a total pupil enrolment of 456 of which not more than 5% are from the Northern Provinces of Nigeria.

4. NAK Josprof 39/1912. Numbers of schools and scholars in Central Province, Resident, Bauchi Province to Director of Education, December 30, 1925. The number were those in Jos Division, which, not surprisingly, led the newly established Plateau Province in numbers reaching 139 schools and 1127 pupils by 1935.

to look to the mission for a literate upbringing, as their Native Authority was the district officer on tour, and he had little time for, or interest in, fostering an educational awakening.¹

It is from these economic factors mentioned in this chapter that the major impact on plateau societies can be gauged. The British administration merely provided a framework within which the alien traders, herders and miners operated. The rapid conquest of the Jos Plateau was at the behest of the tin miners, with little or no opportunity given for peaceful persuasion. Many of the consequent military expeditions were to establish 'order and good government' for mining activities. The railway had been built for their convenience, and the Muslim emirate form of indirect rule was instituted for their labour camps. After more than three decades of British rule, the plateau 'insular' form of resistance of the pre-1920 period had gradually broken down, and by 1935 the plateau societies were about to enter the new economic and political structure coming into the ascendant throughout the country.

1. See Chapter VI, p. 305.

CONCLUSION

In this account of the history of the Jos Plateau up to 1935, major stress has been laid on the diametrically opposed factors, that of adaptation and that of resistance to change. This thesis has attempted to present a concrete picture of a particular area and its population through time, who adapted to a series of new situations and by their resistance tried to protect that which they felt to be most important to them. This 'protection' took the shape of a number of strategic actions, each of which was expedient in resisting any sweeping change in the cultural milieu of a village or ethnic group.

The most violent action at the disposal of any society is military resistance. On the Jos Plateau, this type of resistance was more prevalent in the pre-colonial period, but it did occur just as readily, when given sufficient cause, in the twentieth century. It was soon realised that such a method of defence was not practicable, given the marked military superiority of the British forces. Before 1900, absorption of a larger or smaller group of newcomers was also a means of adaptation which was usually facilitated by marriage and hence kin relationships or ritual observations of some similarity. Different kinds of passive resistance to a new force were less likely to occur in pre-colonial times, given the small and independent nature of the villages. If military resistance had failed and social and

political balance could not be reached, migration, itself a type of passive resistance, very often solved the impasse. This was particularly noticeable among the Birom. However, with the introduction of British administration in this area, migration could not place any group of people beyond the reach of the intruder.

For the societies under examination, the new circumstances of the twentieth century called for passive resistance, and once absorption and military action were proved to be ineffective methods of resistance, the societies of the plateau withdrew from the social and economic reach of the newcomers. They soon found, given the nature of the intruders, that this was not enough and, when necessary, moved to protect their land, their leaders, their youth or their faith when threatened. These threats were not acting singly but interacted on one another and had a cumulative impact. By the end of this period of study, perhaps one can speak of absorption of some elements of the indigenous society into the new order, with the indigenous converts, the literate and the mining class having an increasing effect on the plateau villages.

The plateau peoples, from the beginning, faced a harsh terrain and, at times, a most chaotic series of migrations and conflicts over the last two centuries. The factor of change arose in different places at different times. The Jere, for example, left Kwandon Kaya near Bauchi and settled in Pengana. After making convenient alliances here, they were dispersed by the jihadists, eventually settling in

the northern part of the Jos Plateau. Here they found themselves militarily supreme vis-a-vis their immediate neighbours and also secure from the jihadists of Zaria and Bauchi. Their military might was useless against the British guns, however, and they were of little regard to the colonial administration, being in an area not attractive to the newcomers. Their position was initially reinforced as primus inter parus, but by the 1930s, they had become one part of a larger federation of ethnic groups, all brought together for administrative convenience. Each village, regardless of its pre-colonial situation, now asserted its independence of all others, and so each obtained its own village government in the reorganization of the 1930s.

The Irigwe are perhaps a better example of the vagaries of change. After being driven to the edge of the plateau by a superior force, they regrouped and, after absorbing a large influx of new settlers, became a military and economic force of some consequence in the nineteenth century. The twentieth century brought defeat and relative insularity until they were included as 'Biroms' in a Tribal Council in which they had very little power. They had held themselves and their traditional political structure apart from the British administration with a 'buffer' chief for thirty years. Even when the 'rightful' chief was appointed, he was quickly deposed by them as not being able to control all forces, both secular and supernatural, simultaneously. Riyom, being the Birom religious

centre, was meaningless to them, just as it was to the Anaguta, Afusare and Ganawuri. This did not radically change their internal village structure, and as long as this was so the 'European Chief' of the Tahu clan could do what the administration asked. The other influences already enumerated had little effect, for the Irigwe like the Rukuba and the northern villages of Amo, Buji, and Jere were far enough away from the central part of the plateau to be little affected.

The Birom, as has been made clear, appear to have been only brushed on their eastern perimeter by the jihadists' invasion of the nineteenth century, but most affected due to their geographical position by the British invasion of the twentieth century. Only a small part of the jihad touched the Birom, although trade in captives and horses probably increased during the nineteenth century. Any military skirmishes by Birom villages were usually internecine and directly related to boundaries. One glaring exception was the unity of a number of villages against the invasion of the Ron-Monguna in the late nineteenth century. Generally, however, military cohesion was not a necessary part of survival, and each village defended itself or made an alliance of convenience with other villages when necessary. The arrival of the British military forces, which could not be absorbed nor stopped, meant the defeat or acquiescence in quick succession of the Birom villages. With active resistance now suicidal, an attempt to isolate the villages took place. This was to continue

for thirty years, after which time there began a more rapid outward movement down from the hills, to the mines and into schools. The movement is still occurring and is reciprocal with the attendant changes that the 'returnees' produced. The effects thus varied as did the societies, and it would be useful to look in a general way at the total Jos Plateau area, what survived, what changed and what was lost.

There were some successes in the use of passive resistance during this period. The traditional religion and a major part of the governing system had been protected. Marriage, that ultimate political alliance, remained a stabilising element. The loss of its major currency - dwarf cows - had been overcome by the use of horses, grain and the new metal currency. The sister-exchange marriage in the northern areas had not changed at all. Some trade routes had been maintained from pre-colonial times and were being used by the new order. Agricultural produce, despite the incursions of the tin miners and Fulani, was still adequate to meet local and alien needs. Harvest festivals as well as hunting festivals were carried out still, and crops like acha and millet remained primary, despite colonial attempts to introduce foreign crops like the potato.

There was, however, the constant undermining of the elders' authority at first by the British administration and mines managers and later by the youth within the village. The 'heroes' of pre-colonial society were no longer recognised for their military prowess, and this

stratum of society gradually lost its importance. The respect that could be won by being a competent farmer was the only replacement. Outside of the village, however, superior farmers were like everyone else and were forced to work on the railroads or in the mines. The new order was no respecter of old roles. Even the head of a village, if such existed, was not receiving the respect formerly given. He no longer received the 'tithe' of labour that was usually required, and 'chiefs' combined secular and religious roles with a power, judicial and economic, that was given and taken away by an outside power. Such a decline in a political, social and religious structure could not go on interminably, and already in the 1930s, a division had begun to appear in the exercise of the 'chiefs' power. What had happened to the Bwolbwonga in Pyem Geji after the jihadists had conquered the Pyem was beginning to occur on the Jos Plateau after the British conquest. Those whom the 'conquerors' favoured, whether they were qualified by being able to speak Hausa or by being 'traditional', were utilised, and the village itself became divided on matters political, social and religious. This division was further accelerated by actions external to the village, taken by the colonial government.

By the 1930s, the British government had decided that some form of a federation system was the best type of government for plateau society. This system would be based on what the government thought a given society was like at the time the British had arrived three decades before. This, however, was the problem. During the period

in which a 'chief' had been appointed, in which taxes had been gathered, and in which judicial cases had been removed from local hands, the times and the villagers had changed. Those men in their fifties and sixties, who were being considered for the council of elders in the 1930s, had just been attaining manhood and beginning to learn the political and religious structure of the society when the British arrived. To restructure the Birom, for example, as Synge had tried to do - to put the clock back to pre-colonial times - was no longer possible. The spurt of anthropological investigation was the last major effort by the British administration to deal with a political system they still barely understood. Among the Birom, the serious attempt by them to find a traditional ruler in 1935 was a failure, judging by consequent events. But all external attempts at judging the political, religious and social blocks of government were due to fail when these blocks kept changing shape and the juggler was constantly distracted by what was going on around him.

Whether a federal system would work or not was the unknown. There was some confidence that it would, but this was accompanied by an ongoing analysis of the society, and social and political experiments that the British hoped would finally put aside the problem of 'government' and get on with that of 'development'. They, however, were building for a time that was past, while the plateau peoples were living and changing in the present. The outward signs of dress and manner so accurately summarised by Middleton in 1934 were obvious to the onlooker, but the scanty clothing hid much more than the

British administration knew. Government on the plateau, as government anywhere, remained in an ongoing state of change not always realised by the British nor acknowledged by the plateau people. It was not until the latter felt that the furtherance of a system so imposed confined them in a structure which they did not wish to maintain, that resistance of some form could manifest itself.

EPILOGUE

It is perhaps too much to hope that the ideal solution has invariably been found, but the investigations have been exhaustive, the people in most cases ready to express their views, and the solution adopted has in all cases appeared to be that which the people themselves were most ready and able to operate.¹

It is, perhaps, appropriate to end this work with the cautious statement of Sir Bernard Bourdillon, but it would be unfair to leave the reorganisation of the 1930s with such optimism. This was particularly true of the Birom Tribal Council, for the other areas encompassing Rukuba, Amo, Buji, Limoro, Chokobo, Nchara and Jere had retained their village independence. Those of the latter group were to follow a much more gradual path to amalgamation, and it was not until the 1950s that the Sarkin Pengana, a title invoking historical affinities, was placed over all of the above with the exception of Rukuba. The Rukuba retained the independence of each village area, and by the early 1940s a council of the Rukuba people, with each area

1. Address by Sir Bernard Bourdillon, Nigerian Legislative Council Minutes 1931-1939. The investigations referred to are the re-organisation reports.

providing a monthly president, was functioning satisfactorily. The same cannot be said for the remainder of Jos Division.

The 'traditional' chief installed as Fong Gwom of the Birom in 1935 was not successful. Several Birom villages complained of his chieftaincy, and in 1944 he was removed by the provincial administration. The concept of a paramount chief for the Birom was laid aside and the Ganawuri, Irigwe and Anaguta were being administered once more as ethnic groups independent of the Birom. By 1947, the Gwom of the Birom was an educated Christian, Rwang Pam. His appointment accentuated the increasing prominence in political affairs of the literate elements in Birom society.

Thus, despite, or perhaps because of, the reports and the attempted re-organisations by the provincial administration, most ethnic groups on the Jos Plateau had maintained their political identity to some extent. The 'insularity' of the plateau peoples in the early years of the twentieth century had spanned a greater ethnic consciousness by the 1930s and 1940s. This study ends just at the point in time when there was every indication that the peoples of the Jos Plateau were prepared to abandon isolation and withdrawal, take an active part in shaping their own future and move into the main stream of Nigerian history.

BIBLIOGRAPHYI. Primary Sources

- A. Oral Evidence. See the Critique of Oral Sources and Appendix I for a list of informants.
- B. Archival Materials. This section has been sub-divided into four classifications, namely Government, Missions, Tin Mining, and Private Papers. These materials were found in Nigeria, Great Britain and Canada.
1. Government: (taken from the Public Archives in Ibadan, Kaduna and London)

(a) Administrative Reports(1) Bauchi (later Plateau) Province Reports

The most valuable chronological record of British administration at the Divisional and Provincial level are the quarterly, half-yearly and annual reports. These reports give a general picture of provincial administration, policy and practice, and a brief historical background for the Division. The quarterly and half-yearly reports were most valuable for they provided a much more detailed view of District problems than the annual reports and these were prepared up to 1920 when they were no longer used. The annual reports for Bauchi Province of which Jos Division was a part were consulted up to 1930. After 1926, when the Plateau Province was formed, Plateau Province reports under Josprof 1/NAK and CSO 26, NAI were consulted. The annual reports for Nassarawa and Muri Provinces (Nassprof and Muriprof both in NAK) provided some perspective for 'pagan' administration in Northern Nigeria.

Special reports by the Native Affairs Officer (est. 1922) were useful for they portrayed the Central Government's attitudes and increasing interest in the non-Moslems, e.g. Tomlinson's report of 1924, in CSO 26/2 NAI.

Files consulted under this grouping are:

NAK CSO 26
 NAK Josprof 1/
 Josprof 1/1 -post 1930 reports
 Zarprof 7/1
 Bauprof 1/
 Nassprof 1/

(2) Intelligence and Confidential Reports

The Intelligence reports gave a much more forthright picture of the actual situation at the divisional level. These included a more detailed history of the people as well as an analysis of the judicial and political organization of the particular ethnic group being discussed. By the late 1920s and early 1930s these contributed to the Organization and Re-organization reports. As has been shown in the thesis, these were more reliable as a reflection of the British attitudes at a particular time rather than an accurate analysis of the societies being studied.

Confidential reports were only useful for giving a greater depth of understanding of the colonial officials. Personal reports on J. S. Synge, C. G. Ames, E. Lengslow-Cock, etc., often included not only critiques of their work but also some of their correspondence to Jos and Kaduna. There were no confidential reports available on the village or district chiefs. The above reports were in Kaduna under SMP 7, 9, 16 and 17.

(3) Assessment Reports

Assessment reports gave particular emphasis to financial matters and therefore provided information on the economic situation of Jos Division. Information was obtained by interviewing village and district heads and the report gives a fair reflection of the material wealth of the plateau villages. However, they also show a marked bias by the District Officer for mines labour and details on how much the villages could earn if they worked in the mines. Nevertheless, a defence of 'Pagan' interests also began at this level against the new economic forces acting upon Plateau societies.

The above were found in CSO 26 in Ibadan, and SMP/7 and 9 and Zarprof 6/2 in Kaduna.

(b) Correspondence(1) Internal Provincial Correspondence

This correspondence gives the best insight into the attitudes of the Provincial Residents and the Divisional and District Officers towards administrative problems. Consisting of correspondence to Bauchi and later Jos from the Divisions, it lays bare the interpretation of administrative policy by the personnel who actually implemented it at the local level. Their views are quite frank and useful.

Most were in Josprof 1/, Josprof 1/1 (3rd collection) and Josprof 2/, all in Kaduna.

(2) Bauchi-Zunguru (later Bauchi-Kaduna, then Jos-Kaduna)

This correspondence provides comments on the Provincial reports to the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria who by 1914 was the Lieutenant Governor and in 1933 the Chief Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. It includes the interpretation by the Northern Nigerian government of what British administration consisted of and this was almost wholly pro-Moslem.

Not as useful as (1) above, it tends to cover many of the minor difficulties of a division and is by necessity much more general. SNP 15 was especially useful however as it gave a concise account of British patrols in Bauchi Province. SNP circulars to all Residents at times called for surveys of opinion e.g. on 'pagan' matters or laid down government policy. The comments received from Residents throughout Northern Nigeria on these topics were of great interest.

(3) Kaduna - Lagos

This correspondence beginning in 1914 when the Northern Provinces came under the Governor in Lagos, presents an even more general picture and is of little value. However, why certain decisions were taken in Lagos as regards non-Moslems and particularly what the attitude of the Governor was at a given time, are often well portrayed in the comments added to Provincial reports. They also provided a general overall view of 'pagan' administration for both Southern and Northern Nigeria and the reaction of the central administration to tin, mission and railway interests.

Documents for this series were mainly in CSO correspondence and especially CSO 11 to CSO 21 and CSO 23/1 to CSO 23/21.

(4) Kaduna - London to 1914

To examine this correspondence it was necessary to consult CSO 1/26 to CSO 1/31 in Ibadan and the CO 446 correspondence at the Public Record Office, London. This included circulars, and the activities of the West African Frontier Force. The CO 446 contained the original correspondence to the CO from Kaduna and therefore included comments by the CO officials which showed their attitudes towards the expeditions and the administration in Northern Nigeria.

(5) Lagos - London after 1914

This correspondence is a continuation of the above but originating from the Governor of Nigeria in Lagos to the CO. As with the above they reflect the CO's attitudes in their personal notes which were added to correspondence received from Nigeria. Tin mining policy during World War I and the depression was given some attention in this series. In Ibadan this series was under CSO 1/32 to 1/39 while in London they come under CO 583.

(6) Miscellaneous

This section consists of all files which were not included in the above sub-sections but were found to be important for this work.

Ibadan CSO 8/6 Miscellaneous Correspondence

RP1/5 - 1/18 Non-official Publications

Kaduna SHP 10, 17 Correspondence on Missions and tin mining.

London CO 582 Sessional Papers and Annual Reports

CO 657 Administrative Reports and Executive Council

Meetings CO 660, 741 Official Meetings of the Railway.

2. Missions: (sources were in Nigeria, Britain and Canada)(a) Sudan Interior Mission

The Sudan Interior Mission correspondence was not available in Nigeria and there appeared to be some confusion as to where it actually was. There are no copies or originals in their head office in Toronto or the branch office in London. Files seen there were very general and largely contained secondary sources. Toronto did however have the following:

File: History Material

R. V. Bingham Correspondence

Missionary Witness Scrapbook early cuttings

(b) Sudan United Mission

The SUM was in a similar situation to the SIM. However some of their correspondence was available in London. The Jos Office had a box of unfiled papers dating back to c. 1916 but this was not pertinent to this study. They did have the following in their office:

Langtang Station Log 1926-54
 Miango Papers on Miango Conference of Missionaries 1929
 Log Book Kwari 1926-40
 The Lightbearer Monthly from 1904 (a complete set)

(c) The Roman Catholic Mission

The Roman Catholic Mission (SMA) although in Shendam as early as 1907 had no influence on the plateau until after 1935. For this reason, as well as those of time and expense, the author did not consult the Mission Archives in Rome.

(d) Church Missionary Society (London)

This proved to be the most valuable mission source especially the Hausaland Mission 1900-1906, later the Northern Nigeria Mission, Precis books. Unfortunately due to the fifty year rule I was only able to see up to 1922. The following were useful:

Niger Mission 1887-1897 Precis Books
 Niger Mission 1897-1906 Precis Books
 Northern Nigeria Mission 1907-1922 Precis Diaries and Journals

(e) International Missionary Council (London)

This was a collection of secondary sources on mission activity but File #271 had some very useful correspondence on SUM and SIM activities. The following were also useful:

Box #270 - The Northern Provinces (Nigeria) council records
 Box #271 - SUM and SIM correspondence as well as
 GMS 1916-L2
 Box #272 - Mission freedom in Northern Nigeria
 Box #274 - Nigeria and Education

3. Tin Mining: (sources in Nigeria and Britain)

In Nigeria, the major source was the Nigerian Chamber of Mines Minute Books. On the whole however, information was scarce and difficult to obtain. Many companies had no back files and those that did, did not go back very far.

Nigerian Chamber of Mines Minute Books, 1911-1950 Jos Museum:
File of letters of Naraguta Company 1905-07

Amalgamated Tin Mining Company Limited: Correspondence and
Information Files 1930-1950

In Britain the sources were few and quite scattered. Both the Business Archives Council and the National Registry of Archives were consulted but little was learned on the tin industry. UAC had the most information and it was in no way plentiful. The Anglo-Oriental Investment Group of which ATMN Ltd. is a part had little of value, and head offices of what tin companies there were on the plateau in the early decades of this century have long since closed up and their files have been destroyed.

(a) United Africa Company Limited

UAC and Niger Company Ltd. Amalgamation of 1930.
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Niger Company Ltd. Mining Department 1924
Royal Niger Company (3 volumes)
Extracts from Coast Letters re new products

(b) Anglo-Oriental Investment Group

File on the formation of the Associated Tin Mines Ltd. (ATMN)

(c) John Holt Company Ltd.

Ref. Box #17 Sir Ralph Moor to John Holt on tin deposits
Ref. Box #26 Letter books of John Holt
Ref. Box #40 Pagans at Jos (photographs)

4. Private Papers

Bodleian Library, Rhodes House, Oxford

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CRITIQUE OF ORAL SOURCES

It has become the practice in a work of this type to describe and make some observations on the methodology of collecting oral history. This is essential for each collection of oral history constitutes constant adaptation and innovation in order to allow for the problems met in each new area of study. No two methods can be the same as no two situations are exactly the same. Therefore, just as a document-based thesis must meticulously note each private paper, book or article, so too must the oral historian not only give his sources but also his means of tapping them. It is not to justify a method so much as to explain the method found most useful in a given setting. Oral history also need not be justified but its collection and application in a particular work must be held up to the light of historical logic before it can be accepted.

Once the problem had been posed as to what was the pre-colonial history of the Jos Plateau, the immediate reaction was to turn to the written sources. These were most scarce or at best threadbare from their constant use by the British Administration to drape a cloak of legitimacy over the type of government they wished the indigenes to employ. A wider perspective was essential and the collection of oral history was the only way to attain it.

In his book Oral Tradition, 1965, Jan Vansina concentrates completely on state-structured societies (i.e. societies that are presumed to be with the necessary structure to be considered a state.

In many cases this is more a case of actual size than any other factor.) When doing historical research on the Jos Plateau, it is to the solving of the problems of oral collection among the 'stateless' societies that one must turn. The researcher must go to the primary political and social power in these areas. This was the clan head or family head. One must establish through them the lineage progression, when the clan arrived in the area, its relationship to the village, and generally its social, political and economic contribution to a particular area and people. It was only by examining these diverging and converging lines that one was able to build up a composite picture of a lineage, village or ethnic nation if such existed.

Much of the pre-colonial history on Africa in the past has been written on nations that were very conscious of the position and role of their state vis-a-vis other African societies. The collection of the history of these states has mainly been through the 'court historians' or griots who have given a history heavily weighted with a court tradition. With the necessity of reliable dating by using, among other things, royal genealogy, modern historians in Africa find it difficult to free themselves from the lure of royal pageantry.

In order to study much smaller societies - smaller numerically and geographically - which lack the paraphernalia of the 'State societies' mentioned above, the oral history had to be obtained by other means. These so-called segmentary or stateless societies do have their own political and religious structure on a smaller scale but lack the court chronicler to whom a historian may go. One must

performance turn to the individual clan histories of the ethnic group to be examined, then from this to build such individual histories into a synthesis of the past.

Methodology

After an initial re-connoitering visit of one week in April, 1971 to the Jos Plateau, I decided that the most effective way to carry out my research was to live in the area. This would give me a firmer idea of the local situation as well as a better opportunity to understand various social and political relationships.

In August, 1971, I spent four weeks getting to know the area, travelling by motorcycle and meeting some of the District Heads who provided me with some information on possible informants residing in their villages. This was the first and only time I found the Hausa language particularly useful. As will be noted later, virtually all the oral history was collected in the informant's first language, for Hausa in almost all cases was virtually unknown aside from the greetings.

In January, 1972, I moved to the village of Vom, twenty-seven kilometres south of Jos where I resided for the duration of my research. To supplement my sources, I went to six secondary schools in May, and administered a questionnaire to the Form Five and Form Six students concerning sources of history in their villages. This information I correlated with that given by the District Heads. The object of this exercise was not so much the accuracy of whether an individual

was a good informant or not, but more a matter of diversity from that presented by the District Head for he may wish me to hear only from a chosen few. The third and final means was the constant search for other sources in the village itself through the more politically neutral individuals like a primary school teacher.

My visits to the secondary schools also provided me with an opportunity to acquire interpreters. Three qualifications were necessary here. These were: (1) that he belong to the ethnic group being questioned, (2) that he be not associated with the Local Authority for Jos Division, in any way and (3) that he be willing to work full time with me. The last requirement included living with me if he so desired as I felt the interpreter would get a better idea of my work and I in turn would know much more about him as an individual. I feel that his identification in a common search for oral history made a great deal of difference to his performance in the field. Overall, I employed thirteen interpreters. The third stipulation was not necessary in four cases when the interpreter was a primary school teacher resident in the village where the interviews were to take place and in two other cases when the interpreters were teachers at a nearby secondary school in Vom. I feel, in all cases, that I had reliable interpreters for they were fully cognizant of what I wanted to do and critically helpful of how I went about doing it.

It is then to the means of withdrawing the information that we must turn to examine what questions were asked, more importantly how they were asked, and more importantly still, how they were answered.

It was necessary to know as much as possible about the social and political structure of each individual ethnic group before attempting to trace the problems of that society's past. To take the clan history approach, one must be acquainted with the present political situation in which a clan functions. This will assist the researcher in understanding the interpretation each clan will give of the past. Many times, the past is recounted to settle a problem in the present that has arisen within local government. This was especially true of the plateau where the colonial and particularly the post-colonial periods have produced a greater awareness of the bonds of ethnicity. To begin an interview with questions on the present would be a great mistake, for the informants immediately identify the researcher with the Local Authority in Jos and present their claims in land and boundary disputes. Although such disputes were of interest, I felt they were complicating factors which I should initially avoid when introduced to each village or group of clans. I perceived that it would be more disarming as well as practical to concentrate on the beginnings of a people and pursue this line step by step up to the twentieth century. By the time a sufficient wealth of pre-colonial material had been gathered, I found I had a certain amount of rapport with the elders and the information sought on the pre-1935 colonial times was a bit easier to come by.

Basically, to understand the changes wrought by colonial intrusion, it is necessary to have some idea of the structure of the society before 1900. The question 'At what point does one begin?' interposes itself

here and the logical answer in an oral collection of this kind appears to be to take the myths of origin then collect and construct from that point up to this century. I do not feel that a cut off line in the past should be drawn. The totality should be taken when such an opportunity presents itself and the historian can then extract those parts which he feels are necessary and pertinent to his work. To insert oneself in a particular time sequence may well open gaps in the proper chronology of events and leave the researcher with a disjointed collection of inconsequential facts or myths. If time is available, then the history of an area should be pursued as far back as possible.

Interviews

In this work both individual and group interviews were used to acquire information, each having its particular value.

Before I went to a village for a meeting, I would contact the village head a week in advance, and agree on a date and time for a meeting with 'all those who knew about the history of their village.' I requested that he invite all the elders to come to the place which was usually used for village meetings. This location varied from village to village for it could be the chief's compound, the village square, or near the primary school. I would try to send a note in Hausa a couple of days before the meeting to confirm that we were coming.

Thus, when my interpreter and I came for the meeting there were anywhere from eight to thirty elders who had gathered. Usually the

village head or the school-master would introduce us to the elders and include in this introduction a brief description of my work and its importance to the village. After re-introducing me and himself, my interpreter would then proceed with the questioning of individuals in order to identify elders and clans and once this was done, queries were addressed to the group as a whole.

The group interview is essential in such areas where usually the clan history is better remembered. This allows the elders to each make a contribution to the village history and also acts as a check on historical distortion when one clan asserts its superiority over the other. In a group meeting, elders were more apt, after some discussion, to reach a consensus and thus dampen clan rivalry. Although there were some attempts by the village head to justify his position by insisting upon his claim to office, these insecure individuals were few in number. Generally the elders held the floor and the points raised and debated provided not only information but also talking points that could be raised in private with the individual informant.

I did not find a tape recorder at all useful in such a situation for the following reasons: (1) The meeting took place in the open air and this made the recording conditions difficult. (2) With such a large number of individuals, proper identification of a speaker as well as the simple task of getting the microphone near him proved distracting to the interview as a whole. (When interviewing I usually

used a rough seating plan with each elder having a number for easier identification when I was taking notes.) (3) The meeting could be anywhere from four to eight hours and so the transcribing time with interpreter could be up to four times as long as the recording time.

In order to make the meeting as amicable as possible, cigarettes and local beer. (nito) were provided for the elders during and after each session. It was at this time that I took the opportunity to use the tape recorder, depending on the situation, to record any praise songs or war songs that the elders would like to sing. Appointments were also made by my interpreter with those elders who could flesh out the bare bones of the group meeting. At times, this had to be done very discreetly so there would be no social repercussions from the village head.

The group meeting itself could present its own type of problems and therefore had to be handled with care. Outside interference in the more urban areas, lengthy disputes over a chief list, or a 'chief-controlled' meeting had to be guarded against. In one village, the village head insisted on allowing only his version of the local history in front of about thirty elders and would not allow any others, who opposed this version, to speak. I then had to find some pretext to go interview those whom I felt may be of some value as a means of checking what the village head had said. In the final analysis, I found that the ancestors of the present village head had usurped authority in the village about one hundred and fifty years before and he wished to make sure I did not learn of this. In another village

the head did not invite a number of elders for he said they would 'cause trouble' and 'lie'. The researcher must then seek out these 'troublemakers' with a maximum of tact, i.e. in a way that does not make it appear that you are calling the village head himself a liar.

The constant concern in these interviews was to avoid being too closely identified with the Local Authority in Jos. Chieftaincy disputes, as can be seen from the thesis, are a constant in many villages and the Local Authority was involved in continual litigation. Thus, I found it best not to be directly linked with the Local Authority unless convenient although I had a letter from the Benue Plateau State Government in case there was any question about my work. The work was then done through personal contacts rather than official introductions.

Individual interviews were at times tape-recorded, again depending on the feelings of the elder involved. Many times it was an inverse relationship, that is the more educated a man was the less likely he may wish to have himself recorded. Usually, then, a notebook was used and then these notes were recopied in the evening together with my interpreter to see if we had missed anything.

In both group and individual interviews the question form was unstructured. By this I mean that although certain topics were always raised each was done in depth rather than going through a set question and answer format. This allowed for a greater control of the discussion by the interviewer in that the pace could be judged as to what subject was becoming tiresome or whether it was to be left out and returned to later on. Active demonstrations of warfare tactics or the exhibit

of a relic by an elder was always encouraged. It may be remarked here that in a group interview, the research student must try to involve as many as possible in the questions otherwise he gets only two or three respondents, usually associated with the chief's house, answering his questions. There are always others who may answer better a question on trade or livestock who will keep silent if not encouraged to speak out. This is particularly true if the meeting is held in a village head's compound and the elder does not wish to refute what the chief's clansmen have said. He is usually restrained by the fact that he is in the village head's house. At times although sought out later, the elder may also refuse to discuss a topic if I have been accompanied by the chief's messenger. Thus, even when the identification with the Local Authority has been avoided, association with the village head or his clan can also create problems.

Further to this, if there had only been individual interviews, one would have been left with clan propaganda with very little check on his facts. Thus, it was most useful to have the group interview first to provide some sort of framework into which specific details could be fitted. One could not have been carried out to the exclusion of the other. In general, all information had to be checked as much as possible with other informants so factual accuracy could be maintained. Quite often an informant's degree of accuracy would depend on the subject matter and so everything he said could not be dismissed out of hand if one part was found out to be wrong.

In order to reconstruct the pre-colonial period some historical depth was required and it was necessary to establish some sort of chronology in this work. Exact dates could not always be established and so a generation dating scheme was used by correlating clan and/or village chief lists of one village with other villages. This system had quite a high degree of accuracy in such things as migration pattern and warfare and could be confirmed in almost all places where it occurred with the jihadist intrusion. Although there was some variation in marriage practices the male age of marriage did not vary that much. Here a distinction was made between betrothal which could be anytime in the lifetime of a male and the birth of his first child. The latter usually occurred on the plateau when the father was in his mid to late twenties. An average taken among the elders interviewed established twenty-seven years to be a generation and so this period of years was used to establish time depth. The chart in Appendix II will give a better idea of the method used. Events such as battles between two villages or a change in political leadership would only be accepted as 'facts' if both villages or the clans agreed such an event occurred and also that it occurred at the same time or generation. Without this cross-checking it was not included in this work.

The colonial period caused problems of a different type from the pre-colonial period but I also had the advantage of comparing this thirty year span with the documents. One apprehension was that the informants would wish to gloss over the British invasion and its consequences and thus speak only of the 'good old days'. This fear,

however, was ill-founded for the elders presented their actions and resentments firmly; on the one hand, for example, damning the missionary and on the other, praising a D.O. if they felt he deserved it. I had begun the interviews saying that I was interested only in pre-colonial times, thinking that I would avoid the political machinations of the colonial period. It was not until later in the interviews that I went into the colonial period without a pause. However, it was a mistake to assume that the elders had not realized that the pre-colonial chief lists must affect the politics of the twentieth century and the disputes continued unabated.

INFORMANTS

Plateau Indigenes

It is not really possible in this work to place informants on a gradient scale marked major and minor. A great deal was learned in the village interviews in which no single personality could be given credit as the major contributor. A few, however, stand out and it would be useful here to list some of them for two reasons, (1) for the information they provided and (2) an assessment of the validity of this information. It is perhaps not too presumptuous to remind oneself that very few informants are 'completely honest' in all things. Those things which affect them most or that they feel should be hidden must be sought out, once the non-essentials, to them are disposed of. Thus, an informant may be completely accurate on some matter and very elusive on another. It was only after further

interviews were done and the informant realized to what depth the research was going were his protective barriers broken down.

The following informants were of great value for the above reasons.

- (1) Chai Mang, Age: 71; Ethnic Group: Ganawuri; Occupation: District Head; Location: Jal village.

This informant, who was a major source for the history of the Ganawuri, was most helpful both for the information he provided in a personal interview, as well as his assistance in referring me to other knowledgeable elders. Beside his obvious value for the colonial period, (see text) he and one or two elders were able to provide some insight into political and social forms before the British arrival. I returned a number of times to the village as he was ill frequently when I wished to visit him. I felt that he was not as positive about pre-colonial history as he might have been but this might have been a result of his illness. His material on the colonial period always checked with what I could obtain elsewhere.

- (2) Bre Akwe, Age: 80+; Ethnic Group: Irigwe; Occupation: farmer; Location: Kwall village

As in other cases, I suspected that the first interview with this informant scratched only the surface of what he knew. I held a clan interview before the group interview in order to give my interpreter some confidence in front of the elders and in this particular case, it was his clan. Although we were diverted from a couple of topics, the material culture, trade, warfare, etc., were all later verified. More details of clan history however came out in some detail at the group meeting and it was only after this had taken place that Bre Akwe

opened up about his own clan. While in Kwall, I slept in his clan's compound and I felt that I gained his confidence and thus at least some of his knowledge of the past.

- (3) Maigari Ningsadu, Age: 65; Ethnic Group: Buji; Occupation: Village Head; Location: Buji village.

This informant exhibited an obvious eagerness to contribute as much as possible to any history of the Anaboze (the Buji people); I was also fortunate in this case for my interpreter, a local primary school teacher whom I stayed with, was a good friend of the chief and we were made most welcome. In two sets of interviews, he gave me a description of the judicial system as he knew it in pre-colonial times and what it became in colonial times. Having been Ogomo of Buji District since 1933, he was also in a very good position to give a detailed account of the chief's role. Although initially cautious because of an undue concern over my religious beliefs, he eventually led us to the new site for Anaboze festivals and described in some detail the old site at Owoboze, a prominent rock formation some thirteen kilometres off the main road, which I had already visited. I appreciated his concern for Buji history as well as his accuracy in recounting it.

- (4) Dung Bot (pseudonym), Age: 65; Ethnic Group: Biros; Occupation: farmer.

This elder, although not one whom I would consider a major informant if judged by the quantity of the information provided, was nevertheless enormously useful for he was able to outline the conflict that arose in Riyom in the last century. I had to pursue him to his

compound to get his views on the present ruler of his village and even then he was reticent. However, despite the warnings of his clan peers that the village head would learn of his talking to me, he outlined as much as he knew about the usurpation of the chieftaincy in that village which the village head had not mentioned.

- (5) Madugu Mandyang, Age: 90+; Ethnic Group: Birom; Occupation: farmer; location: Vom village.

This informant played a major role in Wwang history in the colonial period. Although remembered almost mythically as a military hero, this fame was overshadowed by his attempts at tax gathering for the colonial officials after he was made District Head. After being driven from Wwang he settled in the village of Vom (six kilometres distance) and has lived there since. Madugu's evidence on pre-colonial warfare and trade was of some value. He did however claim that the Birom originated in Sokoto, which was perhaps due to his conversion to Islam. As may be expected, the colonial period and his role as District Head became a series of justifications for his actions but this was of value as the archival documents could not have provided such detail. Verified by other sources, I found him valuable as an accurate informant on chief lists in the villages of Turu, Chugi and Fulle, for his exit from this area had not cut him off from contacts with his kin. As I returned to his compound a number of times, a good rapport was built up and there was no difficulty verifying information obtained given the above reservations.

Twentieth Century Oral History

The search for information about the colonial period, although it formed part of the questions asked in the many villages I visited, had to be extended into the home of the merchant and educated classes of both the 'new-comers' i.e. since 1900, and the indigenes who became Christians, mine workers, or employed by the Local Authority. This collection of oral history brought a varied response and it may be helpful to remark on the individuals and the methods.

(1) Yoruba Merchant (prefers to remain anonymous), Age: 70+

At first this Yoruba merchant, who had been on the plateau over forty years, did not wish to see me and when he did agree to, I was to be without a tape recorder. Although he spoke English, I took a Yoruba friend along as an interpreter. He was not really needed for that so much as to allay the fears of the man's family that what I said would be used against him in the future. Naturally he was assured that his name would not be used. However he would only agree to speak of himself and his experiences and not his impressions of or feelings towards the indigenes of the plateau. This, of course, was useful.

(2) Mallam Dandada, Age: 60+; Ethnic Group: Hausa; Occupation: Merchant; Location: Jos town.

This informant was very self-assured and was not adverse to being taped. I took a Hausa interpreter, who was also a personal friend, and whose family had come from Kano. The mallam did not show the same restraint as the above interviewee concerning the indigenes of the plateau and his own version of pre-colonial history was that the

plateau had been conquered by the Hausa jihadists anyway. This, of course, tended to lead into the convoluted maze of claims for Jos town, of which I was well aware, and that had been going on for some time both in the press and verbally. After taking this bias as well as a couple of others into account, Mallam Dandada provided some useful background for the role of the Hausa in the period up to 1935.

(3) Toma Tok Bot, Ethnic Group: Birom; Occupation: Missionary; Location: Kuru.

Toma Tok agreed to be recorded as well and gave a substantial background to the Christian movement among the Birom. This was particularly useful for the mission seems to have had its most extensive impact on this group. Its extent and its work was given in some detail by Toma Tok who was reticent to speak of its problems in particular his own difficulties in Kuru. Though he confirmed that this occurred, details were only forthcoming from other sources and 'lapsed Christians'. I found it was useful in establishing my rapport with him that my interpreter was from his area. Also although mentioning that I knew of some of the missionaries in Jos, I felt it was better for a more objective interview not to be directly connected with them.

Outside Nigeria

Documents tell much but they do not tell all and I felt it necessary to interview colonial officers, missionaries, and tin miners who might provide some background to the period 1900-1935. Most of these who worked at any time in this period have returned to their native countries.

However, I was able to speak to those in England, Ireland and Canada. All were most cooperative and did not hold back what their impressions were in those times particularly as regards their relations with each other. The attitude towards the indigenes as would be expected, was patronizing but mingled with a certain affection for their stand against both Moslem and Christian influences. As regards policy and practices on the plateau they assessed it with a certain amount of criticism which was appreciated. The same cannot be said of those who still have financial or other interests on the plateau and did not wish to speak of the past except to present it to me in glowing terms.

Below are a few of the informants I found most useful.

(These interviews took place in late August and early September, 1972).

(1) John S. Synge, 69, Irish, Government Officer, Ballinglen, Ireland.

This informant retired from the colonial service in 1944 after spending thirteen years in Nigeria. According to his personal file, he was most useful in the 'pagan' areas and spent four years in the Jos Division of Plateau Province. During my interview with him he showed an enormous continuing interest in the Jos Plateau and he was still proficient in Hausa and Birom although he has been away from Nigeria for almost thirty years. Although rather defensive about his own Birom policy, he gave me some insight into 'Pagan Administration' as well as the relations between the Political Officers on the one hand and the missionaries and miners on the other. Both of the latter he was strongly opposed to. His criticism of the missions, however,

must be weighed against his own religious beliefs which were outside any established church. From the oral evidence I gathered, it appears that the missionaries resented his influence on the indigenous people of the Jos Plateau greatly.

(2) Sir Cecil G. Ames, 75, English, Colonial Officer, Bath, England.

After having spent some three years in Plateau Province, Ames was asked by the Resident to compile a Gazetteer for Plateau Province in order 'to boost the pagan province'. This request was made in 1930 and Ames carried out his task as thoroughly as possible. In my interview with him, he confirmed that much of his information came from the Assessment and Intelligence reports already written but he also did some original research. He was especially valuable on government attitudes towards indirect rule and the utilization of anthropology on the plateau.

(3) W. Collins, 69, English, Tin Miner.
T. Penhale, 76, English, Tin Miner.

This interview, for the convenience of both interviewees, took place in Mr. Penhale's residence. This proved useful to the interviewer as there was much that each could check the other on. Both men had been in Nigeria for over thirty years from the early 1920s to the late 1950s and, once the inevitable 'tall tales' were out of the way, proved useful on the tin mining operations. They confirmed the resistance of the plateau peoples to any intrusion on to their sacred land and gave instances of such resistance. They, as retired miners, were quite willing to speak of mining practices in those days

which one could not find in the documents. I feel the interview on the whole was most helpful and it not only shed some light on the relationship between plateau indigenes and miners but also the ethnic difficulties among the English, i.e. between a Cornish man and the rest within the mining community or the colonial officers.

(4) Major J. L. Vitoria, English, Tin Miner, deceased 1973.

Unlike the above, Major Vitoria was much more reticent to speak of the 'financial shenanigans' that went on among the tin miners. However, his detailed description of the mobilization of labour, work description, and the paternal relationship between miner and labourer was most useful. He spent almost forty years on the plateau, retiring in 1958. As in the above interviews, one had to be careful here of a memory overlap into the 1940s and 1950s which may tend to occur but in Vitoria's case he was very clear as to incidents and personalities.

The oral history thus collected involved a complete spectrum of technique and methods all of which were necessary to collect the information presented in this thesis. It is hoped that it will add to what is known, and provoke in others, particularly from that area, the desire to know more.

APPENDIX I

List of Informants

<u>DISTRICT</u> <u>Village</u>	<u>ETHNIC</u> <u>GROUP</u>	<u>INFORMANT</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>AMO</u>				
Ano Katakoto	Ano	Manchu Abop	50	22/9/73
		Landow Onigere	77	23/9/73
		Kukuleng Arena	76	"
		Babaro Ningere	70	"
		Kapara Gaya	50	"
Ano Kwofo	Ano	Kuboze Cheka	75	"
Jengre	Jere	Akinga Kasuwa (Sarkin Pengana)	55	22/9/73
<u>BACHIT</u>				
<u>Bengai</u>				
	Biom	Jebu Bure	34	15/2/73
		Bure Dazam	65	"
		Bajak Gwok	73	"
Afang	Biom	Bore Dagyang	31	13/2/73
		Dariang Gang	73	"
		Badung Loo	45	"
		Gang Danka	85	"
Kyeng (Bachit)	Biom	Daliyop Gwong	34	12/2/73
				14/2/73
		Gwok Danbang	75	12/2/73
		Kamvut Gwong	69	12/2/73
				14/2/73
		Chollum Daben	80	12/2/73
Luwa	Biom	Dangyang Jyop	72	13/2/73
Shonong (Oshono)	Biom	Jangwok Basu	48	14/2/73
		Dan Bareng	73	"
		DaGu Mangai	69	"
		Foi Jatau	58	"
Sop (Assob)	Biom	Dachung Dadon	37	23/2/73
		Vude Dangyang	69	"

<u>BUJI</u> Buji	Buji	Maigari Mingadu	63	29/7/73
				4/8/73
		Jemaka Jogol	86	29/7/73
				1/8/73
		Baba Suna	75	29/7/73
		Maleku Kununga	78	"
				31/7/73
				29/7/73
Gurrun	Buji	Demaji Maikanfi	55	28/7/73
		Zaure Kugadu	86	"
				30/7/73
		Gwanka Kalu	70	28/7/73
		Dankari Nigiram	72	"
		Bawa Kugadu	74	"
		Goji Dente	57	31/7/73
Teria	Nchara	Agamu Kusaru	40	31/7/73
		Akala Ouya	83	"
		Gado Asele	74	"
		Najina Kunku	78	"
		Kunku Masule	76	"
<u>DU</u> Du	Birom	Dung Ewang	55	11/3/73
				9/8/73
		Wang Dafara	75	11/3/73
		Devou Mata	78	11/3/73
Kabong	Birom	Chwang Ruwang	48	19/8/73
		Mandang Gyang	75	"
		Pam Gyang	80	"
		Wang Chung	70	"
		Rin Gyang	67	"
		Bot Ewang	72	"
		Zang Bat	71	"
		Rin Tok	78	13/9/73
		Fon Zi	78	"
		Shen	Afusare- Birom	Sambo Zi
Chuwang Pam	83			"
Nyam Zi	69			"
Wang Dung	70			"
Gyang Chollom	70			"
Gyang Pam	80			"
Rapp Dung	75			"
Nyam Bading	79			"

Zawan	Birom	Dwajok Gyang	68	11/8/73 15/8/73
		Davou Zang	65	"
		Tok Kim	85	"
		Dung Gyang	50	"
		Joseph Mankwon	76	15/8/73
<u>FAN</u>				
Rafan	Birom	Vou Chollom	77	6/9/73
		Wang Ti	69	"
		Kim Bwak	73	"
		Pam Mak	69	"
		Dung Bot	69	"
Tafan	Birom	Gyang Wang	76	5/9/73
		Opari Tiri	74	"
		Vou Badusu	72	"
		Pam Gyang	72	"
		Fom Rini	69	"
		Dung Dusu	71	"
		Shut Bot	73	"
<u>FOBUR</u>				
Fobur	Afusare	Aware Sha	80	11/12/73
<u>FORUM</u>				
For	Birom	Bot Tsok	71	16/1/73
Kama	Afusare	Shut Dasu	58	16/1/73
Kapwis	Afusare	Abdullah Song	44	15/1/73
Ket	Afusare	Dung Ket	35	17/1/73
		Pam Tsok	73	"
Mafok	Afusare	Wang Pam	30	18/1/73
		Tsok Chung	71	"
		Dusu Hwere	76	"
		Arum Hwere	80	"
		Chun Tsok	60	"
Newo	Birom	Dung Chung	58	15/1/73
		Shut Magwom	75	14/1/73
Ra Rung	Birom	Dung Gwom	67	15/1/73
Ron	Birom	Ndong Chuwang	79	15/1/73
		Hwere Pam	90	19/1/73

Rung	Birom	Chwang Gyang	76	16/1/73
Zabutt	Birom	Pam Bot	78	14/1/73
		Gyang Bot	69	"
		Dung Zam	69	"
				18/1/73
		Pam Dung	88	14/1/73
		Hwere Dagul	74	"
		Dung Bot	73	"
		Gyang Chung	100+	"
				15/1/73
		Pam Jang	59	14/1/73
		Shut Gwom	53	"
<u>GASHISH</u>				
Kakaruk (Gashish)	Birom	Nyoro Gwok	61	5/3/73
				6/3/73
		Lamba Rang	74	5/3/73
		Gyang Masok	74	"
		Bature Jang	74	"
				6/3/73
		Bareng Chong	72	5/3/73
Gnar	Afusare/ Birom	Mabas Nandyo	75	4/3/73
		Duka Maren	55	"
		Matawi Pan	78	"
		Mangai Haful	40	"
		Mafulal Gyem	77	"
				5/3/73
		Mafan Manguk	69	4/3/73
Nengwan	Afusare/ Birom	Gai Marin	40	6/3/73
		Ndong Dakwo	78	"
		Marin Tako	87	"
		Lenga Mafulal	50	"
		Banga Malan	79	"
Ruku	Ron/ Birom	Gyang Mashat	26	7/3/73
		Mangai Chen	68	"
		Mahanan Hwel	73	"
<u>GINDIRI</u>				
Gindiri	Pyem	Matto Dakat	43	11/12/73
		Yarima Pate	60	"
Pyem Geji	Pyem	Kesin Yak	79	13/12/73

GWONG

Gwong

Anaguta	Shiga Bunga	73	11/7/73
	Gaya Gyarhou	73	"
	Jatau Tunu	71	12/7/73
			11/7/73
	Dundo Bunu	63	14/7/73
	Sat Bandoma	77	11/7/73
	Tafiya Kondong	55	"
	Agbemu Gaya	50	"
	Igem Afangogwai	78	12/7/73
			16/7/73
	Sahu Zangan	77	13/7/73

GYEL

Gyel

Birom	Nga Dangyang	47	16/8/73
	Bot Dumbai	83	"
	Davou Dandeneng	77	"
	Dahwol Choma	71	"
	Dangyang Ja	73	"
	Pam Doji	55	16/8/73
	Dung Kwa	70	17/8/73
			18/8/73
	Gyang Hai	86	17/8/73
	Jaki Mang	55	"
	Tija Wang	71	18/8/73
	Dahwol Bali	76	19/8/73

HEIPANG

Ban

Birom	Ja Pam	69	21/1/73
	Pam Rwang	83	"
			25/1/73
	Pam Fum	78	21/1/73
	Dung Pam	90	"
	Pam Rin	45	25/1/73

Chit

Birom	Gyang Chomo	72	22/1/73
	Bot Fom	69	"
	Tiri Gwom	46	"
	Dung Kin	69	"
	Adamu Davou	30	"

Pahng

Birom	Sambo Davou	35	23/1/73
	Bosh Dadung	75	"
	Shut Ndong	69	"
	Gyeng Dung	71	"
	Vou Gwot	78	"
	Zan Pam	69	"
	Dung Pam	71	"

Pomwol	Biron	Choji Chollom	69	21/1/73 22/1/73
Ra Rim	Biron	Jato Gyeng	69	21/1/73
		Deme Ewang	81	" 25/1/73
		Dung Tiri	88	21/1/73 25/1/73
Tapo	Biron	Juku Gwong	73	26/1/73
		Chollom Pwa	80	"
		Nyam Chwe	69	"
		Davou Fom	78	26/1/73
		Bot Fom	60	"
		Tari Gwong	71	"
Tatoo	Biron	Gyang Dung	73	21/1/73
		Gyang Tsok	37	23/1/73
<u>JAL</u>				
<u>Jal</u>	Ganawuri	Juwa Chai	53	22/8/73
		Dankim Godze	73	" 23/8/73
		Mbong Dang	75	22/8/73
		Dafang Dakum	70	" 23/8/73
		Dandong Fai	72	22/8/73 23/8/73
		Chom Njim	79	22/8/73 23/8/73
		Fwai Jong	75	22/8/73
		Gyang Kit	80	24/8/73
		Net Gyang	70	"
		Chai Mang	68	22/8/73 8/12/73
Kwakwi	Afusare/ Ganawuri	Chai Kai	68	23/8/73
<u>JERE</u>				
<u>Bakin Kogi</u>	Limoro	Bawa Outa	53	20/7/73
		Gagarou Yanga	55	"
Gusu (Gussum)	Jere	Sadou Dimbo	57	21/7/73
		Madey Dimbo	57	"
		Purata Bandi	70	"
		Aza Ishaka	77	"

Jere	Jere	Kamaranye Borno	77	18/7/73
		Tocha Paou	68	"
				23/7/73
		Babiye Gimbia	55	"
		Joja Kiywani	61	"
		Kenge Gwadje	68	"
		Daryaya Abai	75	28/7/73
Kabonka	Chokoba	Jibireng Iye	43	19/7/73
		Magamu Audu	45	"
		Garba Zabe	50	"
	Kurama	Uzi Kundi	40	19/7/73
		Outa Chingay	77	"
		Nangara Luhu	70	"
Pengana (Zallaki) Sanga	Jere	Soba Pokolo	70	23/7/73
	Jere	Baleri Alasukai	70	21/7/73
<u>KURU</u> Kuru	Biom	Pwajok Daliiyop (d. 1973)	36	25/2/73
		Gyang Chung	49	28/2/73
		Bea Jatau	77	25/2/73
				28/2/73
		Mandung Sukudu	80	25/2/73
				26/2/73
		Dung Vet	77	25/2/73
		Dung Pan	69	"
		Mandieng Fwang	95	"
		Davou Chung	53	"
		Manduk Gwok	78	"
		Dung Gwot	81	"
		Mandung Fumbei	60	"
		Chomo Chun	76	"
<u>KWALL</u> Kwall	Irigwe	Gabe Kyerima	71	19/4/73
				26/4/73
		Aunguo Kwe	80	19/4/73
		Bre Akwe	86	19/4/73
				26/4/73
		Tagwi Elewe	78	19/4/73
		Odaw Chinge	80	23/4/73
		Bari Mankuri	71	"
		Tungo Ngwe	46	"
				27/4/73
		Yiriba Odaw	86	23/4/73
				27/4/73
		Powa Unkoo	71	23/4/73

MIANGO

Miango	Irigwe	Dirki Whia	75	24/4/73	
		Taegbe Nki	71	"	
		Yeshe Jikwe	86	"	
					26/4/73
		Nga Ihe	73		24/4/73
					26/4/73
		Madaki Zamfara	70		24/4/73
					26/4/73
		Chayi Ze	74		24/4/73
		Mandara Ishe	68		"
		Jugo Eze	73		"
	Ja Ucha	82		26/4/73	

RIYOM

Jol	Biom	Kwon Gwok	70	30/1/73
		Pan Davit	80	"
		DaFoll Darien	32	"
		Dadon Gwop	60	"
		Gyang Peyet	56	"
Kwi	Biom	Bot Vou	56	29/1/73
		Bin Kim	73	"
		Pan Dachung	73	"
		Gyang Dung	47	"
		Gyang Daliyop	47	"
		Pan Davou	71	"
		Mang Gyang	56	"
		Davou Pan	69	"
		Daliyop Davou	72	"
Kwogo	Biom	Gyang Gadoo	27	1/2/73
		Chung Pwol	83	"
		Gan Zorwe	69	"
		Don Manche	80	"
		Manchal Langyang	69	"
		Ton Gwong	85	"
Rahoss	Biom	Daliyop Garba	39	31/1/73
		Dachung Kim	74	"
		Don Manchung	73	"
		Zam Kongyang	75	"
		Zam Song	85	"
Rim	Biom	Jato Daliyop	52	30/1/73
		Abo Dachung	46	28/1/73
		Chung Dantot	69	"
		Bito Rap	75	"

		Chullum Shom	71	23/1/73
		Kut Ngwong	69	"
		Daliyop Ndong	71	"
				30/1/73
		Daliyop Ndong Haze	68	23/1/73
		Chullum Danlyong	75	"
Riyom	Biron	Dung Jok Pam	45	31/1/73
		Ja Kwankwon	48	7/9/73
		Ndaw Bok	85	31/1/73
Tahoss	Biron	Davou Manja	55	1/2/73
		Rahoul Danyam	69	"
Wereng	Biron	Daliyop Badung	78	30/1/73
		Jato Daliyop	40	29/1/73
		Davou Chunowet	60	"
		Mandyang Kangwam	76	"
		Jato Japol	70	"
<u>RON</u>				
Bokkos	Ron (Baron)	Michael Adenchi	30	12/5/73
		Yohanna Sunjwan	65	"
		Magere Dien	85	"
<u>ROPP</u>				
Gafat	Biron	Pam Mashe	72	21/2/73
		Deme Dung	73	"
		Gyang Bot	56	"
		Tok Dieng	83	"
Gassa (Kassa)	Biron	Randong Jul	40	21/2/73
Kwok	Biron	Gyang Noos	78	19/2/73
Labaring (Ropp)	Biron	Mashat Bot	55	18/2/73
		Pam Gyanga	75	"
		Kajon Besh	77	"
		Jugu Gyang	73	"
Marat	Ron (Baron)	Hyelwet Janda	75	21/2/73
Mazat	Biron	Bature Gwong	53	20/2/73
Sho	Biron	Fujwe Datiri	48	19/2/73
		Pam Gyang	83	"
		Nadugu Gyang	40	"

RUKUBA

Binango	Rukuba	Amil Asantu	77	19/1/74	
Igbak	Rukuba	Ankok Abu	70	21/1/74	
		Olung Ajok	78	"	
		Asoka Anga	77	"	
		Aiyiki Amodu	81	"	
Imbop	Rukuba	Atuba Aku	78	23/1/74	
Kishi Nohara	Rukuba	Emi Akoto	70	20/1/74	
		Dankala Amawa	75	"	
Kumyen	Rukuba	Ija Akapchi	77	23/1/74	
		Akiku Anankala	60	"	
		Ayiju Abulkanu	71	"	
		Aiyu Asamat	53	"	
Ohit	Rukuba	Itap Achakka	48	22/1/74	
		Akpi Iku	68	"	
Opwara (Ujja)	Rukuba	Adara Adankala	78	21/1/74	
		Agun Ajasi	73	"	
		Ogai Afaza	68	"	
Zagon (Kakkek)	Rukuba	Lari Akusuk	95	26/5/73	
		Adik Adomo	50	18/1/74	
				"	22/1/74
		Emuso Awuria	75	"	
<u>SURA</u>					
Kereng	Sura	Dashak Mwanjel (only female informant)	90	15/12/73	
		Gimba Kelahan	46	"	
<u>VWANG</u>					
Fulle	Biron	Davou Daliyop	48	28/8/73	
		Nwankwon Davou	72	"	
		Kwanga Mang	69	"	
Chugi	Biron	Badung Dang	58	31/8/73	
		Davou Uyo	61	"	
		Pam Dakai	69	"	
		Badung Dachas	61	"	
		Shehu Mang	58	"	
		Madugu Mandyeng (now living in Vom-Kaduna)	93	26/1/73	
				1/9/73	
		5/9/73			

Vwang	Biom	Nyango Balek	73	27/8/73
				28/8/73
		Danyan Dogo	69	27/8/73
		Jatau Balek	73	"
		Hencha Dayi	83	"
		Chung Nyango	61	"
		Mesaji Kwon	73	"
Turu	Biom	Pam Mwadkon	48	28/8/73
		Pam Mancha	83	"
		Pam Daliyop	68	29/8/73
		Gyang Biele	70	30/8/73
		Daluk Khandieng	75	30/8/73

Total Number of Informants: 343

THESE INTERVIEWS (alphabetical order) *by correspondence

1. Sir Cecil Ames, Age: 75; Position: Political Officer; Place: Bath, Somerset; Date: 26/8/72. Nine years on Jos Plateau as a District Officer, then joined Judicial Department and spent remainder of career in Sierra Leone.
2. *Reverend Gordon Beacham, S.I.M. Missionary; Sebring, Florida; 20/2/74. Stationed in Moslem (Gombe) and non-Moslem areas (Jos) for over 35 years beginning in 1921.
3. Alhaji Usuman Bello, 70; Ungwa Head; Bukuru; 4/4/73. Messenger for N.A. Jos in 1930s and 1940s.
4. Tona Tok Bot, 70+; S.U.M. Missionary; Kuru; 3/9/73. One of the first Biroms to be baptized. Has worked for the missions in Kuru since the late 1920s.
5. Daliop Chuwang, 60+; S.U.M. Missionary; Forum; 27/12/72. Has worked at primary school and church in Forum for over forty years.
6. W. H. Collins, 69; Tin Miner; Redruth, Cornwall; 23/8/72. Spent thirty-eight years on the Jos Plateau as a prospector and miner.
7. Nigel Cooke, 57; Political Officer; Northwood, Middlesex; 9/7/72, 11/8/72. Stationed almost wholly in emirates of Northern Nigeria. Resident of Plateau Province 1961-63. Father was one of first tin miners.

8. Bature Dangyang, 51; Finance Councillor; L/A Jos; 23/11/72.
Ex-politician and prominent Birom leader.
9. Mallam Danlada, 65; Merchant; Jos; 11/9/73.
Formerly employed in the Jos Local Authority.
10. Patrick Dokotri, 54; A.T.M.N. employee; Bukuru; 7/1/73.
Secretary in the fifties to Local Administration in Jos.
Politician in Birom Tribal Union until 1966.
11. Bernard Fagu, 56; Administrative Officer; Oxford; 8/9/72.
1938-63 in Nigeria and much of that time was spent on the
Jos Plateau in the antiquities department.
12. H. G. Farrant, 86; S.U.M. Missionary; Enfield, Middlesex; 16/8/72.
Forty-five years in Nigeria both as a missionary and an
administrator within S.U.M.
13. Da Dusu Gyang, 85; S.U.M. Missionary; Wvang; 30/8/73.
Baptized about the same time as Toma Tok Bot. From For,
with much of his career spent in Wvang.
14. Yoruba Merchant (prefers to remain anonymous), 70+, Jos; 4/12/73.
Itinerant merchant in 1920s and 1930s who later settled in
Jos Division.
15. Urhobo Tin Miner (prefers to remain anonymous), 50+; Jos; 27/11/73.
Lived on Plateau almost all his life and has been involved in
tin mining since a very early age.
16. *H. R. Mitchell, 71; Mines Officer; London; 28/11/72.
Arrived in Nigeria 1922 as Department of Mines official.
Stationed on Plateau (in Jos) for almost ten years.
17. *Reverend H. Ogilvie; S.I.M. Missionary; Sebring, Florida; 18/1/74.
Worked on and off the Jos Plateau for over forty years.
Stationed in Miango 1920s as well as Jos Zagan.
18. Daniel Ojo, 72; Merchant; Bukuru; 9/12/73.
Arrived on Plateau after World War I to trade. Has remained
on Jos Plateau ever since.
19. T. Penhale, 76; Tin Miner; Redruth, Cornwall; 23/8/72.
Thirty-five years on Jos Plateau as miner and mine administrator.
20. Joyce Playfair, 85; S.I.M. Missionary; Toronto, Canada; 8/10/72.
Forty-four years in Plateau area. Her husband, Guy Playfair,
was one of S.I.M. Field Directors in Jos from 1923 on.

21. Reverend H. G. Potter, 71; S.U.M. Missionary; Exmouth, Devon; 22/8/72.
Working in Langtang, Wwang (at hospital) and Mongu for over thirty years.
22. David Roush, 69; S.I.M. Missionary; Toronto, Canada; 9/10/72.
Centred in Plateau area as lay missionary for over thirty years.
23. Ralph Reid, 60; Administrative Officer; Canterbury, Kent; 13/7/73.
Agricultural Officer in Nigeria, 1936-57. Brief period in Plateau Province.
24. Hazel Ryckman, 73; S.I.M. Missionary; Sebring, Florida; 16/3/74.
Worked among the Rukuba 1922-1965. Now retired.
25. Mrs. M. Suffil, 66; S.U.M. Missionary; Exeter, Devon; 13/7/73.
Wife of P. L. Suffil, one of first and most enduring missionaries in Forum.
26. Synge, J. S., 66; Political Officer; Wicklow, Ireland; 29/8/72 - 1/9/72.
Fifteen years in 'Pagan Areas' of Nigeria; in Jos Division for six years. (1929-44).
27. Major J. L. Vitoria, 79; Tin Miner; deceased 1973; 13/9/72.
Forty years on the Jos Plateau as a miner with A.T.M.M. Co. Ltd.
28. Charles Williams, 69; Surveyor; Newquay, Cornwall, 22/8/72, 23/8/72.
Worked as surveyor on Jos Plateau from 1924-1930.

INTERPRETERS

Afusare	Ezekiel Azi	c/o Primary School, Zarazong, via Fobur, N.E.S.
Anaguta	Yusufu Maisamari	c/o I/A Primary School, Fuskum Mata, Jere District, via Jos. B.P.S.
Biom	James Danboyi	c/o Aliade Secondary School, Aliade, B.P.S.
Biom	Albert Gwom	deceased Feb. 12, 1973.
Biom	Godfrey Gwott	c/o Township Primary School, Jos, B.P.S.

Buji	Dembo Baka	c/o L/A Primary School, Gurum, B.P.S.
Ganawuri	Fom Gyal Kut	c/o Deme Laki, L/A, Central Office, Jos, B.P.S.
Hausa	Musa Borodo	c/o Dan Fodio Hall, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
Irigwe	Paul Choji	c/o Denji Secondary School, Denji, Pankshin Division, B.P.S.
Jere	Malaiya Maigari	c/o L/A Primary School, Fuskum Mata, Jere District, via, Jos, B.P.S.
Pyem	Sunday Sambo	c/o Gindiri Teachers' College, Gindiri, Pankshin Division, B.P.S.
Rukuba	Benjamin Aiyiki	c/o Zagun, Kakkek, Rukuba District, via Jos.
Sura	Michael Hirse	c/o Mangu Secondary School, Mangu, Pankshin Division, B.P.S.
Yoruba	Olabode Atanda	c/o Federal Veterinary Station, Vom-Kaduna, B.P.S.

APPENDIX II

An important part of writing oral history is a dating chart which will give the writer and the reader some chronology of the historical events of a particular area of study. Although exact dates would be preferable, it is still valuable to obtain relative dates and establish the proper sequence of events.

In this study, the dating method was similar to that of B. A. Ogot¹ and D. W. Cohen² with local adaptations where necessary. The generation span of twenty-seven years which is used in this study was based on an age average taken from a selection of seventy-five informants from all the ethnic groups on the plateau. This generation period was arrived at by taking the time between the date the informant was born around 1900 (about the time the British arrived) and the time that his first child was born. This was usually between 1923 and 1928. This time span of twenty-seven years was then applied to the man's ancestral line as he had recounted it. As in other societies, ancestral names were given in sequence along the male line. That is, the name Pam Dung Bot tells me that the informant's name is Pam, his father was Dung, and his grandfather was Bot. In all cases, I never assumed the above but always ensured that the informant confirmed that this parental connection was valid. In this way a dating structure was set up which proved to be valid for all groups

1. Ogot, B. A., History of the Southern Luo, Vol. I, 1967.

2. Cohen, D. W., The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Makama and Kintu, 1972.

on the Jos Plateau.

This clan system of dating was of great value when there had been no central authority in the village in pre-colonial times. When such a central authority existed, in the form of a chief of some power, then events may be traced through a chief list. This method raised the problems of disputed chieftaincies as well as the distinct possibility that a younger brother might inherit the chieftaincy, when the older brother died without leaving a male issue or leaving only an under-aged heir. At times, the chieftaincy may pass through two or three brothers before reverting back to the original chief's family if he had left an heir. If he had not, the chieftaincy would pass to his next oldest brother's family. As can be imagined clan lists were many times preferred by me to chief lists as the former proved more accurate.

The difficulty as to the number of years to be assessed for filial rulers was settled after due consideration of the birth rate established by the missionaries in the 1920s (i.e. one child in three did not survive child birth) and the birth ratio^x of male and female children (1:1). As the births were by custom spaced by two and a half years, this presented a possible age differentiation of six years for brothers of the same mother. Again on the side of conservatism and with an error factor in mind, this figure was doubled to give a time differential of twelve years for each brother who succeeded to the chieftaincy. This figure, together with the twenty-seven year generation time period, provided a high degree of correlation with the

major events of the last century as well as the migration stories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The concept of an error factor as it applied to oral history was widely used by Oliver, Ogot and Cohen for their studies in East Africa.¹ They calculated a \pm error factor of twenty years beginning with the informant's generation. For each preceding generation two years was added to this error factor, hence 1873-1900 \pm 20, then 1846-1873 \pm 22, etc. For my research I found this error factor of anywhere from forty to fifty years for events taking place in the nineteenth century exceedingly generous. For example, if an informant states that an event took place in 1846-1873 \pm 22 this means that in the extreme it could have taken place between 1824 and 1895. I found however that virtually all chronological events when properly correlated with the total information given by informants fell within the generation period of twenty-seven years. Therefore, for those events of the nineteenth century, some of which could be dated with the jihad raids, I have not added the error factor in the text as I did not think it necessary.

However, as there is no external check on pre-nineteenth century oral history of the Jos Plateau, it is perhaps more credible to have a rather conservative error factor. When the oral history of the areas around the plateau has been collected, a comparison of such

1. Oliver, R. 'Ancient Capital Sites of Ankole,' Uganda Journal, 23:1, 1959, pp. 124-33.. Cohen, Ibid.; Ogot, op. cit.

material and the material I have collected can be done. This would provide not only a more accurate error factor but would also serve the very useful purpose of providing a chronology of events for this central part of Nigeria.

Below I have arranged a chart of villages and clans (*) and their approximate date of origin. I have also included migrations (M) as well as wars (W), the latter followed by the name of the village or ethnic group with which it was fought. The headings are of the Districts and are arranged in alphabetical order.

130

	Amo	Bachit		Buji		
1900 1	W(Hausa)	W(Monguna)	W(Monguna)	W(Monguna)	W(Fulani)	W(Ohit)
1873 ± 22 2	Amo Ketara		W(Monguna)		M(to Susuru) W(Jere)	Ukwairai(?)* Nchara(?)
1846 ± 24 3						
1819 ± 26 4		W(Jema'a)		W(Ganawuri) Sop	M(Pengana to Susuru) Buji	
1792 ± 28 5				Afang		
1765 ± 30 6						
1738 ± 32 7			Luwa	Bengai		
1711 ± 34 8						
1684 ± 36 9			Kyeng			
1657 ± 38 10						
1630 ± 40 11						
1603 ± 42		Shonong				

Buji

Du

Fan

Forum

1900

Gerrum

Kabong

1

W(Fobur)

W(Afusarc)

M(left Toro)

W(Gycl)

W(Hausa)

1873 ± 22

2

W(Hausa)

M(to Kapwis)

1846 ± 24

3

W(Afusarc)

Ron

Kapwis (in Zabutt)

Shen

1819 ± 26

4

W(Pyem)

Du

Zawan

1792 ± 28

5

Tafan

1765 ± 30

6

431

1738 ± 32

7

Zabutt

1711 ± 34

8

Rafan

1684 ± 36

9

1657 ± 38

10

1630 ± 40

11

432

	Forum			Fobur	Gashish	Gindiri
1900			W(Afusare)		W(Monguna)	
1			<u>For</u>			
1873 ± 22	W(Hausa)	<u>Ket</u>	<u>Nafok?</u>	<u>Fobur</u>		W(Ron)
2	<u>Ra Rung</u>			M(from Chawai)		<u>Ruku</u>
1846 ± 24					<u>Gnar</u>	<u>Pyem Geji?</u>
3						
1819 ± 26					W(Ron)	
4					<u>Ka Karuk</u>	
1792 ± 28						
5						
1765 ± 30					<u>Nengwon</u>	
6						
1738 ± 32						
7						
1711 ± 34						
8						
1684 ± 36						
9						
1657 ± 38						
10						
1630 ± 40						
11						

	Gindiri	Gwong	Gyel	Heipang	Jal
1900	(from		W(Zawan)		
1	Machunga's				
	Tariki.)	W(Hausa)	<u>Andu-gyohom</u> *		W(Hoss)
1873 ± 22	Pyem -	<u>Anabge</u> *	<u>Andoho</u> *	M(to Tapo)	
2	Gindiri		M(to Gyel)		W(Hausa)
			W(Irigwe)		
1846 ± 24			M(to Langyel)		
3	<u>Gindiri</u>			<u>Tatoo</u>	<u>Pahng</u>
					M(Gwong
1819 ± 26				<u>Tapo</u> (in Kabong)	Kwott to
4					Dagorang)
	<u>Pvemgeji</u>				Toenzal*
1792 ± 28			M(to Rlyom)		
5					
1765 ± 30			<u>Gyel</u> (in Bengai)		
6					
1738 ± 32				<u>Ban?</u>	
7					
1711 ± 34					
8					
1684 ± 36					
9					
1657 ± 38					
10					
1630 ± 40					
11					
1603 ± 42					

Jere

Kuru

Kwall

Miango

1900				W(Zawan)			
1	W(Buji)				W(Gycl)	W(Gycl)	W(Gycl)
	W(Hausa)						
1873 ± 24		M(to Kurama)	W(Ningi)	M(Kuhai			
2		<u>Kurama?</u>	<u>Chokobo</u>	to Kuru)			
		M(to Limoro)					
1846 ± 24		W(Ningi)					
3		<u>Limoro</u>					
1819 ± 26				M(Kwott			<u>Nadzia*</u>
4				to Kuhai)	M(Fobur to		M(Kaje?
					Kwall)		to Kwall)
1792 ± 28	M(Kwandon			M(to Kwott)		M(Fobur to	
5	Kaya to Jere)					Kwall)	
	<u>Jere</u>			<u>Kuru</u> (in Bengai)			
1765 ± 30						<u>Chinke*</u> (in	<u>Nuhwi*</u> (in
6					<u>Zigwe*</u> (in	Fobur)	Fobur)
					Fobur)		
1738 ± 32							
7							
1711 ± 34							
8							
1684 ± 36							
9							
1657 ± 38							
10							
1630 ± 40							
11							
1603 ± 42							

Miango

Riyom

Ron

1900		W(SM Donguna)		W(Sop)	W(Sop)	W(Birom)
1				W(Ganawuri)		W(Sura)
1873 ± 22		W(Jema'a)				
2						
1846 ± 24	<u>Tahu*</u>	W(Ganawuri)			<u>Tahoss</u>	<u>Kwi</u>
3			W(Ganawuri)		W(Ganawuri)	
1819 ± 26		W(Hoss)			<u>Wereng</u>	
4						
1792 ± 28			<u>Rahoss</u>	<u>Kwogo</u>		
5						
1765 ± 30		<u>Rim</u>	<u>Iol?</u>			
6		(more likely)				
1738 ± 32		M(Bengai migration to Riyom)				<u>Bokkos</u>
7						
1711 ± 34						
8						
1684 ± 36		<u>Rim?</u>				
9						
1657 ± 38		<u>Riyom</u>				
10						
1630 ± 40						
11						
1603 ± 42						

Ropp

Rukuba

1900 1		W(Ron)	W(Ron)			W(Ohit) W(Kwall)	W(Amo)	W(Kakkek)
1873 ± 22 2				W(Ron)	W(Ron) W(Sura)			W(Nchara) <u>Qhit</u> M(from Gba)
1846 ± 24 3		M(Mazat left)			<u>Mazat</u>		<u>Kishi Nchara</u> M(Gba to K. Nchara)	
1819 ± 26 4	W(Bokkas)		W(Ron)	<u>Sho</u>	<u>Kassa</u>			
1792 ± 28 5	M(Gafat left)	W(Sura) <u>Gafat</u>	W(Ron) <u>Kwok</u>					<u>Kakkek</u>
1765 ± 30 6	<u>Labaring</u>							M(Bauchi to Jere)
1738 ± 32 7								
1711 ± 34 8								
1684 ± 36 9								
1657 ± 38 10								
1630 ± 40 11								
1603 ± 42								

	Rukuba			Sura	Vwang		
1900				W(Pyem)		W(Gycl)	W(Gycl)
1	W(Anaguta)	W(Hausa)			W(Gycl)	W(Kwall)	
1873 ± 22	<u>Opwara?</u>	<u>Kumyen</u>	<u>Imbop</u>		W(Kuru)		W(Gycl)
2							<u>Fulle</u>
1846 ± 24					W(Kwall)		
3					W(Ganawuri)		
1819 ± 26							W(Ganawuri)
4					M(arrive from Bengai)		<u>Chugi</u> (from Bengai)
1792 ± 28						<u>Vwang</u>	
5				W(Ron)			
1765 ± 30							
6					<u>Turu</u>		
1738 ± 32							
7							
1711 ± 34							
8				<u>Kereng</u>			
1684 ± 36							
9							
1657 ± 38							
10							
1630 ± 40							
11							
1603 ± 42							

APPENDIX III

TIN MINING

The means of procuring tin is detailed here and there among the articles and books that are listed in the bibliography. It may be useful, however, for the purposes of this study to give a brief summary of the methods used on the Jos Plateau, some of which are still in practice today. This is felt to be necessary as time and again reference has been made to 'pagan' labour but there has been no real explanation of what they in fact did.

Tin is a soft, bluish-white metal which is found in ore cassiterite, or tinstone, the oxide of tin, either in lodes or alluvial deposits. The former has only been mined to any considerable extent in the last few years on the plateau; however, the alluvial supply is still the mainstay of tin production. Highly malleable but of little strength its main function is as a coating for steel containers and as an alloy. In terms of actual production, Nigeria is among the top ten in the world.

The cheapest and easiest method for even the most inexperienced miner is calabashing. As the tin sinks to the river bed the miner may then scoop a calabash of gravel, then with a circular movement and constant dipping into the stream to wash away the dirty water, the tin ore will, due to centrifugal force, sink to the centre of the calabash. This method can only be used for a limited time period before the metal is exhausted at that level. The next step is to dig beneath the stream and wash the soil found using the diverted river

in the 'panning' process. This entails a larger and more organized labour force as different levels beneath the streams are attained. Shovels as well as pans and calabashes are used by the labour supply and an enormous amount of work has to be done.

Again, concentrated mining means an eventual cut in tin production and so the work must either go deeper and therefore become more expensive or move to another lease. The miner bears in mind that he is working on a river bed and he assumes that the river had followed different courses in the past. This then brings the tin mining out of the present river bed and into the surrounding countryside. At times the former bed may be thirty feet or more below the present land level. Thus it must be sought, located and traced to ascertain its course and the digging commences once more to the appropriate level. To allow for the safety margin required by the Minerals Proclamation an 'open pit' mine will usually be almost twice as wide at the surface as it is deep. The depth is usually dug in six foot 'steps' which are also six feet wide to prevent an earth fall. Not only does this require a large area of land but also a huge labour force to remove the soil. This was usually the least specialized and the lowest paying job and consequently it was usually the one for which plateau indigenes were recruited.

A second and more dangerous method of mining was by 'loto'. This was a system of vertical and horizontal tunnels which were dug to the level of the tin source and the tin was then removed using

buckets. This method required a certain amount of experience working under the ground as well as very careful supervision for a miscue on the part of the engineers and workers would mean a ground fall and suffocation for those below ground level.

Very often the companies utilized two types of labour for tin. The first was that mentioned above which was labour employed by the company on daily wages. No company was without its separate work crew which was allotted a separate unmined company lease to work on or may 'clean up' after the company had finished with a particular area. A tributor, usually Hausa but later Yoruba and Uhrobo, would be given the contract and he and his work force would then 'calabash' the streams and, using a particular method of washing the soil (called Kafanchan), attempt to collect what was left. The tin recovered would then be sold to the company which owned the lease at a set price per pound, depending on the quality of the tin.

Although this tributary system has been kept up for the whole of this century (and before), the 'open pit' mining using physical labour has diminished to the point that it is only used by smaller firms. The first larger companies that could afford heavy machinery brought in Bucryus steam shovels in the 1920s and by the 1930s the dredger, widely used in Malaya, had become quite common. Both would run on Udi coal and were therefore less expensive than a comparative labour force. As the tin sources got deeper both time and expense were saved by using these machines.

The small miner however was never shut out completely and for him the older methods were sufficient, depending as he did on his tributor, an adequate labour supply and always a healthy price for tin.

Legal System

The method of obtaining the rights to mine tin was outlined in the Nigerian Handbook (Lagos, 1925) and it may be useful to touch on this here using this book's summary of the Mineral Ordinances. As with all minerals, the property and control of tin 'in, under, or upon any lands in Nigeria' was invested in the Crown.

Initially the miner would apply for a Prospecting Right for £5 with a one year duration. This Right allowed the holder to enter and prospect any land not closed to prospecting or subject to an Exclusive Prospecting Licence, Mining Lease or Mining Right.

The Exclusive Prospecting Licence (E.P.L.) was granted to a holder of the above which allows the holder to receive a plot of ground which only he can prospect. This covers an area of not more than sixteen square miles not less than one square mile. This was also given for one year with an extension time of three years for alluvial workings and six years for lode workings. The E. P. L. holder pays £5 per square mile and his working is inspected by the Chief Inspector of Mines at regular intervals.

A Mining Lease may be granted to a holder of either of the above mentioned certificate holders for a period of from five to twenty one years. Again any variations in the extent of land given depends on

the type of mining done - the lode lease gets from five to eight hundred acres. Survey fees must be paid to the government as well as a rent of ten shillings per acre in a lode lease and five shillings for an alluvial lease.

The final category was the Mining Right which was restricted to alluvial ground and it may be up to one mile in length and one hundred yards on either side of the stream. This may be renewed indefinitely if work had been carried out to the satisfaction of the Chief Inspector of Mines. The fees were a ₦5 demarcation fee and a rent of ₦1 for every hundred yards held.

There was no limit to the number of E.P.L.s, Mining Leases, and Mining Rights held at any one time. As long as an individual or company had sufficient financial backing and was literate in English so he could understand the regulation he or they could mine. This thus excluded all Nigerians from any entrepreneurial initiative until some four decades after the British had come.

APPENDIX IV

The population statistics from each ethnic group listed below have been extracted from The Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1952. The 1963 census statistics were consulted in Northern Nigeria: 1963 Census; however the 1952 figures were found to be more useful for the purposes of this thesis. The 1963 census gave only district populations and this naturally included the mining and commercial population as well as the indigenous population. The 1952 census separates the population figures for government stations (e.g. Vom Veterinary Station), mining camps, and Hausa settlements from what was considered to be the indigenous population. The figures below then are given not for their accuracy but to provide some impression of the relative size of the ethnic groups as examined in this thesis. Also included are the population figures for those who have come in the present century and settled on the plateau. By 1952 they had almost outnumbered the indigenes.

Population figures (to the nearest hundred)Indigenous Peoples

<u>Jos Division</u>		<u>Pankshin Division</u>	
Afusare	8,100	Angas	84,400
Amo	4,600	Honguna	2,900
Anaguta	2,500	Pyam	13,700
*Biom	67,600	Ron	19,900
Buji	4,600	Sura	68,400
Chokobo	1,100		
Ganawuri	6,900		
Irigwe	17,000		
Jere	7,400		
Kurama	1,700		
Nchare	1,100		
Rukuba	14,100		

* The population for the Biom was originally given as 116,200.

This figure had included the Rukuba, Ganawuri, Irigwe, Anaguta and Afusare who were all classified as Biom.

Others in Jos Division

Edo	700
Fulani	20,400
Hausa	45,700
Ibibio	600
Ibo	23,100
Kanuri	4,400
Mupe	900
Tiv	700
Yoruba	9,100
All Other Northern Nigerian Tribes	138,900
Other Nigerian Tribes	5,700
Non-Nigerians	3,300
<hr/>	
Total Population	246,400

APPENDIX V

In The Languages of Africa by Joseph Greenberg the Benue-Congo family has been divided into four sub-families titled Plateau, Jukunoid, Cross River, and Bantoid. Plateau has been sub-divided further according to lexico-statistics cognates as follows: (only those pertaining to this study have been included)

- PLATEAU: 1b. Piti, Janji, Kurama, Chawai, Anaguta, Buji, Amap, (Ama), Gure, Ribina, (Jere), Kahuga
- 2 Afusare, Irigwe, Katab, Kaje, Morwa, Jaba
- 3 Birom, Ganawuri, (Nchara)
- 4 Rukuba, Ninzam, Ayu, Mada
- 5 Kaleri, Pyen, Pai
- 6 Yergam, Basherawa

Those languages bracketed have been added after consultation with Dr. K. Shimizu, A.B.C. (A.B.U.) Kano and Dr. K. Williamson, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. The Chadic family has been divided into nine sub-families with those spoken on the plateau being grouped with Hausa, Gwandara, etc. However, these language groups are sub-divided as follows:

- 1 a. Hausa, Gwandara
- b. Ngizim, etc.
- c. Seiawa, Barawa, etc.
- d. (i) Pai, Tangale, etc.
- (ii) Angas, Ankwe, Montol, Sura
- (iii) Ron

As can be seen by the sub-divisions the present Parkshin Division (i.e. the eastern part of the Jos Plateau) is less linguistically diversified than is the area this study is examining.