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Colonialism and the decline of handicraft industries in Tivland circa 1900-60 AD

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TITLE PAGE

COLONIALISM AND THE DECLINE OF HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES IN TIVLAND CIRCA 1900 – 60 AD

BY

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A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF JOS IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS(M.A.) DEGREE IN HISTORY.

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APPROVAL PAGE

THIS THESIS HAS BEEN READ AND APPROVED AS HAVING SATISFIED THE CONDITIONS OF A MASTER OF ARTS (M.A.) DEGREE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF JOS

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EXTERNAL EXAMINER

DEDICATION

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO TWO ANGELS OF GOD:

(1) LATE MR. APAA ŁORTSOR(NOW IN HEAVEN)

AND

(2) MISS GRACE MSUUR ASHIEKAA
(THY KINDGOM COME).

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this thesis is the result of my efforts and handiwork. It has not been applied for the acceptance of any degree elsewhere. All Sources of information have been duly acknowledged and all quotations footnoted in accordance with academic traditions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. C. C. Jacobs whose constructive criticisms and suggestions certainly improved the quality and style of this work. Despite his numerous academic and other commitments, he took pains to read and appraise this work. A very cheerful and hard working man, he is accessible and easy-to- get- along with. He has become a source of inspiration to me. He should rightly take any little credit due to this work.

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My gratitude also goes to my numerous informants, the various authors whose works have been of help in the preparation of this thesis, the Manggement and staff of National Archives Kaduna and my able typist Mrs C. N. Akonkem. Inspite the support of sources, all mistakes and short comings are absolutely mine. I shall appreciate any research efforts towards correcting such mistakes.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: PRE=COLNIAL HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES 1850 - 1900

CHAPTER FOUR: COLONIAL INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND THE DECLINE OF TIV HANDICRAFTS.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

1.1 BACKGROUND TO STUDY.

Technology, no doubt, is the inevitable variable in any production system. It is the central factor in the process of industrialization. The benefits of industrialization and by implication, technology are manifold. It raises the value of produce (industrial goods are sold as semi-finished or finished goods and not as raw materials); industrial goods or exports enhance a reduction in imports of consumer goods, thereby easing the problem of balance of payments. Industrialization also draws part of the population into industrial labour, thus easing the problem of unemployment and augmenting the revenue base of society. The Tiv were robbed of the above benefits and more by British colonial capitalism from 1900-60. Colonialism refers to the period when capitalist relations of production were imposed on the Tiv lineage mode of production. Predictably Tiv handicraft industries were dislocated and the economy structurally articulated to the service of Metropolitan British industries.

This research hopes to use four handicraft industries as case studies in order to demonstrate the structural disarticulation of the process of industrial production in Tivland. These case studies are: firstly, Blacksmithing; secondly, wood-carving; thirdly, pot-making and fourthly, cloth-production (textiles). This investigation hopes to bring empirical data to show that, there existed a sufficient market potential for the products of these industries for further expansion and development before the colonial state intervened to terminate them. In this regard, British colonial industrial policy will carefully be examined.

The pre occupation of this dissertation is not to examine the destructive forces associated with the colonial epoch such as the damage caused by punitive military campaigns by the British army, forced labour and other forms of plunder but the systematic imposition of commodity relations of production on the Tiv economy. Thus, the neglect of technical education, colonial industrial laws, the roles of trading (British Mercantile) firms, Marketing Boards and the British cotton growing Association (B.C.G.A.) are closely investigated to illustrate their roles in the collapse of Tiv handicraft industries.

This dissertation therefore makes a case for the revival of small scale handicraft industries as the

means to achieve the much desired industrial take-off in Nigeria. It is argued that, although some branches of industry today necessarily require some sophistication and modern technology, indigenous craftsmen and technicians must be integrated into the production system to complement foreign experts and imported machinery. Small scale industries, especially handicraft types have been considered more appropriate for Nigeria because, they are not capital intensive and employ much more labour. Moreover, when properly coordinated, they (handicraft industries) can also mass-produce goods.

More importantly, a return to handicraft and small scale industries will promote a higher degree of self-reliance and halt Nigeria's vulnerability to the Western owners of technological capital. As Herbert Schiller argues, sophistication is today, a new policy for international dominance in international, cultural and economic affairs. He contends that, technology and its allied processes originate from the small group of dominating industrialised states, therefore, weak, dependent and peripheral countries (like Nigeria) are never considered (as far as their genuine needs are concerned) by the producers and exporters of new technologies.[1] One must quickly add that Western technology is not only an instrument of effectuating cultural and economic imperialism but

the very embodiment of this very corruption.

1.2 DEFINITION AND JUSTIFICATION OF RESEARCH PROBLEMS.

In explaining the mass poverty of Nigeria and by extension all Third World countries, bourgeois scholars have often ended up with recipes which admonish the poor societies to imitate Western countries of the Northern hemishpere. Modernization theorists have always pointed to these capitalist values as the causes and/or effects of development: free enterprise, nuclear family patterns, political democracy, social mobility, occupational differentiation, secularization, proliferation of voluntary associations, urbanization, industrialization and so on. In the particular case of technology, conventional wisdom holds that, it is a commodity which can either be sold, stolen or transferred (the global giants or multi-national corporations being the supposed sellers or distributors of advanced technology).

Thus, the World Bank and other international institutions often outline the above logic to Third World governments not only as a panacea but as a condition to be adopted if they should qualify for aids, loans and even their co-operation. Consequently, Western technology, western methods of production and western institutional arrangements have been accepted

uncritically by Nigerian leaders as development agents. The absurdity of the above thinking lies in the fact that, import of foreign technology and several decades of the presence of multinational corporations in Nigeria have not produced the positive effects hoped for and claimed. The fact is that, the suppliers of technology, that is the global giants, and the recipients of the technology (i.e. Third World countries) have divergent and conflicting interests and the bargaining power has been on the side of the global giants.

But in spite of the failure of "transfer of technology" strategy and despite the persistent technological backwardness of Nigeria, our economic planners and policy makers still deride handicraft manufactures and other indigenous innovations as crude, archaic, primitive and out-of-tune with modern times. They still entertain the illusion that, "transfer of technology" is possible and point to the example of Japan to illustrate how intensive importation of skills, theoretical ideas and technological ware led to the creation of a modern industrial state.[3] It is important to point out however that, the factors which which rendered this transfer to Japan possible may not exist in case of Nigeria.[4]

This research identifies (and focuses to a large extent on) colonial capitalism as the principal agent of de-skilling and de-industrialization of Nigeria. Today, the perpetuation of what N. Volkov and R. Zimenkov call "Technological neo-colonialism"[5] by multi-national corporations can be easily contrasted with the situation in pre-capitalist Europe or Japan where there was no stranglehood on the economies and the receptive capacity of these nations was free. Today, the use of licenses, patents and trade marks are part of the paraphernalia which restrict the contemporary diffusion of techniques and technology. The prohibitively high cost of technology is another. There is what has come to be called the "brain-drain" - the mass exodus of Nigerian scientists, Engineers and Technicians, lured away to the advanced countries. Thus, the development of global capitalism and the monopolistic and competitive nature of modern technological market remain the major systemic constraints to any technological transfer.

It is therefore clear that, to free itself from the stranglehood of technological imperialism, Nigeria must evolve indigenous technology from within the country. From colonial conquest to this stage

of neo-colonial domination, technological superiority has been the decisive variable and to expect the West to surrender it, so to speak, at any market price or through diplomatic exhortations and negotiations is to say the least, unlikely. It is in this regard that, this dissertation seeks to illustrate not only the viability of handicraft industries but also to investigate the cause, course and effects of their decline. This is necessary if these industries (handicraft) are to be re-activated.

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

This dissertation employed a methodological framework which was three-fold. Firstly, oral and traditional accounts were utilised. Thus, the researcher conducted oral interviews amongst craftsmen especially those who practised their trade during the period of colonial rule. Other persons (especially tne aged) were also interviewed. Secondly, this researcher consulted archival sources especially at the National Archives, Kaduna where there are materials on British colonial policies and their impact on Benue province (of which Tivland was a part).

Thirdly, secondary sources especially those books which have discussed the theme of industrialization and the colonial economic set-up generally. This researcher was quite critical of these sources.

Oral and traditional accounts consist of all verbal testimonies or reported statements concerning the past of a given people. They are unwritten sources transmitted from generation to generation through recital, song on speech form. Oral history is usually couched in myths, legends, folklores, songs (pottery, chant, verse and epic inclusive). All these are vehicles for recording events considered as special by a group or society. These events may be memorable battles, migrations, succesful hunting expeditions, outbreaks of epidemics, good harvests, ancestry, accomplishments of important individuals in a society and so on. For this research particularly, this valuable source of data was us@ful in explaining the origin and migration of the Tiv people, aspects of Tiv socio-political organisation and their economic and technological culture prior to the advent of colonial conquest.

The principal problem that one encountered in the use of oral traditional accounts was bias. Traditions serve to validate the claims of individuals or groups to power and glory and the alteration of Tiv tradition has been the basis for the elevation or demotion of certain individuals and social groups. Tiv society itself has suffered from misrepresentation by Hausa and Jukun traditional accounts. Apart from deliberate alterations, distortions, subtractions, additions and embellishments which characterise oral traditions, there is the problem of collapsed chronology or time frame. Most oral informants forget (or are silent about) the period in which the events occured. Thus, vast gaps of time are compressed into phrases like "many years back" or "a long time ago". Geographical locations are also identified namelessly like: "near a certain river" or "opposite a huge mountain".

Another problem encountered in using oral data was the larger than life picture created of folk heroes. These tales often contained magical elements and the culture heroes were often endowed with super-human powers which rendered them virtually useless for historical purposes. In folklore, the principal

purpose of which is entertainment, the prime actors were in some cases animals. Tiv oral traditions have been made even more malleable by the fact that, some of it has been altered to conform with Christian religion. This is particularly the case with accounts of creation of the first man and how uke received Tiv's blessings from their blind, aged and unsuspecting father.[6]

The following quotation on the imperfect character of oral sources seems appropriate;

> spoken history is a very frail thread by which to trace our way back through the dark twists of the labyrinth of time. Those who are its custodians are hoary-headed old men with cracked voices, memories often dim, and a sticklers insistence on etiquette (vieillesse oblige!), as behoves potential ancestors. They are like the last remaining islets in a landscape that was once imposing and coherent but which is now eroded, flattened and thrown into disorder by the sharp waves of modernism. Latter-day fossils! Whenever one of them dies, a fibre of Ariadne's thread is broken, a fragment of the landscape literally disappears under-ground. 7

Archival materials, often prized as "primary sources" or "first-hand documents" are (like oral sources) often tainted and suspect. The documents written by ethnologists and anthropologists (like R.C. Abrahams, Paul and Laura Bohannan) and British

colonial officials such as R.M. Downes, L.R. Norwood, C.F. Gordon, K. Dewar, Ruxton and Rowe have explicitly discriminating premises. Their conclusions are obviously Eurocentric. Their main pre-supposition was that European culture was superior and that African culture was inferior or at an earlier stage of development and that it was the mission of the colonial government to spread European culture to these uncivilised peoples. Archival documents thus, contain the justification and rationale for the colonization of the peoples of Benue province - a position that is unacceptable.

Also, it is obvious that, the colonial state and its agents destroyed the documents capable of embarrasing them. The colonial state left behind their tax lists, their censuses, their parish registers, legal records and correspondences to provide us with information which they want us to believe. They withheld from us such information that was capable of infringing on their class and national interests. The colonial power structure, through the agency of censorship, supervised (and still supervises) our historical memory (so long as we rely uncritically on archival materials).

The secondary data, comprising of both published and unpublished papers and books, can be broadly divided into two, namely: those that supported the idea of transfer of technology from the West to Nigeria (on a wholesale basis) and those that made a strong case for the evolution of indigenous industries and technology. Predicably, this research activity is tailored around the latter logic, that, industrialization in Nigeria can be enhanced only through the resuscitation of indigenous technology and industry and not through dependence upon multi-national corporations and metropolitan nations. papers and books taking a contrary position were consulted nonetheless.

The above-mentioned shortcomings (of my source data) called for additional caution and care from this researcher. This was intended to save the researcher from being slave of his sources. The various data was therefore examined critically with the view of distinguishing the real from the fictitions and to examine whose reality the source data explained; (for every source data is necessarily subjective).

1.4 RESEARCH CONCEPTS.

Colonialism refers to the political, economic and cultural subjugation of a weaker entity by a stronger one for the purpose of exploitation of the former by the latter. Though the theme of this dissertation suggests that the period between 1900-60 A.D. shall be covered by this study, this research necessarily delves into the pre-colonial period to illustrate the state of Tiv technology before the advent of British colonialism. By handicraft industries, one is referring to the use of simple, hand-based technology for the manufacture or production of goods. Example of production needing hand skills include pottery, woodwork, weaving and iron-smithing.

What is technology? Technology has been defined as "applied science", that is, the application of scientific knowledge towards solving practical problems.[8] From this definition of technology, handicrafts, which in most cases required no application of science, are not considered as part of Technology. Science is said to be the knowledge of the physical (chemical and biological) environment obtained through observation

and experimentation.[9] Thus, some people have gone ahead to describe crafts as works of art (as opposed to works of technology and industry). This is unmindful of the fact that, the primary function of technology (which crafts rightly perform) is the solution of practical problems. Those who admit that crafts have a technological element at all however insist that, it is some "archaic and primitive" form of technology because of the absence of the "scientific" element.

However, the precise relationship between science and tecnnology is not identifiable.[10] For if you take the first industrial revolution in Britain as an instance, from all indications, science played a negligible role in its take off. The revolution depended more on know-how (technical skills) than on know-why (scientific knowledge). The skills which transformed industries were those of the empirical man. Thus, the hero of the British railway revolution George Stephenson, was, scientifically speaking an illiterate but a man who instintively knew what could make a machine move - an artisan rather than a technologist. Attempts by scientists like Babbage to make themselves useful

to the railways or by scientific Engineers like Brunel to establish them on "rational" rather than empirical foundations came to nothing.

Indeed, even the scientifically most sophisticated machine, James Watt's rotary steam engine (1784) required no more physics than had been available for the best part of the century; the proper theory of steam engines was only developed ex-post facto by the Frenchman carnet in the 1820s and could build on several generations for practical employment for steam engines mostly in the mines.[11] Thus, the really important innovations of the first industrial revolution were small practical changes which cumulatively amounted to major changes. Britain in the decades before 1789 had, consequently, built up a rather large reservoir of suitable skills both in textile technique and in handling of metals. Thus, the millwright and the Engineer or "Engineman" becaame the ancestor of the machine builder in Britain.[12] It is therefore not accidental that the English word "Engineer" describes both the skilled metal-worker and the designer and planner, for the bulk of higher technologists could be (and usually were) recruited from the pool of self reliant, mechanically skilled men.

We have drawn long from the British industrial experience to demonstrate that few intellectual refinements were necessary (as in contemporary Nigeria) to create an industrial revolution. It's technical innovations were exceedingly modest and in no way beyond the scope of intelligent artisans experimenting in their workshops or of the constructive capacities of carpenters, Millwrights and locksmiths: the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny, the mule. For the purpose of this dissertation therefore, technology as a concept is used to infer the transformation of any theoretical (mental) skill into a practical (manual) skill for the purpose of exploiting the natural or material environment to human advantage.[13]

What is "appropriate technology"? According to the British Social Scientist Anthony Smith, it is technology which combines the maximum amount of employment with the minimum amount of investment.[14] Such technology is simple, labour intensive and requires low capital input. Michael Todaro, the American professor of development economics also submits that in labour-abundant, capital-scarce countries of the Third World (like Nigeria), what is required is labour-employing, capital-saving technological progress. Such progress, he says, results in more efficient, low-cost, labour-intensive techniques of production for

example, hand or rotary-powered weeders and threshers, foot-operated bellow pumps, back-mounted mechanical sprayers for small scale agriculture.[15] These technology is in most cases energy-saving. According to Frances Stewart, the most important and least emphasised ways in which imported technology may be inappropriate lies in the nature of the products. She stresses that, with growing sophistication in technology (and so products of technology) confined to rich countries, the products developed are inappropriate to poorer countries. In her view, these products are designed for countries with a much higher income level and embody many characteristics which are excessive in what average consumers of the Third World can afford.[16]

What is the concept of technological transfer? can technology be transferred? At least three connotations are descernible from the concept of transfer of technology. It may refer solely to the process of diffusion of capital goods, skills, personnel and techniques. In this case, there is the implication that such a process is both necessary and sufficient for technological development.[17] Another usage of the concept entails the wholescale transfer of technological capacity from one economy to another. The under-lying assumption here is that

technological capability is a transportable commodity. The third and more realistic usage of the concept is the view that, the diffusion of capital goods and personnel as aids in the development of technological capability may be necessary but is not sufficient for technological development.[18] It should also be stated that, a wholesale transfer of technological capability is an illusion. Even the diffusion of technological skills, goods and machinery to aid the development of less endowed nations has come to be stultified by the forces of colonial and neo-colonial capitalism.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW.

A great deal has been written on the Tiv people but most of these works, while not focusing on isolated political and religious issues, concentrate on the theme of agriculture. In other words, Tiv handicraft industry is a neglected theme. One of such works is R.M. Downes, Tiv Religion (1971) which is a study of Tiv beliefs and world view. It is a description of aspects of Tiv traditional cults, rites and their conception of Aondo (God), tsav (witchcraft), akombo

(magic) and so on. Eugene Rubingh's work sons of Tiv (1969) is an evangelical account which focuses on the introduction of the christian religion in Tivland. The book treats the advent, attitudes, policies, problems and prospects of the Dutch Reformed Mission in Tivland.

Benjamin Akighirga's work entitled Akiga's story: The Tiv Tribe as seen by one of its members (1939) translated and annotated by Rupert East is the first ever published account by a Tivman on the history of the Tiv people. Though the book has an indepth discussion of traditions of origin, social, political and economic formations in Tivland before and in the early days of colonialism, handicraft industries are only mentioned in passing. Another work on the Tiv is Justin Tseayo's conflict and incorporation in Nigeria: The Integration of the Tiv (1974) which is an anthropological study of ethnic relations between the Tiv people and the wider Nigerian society. J.K. Tortema's work Landmarks in Tiv History (1981) is a study that limits its scope to tracing the emergence of Gboko town as the administrative headquarters of Tiv Native Authority.

Another modern work is John Orkar's theseS "A pre-colonial History of the Tiv of central Nigeria 1500 - 1800 A.D." (Ph.D thesis, Dalhousie University, 1979) which treats the origin and migration of the Tiv from central Africa into the Benue Valley of Nigeria. Tesemchi Makar's "A History of political change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th century" (Ph.D thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1975) is primarily concerned with the evolution of Tiv society from an accephalous stage to the emergence of the Tor-Agbande (Drum-chieftaincy) institution.

There is also William Malherbe's Tiv/English Dictionary as well as R.C. Abraham's Dictionary of the Tiv. These works are translations of Tiv words into English. Both works incorporate the tonal aspect of Tiv language in a complex system of orthography and are relevant to this research because, they define (or rather interpret) Tiv words which have lost their original meanings in present day usage. Paul Bohannan and his wife Laura have done extensive studies on Tiv agrarian economy. Their works include Tiv Farm and Settlement (1954); Tiv Markets (1957); The Tiv of central Nigeria (1958) and Tiv Economy (1968). These are however anthropological works (not historical) and seem to ignore the relevance of chronology.

There are also other works which are merely contributions in journals and magazines. These include K.C. Murray, "Tiv pottery" (Nigerian Field, 1943); "Tiv pattern Dyeing" (Nigeria, 1949); "The Decorating of calabashes by Tiv (Benue province)" [Nigeria, 1951] and T.Betts, "The Tiv plantations 1939 - 41". Others include D.C. Dorward, "The Development of British colonial Administration among the Tiv 1900 - 49"; "pre-colonial Tiv trade and currency" and "An unknown Nigerian Export: Tiv Beniseed production 1900 - 60". Add to the above Haroun Adamu's essay "Atem Ityough: The Tiv Revolt of 1960 - 66", N. Akiga's "The descent of the Tiv from the Ibinda hill" and several unpublished B.A., M.A., B.Sc, M.Sc theses (in the Arts and social sciences). All these have failed to address the issue of dislocation of local handicraft industries in Tivland.

There are some works which do not treat Tivland specifically but which are no doubt of some general importance to this study. These include J. Domatob, "The dillemma of appropriate technology transfer in sub-saharan Africa", A.C. Awujo, "The interpretation of knowledge and skill to promote indigenous technology: A survey of some organisations in Nigeria", Gloria Thomas - Emeagwali, "History and the Question of technological Development: transfer of technology

revisited", R.A. Olaoye, "Indigenous technology and National Development in Nigeria: A case study of the Ilorin handicrafts 1800 - 1960", Eyitayo Lambo, "Technological Development in Nigeria: Going beyong rhetorics"; J. Olu Yusuf, "perspectives on technology transfer", N. Abubakar, "Iron technology in Northern Nigeria C 500 BC - 1900 AD", Daniel Offiong "Indigenous technology: An escape from economic and technological imperialism" and many others.

J. Domatob analyses the dillemma facing policy makers in sub-saharan African on whether to import sophisticated or simple technology. He concludes that, Third World countries must evolve and encourage indigenous industries while importing and "indigenising" simple technology. A.C. Awujo examines the contributions made by some organisations in the former Eastern region of Nigeria towards the growth of indigenous technology. He suggests the evolution of fundamental theories and principles to back up the practical skills and to garner popular acceptability. G. Thomas - Emeagwali analyses critically some conceptual issues related to technological transfer, pointing out the systemic reasons for the succesful and unsuccesful transfer of technology in Modern Europe and the Third World countries respectively.

R.A. Olaoye's paper is a historicall discourse into pre-colonial and colonial state of Ilorin handicraft industries. He establishes the abundant potentials of handicraft industries as the bedrock of Nigeria's technological advancement. Eyitayo Lambo denounces the unseriousness which characterises technological policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria, arguing that the resuscitation of abandoned local industries should be the first and necessary step towards the attainment of technological development in Nigeria. Daniel Offiong argues that, the idea of transfer of technology by international conglomerates to Third World countries is a myth because of assymetrical dependence patterns, the domination of Nigerian economy by these multi-national giants who operate to forestall the emergence of potential competitors in the periphery and the restrictive nature of patents and trademarks.

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4. A.T. Gana, "On the political determinants of technological revolution in Nigeria" mineo. University of Jos, Nov. 1983.

5. N. Volkov and R. Zimenkov, Technological Neo-colonialism (Moscow: 1986)

6. Chapter II of this dissertation treats this problem in more details. (see the section captioned "Theories/ Traditions of origin and migration".)

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8. Derek De Solla price, "Notes towards a philosophy of Science/Technology interaction" in R. Laudan (ed), The nature of Technological knowledge: Are models of scientific change relevant? (Reidel: 1984) pp 105 - 114. Also see A.C.AWUJO, "The interpretation of knowledge and skill to promote indigenous technology: A survey of some organisations in Nigeria" (Paper presented at Durbar Hotel, Kaduna, June 3-6, 1987) p 1.

9. A S. Hornby (ed), Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of current English (London: O.U.P) p 775.

10. For technology as "applied science", see Gutting's comments in R. Laudan (ed), op cit, p. 62. Also see Thomas Kuhn, The structure of scientific revolutions (Chicago: 1973).

11. Phyllis Deans, The Age of Revolution in Europe 1789 - 1848 (London: 1962) pp 50 - 51.

12. In the larger European continent, the locksmith, one of the few craftsmen used to precision work with metals, was the ancestor of the modern machine builder and sometimes provided him with a name. (I owe this information to a class discussion with Dr. C.C. Jacobs, Dept. of History, University of Jos).

13. R.A. Olaoye, "Indigenous technology and National Development in Nigeria: A case study of Ilorin handicrafts 1800 - 1960" (Paper presented at the 32nd congress of HSN, 11th - 15th May, 1987, University of Jos) p5. Also see S. Suleiman, "The Art and Technology in a balanced National Development" CONFLUENCE Vol 1, No 1, June 1978 pp 6 - 15.

14. A Smith, The Geopolitics of information (London: 1980) p 143.

15. M. Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World (London: 1981) p90

16. F. Stewart, "Technology and Employment in LDCs" WORLD DEVELOPMENT, March 1974, pp 21-23 Warmth.

17. Modernization theorists tend to propagate this theory most.

18. G. Thomas - Emeagwali, op cit p3. For a concise analysis of the necessary conditions for transfer of technology, see B. Olufeagba, "Industrial and Technological Development: A rational perspective" mimeo. (University of Ilorin, April 1986) and A.T. Gana, "The ideology of technological transfer" in Towards a progressive Nigeria (Zaria: 1982).

CHAPTER TWO

LAND AND PEOPLE.

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF TIVLAND.

The majority of the Tiv people of central Nigeria live in Benue state but are also to be found in some local government areas of plateau and Taraba states. They occupy the areas on both banks of the River Benue, some 224 kilometres from its confluence with the River Niger. The Tiv homeland today comprises an area of over 25,638 square kilometres and its population is estimated at over four Million people; (the 1963 population census puts the Tiv population at 1,244,185 people).[1] The general level of population distribution reveal high population density in the south and lower densities to the north. The Nigerian census of 1963 also shows a population density of one hundred and twenty six persons per square mile in the south, two hundred persons per square mile in the central area and a mere twenty five persons per square mile in the North.

Tivland is situated between latitudes $6^{o}30'$ to $8^{o}10'$ in the north and longitudes 8^{o} to 10^{o} in the east. The area lies within the lower Benue trough, separating the north - central highlands from the south-east scarplands and the Cross River plains. Though generally denuded by the River Benue and its tributaries (River Katsina-Ala being the most important), intermittent rocky out-crops like the Mkar, Selagi and Ngokugh hills punctuate the terrain. There is a lower inter-mediate level of 100 to 200 metres in altitude and the south-eastern parts of Tivland are relatively high, being part of the cameroun highlands. These are the Vandeikya and Kwande areas. These highlands serve as a natural borderline between Nigeria and cameroun and are probably granitic.

The River Benue dominates the drainage pattern with over 100 natural ponds and lakes. Other rivers in Tivland include the rivers Konshisha, Mu, Gwer, Ambighir, Amile - tamen and Amile - Kiriki. The climate is tropical. The wet season spans from April to October and the dry season from October to March. The wet season comes under the influence of the south-westerly winds from the equatorial rain forest belt

while the dry season is characterised by dust-laden harmattan winds from across the Sahara desert. Average maximum and minimum temperatures are put at 35°C (95°F) and 21°C (78°F) respectively.[2] Rainfall in Tivland is convectional, falling within the 508-1016 mm (40 - 60") and 0 - 25 mm (0 - 10") ranges in the wet and dry seasons respectively.

Tivland falls into the vegetational category generally referred to as the Guinea Savannah. The fertile soils are to be found in the low lying areas in the Benue valley. Soils become less sandy and more fertile nearer the Benue and Katsina - Ala Rivers. Northern Tivland especially lies in the basin of the Benue River and the soil type here is alluvial. Hence most of the land is flat, erosion does not occur as an environmental problem. The vegetational cover comprises of giant grasses (the cow and elephant grasses) which support the breeding of animals and hunting. Economic trees also exist and these include: the oil bean trees, shea - butter and locust bean trees. Along the shorelines of the numerous streams and lakes can also be found oleaginous trees and raffia palms.

2.2 TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN AND MIGRATION.

The origin of the Tiv people is shrouded in many myths and legends. Overtime, these traditions have come under the influence of other cultures especially the christian culture. Tiv traditions also have their fair share of discrepancies: hero-worshipping of groups and persons, attempts to justify historical perspectives or political orientations, multiplicity of versions of the same traditions and so on. It is significant to note that, for many years, those who collected and popularised Tiv traditions were Europeans.

Thus, Eugene Rubingh agrees with strijdom, an early missionary who claims that: "Everywhere in their (Tiv) land, the following story is told regarding the origin of man. Takuruku, they say, was the first man. His wife was Olenolen. He had three children, namely the white man, uki and Tivi".[3] No Tiv elder consulted by this researcher seems to have heard of the name "Olenolen" while the names "Tiv" and "Uke" are obviously muffled. Most Tiv people accept that their origin revolves around a personage called Takuruku Anyamazenga who had a wife called Aliwe. They had two children

from their marriage: Tiv and Uke (Tiv being the culture-founder of the Tiv people while Uke loosely refers to all non-Tiv people). Tiv took a wife (possibly from Uke's daughters) who was called Ayaaya who bore four children: Gbev (the eldest), Ipusu, Ichongu and Anadendem.[4] A slightly different version claims that, Takuruku was indeed the father of the Tiv but had only two children: Ipusu (before he was circumcised and Ichongo (after he was circumcised by a stranger).[5]

Another version introduces us to the supreme deity, Aondo (meaning God in present day parlance). There are confused accounts of Aondo creating Takuruku and vice versa. N. Akiga refers us to the term Gba-Aondo which means "God's-creation" or "natural". He then argues that, there is no such thing as Gba-Takuruku.[6] This argument by pastor Akiga is doubtful because Tiv traditions of origin pre-date the translation of the English Bible into Tiv (which Akiga himself contributed in doing). He could as well have put the name of Takuruku as the creator/God, thereby putting his (Takuruku's)name into popular circulation. One is reminded of the fact that, the Tiv ritual gong which normally announces the death of a prominent Tiv man emphasises Takuruku's divine, if not supreme place in Tiv tradition in the following words (Translations mine):

> "Takuruku-Anyamazenga, Takuruku Anyamazenga! stand still and await the ascent of my brother.... my brother is ascending up to the almighty domain..."

But the controversy is not over yet. Some accounts bring in two other characters as part of the Tiv ancestral chain. They posit that Shon was the father of Aondo Baverjua who gave birth to Awange, the father of the Tiv. Some Tiv elders resist the inclusion of Shon and Awange in Tiv genealogy.[7] The point of rapproachment of all these versions is that, Tiv had a less resourceful brother called Uke. (Gbev and Anadendem are either denied existence or said to have disappeared into the bush to become a bird and a hedge-hog respectively). Because Uke was indolent and stubborn, Takuruku, when he was about to die, summoned Tiv to bring him good food so that he should eat and bless him. In a manner very much like the Biblical story of Isaac and his two sons, Jacob and Esau,[8] Uke is said to have tricked his blind and aged father and received his blessings while Tiv was away in the bush. Subsequently, Uke was chased into the bush by his angry brother, Tiv.

As earlier stated, Tiv had two sons, IPUSU and Ichongo. Those who lay claims of descent from Ipusu include: shitire, Ukum, Iwarev, Ikyov and Kparev clans;

(kparev is sub-divided into Jeechira and Jemgbagh). On the other hand, Ichongo is said to have given birth to the founders of the following clans: Turan, Masev, Iharev, Nongov, Ugondo, Ikyurav, Maav and Kendev. The ancestoral home of the Tiv is represented to be a place called swem-karagbe. According to R.M. Downes, Swem is a mythical place just like the Biblical garden of Eden.[9] To N. Akiga swem is a hill located in the sub-section of the present day Ikyurav-ya[10] while Bohannan suggests that Swem might be the hill of Ngol-kedju in the Bamenda highlands in the North West of cameroun.[11] According to T. Makar, Swem is a mountain located about thirty six miles (54 km) south west of the compound of a District Head (Yaro Gusa) in the district of Nyiev-mba-sha-Ya. Yaro Gusa's house is located on a mountain and it is a mile away from the cameroun border.[12]

However, anthropological and linguistic evidence suggests that, Tiv place of origin transcends Swem-Karagbe. The Tiv and the Bantu Nyanza have a striking similarity in vocabulary. This similarity, as portrayed by R.C. Abraham, suggests that the Bantu Nyanza once lived together as neighbours or as members of the same proto-language family with the Tiv. Below is the list of vocabulary comparison between the Nyanza Bantu and the Bantu Tiv.

English	Bantu Nyanza	Tiv
Animal	Nyama	Inyam
Arrow	Mu-vaan	Ivaan
Axe	Sembe; jembe	Ijembe; jembe
Back	gongo	(gongur) jime
Beard	deru	Indier
Bee	joki	Iyough
Bird	Enyonyi	Inyon
Blood	Ekiamba	Awambe
Bone	Kuha	Kuhe
Bow	ta	Ada
canoe	Ato	Tso
charcoal	kara	Aka
chief	Tware	Tor
child	Mwana	Wan (wana)
crocodile	Mamba	Ambe
Day	Inyango	Iyange
Dog	Imbwa	Iwa
Dream	Nyama	Mnyam
Drum	Goma	Genga
Ear	Tu	Tou (ato:plural)
Egg	Egi	Iji
Excrement	Mobi	Ambi
Eye	Iso	Ishe
Face	so	Ishigh
Oil	Kura	Mkurem

English	Bantu Nyanza	Tiv
Father	Tata	Ter (Baba)
Fish	Isui	Ishu
Forest	Bira	Iko; gbor
Fowl	Koko	Ikyegh
God	Tonda	Aondo
Ground	Nyi	Nya
Guinea fowl	Gangga	Ikange
Head	Twe	Ityough
Heart	Tima	Shima
Heel	Kisi	Ikishi
Hill	gongo	Igungu
House	zo;jo	Iyough
Hunger	enjera	Ijen
Husband	Nume	Nom
Knee	ru	Inu
Meat	Enyama	Inyam
Medicine	Ti	Ichigh
Navel	Chombo	Chombo
Night	Tuku	Tugh
Rain	Bula	Wura
Salt	Bala	Bar
Snake	Yoka	Iyo

* SOURCE: R.C. Abraham, The Tiv People (2nd Edition, 1940) p 6 - 7.

Thus, captain Abraham maintains that, "we are now however, in a position to examine the grammatical features, and these show beyond doubt that Tiv is a Bantu and not a semi Bantu language". [13] In their traditions of origin too, some Tiv people maintain that they originated from somewhere in the heart of Africa. In his assessment report on Ukum District in 1913, Mr. A.L. Auchinleck, writing on the principal home of the Tiv, asserted that:

> It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information of the early history of the Tiv tribe. According to their own tradition, the Tivs originally lived on a hill in a vast swamp near a big river which may prove to be the Congo. In manners, customs and religion, they are so totally distinct from the hill pagans along the Cameroun boundary that it seems likely that they reached Northern Nigeria only after an extensive journey from some such remote region as the congo. 14

Also, in his assessment report on Ugondo District in 1913, C.F. Gordon maintained that:

> Migration is a very marked feature in Tiv life and has gradually brought the Tiv to its present location from some point probably lying in the land between the Congo, the Nile and the Tchad. 15

It is beyong the scope of this dissertation to delve into the Guthrie-Oliver-Greenberg debate regarding the nucleus of Bantu expansion but it must be stated that, the Bantu Tiv while migrating north-west wards, met the Fulanis with whom they formed a legendary asenge (joking) relationship. The Tiv are said to have got their derogatory name munchi from the Fulanis (whose cattle they had stolen and upon being accused, confessed "munchi", meaning "we have eaten"). This is however doubtful. Munchi is likely to be a Hausa corruption of the Jukun word Mitshi for foreigners or strangers.[16]

The Tiv parted company with the Fulani most probably due to disagreements over farm and grazing lands. They therefore moved southwards where they came into contact with the Jukun and the Chamba. Hostilities and conflicts between them led to the pushing of the Tiv further south to the Katsina-Ala and Kashimbilla areas. It is said that the Jukuns and the Ugenyi continued to pursue the Tivs until they (the Tivs) reached the Katsina-Ala river. Again, in a manner very much like the Israelites crossing the Red sea [Exodus 14:5-29] the Tiv are said to have crossed a river (possibly the Katsina-Ala river) on the back of a huge serpent. As their pursuers climbed the huge serpent to continue the pursuit across the river, the serpent drowned the warriors.[17]

Where then is the place of swem karagbe in Tiv history? The Tiv settled at swem during their journey from Congo to the Benue valley. Swem is a hill far to the South East of their present location identified as the Ngol-kedju, one of the group of hills making up the cameroun ranges. Here, they enjoyed relative peace because, the mountainous terrain inhibited attacks by other groups. The vegetal and animal resources which the mountains offered, coupled with good harvests induced the people to inhabit the hills for a long time. Overtime however, increasing population pressures and attacks from the Bafum (Bamenda) people made the Tiv people to abandon the land "flowing with milk and honey". Their migration pattern was north-westwards, across the river Mkomon.

They first settled at Ibinda hills where they met other groups now identified as Utange, Ugee, Undir, Ukwese, Ugbe and Iyon. These groups resisted the Tiv and their hostility forced the Tiv to leave the hills and move down the plains of Benue valley. In the process, they displaced and caused the migration of other groups such as the Bekwarawa (or Udam) of present Cross River state, the Jukun, Kuteb, Chamba, Ugenyi, Mumuye and Ichen (of present day Taraba state) and the Idoma (who were pushed west wards).

2.3 PRE-COLONIAL MODE OF PRODUCTION.

Most scholars employ the category of 'natural economy' to qualify all pre-capitalist social formations in which the production of use-values is dominant and where there is simple exchange (that is, exchange of material surpluses between producers at a rudimentary level).[18] This postulate of a 'natural economy' is however, not historical as it makes no pre-suppositions about the different forms of 'natural economy' nor the relations governing production and the appropriation of surplus labour (that is, whether on a communal or class basis) in different pre-capitalist epochs. For the purpose of this study thus, the Marxian concept of mode of production is considered better.

A mode of production is the sum total of the forces of production and the relations of production. It describes the method employed by societies in the transformation of nature into determinate products and the method of distributing the surpluses of production among the producers. "Each major way (of organizing production) constitute a mode of production - a specific historically occuring set of social relations of production through which labour is deployed to wrest energy from nature by means of tools, skills, organization

and knowledge".[19] In a similar way, Hindes and Hirst define a mode of production as "an articulated combination of relations and forces of production structured by the dominance of the relations of production".[20]

Forces of production are the elements employed in the appropriation of nature and include human labour-power, tools with which it is worked and raw materials. Relations of production define the relationship between men on the one hand and the relationship of men to property - the instruments of labour-on the other. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. Thus, Karl Marx identified several modes of production in History, viz: primitive/communal, the slave holding, the feudal and the capitalist modes of production.[21] It is therefore simplistic to assume, as most scholars do, that the whole of Tiv society had a singular mode of production prior to colonial capitalism.

It is clear that Tiv society, like any other society was dynamic and not static. Before 1800 AD, Tiv society organized its production, distribution and consumption on a communal basis. This is sometimes referred to as the lineage mode of production. In this

mode, both human labour and the tools for exploiting the environment (that is technology) were communally owned, that is, they were at the disposal of everybody. Division of labour was thus, based on age and sex and the goal of production was towards use-values and not exchange-values production. The adjudication of disputes and dispensation of communal justice was openly carried out in the village congress. There was an absence of a political superstructure and an appropriating or exploiting social class.

By 1850 AD however, it is evident that the forces of production (especially technology) had undergone some degree of sophistication leading to increases in production. Specialization in production and exchange resulted to property distinctions and individual acquisition of social wealth. Social groups lost their privileges and freedom, becoming subjects of domination and exploitation. Pockets of slave-holdings emanated here and there leading to the disintegration of egalitarian system of the lineage stage of development in Tivland. The cultivation of land on individual basis became the basis for the rise of enstranged labour and the rise of the new-rich. The emergence of Tor Agbande chieftaincy institution can be properly located in this development.

2.4 SOCIO - POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

Tiv society as already mentioned, was politically de-centralised up to 1850 AD. Unlike many Nigerian societies, the Tiv did not live in towns or villages but in compounds scattered throughout the land. The compound comprised of a group of persons who worked together, shared their produce and lived in households concentrated in one place. In most cases, they (apart from their wives) had a common lineage. Other identifiable social units included the Ingyor council, the Ityo council and/or Tar council. There was also a progressive age grade system known as the Kwav. Let us consider these institutions in turn.

Firstly, the Ya (compound) council: The Ya was the smallest social unit in Tivland. A compound could embrace all the sons of a grand father. At the head of the compound was the family head who, as a rule, was the oldest member of the family. This patriarch variously referred to as Orya (house-head) or Orvesen (elder) controlled the family land which he shared out to members of the family for cultivation. He also presided over the distribution of produce and represented his Ya at the clan or tar level.

He organised marriages for prospective members of the family, consulted oracles on behalf of the household during periods of mishaps and was revered because of his alleged super-natural powers. He was supposed to be the custodian of the family imborivungu (deity). However, the Orya did not own the land which he distributed - the family lands formed a pool from which every adult member of the family was entitled to draw. The house-hold head was also not in a position to appropriate the produce of others. In deed, he was only the first among equals.

Secondly, there was the Ingyor council just above the Ya level. The Ye-Ingyor social unit comprised of about twenty compounds sharing a common ancestry (a hamlet) and who, custom demanded, must not inter marry. At a time when "exchange marriage" was prevalent, that is, a man married by giving his sister to his inlaws, these marriage wards were necessary so that persons who had no sisters could borrow from relations who had surplus sisters. However, the Ye Ingyor Imom unit was not only about handling marraige cases, it also resolved disputes especially those regarding farmlands between two or more compounds. Cases of witchcraft were also handled by the Ingyor council.

Here too, the oldest of the house heads presided. (cases thought to be above the jurisdiction of the Ingyor council were normally referred to the Ityo council for adjudication). The Ingyor group as a whole (not just the patriarchs) could also embark on corporate farming, sinking of public wells, communal fishing and so on.

Thirdly, there was the Ityo council. To this day, the Tiv say: Tahav kaItyo (meaning that "power belongs to the Ityo social unit"). According to T. Makar, "Ityo council was the largest and most effective quasi-government body in existence in any tar (clan) in nineteenth century Tiv land" [22] Paul Bohannan describes Ityo as "one's agnatic lineage of whatever depth". [23] In another development, Bohannan cites a Tivman who told him that:

> During the early stages of my life, my genealogical world was limited by my Igba (one's mother's Ityo) and my Ityo. Every lineage to which I belong right up to the scale of lineage is my Ityo...[24]

From the above, it does appear that the term Ityo is a nebulous one - for the Iya (compound), the Ingyor unit and the tar could all pass as one's Ityo. It is therefore necessary to state that, the Ityo to which I am referring is the Ityo-Itaregh, comprising of several angor (plural of Ingyor) wards.

The Ityo council usually convened at famous markets while meetings were presided over by the oldest and most influential elder. Serious issues like migration, inter-clan disputes, declarations of war and criminal cases (such as murder) were deliberated here. The Ityo also sought answers to and explained such tragedies as deaths, epidemics, harvest failures and so on. The basis of the elders' authority and the respect which they enjoyed lay in the reverence which the people had for traditional knowledge (that is, custom genealogy, history and so on) usually identified with age. This reverence for elders was re-inforced by a series of techniques (magic, divination, cultural rite and so on) which guaranteed the elders exclusivity to some social status by means of barriers that were either institutional (initiation rites) or esoteric (sorcery and medicine).[25] It should be noted however that, the elders did not exploit the surpluses of non-elders. Membership of the council of Elders gave one social status and not priviledged access to produce. Indeed, everyman was entitled to pass from one age grade to another and that naturally balanced out in the end.

Fourthly, there were the Kwav progressive groups. Kwav simply means age set or age grade. people whose births took place within the same time span belonged to

an age grade. Blood brothers however, could not be kwav even where they fell under the same time span (of birth) or were twins. Mba-kwav (plural) did almost everything competitively and it was not uncommon to hear a member of a particular age grade boastfully comparing himself with members of his age grade on the basis of his number of wives, the size of his farmlands and so on. This was intended to spur others to achievement.

The Kwav age grades arranged trade parties carrying goods to market towns within and without Tivland such as Keana, Awe, Lafia (Plateau State), Tunga, Takum, Wukari (Taraba State), chikwang, Yilla, Gabo, Baikye (in Cross River State) and so on. The Kwav also carried out communal projects such as sinking of public wells, the construction of roads and bridges and other community projects. It therefore seems surprising that R.C. Abrahams should allege that: "Although there are no progressive age-grades, yet members of every annual Kwagh (sic) were considered bound together and form a kind of corporation for mutual help."[26]

2.5 TIV PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMY.

Tiv pre-colonial economy was predominantly agricultural. Cultivation of land was supplemented by food gathering (especially of vegetal resources such as mushrooms or Ijough and fruits). Other agricultural activities included rearing of live-stock, fishing and hunting. Trading activities were also carried out in Tivland and various goods were exchanged within the various clans and between the Tiv and other ethnic groups around them. There was thus, both short and long distance trade.

The Tiv cultivated such crops as Iyou (yams) which was the staple food and which were often interplanted with mou (cotton), atuur (okro), Igbou-ahi (bambara groundnuts), ada and so on. Mounds upon which yams were planted were usually thatched with grass to prevent the scorching sun from ruining the seed yams.[27] The planting season spanned the period from late December to March. Seeds were sown broadcast (Ivor-tan) that is, the seeds were scattered in the fields. Sweet potatoes (atsaka) were grown on ridges (abwegi)and sometimes on heaps (avom). Bambara groundnuts (Igbou-ahi) were also grown on heaps as 'independent crops'. The Tiv also cultivated ahi (groundnuts), alogo (cassava), taav (tobacco), Ikureke (maize) and

several cereals such as bullrush millet.

Rituals were a necessary accompaniment of farming in Tivland. The akombo (rites or fetishes) called wayo, agashi or akombo adam, ribi and gwarmough were propitiated before the new yam festival - when new yams could be eaten.

Various farming systems existed. These were shifting cultivation, rotational bush fallowing rotational planted fallow, terraced farming, mixed farming, inter-cropping and to a lesser degree, tree cultivation.[28] Of all these, shifting cultivation was the oldest and most important. It was carried out mostly in areas where there was a relative abundance of land and low population densities. It involved the movement of homesteads together with farmlands whenever it was evident that the soil had declined in fertility. This endemic movement of people associated with this farming method had a bearing on Tiv socio-political organisation as it made it impossible for anyone to exert political authority over the people.[29]

Domestic animals were also kept. These included goats, sheep, pigs hump-less cattle and chickens for consumption, horses for transportation and prestige and dogs for security and for hunting purposes. Hunting was another important vocation and hunters have a very special place in Tiv oral traditions and folklores.

They were frontiersmen (pioneer settlers) in times of migration and warriors in times of crises. Hunters trapped, snared or shot small animals like squirrels, rodents, duickers and grass cutter. Hunting expeditions (biem) were organized and the bush, was set on fire to drive out the game. Able bodies men armed with spears, sticks, bows and arrows, accompanied by dogs, engaged in mas hunt for game. Big games were communally shared by all participants in the hunting expedition.[30]

Fishing activities were carried out usually as a kind of part time activity. This was either done individually (tsue) or collectively (suwa). In the case of an individual, he used a line with earthworms as bait on a hook to catch fish or crabs (akambe). In the case of fishing parties, they would dam up streams and then remove the water with buckets in which fishes were caught and thrown onto the dry land. Sometimes the waters were poisoned with some concotion which instantly killed all the fishes and other aquatic life. During high currents, fences were constructed along the river banks inorder to trap fishes.[31] Some of the fishing implements used in the course of fishing include baskets, spears, harpoons, canoes, nets, hooks and bushels.

In the area of trade too, there was a dynamic performance in Tiv economy. Cloth was the most popular and important medium of exchange. According to David Dorward, "it was the tugudu or Ikundu (twenty strips of cloth) and ten strip piece known as Pue ikondo which formed the standard unit of Tiv cloth currency, fulfilling each of the requisite functions of money - a durable, divisible, standard of value, mode of exchange and means of payment and accumulation of wealth."[32] Besides cloth, there existed other anciliary metallic currencies which served to provide greater flexibility especially as regard lower values and to alternate the temporary shortages of cloth currency when the market value of cloth exceeded its value as currency. As G.J. Podevin noted in 1911:

> Beads are the principal currency [cloth was]; native cloth is also used extensively. Near Obudu and Katsina-Ala, they use some rods and are beginning to recognise silver coinage. 33

Tivland was traversed and bounded by a number indigenous and major trade routes linking the Hausa Savannah states with the forest area and the Bight of Biafra to the south. Traders travelled from Abinsi on the river Benue, up the river Katsina-Ala and then

overland to Obudu, Ogoja and Calabar.[34] Another network extended from Ibi, a major market on the Benue river or from the salt works of Keana and Awe, via Tunga (along what is known in Tiv as gbenda gor or the kola road), or sometimes by a more circuitous route from Wukari, through the market towns of Donga and Tissa to Takum. Takum was a major cross road, with trails branching off eastward, along the upper reaches of the Gamana river to Kentu (or Ayu) and then south to the Kola centers of Bafum or westward across Tivland to Katsina-Ala or Southwest to Kashimbilla and onto Obudu, passing through Turan and Ikyurav-ya.[35]

The volume of Tiv commerce cannot be ascertained in quantitative terms but the following indices give us a conservative picture. U.F.H. Ruxton records that despite increasing competition from imported salt in 1902, large caravaans of "some 200 persons and 300 asses" left Awe, loaded with salt were a common sight[36] while over 750 evaporation pots producing an estimated £1,500 per season were counted at Keana in 1914.[37] Hewby estimated in 1902 that, some £300 worth of Kola passed through Takum monthly.[38] All these statistics are, at best crude but they at least give some indication of the magnititude of Tiv pre-colonial trade. It should be stated thus that, Tiv trade occassioned significant changes in not only agricultural goods but also in handicrafts.

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2. Benue state of Nigeria (Makurdi, 1982) pp 7 - 10

3. E. Rubingh, The Sons of Tiv (Michigan, 1969) p.59

4. J.Gbor, Mdugh U Tiv man mnyer ve ken Benue (Zaria, 1978) p5

5. "Circumcised" and "Uncircumcised" may appear to have no practical meaning today since all Tiv groups are circumcised. All Tiv people claim descent from one or other of these two lineage.

6. N. Akiga, "The 'descent' of the Tiv from Ibinda hill" (P. Bohannan trans.) Journal of Africa vol 24, No. 4, p 1954.

7. M. I. Leke, "Socio-Economic and Political Development of Konshisha Tiv 1900-60" (B.A. Thesis, Unijos, 1986) p6

8. Note the fact that Tiv, the progenitor of the Tiv people is presented as industrious and hard-working while Uke (his brother and supposed progenitor of all non-Tiv groups) is presented as indolent, stubborn and wayward. See Genesis 27:1-42 /The Christian Bible/ for the story suspected to have been smuggled into Tiv traditions of origin.

9. R.M. Downes, Tiv Religion (Ibadan, 1971) p 11

10. N. Akiga, "The descent of the Tiv..." op cit. pp 295-310.

11. T. Makar, "A History of political change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th centuries". (Ph.D thesis, A.B.U. 1975) p 26 cites P. Bohannan.

12. Ibid. T. Makar claims that he actually visited the place, that is swem after christmas 1973.

13. R.C. Abraham, The Tiv People (London, 1940) p5.

14. Mr. Auchinleck collected his information in 1913 from the old men of Ukum including Zaki Biam (the clan Head of Ukum). See NAK, SNP, A.L. Auchinleck, 1913, Ukum District, Benue Province, Gboko Division.

15. NAK, SNP 10/611 p/1913 C.F. Gordon, Assessment Report - Ugondo, Benue Province.

16. Some versions of Tiv tradition of origin maintain that the Tiv and the Fulanis were actually blood brothers. This is in-spite the marked differences in their customs and languages.

17. Apart from the christian trappings of this legend, one is inclined to hypothesize that, the said "serpents" were actually "canoes" owned by friendly Etulos and Abakwarigas. They must have helped the Tiv across the river Katsina Ala and possibly drowned the enemies of the Tiv.

18. A.G. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa (New York: 1973) for instance makes this mistake of qualifying pre-capitalist formations as "natural economies".

19. Eric Wolf, Europe and the people without History (California, 1982) p 75.

20. B. Hindes and P. Q. Hirst, pre-capitalist modes of production (London, 1975) p 13

21. Y. Popov, Essays in Political Economy: Imperiation and Developing Economies. (Moscow, 1983) pp 45-48

22. T. Makar, "A History of Political change..." p 72.

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25. This seems to be also true of other communal societies. see M.Y. Mangvwat, "A Historical synopsis of the political Economy of the Jos Plateau region C1800 - 1900 A D" (Paper presented at a Historical Seminar, A.B.U. Zaria, 18th January, 1986)

26. R.C. Abraham, The Tiv People op cit p 125

27. C.V. Ashiekaa, "Agriculture and Exchange in Tivland C1900-60" (B.A. History thesis, Unijos 1989) p 29.

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29. J.I. Tseayo, Conflict and Incorporation in Nigeria: The Integration of the Tiv (Zaria, 1974) p 20.

30. Informant: Tachia Lijam, 67 years, Barber, Mbagwa - lessel, 9/5/1991.

31. O. Waterfield, "Tiv fishing party", NIGERIA, vol. 26, 1947 pp 408 - 411.

32. D.C. Dorward, "pre-colonial Tiv trade and cloth currency" Journal of African History IX, 4, 1976 pp 582 - 583.

33. G.J. Podevin (11/4/1911) cited in Ibid p 584

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35. E.M. Chilver, "Nineteenth century Trade in the Bamenda grassfields, Southern Cameroun" Afrika and Urbesee XLV, 1961 pp 233-253.

36. U.F.H. Ruxton, "Notes on estimates of Revenue". Quoted in D.C. Dorward, op cit p 579

37. A Adefuye, "Keana: A gift of salt" (paper presented at A.B.U. Zaria, 1976).

38. William Hewby, "Notes on the Munshi" (1/1/1909) in L.H. Mosley, Regions of the Benue (Geographical Journal, XIV, 1909) pp 630 - 637

CHAPTER THREE

PRE-COLONIAL HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES IN TIVLAND 1850 - 1900.

3.0 INTRODUCTION.

The diffusionist school of thought in Tiv history, represented by almost all colonial writers (anthropologists and pro-consuls) and even some Tiv writers, have overtime, attributed the evolution of Tiv handicraft industries (and any other good thing for that matter!) to extra-Tiv or "outside" influences or origin. Thus, Akiga Sai for instance wrote that, the Tiv developed a "relatively advanced culture" through contact with such peoples as the Jukun, Chamba and the Hausa.[1] He also wrote further: "This development... seems to have happened very rapidly and has been brought about mainly by culture contact: for instance, by the acquisition of the craft of weaving from the Hausa; various cereals and possibly blacksmithing from the chamba; the cultivated yam and certain domestic animals such as the duck and sheep from the south (Dam); some political institutions from the Jukun and so forth."[2]

(In another instance, Akiga insists that even the dwer, a relaxation open - hut of the Tiv is foreign in origin).[3] The above viewpoint, ridiculous as it appears, is still being circulated in many quarters.

The thrust of this chapter is not to claim an independent origin for these crafts by the Tiv nor to assert Tiv initiative perse, but it is worth stating that Tiv knowledge of weaving, pottery, wood carving and iron or smitting technology predates the period of their supposed contacts with the above mentioned groups. In any case, if the Tiv knew nothing at all (of these crafts as is alleged) prior to these culture contacts, how did they (the Tiv) manage to survive and even overcome some of these peoples who are supposed to have had superior cultures and technologies?

As demonstrated earlier, the Tiv were part of the Bantu expansion, and as M. Gutherie, using linguistic evidence has put:

> The meanings expressed by the general roots suggest that the speakers of proto-Bantu were presumably a people with a developed culture that included a knowledge of such things as iron-working and river craft.4

Gutherie's speculation is supported by Jean Hiernaux who maintains that:

> Archaeology provides clear indications about the nature of the superiority in exploiting the environment which enabled the Bantu speakers to spread: they practised iron metallurgy and agriculture while the populations they met in their area of early expansion were at the hunting/ gathering stage.5

Gutherie is of the opinion that, the original home of the Bantus (the Northern Katanga area) is where Bantu speakers got hold of copper and iron which they used as weapons and agricultural tools and R.A. Oliver suggests that, this stage of Bantu expansion was enacted mainly in the second half of the first Millenium A.D.[6]

Even if you decide to accept the Joseph Greenberg hypothesis that, "the ultimate origin of Bantu should be approximately in the middle Belt area of Nigeria",[7] one should draw attention to the comment by Frank Willet regarding the antiquity of Tiv arts and the whole of the Nok culture:

> Several details of dress and of hairstyle represented in the Nok sculptures are to be found to this day among the small groups of the Nigerian Plateau. A few groups living in or close to the area of the Nok culture were making terra-cotta sculpture until very recently for example the Tiv, the Dakakari and the Ham. Although the details

> of style are different, these may perhaps be the remains of a continuous tradition going back more than two millennia.8

The above evidence of the antiquity of Tiv crafts should be contrasted with accounts of later Tiv contacts with the Hausa, Fulani, Jukun and so forth. Vincent G. O'kwu speculates that, "the Tiv colonization of the mid-Benue valley was first enacted in the late 17th century".[9] Rupert East suggests that, "the account of Tiv - Fulani relationships based upon traditional sources refers to a period not earlier than the end of the 17th century, the supposed period of Tiv migration from the South-East".[10] Dr. Sa'ad Abubakar establishes that, "the Fulbe (Fulani) came from the West and were found in Hausaland by the end of the sixteenth century".[11] It is likely thus, that the Hausa contact was made about this time too. European records (generally) even refer to a later period, the eighteenth century, as the period of Tiv arrival in the Benue valley.[12] It is therefore improbable to conclude (as the diffusionist school does) that the Tiv learnt their handicraft and agricultural methods from these groups.

3.1 Black-smithing (iwa-varen)

The art of iron smithing in Tivland is most widespread amongst the Mbagbera and Mbaduku clans of kunav area. There has evolved an adage amongst the Tiv that Mbagbera people know the art of smithing because of their particular disposition for 'association' (ka sha item-Imongo man Mbagbera ve fe Iwa ye). Upon closer examination, it will appear that the Mbagbera and Mbaduku people of kunav area were famous for their blacksmithing not because of any technical advantage in the form of skills which they enjoyed over their counterparts in other parts of Tivland but because of the numerical superiority of blacksmiths from that area. It can also be explained in terms of the availability of the raw materials in that area. The Vandeikya or Kunav country is part of the cameroun highlands and is probably granitic, hence the availability of iron-stone (Iwen-Iyoor).

According to Dzeremo Adedzwa, anybody could identify the iron-stone (Iwen-Iyoor)and then invite the blacksmith, not because he was custom-bound to invite but because he (the blacksmith) had the instruments for quarrying the iron stone; these

were primarily the big axe or digger (ijembe or jiga) and in some cases, the small axe (Ityough).[13] After quarrying the iron-stone, it was taken to the blacksmith's smithy (ateiwa) for processing. Here, the iron-stone was hammered with Msabe or Igbugh-Iyo and cut into various sizes. Then a solution of ant hill clay and water (inya-hur)[14] was sprinkled on the heated iron-stone which is now called abe. The sprinkling was done with palm fronds. The abe could then be forged into tools, ornaments or utensils of various shapes and sizes. Another source of raw materials was the sokpo (brass rods) which was bought from the Hausa traders or the Udam people of Cross River State. This was cut into small pieces called abe.[15] Because the Tiv sometimes used iron currencies (like ubashi, mbaakpoo, Ibia and Yakaro) to obtain sokpo (or brass rods) from the Hausa and Udam people, it used to be said by blacksmiths that, "utoo bashi uvar bashi" which literally translated means that: one has used money to buy money (source materials).

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and into the early years of colonialism, European mercantile firms sold some wrought iron to Tiv traders on the banks of river Benue where they had their trading stations. During the 1930s, the Tiv native administration embarked on the importation of

hoes, shovels, rakes, axes, matchets and so on - a deliberate policy of prohibiting the sale of bar iron to Tiv. Thus, during the period of railway construction (as from 1924) but especially after the construction (up to 1950), a lot of steel keys, steel sleepers, mileage posts and many other rail-scraps were reported stolen. This was obviously another source of raw materials for the blacksmiths.

Thus, the bar iron and brass rods (sokpo) were cut into smaller pieces (abe) with the use of a small hand axe (kanji). In order to increase the strength of the tools (especially kanji which was used in cutting other metals), such tools or utensils, upon fabrication, were put in a furnace until they became red-hot. They were then removed from the furnace and put in an open pot (ichenge) containing black or red oil (mkurem ma ii or mkurem ma nyian).[16]

According to Vaamo Zende, there was no elaborate system of apprenticeship for blacksmithing. Anyone could come into the smithies and try to learn the craft through careful observation.[17] Children of renowned blacksmiths were expected to inherit the skills and techniques of making tools and it would have been foolish for them not to acquire their father's crafts. The principal tools of a blacksmith's craft were the bellows, the tongs, the heavy iron hammer

(msabe), the small hammer (with wooden handle), the rake, the iron and stone anvils, the clay nozzle for the furnace, the water-trough and the magic pot hanging from the rafters.[18] Besides his tools, blacksmiths also kept in their smithies any hoes, axes, shovels, utensils and the like which had been brought to them for mending or actual manufacture. No thief dared steal these at night for fear that Aondo (God) would strike him with a thunderbolt.[19]

It does appear that fuel (usually in forms of charcoal) was a major problem to blacksmiths because Tivland falls under the vegetational category known as the Guinea savannah (with very few trees). During the colonial period, Mr. K. Dewar, the A.D.O. of Tiv Division noted the shortage of timber and firewood in Tivland which in some cases, was acute. In his handing over notes in 1932 (part II), he noted that, "in parts of Shangev south, Tiv go to southern provinces to buy firewood. In Kunav north, guinea corn stalks are often the only form of fuel available".[20] Mr Dewar particularly distributed seeds of a very rapidly growing acacia which makes good firewood but because of an inadequate briefing on the methods of tree cultivation, the Tiv (perhaps afraid that the trees might compete for soil nutrients

with their crops), cultivated these seeds in the bush and as Deward tells us, the young trees were destroyed by fire.[21]

Smithing was not a full time occupation - the blacksmiths also worked as farmers. Customers reached an agreement with a blacksmith before hand (to enable the workman convenience to attend to his farm work or to other customers). Customers were not expected to pay for the workmanship but they had to provide the raw material. That meant that, they helped the blacksmith in mining the iron stone or provided the bashi (money) for buying bar iron from the Hausas and the Udam. On their special work days (Iyange-Iwagh), clients were expected to summon their wives to prepare sumptuous meals for the blacksmith and all those who visited the smithy on that day. (Some people paid in kind - yams, chickens, cloth and so on). The customers and others in the smithy on that day would also be sent by the blacksmith to do certain things. Women were forbidden from entering into the smithy.

Ambi-a-iwagh is the slag for the furnace and like other things connected with the blacksmith's craft, was said to have the power to cause an offender to be struck down by thunder. Iwa was one of the big akombo.[22] It's emblems were the clay nozzle of the Forge and the slag from the furnace. If a man was

seized by the Iwa, his skin peeled off or he was struck by a thunderbolt (Aondo a gba sha anan) or he had pains in his loins; it also stopped him from having children.[23] People were also made to take an oath on the forge. If a person was suspected of theft or adultery for instance, he would be asked to swear by the smithy. If he was guilty, he would chicken out from swearing for fear of the consequences. Even Mbatsav (witches or wizards) were said to fear and shun things associated with the blacksmith's craft (i.e. fire, earth, slag from the furnace, the tongs, the bellows, the "axe of heaven" or Ijembe I Aondo and the Igbe or hoe handle). One could not therefore, be bewitched with any of these in your hands.

Apart from tools and utensils, there was a wide range of products produced by blacksmiths. As earlier mentioned, prior to the introduction of European coinage, the blacksmith played the role of a central Bank, so to speak, since he produced the metal currencies which included ubashi, Yakarɛ, Mbaakpoo and Ibia. The blacksmith also manufactured ornaments such as ear rings, bangles and necklaces. Other metal adornments included Luwa or agom girdle for tying around the waist (for women) and iligh-bashi (brass rings used partly as currency and welded into a continous length and loosely bent into a spiral

round the lower leg; sometimes reaching from the ankle up to just below the knee. It was also used to adorn the fore arm). Brass chains were also used as equipment for divinition.[24] A man who was continuously worried by omens would visit a soothsayer who had various instruments, the most important, according to Akiga, being a chain of short rods (dzelagba). From the above, it is evident that, there was a high demand for the products of the blacksmith which called for innovation and technical change. But as the subsequent chapters of this work will illustrate, colonial capitalism stultified indigenous technical innovation and change.

3.2 Pot-making (Inya-maan)

The term pottery is used here to refer to the manufacture not only of clay pots but all manner of earthenware. The primary raw material Inya-tyuu (clay) was found almost all over Tivland. The Ipav people of Gboko local government area as well as the people of Tse-kucha (Mbayion of the same local government) today are particularly famous for pot-making. The process of pot making was labour-intensive, long and cumbersome. It normally began with obtaining of the inya-ityuu

which was of two varieties - the white clay (which was more popular) and the other containing ordinary soil. The clay was dried and stones and grains of sand removed.[25]

The "body" of the best wares consisted of local clay mixed with low-fired grog. The grog was prepared partly from old broken pots and partly by roasting rough lumps of clay in the wood fires made when bush is cleared for a new farm. The burnt material is pounded and coarsely sieved, then mixed with clay. This gave the finished ware improved strength and helped its resistance to thermal shock.[26] As already mentioned, the clay was weathered and dried before it was roughly pounded (ukume Inya). The clay was then slaked, tempered and kneaded. Then, it (the clay) was moulded or rolled into approximate shapes and sizes of what the potter wanted to manufacture. In the case of pots, the clay was roundly moulded.

The next stage in pot-making was what potters called "aborting the pot's pregnancy" (udughun Ityegh yav). This process, also called uhuen Ityegh or utimen Ityegh (digging the pot) involved putting the rolled clay on a big carved calabash called Ityekpe from where rough clay was manipulated out of the body of the roundly rolled clay; (This was done by removing the clay from the emerging pot, smoothing and thinning it

with the hands and with remarkable skill, speed and efficiency).[27] At this stage, the potter did what Hembadoon Dzuana referred to (in pottery parlance) as "giving ears to the pot" (dughIty egh ato).[28] This was done by the opening of the pot such that, it came to have the resemblance of a satellite dish or human ear. This was enhanced with the use of soft leaves (as of akinde), usually burnt a bit to make it even softer.

It was usual to make a batch of about fifteen or more pots (depending on the size; the bigger the size, the more tedious the job) in one day, working on each in turn, thus allowing for intervals during which the work could stiffen up. The shaped pot was then carefully thinned by beating (soft strokes) and scrapping with Igbev (a kind of sandpaper obtained from the cover of Iyiase pods). All along, the product would be moistened, then decorated, polished and stored away from air currents until thoroughly dry.

The next stage was the firing (msoon). The firing took place in an open level place inside a circle of stones or earth blocks. A layer of avur-a-Ikon (tree barks), palm sticks, wood or similar fuel was arranged cross-wise on the ground, then the "raw" pots were built-up, neck downwards on each other, smaller pieces of the wood or barks going right inside

the up-turned pot. The clamp was built up to three feet or higher according to the area occupied. All the pots were then covered with a thick layer of grass (toho) or tree barks (avur-a-Ikon). There could also be brushwood or a pile of long dry palm branches. The clamp was then lit at several places and burnt quickly.[29] The inner layer of grass burnt evenly without much flame, leaving a coating of soft white ash (mostly silica) which acted as a protective blanket to the ware. Occassional detonations from within indicate splitting caused by incomplete drying or some gaps in the covering of grass. The firing rarely took more than two or three hours.

However, it is not the number of hours of firing that determined whether the ware was okay but whether the pottery was properly heated; and in this regard, the potters were always looking out to see when the ware would become "blood red". Some potters would leave the pottery at that stage (as a finished product) while others would bring a concoction of avur a kpine (obtained from pounding barks of Ikpine tree) which they sprinkled on the hot pottery. Two major colours of pottery products were usually attained: one, the black colour, said to be produced by smoking the pottery wares in wet leaves after which the pots would be sealed in and made lustrous with pods of the locust bean tree. Secondly, for either

the black or the light brown wares, a good quality pot was often achieved by an emulsion of powdered lantana stone, which gave further strength and durability to earthenware.

It should be mentioned here that pot-making was not only tedious but also dangerous. Where the clay was found on the surface of the earth's crust, it could be mined by simply digging it with hoes and collecting it with shovels and baskets. But in many instances, obtaining the clay involved burrowing into the ground in holes as deep as ten feet. In many cases, these collapsed upon the miners.[30] There is no evidence to suggest that clay was sold for money but it is clear that one had to obtain permission from his kinsman before mining clay on his farmland. Men did the actual exploration and digging for the clay whereas, women and children helped out in the collection and transportation (back home) of the clay.

The variety of the earthenware ranged from agbande anyaar (clay plates), buufu (perforated pots for smoking meat and fish), shawa (large vessels for storage of drinking water), atsua (for cooking soup and stew), mtem (multi-purpose boiling pots), imenger inyaar or achi baghbagh (clay lamps) and works of arts and sculpture. A broken pot could also

be converted to Ichenge (frying pan) for frying cassava pulp (garri). Today, if an elder wants to assert his authority before a younger man, he will ask: Ityegh tamen shin Ichenge tamena? (meaning: "which is older - the pottery or the broken pottery?") to which the reply would be "the pottery". /Today however, special frying pans (atsenge) are moulded by Tiv potters and Ichenge is no longer necessarily derived from broken pots. /Thus, Ityegh is no longer necessarily older than Ichenge/. Small pots also served as musical instruments. These were small pots with double openings and the systematic banging of open palms (of hands) upon these openings produced some rhythmic sounds. Bigger pots produced the same effect, this time, with the hitting of a fan - like instrument at the opening.

Another aspect of Tiv pre-colonial pottery worthy of attention is the design and decoration. It is my strong opinion that if pre-colonial Tiv pottery is recovered in great antiquity and closely studied, it will throw more light on aspects of Tiv culture in the pre-colonial times. This is because, these designs and decorations not only exhibited high technique and sophistication but were also derived from the material life of the people. The wares were usually decorated with washes or designs in various types of redness that will attract the attention of any arts historian.

For instance, the black wares of soup pots (either lidded or unlidded) were usually made of burnished designs which could be of snakes chasing toads, bows and arrows, zig-zag lines, leaves or any other feature, pots could be rouletted, stamped, grooved, incised, indented or sprinkled.

A roulette is a roughly cylindrical object which is usually small and when rolled over the surface of moistened clay, left a continuous bend of impressions which repeated itself at each round. Sometimes, the same effect was produced with nets or sack cloth.[31] Stamping involved a series of narrowing and regular strokes of impression created several times by a toothed instrument through pressure on the surface of the vessel (while it was semi-hard). This was usually done in three forms: comb-stamping, matting and dotting (which was either vertically or horizontally done).[32] Grooving, another evidence of superb aesthetic culture was also done and this involved a series of wide incisious which resulted from the use of a pointed "tooth" against the surface of the wave. Upon completion, this method produced a cross section of V-shaped grooves that turned out quite beautifully.[33]

L.A. Olowookere though describing Ilorin pottery has inadvertently drawn our attention to the signifi-

cance of these techniques. Besides their aesthetic value, these designs and decorations provided for a rapid and easy method of texturing the surface of a vessel and made the same vessel less slippery to handle while at the same time, improving the heat absorption in cooking and evaporation in cooling.[34] By and large, in-spite of what may be regarded as the limitation of pottery or earthenware, namely their breakable nature, they were highly valued both for domestic use and for commercial purposes. In regard to the latter, it should be noted that pottery of great antiquity exchanged for other products in the short and long distance markets. The wide-ranging use of products of earthenware, not only in Tivland but in pre-colonial Nigeria provoked this comment from a colonial researcher on local pottery in 1950:

> The industry is firmly established with a healthy demand. Competitive materials (e.g. buckets, kerosine tins, aluminium sauce pans) seem to have had surprisingly little effect, owing partly to their higher cost, partly perhaps to other causes. There seems no reason to suppose that the industry will become a 'back-number'.35

3.3 Wood-carving (kon-gban)

The wood carving and also of calabashes in Tivland is as old as Tiv history. Nobody seems to be aware of when or how the art began but it is possible that it predates the discovery and use of iron by the Tivs. It is possible that wood and calabash carving was adopted by the Tivs when they were in a more wooded environment than they are today. It should be noted that, the discovery of iron and iron technology by the Tiv did not lead to the abandonment of wood technology altogether as the latter continued to supplement iron tools up to the beginning of this century.[36]

According to Hangeior loranyi, before the advent of iron technology, implements such as cutlasses and hoes were made out of strong trees. These strong trees included derabem, Tserama (or jiagba), gbaaye, gbagbongum or kough. Others included yiase and chamegh.[37] Apart from their relevance as raw materials for carving, most of these trees had other economic importance. Yiase was both a food tree as well as supplying material for carving (and fuel). The same went for gbaaye (locust bean tree) and chamegh which was a food and oil tree, As might be, it was taboo to cut down these trees for any purpose apart from carving (such as for fuel). Violators of this norm were usually charged by the elders

(wua-tia)and fines for such offence might be a chicken, a goat or sometimes even a cow. (A collection of these atia of chickens, goats and cows were overtime slaughtered and shared to all the members of the village).

Without the use of iron, how were the trees felled in the early times? Some (iron) stones were used in making ijembe tur (a stone axe which was very much like Ityou, the small hand axe). Hangeior reveals that, felling trees with this instrument or with wooden matchets was a long and tedious process usually undertaken by teams. By about 1800 A.D. however, the use of iron was quite popularised and felling trees became a less tedious business. A single person or very few people could embark on it. A tree was usually felled, split into two halves and a design pattern of the intended instrument drawn on the face of the divided log of wood. Then the carver would embark on his job which could take him a couple of hours or even days, depending on what he set out to carve.

Wood carving was practised mainly by men. It was an all-season occupation but at the same time, part time; (the major pre-occupation being farming). Wood carvers made a wide range of items both for domestic and other uses. These included musical instruments like indyer, Ilyu, gbagede and drums

(agbande). Others included mortars and pestles (tor man lu), windows, doors, chairs (the agbajen type), beds and so on. As mentioned before, wood at a point, was the sole material for matchets, hoes and knives but with the advent of iron technology, wood suplemented iron, providing the material for handles of these implements. To all these must be added such products as wooden pipes and such ritual materials like wooden Atsuku and Imborivungu.

Another aspect of carving was the decoration of calabashes (Mzondum). During the stage of its germination and growth, it was called inombur as it had a little protrusion, carved ijondur (singular) served different functions. The basin-like ones or bushels (kapu) were used for fishing (suwa-kohol). Kucha, the deep plate was used for drinking water and alcohol. Akem was used for drawing water from the pot. From ijondur (calabash), you could also carve out a flask (ishegher) or make a "jerry-can" (ghegh) for storage of water. Yet you could turn out zungur (especially used as 'hand-gloves' and with lele in it, you reddened your hands by putting them in the zungur for a period of about 3 days).

What was the social relevance of wood-carving in Tivland? One will pause here to note that, Tiv wood works played a significant role in overall Tiv architec-

ture which has been much praised by some European authorities, M.W. Smith wrote that, the circular hut with a conical roof, constructed by the agricultural peoples of the grasslands, specifically the Tiv, offered a great opportunity for architectural creativity.[39] "The houses built by the Tiv are an example of this type at its simplest, but excellent technical quality. The Tiv are renowned as thatchers... Decoration of the walls may consist of low-relief ornamentation round the door ways or of painted designs all over the walls."[40]

Carvings, whether of calabashes, doors, windows and window frames, pestles, mortars, chairs and so on could be undertaken by anyone. However, some carvings had a sacred, religious nature. Indyer, the large wooden gong was not only used for ritual purpose, its carving was even so. It is said that carvers of indyer would metamophorse into smaller animals (especially ants) and systematically chop into the log of wood.[41] The effect was that, you had a small opening on the log of wood but a large trunk carved within the wood. Also, inspite of the relatively small size (about 6ft long) and even with the inside totally carved out, it was impossible for ten people to move it.[42]

Other works of religious significance included the wooden imborivungu and Atsuku figurines. Atsuku figures, normally figures of a woman, with elaborate sacrification on the front and back of the trunk, were set up outside the house of a man's eldest wife for the purpose of "repairing the land" and driving away witches. In the hands of witches, they were said to serve the purpose of bewitching (ta-atsuku) others or "spoiling the land" (vihi-tar). Imborivungu was the family deity and was said to protect owners from poverty, affliction and witchcraft. It was always in the custody of the oldest member of a family or household.

What then was the place of "artists" in Tiv society? According to Paul Bohannan, the Tiv were interested in the art (of carving) but not at all in the artist. Indeed, Bohannan alleges that, there seemed to be no great sense of the artist's vision, of his creativity, despite the fact that, the same word "gba"is used of God's creation of the world and of working in wood.[43] As many as four men in turn would set about carving decorations on a walking stick or take turns in carving stools or chairs. The above, according to Bohannan, meant that there was no overall pre-conceived design - the ultimate criterion was whether it turned out well.[44] Thus, Bohannan

concluded that:

> In Tivland, almost everyman is a critic. Because there are no specialists in taste and only a few in the manufacture of art, everyman is free to know what he likes and to make it if he can. It seems to me that as many Tiv are aware of why they like something as they are aware of the implications of any other aspects of their culture. 45

The first thing that can be said of this Bohannan judgement is that it is arbitrary, illogical and confusing. It is confusing because, paul Bohannan confused a work of art with a work of technology. Granted that there is a meeting point between these two, the carving of stools or chairs (carpentry) such as Bohannan saw some Tiv people doing demands, first and foremost, technical finesse. Upon this, Bohannan did not comment. It would have been interesting to know whether those stools or chairs were strong and durable or not. On another count, Frank Willet reminds us that, there is a clear opposition of African and Western judgements (on works of art) adding that the frontality regarded as static by Western Writers on African art is, for instance, what gives the sculpture its vitality for a Fang.[46] What is 'aesthetically not satisfying' to Bohannan would be quite satisfying to a Tiv perspective. My first submission therefore is that, Paul Bohannan was looking for artistic excellence in a work that was not artistic but technical in nature -

even then with a perspective that was European.

Bohannan's criticisms are illogical in so far as they do not demonstrate how division of labour (four men working on a walking stick or carving a chair or stools), negatively affected the overall pre-conceived design. Bohannan is opposed to the principle of 'mass' criticism of the artist by his kinsmen, some of who, "without being invited to do so, explained which pieces they liked best and why". Again, the Tiv artist differed from the European artist because he did not expect to impose his aesthetic taste upon his clients. Flowing from the communal nature of the Tiv society, the villagers considered themselves to be the ultimate cause of the creation of the statue and applied what pressures they could muster to ensure that the carver fulfilled their expectations.[47] As Bohannan found out himself, a carver was making a figure of a woman when a youngster, a by-stander, came up and asked why he had carved three bumps on her belly. The old man told him they were her navel and breasts. The youngster began to object that, "even if they had fallen, they would not ..." whereupon, the old man chopped off all the three bumps.[48]

Finally, it is arbitrary and untrue to conclude that there were no professional artists or "specialists in taste" in pre-colonial Tivland as Paul Bohannan wants us to believe. If there were only a "few people in the manufacture of art" and "everybody was an artist in Tivland"[49] as Bohannan off-guardedly alleges, then there is something wrong with Bohannan's logic. It is evident that Bohannan did not conduct enough studies into Tiv "arts" (sometimes confuseed with science and technology) to appreciate is social and religious relevance. For if the yardstick for measuring artistic excellence is secrecy, the indyer (wooden ritual gong) carver as well as the imborivungu and Atsuku carvers were no mean professionals.

3.4 Cloth - Weaving (Ikondu - Itumen)

It is quite difficult to state when the Tiv people took up cloth-weaving but every elder remembers how his father used to tell him of the "distant past" when people were only dressed in leaves (ahu). It does appear that this leaves-weaving tradition continued up till about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Tserakem and Ayaba (banana leaves) and later avur a nyagba (mashed stem) were particularly prominent.

One elder remembers a folklore told him by his father in which featured some characters wearing kughur (raffia leaves).[50] The tombur ku kughur (raffia shoot) was woven into a bag-like size, enough to "accommodate" the pubic region only. The back side was left nude. Two adjoining ropes were fastened round the wearer's waist.

One thing is however clear - that on the eve of colonialism, the Tiv were weaving a great number of cloths on handlooms. Cotton, the raw material for cloth-weaving grew best in areas of high rainfall ranging from 60 centimetres to about 125 centimetres and with an average temperature of 20° centigrade. It was grown all over Tivland but thrived most in the arid soils of utisha in present day kwande local government of Benue State. The soil type here is loamy with some salt silt. The cotton seeds were planted around June and July and they grew with the rains. As the seeds germinated and began to grow, sickly ones were normally thinned out to allow for the proper growth of others. Weeding of grass and second embankment of ridges would also be done. The cotton bolls developed to maturity about four months after cultivation time and broke open with the on-set of the dry season. The farmers broke open the cotton bolls themselves if they failed to open naturally. This was followed by the picking of the cotton - an activity not restricted to any sex but usually undertaken by

women and children.

The next stage was the spinning process. This involved the separation of cotton from its seed. Akiga writes that, a good woman "... would set to work to pick out seeds from the cotton". In the evening "...she took the cotton and began to spin till drowsiness overcame her and she fell asleep".[51] In another place, Akiga wrote:

> In olden times, both the head of the house and his wife would spin, and if they had five children, they would each have cotton in their hands. When they had spun all their cotton, the thick thread for the weft and the thin for the warp, they put it together and gave it to the head of the family to weave into cloth.[52]

Thus, apart from separating the cotton from the seeds, the cotton was spun into yarn. Some traditional tools used in the process of spinning included kikye which literally means bicycle. Functionally speaking, it was a wheel used in twisting the spun cotton into thread. The Ngo-kom (mother wood) was a rectangular piece of wood dug in the centre, into which picked cotton was put. There was also the majir or "roller" made from clay, with a small hole in the centre, normally put in a calabash (Ijondur or kapu). This enhanced the rolling of the thread on the Igyamber.[53] Tsua-mou was the small stick which, upon

spinning, enhanced the rolling of the majir and hence, the thread. You also had angum - ada, a small bow - like instrument with a tiny but strong rope whose tightness curved the stick (upon which it was tied). When pulled continuously on the separated cotton, it enabled the cotton to be free from dirt.[54]

After rolling the thread, it was transfered to a spreading hanger on which the thread was divided into several places. After repeated toosing, the thread became thickened and ready for use. These activities, needless to say, were labour intensive and time consuming but the thread that was turned out according to Hangeior loranyi, was stronger and thicker than the one produced by the ginning machine and imported from Britain during the colonial era.

The next stage was the actual weaving of cloth. Weaving has been defined as the repeated movement from side to side in the process of forming or fabricating stuffs or materials by interlacing cotton yarns though the working on a loom.[55] This process is not restricted to the weaving craft done in the loom by crossing yarns (warp and weft) horizontally and vertically respectively. It (weaving) also includes rope making, garlands baskets, bamboo trays and so on. This study is however restricted to the former type of weaving, namely cloth weaving.

What was the technology involved in Tiv weaving process? There were series of instruments which collectively made up the hand loom (kikye ɪtumen Ikondo). There was the haav (skeletal loom) upon which the rest of the instruments were fixed, ready for operation. This was wooden in nature and a product of local carpentry (from the wood carver). There was also the akusha (shuttle) which was a canoe - shaped wooden tool used in weaving. It bore the thread which went in and out of the warp and weft to merge them together into cloth. You also had atumba aikondo (which literally means "the breast of cloth"). This was a net - like set of tiny but strong ropes. It was usually white in colour and in pairs. It held the warp and weft together, allowing easy movement in and out of the shuttle without which the repetitious "open and close" movement would cease.[56] This instrument had two ropes at the base which formed the treddles. There was also the wooden bar (kpande) over which woven cloth was rolled. This kpande had about three holes to it and as you wove on, the 'exhausting' thread would pull this instrument nearer to the weaver. (It is in this regard that the Tiv say: "ka mou a kporum a kpande ye" meaning, "it is the thread that brings the wooden bar nearer").[57]

SECOND SHIPPING ADVICE.

The Crown Agents for the Colonies transmit documents for the undermentioned shipment.
The freight account is detailed below.

178 ST

Reference	S/ Nigeria 5598
Indent No.	Bemue 3/38-9
Special A/c	-
Dept.	Tiv.N.A.
Ship	"Apapa"
From	Liverpool
To	Port Harcourt
Consigned to	Port Traffic Supt.
Sailing Date	31.8.38.

Invoice:—

Messrs. V. & R. Blakemore

£ s. d.
8. 17. -.

FREIGHT ACCOUNT.

Messrs:— Greenshields Cowie & Co.Ltd.

	DESCRIPTION OF STORES.	Measurement.	Weight.	Rate.	£ s. d.
1 case	Axes	5' 5"		52/6	-. 7. 1.
			Harbour dues	4/-	-. -. 6.
					-. 7. 7.

SECOND SHIPPING ADVICE.

The Crown Agents for the Colonies transmit documents for the undermentioned shipment. The freight account is detailed below.

Reference S/ Nigeria 5598

Indent No. Benue 3/38-9

Special A/c -

Dept. Tiv.N.A.

Ship "Aba"

From Liverpool

To Port Harcourt

Consigned to Port Traffic Supt.

Sailing Date 17.8.38.

PROVINCIAL OFFICE 19 SEP 1938 MAKURDI, BENUE PROVINCE

Invoice :—	£	s.	d.
Messrs. V. & R. Blakemore	10.	15.	9.

FREIGHT ACCOUNT.

Messrs :— Greenshields Cowie & Co.Ltd.

	DESCRIPTION OF STORES.	Measurement.	Weight.	Rate.	£	s.	d.
4 bags	Pick handles	22' 8"		52/6	1.	9.	9.
			Harbour dues	4/-	-.	2.	3.
					1.	12.	-.

Copies of Invoices (fol. 14, 15 & 17) sent to D.O. Tiv.

[signature] 20/9/38.

[initials]

INVOICE.

(Advice Copy)

XHCO

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE

Dr. to Messrs. V. & R. Blakemore.

of Charlotte Street, Birmingham.

Date 11th August 1958.

Reference "M" 5698/1 Nigeria.

Indent No. Benue 3/38-39 dated 9/5/38.

Special a/c (if any)

Department Tiv. N.A.

Shipped by S.S./M.V. "ABA" Brunswick Dock
or
Date of posting

To be filled in by Contractor.

Item Nos.	Quantity.	Description of Article in wording of Tender.	Weight. T.	c.	q.	lb.	Rated.
		O.R.M.S. TIV. N.A., GBOKO, VIA MAKURDI, PORT HARCOURT. R. 5698.					
		B.139/142.					
3	800	Handles Pick 36" 1/- ea					
		Gross cwt 1-0-7 ea Nett cwt 1-0-5 ea 4 Bags 3'1" x 1'10" x 1'0" Packed & Delivered Liverpool					
							15 9

The above does not exhaust the technology of the pre-colonial weaving process in Tivland. Infact, there was the wooden bobbin upon which the rolled thread stayed. This was put into the shuttle (akusha) and the thread released through a tiny hole at the side. There was also what was variously called chifi or achagh[58] which was used in stiffening the cloth (kindigh ɪkondo) by hitting it against the cloth which lay between it and the kpande after each opening. This instrument had numerous tiny spaces through which the thread passed. There was the Igya - chol, a fairly long bamboo bar used for lifting the spread threads in front of the weaver to ease the "opening" and "closing" processes of the loom. ɪt should be mentioned that, the treddles (mentioned above) usually tied to the atumba aikondo were placed on the weaver's toes and the continuous pressing alternatingly created the opening and closing patterns.[59] There was also a beam upon the roof on which pulley and heddles were hung; (this is where the necessary cords were tied). Other instruments included the sword stick used for clearing thread and for making design patterns as well as a sledge for dragging weight (used for holding the thread at a very long distance, usually fifty to sixty metres.

What R.A. Olaoye said of Ilorin hand looms is also true of Tiv pre-colonial looms, namely that two types of looms were particularly in use.[60] These were the horizontal narrow loom and the vertical broad loom. While the narrow handloom was worked by males, the broad handloom was commonly used by females. The vertical loom was made of a rectangular frame, fixed in an upright position. The warp threads were manipulated manually by heddle-sticks. The female weaver then wrapped the warp thread around the top cross beam and the lower cross-piece of the frame.[61] All along, the weaver kept the work at chest level by shifting the cloth down and around the cross beams as it was woven, until the starting point was reached again. Upon completion, the length of the cloth is twice the height of the loom and not wider than the cross-beams of the frame.[62]

The horizontal loom accommodated most of the manipulations found in the vertical loom but in addition, the former used the rafters of a shelter to suspend the necessary cords. This shelter could be ate or dwer (open huts, normally set up in the centre of the compound). Each of the two treddles in the horizontal loom was equipped with a loop.[63] Sometimes the treddle was pushed by the foot while at other times, the loop was fitted around the weaver's big toes (or a device fitted between two toes) on each foot for pressing purposes.

Having examined the technology (that is tools) involved in cloth-weaving in pre-colonial Tivland, it is worth while to consider the techniques of production. The threads were spread on the ground and at each end was nailed an iron rod (totalling between four and eight). There was a rake-like instrument upon which several threads of various sizes (and colours) were fixed. The loom worked this way: The two sets of warp threads, alternately raised and lowered by the heddle, formed between them a tunnel of threads called the shed.[64] Through this shed, the shuttle was passed, carrying across the weft thread, which was beaten against the moveable comb-like frame of reed. When the heddle was shifted, the two sets of warp reversed position, binding the weft into the fabric and opening another shed. This process of crossing of threads (called chain or warp), running lengthwise, with others (called weft, woof or filling) was repeated until a cloth was finally produced. In other to hold the warps in a fixed position (so that the weft could be passed through) the weaver usually fastened the weft to a frame (Igachol). Then the weft would be inserted with fingers or wound on a bobbin to be passed over and under the warps. By this method and by continously making sure, that the interlaced yarns in his front are not squeezed, the Tiv weaver made his fabric.

As earlier stated, the work is kept at a parallel level to the chest or stomach of the weaver as the woven stuff rolled on the belt level element. The weft was taut and thus, may be vertical, oblique or horizontal in relation to the ground level.[65] The range of cloths which the Tiv wove was variegated. These included firstly chado; secondly A'nger; thirdly, Gbagir. Others were Ashisha, Tugudu, Gber-war, Ivav-tyo, Jomun, Akpem, Gere, Atsar, Icha and so on. To make these cloths clean or white enough (as in the case of ashisha), various types of locally made detergents were used in washing them. These included: Wayol, nii (which looked like benished and was as shippery as agev) and in some cases Ichahul mce (soap made from ash).[66]

Another sophisticated aspect of cloth weaving in pre-colonial Tivland was dyeing. The Tiv produced only indigo dyes and this was obtained from beba (the indigo plant). Sometimes, the leaves of Asuu tree would be pounded and mixed with that of indigo (beba) for effect.[67] Some dyers added calcium carbonate (mtsem) to the indigo solution. This mtsem was obtained from adding water to ashes (mtühwem) and sieving this after about four days. Thus, taking the indigo (beba) alone or mixing it with Asuu and mtsem, one obtained black dye. The real sophistication lay in the techniques of making patterns on the cloth. Sometimes, a needle

was used to stick together some selected portions of the cloth. Sometimes, a piece of rope was used to tie a stone in the cloth, after which the cloth was soaked into the dyeing substance. The result in both cases was that, the "needled" area (as in the first) and the "roped" area (as in the second) would come out undyed. Or in some cases, only two edges of the cloth were dipped in the dye-pits or pots, leaving the centre of the cloth undyed. The methods were complex, sophisticated and varied.

It must be stated here that the cloth weavers doubled as the dyers. They had great expertise that, they could afford to look some where else while weaving or dying. Bohannan's testimony and judgement was obviously based on ignorance when he said this of a Tiv weaver/dyer:

> Another, engaged in sewing patterns on a cloth with raffia for the resist dye process in which the 'over-sewn' parts would come out un-dyed, was evidently paying no attention to the design and concentrating on a political discussion.68

When Bohannan remonstrated, he was teased by the Tiv craftsman that:

> One does not look at a pattern until it is finished: then one looks to see if it has come out well. If this one does not come out well, I will sell it to the Ibo; if it does, I shall keep it. And if it comes out extra-ordinarily well, I shall give it to my mother-in-law. 69

Again, Bohannan misunderstood this to mean that the Tiv "artist" was not good and careful.

Finally, it is worthwhile to stress the functional role of Tiv cloth. Cloth performed the function of money, serving as a medium of exchange and a store of value (especially atsar aikondo). The white ashisha cloth, with holes in front, usually worn by virgins, exposed their pubic hair and was meant to entice potential bachelors.[70] Hangeior Ioranyi tells us that, Tugudu, lishi, Akpem, Anger, Gbagir and others were clothes of prestige which served to distinguish the "men of wealth" from common men. These clothes were also brought by sons-in-law for the burial of their parents-in-law. With the onset of colonialism, R.C. Abrahams, himself a colonialist, wrote that: "The Tiv weave a great number of different cloths, but these are fast being ousted by materials bought at European canteens and the time cannot be far away when weaving will become a thing of the past".[71]

REFERENCES

1. B. Akiga, Akiga's story: The Tiv Tribe as seen by one of its members (translated and annotated by R. East) (London: 1965) P 16

2 Ibid

3 Ibid, P64

4 M. Gutherie, "Some Developments in the pre-history of the Bantu Languages" J.D. Fage and R.A. Oliver (eds) Papers in African prehistory (cambridage: 1970) p138

5. J. Hiernaux, "Bantu Expansion: The evidence from physical Anthropology confronted with linguistic and archaeological evidence", J.A.H., Vol IX, No 4 (1968)

6. R.A. Oliver, "The problem of Bantu Expansion" papers in African Pre history (op cit) p149

7 J.H. Greenberg, "Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins," J.A.H. Vol XIII, No 2, (1972) P192

8. F. Willet, African Art (London: 1971) P72

9 V. G. O'kwu, "The Early History of Idomaland" (an unpublished paper available at the Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria)

10 T. Hodgkins (ed) "Tiv and Fulani", Nigerian Perspectives (London: 1969) footnote 2 P142

11 S. Abubakar, "The Establishment of the Fulbe Authority in the upper Benue Basin 1809-47" (A.B.U. Zaria)

12 It is even preposterous to imagine that the Tiv had another contact with the Hausa, Fulani, chamba, Jukun, Udam and so on outside the Nigerian borders as evidence suggests to the contrary. To qualify the view that the Tiv (and by extension the Bantu) acquired the art of iron-working and agriculture independently of the above groups, let us refer to R. A. Oliver "The problem of

Bantu expansion" Op cit p148 who associates this acquisition with South-East Asia. South-East Asian food plants are said to have diffused into Africa during the first five centuries A.D. through the Indonesians who had colonised Madagascar. This means that, the entrance of these plants was through the South East coast of Africa. In the first five centuries A. D., the iron-working Bantu were the only large scale food producers in Africa . South of the equator,

13 Informant: Dzeremo Adedzwa, 70 years, Farmer/blacksmith, Yandev-Gboko, 7/12/91

14 Ibid

15 Informant: Zendesha Vaamo, 68 years, Farmer/blacksmith, Kpamo-Vandekya, 8/8/91

16 Informant: Toryila Kwakar, 50 years black-smith, Gboko Central, 16/8/91

17. Informant: Vaamo Zende, 50 years, Farmer, Usar - Adikpo, 17/8/91

18 B. Akiga, Akiga's Story (London: 1965) P62.

19 By 1934 when Akiga was putting together his manuscripts, this tradition of not stealing from the smithy had been repeatedly violated without any repercussions.

20 K. Dewar,"Handing over notes, 1932," NAK, MAK PROF, AR/ANT/T/4 (P8)

21 Ibid

22 Akombo here is used to imply not mere magic (ahir) but a whole magico-religious order which must not be violated, A man who transgressed against akombo was supposed to be seized by an affliction, thunder-bolt or even death.

23 B. Akiga, Akiga's Story ... Op Cit, p 207

24 Some of these tools and ornaments can be found in the Jos museum.

25 Informants: Yuhengi Kwaghgande, 59 years Farmer/Potter, Mkar - Gboko, 17/9/91 and Denvihin Gberkon, 62 years, Potter, Mbalagh-Buruku, 20/9/91.

26 M.A. Cardew,"A preliminary Survey of Pottery in West Africa", NAK, MAKPROF 2702/S.I(P 2)

27 This researcher actually witnessed a potmaking process at Mkar, near Gboko on the 17th of September, 1991.

28 Informant: Hembadoon Dzuana, 65 years , Farmer/Potter, Mbagbera- Vandekya, 12/12/91

29 Ibid

30 Ibid

31 Informants: Kwaghtser Atachin, 45 years, potter, Mkar - Gboko, 17/9/91; Zaiyol Akpem, 40 years, potter, Mkar-Gboko, 18/9/91 Atese Anongo, 47 years, potter, Zaki Biam/Ukum, 25/9/91.

32 Torkwase Wuhena, 40 years, potter/Farmer, Udei-Makurdi, 8/10/91

33 Informant: Kpadoo Hembachii, 47 years, potter, udei-Makurdi, 8/10/91; Tikwase Demekaa, potter, Turan-Kwande, 20/10/ 91.

34 L.A. Olowookere,"Indigenous techmology in Ilorin: A case study of the textile and ceramics industries." (unpublished B. A. History thesis, Unijos, 1989) p44

35 M. A. Cardew ,"A preliminary survey of pottery ..." op cit, p2

36 Note that wood and calabash carving in Tivland continue up to this day, nonetheless, in a relatively small volume.

37 Informant: Hangeior Ioranyi, 65 years , blacksmith/ Wood carver, Mbagbera- Vandekya, 6/3/91

38 Ibid

39 M. W Smith(ed) The Artist in a Tribal Society (London: 1961) Pls XIII c and d (P27)

40. Ibid

41 Informant: Dekera Nongo, 82 years, Farmer, Mbaduku - Vandekya, 7/3/91

42 Having Physically looked at an indyer outside the Tor- Tivs palace in Gboko, Benue State, I no longer have doubts over its sacredness.

43 P. Bohannan,"Artist and Critic in African society" in M. W. Smith(ed) The Artist in Tribal Society, op cit, pp 85 - 94

44 Ibid

45 Ibid

46 F. Willet, African Art (London: 1971) p220

47 This situation is also true of the Fang. see Ibid.

48 P. Bohannan,"Artist and Critic in..." op cit

49 Ibid

50 Informant: Dekera Nongo, op cit

51 B. Akiga, Akiga's Story, Op Cit p 310

52 Ibid, pp 343 - 344

53 Informant: Peverga Mbashinya, 62 years, Weaver, Kanshio - Makurdi, 3/12/91.

54 Ibid

55 L.A. Olowookere,"Indigenous technology in Ilorin... "Op Cit, P18

56 Informant: Denen Iorbo, 62 years, Weaver, Adikpo - Kwande, 17/10/91

57 This statement carries a metaphorical value. For instance, if a member of a household brings trouble to the house, the elder of the household may decide to receive blame because his Mou (Son, daughter, wife etc) it is that has brought the Kpande (i.e. trouble).

58 Informants: Demenongo Tso, 50 years, Weaver, Ugbema-Katsina Ala, 17/10/91
Lorhen Mamkaa, 53 years, Tsekucha - Gboko, 18/10/91

59 Informant: Belbe Ashar, 70 years, Weaver/ Farmer, Adikpo - Kwande, 17/10/91

60 R.A.Claoye,"Indigenous technology and National Development..." Op Cit, p6 His description of both the narrow and broad looms rhymes with that of my oral informants.

61 Ibid

62 Ibid

63 Ibid

64 This researcher actually witnessed the process of weaving at Adikpo, Kwande Local government area of Benue State on 17/10/91

65 Informant: Lahaga Adzoom, 45 years, Weaver/ Farmer, Mbayion-Gboko, 13/4/91

66 Ibid

67 Ibid

68 P. Bohannan,"Artist and critic in..." Op Cit

69 Cited in F. Willet, African Art (London:1971) pp 220 - 221

70 Informant: Hangeior Loranyi, Op Cit

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND THE DECLINE OF TIV HANDICRAFTS.

4.0 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter concerns itself with the dialetics of underdevelopment of Tiv handicraft industries arising from cononial policies. Though there was no concise development plan for the Benue province during the period of colonialism, it has been argued that the very absence of such a plan was a plan (in itself) to underdevelop the Benue (and so Tiv) colony. This analysis covers aspects of primitive accumulation of Tiv objects of science and Technology (through confiscations and theft) and other more systematic agencies of industrial underdevelopment like diversion of Tiv handicraft labour to cash crops production (through taxation and monetization); substitution of demand for local industrial products (through mass importation of alternatives from Britain); mass exportation of raw materials from the Tiv area (whose effect was the starvation of local industries of same); the provision of a non-technical base and so forth.

4.1 ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE CONQUEST: CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTY.

The conquest of Tivland by Britain had many social and economic consequences. The various punitive wars of conquest led to loss of many lives and property and demoralised a good number of people in Tiv society. As is typical of occupation armies, a lot of Tiv properties were looted and many villages razed to the ground. By 1912, it would appear that the colonial machinery of government had been imposed on Tiv society. But there were pockets of resistance here and there which the British government capitalised upon to not only punish and humiliate the Tiv but also to confiscate some Tiv objects of science and technology (sometimes referred to as "ritual objects".)

In 1939 for instance, there were series of revolts in Tivland which have come to be variously dubbed the "Nyambuan cult disturbances", the "Nyambuan riots" and the "Nyambuan uprisings". The revolts were sparked off by the "Nyambua" (or 'beef-cult') and for practical purposes, all administration in Tivland came to a halt.[1] This cult promised that, by the performance of sacrifices and ceremonies (and of course the

payment of fees), it will free people from illness, witchcraft and death. This attracted a lot of people and so, the cult spread rapidly. The cult started appointing its own officers, holding its own trials, smelling out witches and seizing and destroying their property. They refused to pay taxes and attacked forces sent against them by the colonial authorities. Eventually, key practitioners of the cult were arrested, their instruments seized and the revolts quelled. But it turned out that, most of their instruments, as the colonialists themselves admitted, were objects of "scientific and technological value" which interested some colonialists and their friends. These articles were eventually removed from Tivland (and from their owners).

As soon as these "ritual" objects were confiscated from their owners, professor Henry Balfour, a curator of science at pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford visited Makurdi and expressed his desire to acquire them thereafter. In a private letter to Mr. Morgan, (the new Resident of Benue province), professor Balfour wrote:

> The specimens which I am most keen about were placed on Mr. Dewar's table in the office, but many Munshi objects which can be spared would be of great value in the Museum. I was rather specially intrigued with the various types of instruments for disguising the voices of masked performers, as I have a paper on this subject 'on the stocks' and am collecting what evidence I can as to varieties of these instruments, and the series in the Abinsi Divisional Office contains very interesting examples of bone, wood and cast brass which are of great importance. 2

Soon, pressure started mounting on the District officer in charge of Abinsi to release these Tiv ritual objects. Mr. W. Morgan, the Ag. Secretary Northern provinces, writing to the D.O. i/c Abinsi on the 16th of February, 1931 enquired of him:

> Will you please consider whether any articles not required for the purposes of investigation could be deposited for "safe-keeping" with pitt Rivers Museum Oxford? Is it feasible to return these things to their owners? And in any case, cant something be done to obtain specimens for permanent preservation? Mr. Balfour's interest is not that of the amateur collector.3

In another short note to the Resident, Benue province, Mr. W. Morgan urged thus:

> If required for the investigations now in progress, they should be retained; but it seems a pity that objects of scientific interest and value should be allowed to decay especially if it is not known who are their proper owners. 4

Amidst pressure from the above, the Resident, Benue province wrote the secretary, Northern provinces explaining (and I quote at length):

> I have the honour to inform you that, Mr. Balfour, when at Makurdi, examined and expressed great interest in a number of examples of Tiv arts and crafts in the Abinsi Divisional office. I understand however, that these are at present only on deposit in that office in connection with investigation into 'Tsav'. Further knowledge of this matter may justify the confiscation of some of the articles, whose use is exclusively for practises prohibited under the criminal code but at present, it is impossible which are used. I am, however, of the opinion that, a complete collection of 'Tsav' instruments should be made in the course of investigation and placed in a museum in Nigeria. They would be of great interest both technologically and also as illustrating the rites and practices of the cult.5

It was therefore suggested to professor Balfour that, it might prove possible to duplicate the "Tsav" collection for the British Museum in England, a

suggestion which he refused to accept. It was evident that the local colonial administrators were bent upon retaining these objects of science and technology as J.P. Smith, the D.O. incharge of Abinsi Division was "strongly of the opinion that there (is) no justification for the confiscation of many of these articles."[6] This opinion was endorsed by the Resident, Benue province, Professor Balfour who had earlier written to say that he was longing to see more of the Munshi and of their arts and industries, did not give up but continued to appeal to higher colonial authorities to prevail on the D.O. in charge of Abinsi and the Resident, Benue province to surrender to him those "objects of science and technology".

It was amidst all these that Mr. W. Morgan, professor Balfour's acknowledged friend who was with the Northern Nigeria secreteriat, was transferred to Benue province to serve as the new Resident. In his letter of congratulation to the new Resident, Mr. Balfour stated inter alia:

> I am greatly in hopes that, you may be able to arrange for the preservation and rendering available for science of that collection of confiscated Munshi ritualistic material housed in the office. As you know, I was thrilled by the sight of it... I understand the difficulty arising from the objects still being unable to be returned to their owners, but natives are so apt to lose interest in things after a time.[7]

The stage was therefore set for the primitive accumulation of Tiv scientific and technological objects (by brazen robbery). Thus, professor Balfour subsequently requested to "borrow" these objects for sometime:

> If I cannot acquire the Munshi series permanently, would it be possible for me to borrow them for a time? Other very intriguing objects in the series at the office are the decorated skulls and the examples of brass - casting by the 'cire perdue' process, which speak well for the technical ability of these otherwise primitive people.8

But after receiving the articles on "loan", Mr. Balfour wrote, pleading to retain them permanently. In a letter dated February 2, 1932, professor Balfour requested:

> Is there any chance of the Government being kindly willing to allow me to keep permanently the following specimens: The two skulls (Tar burial); the series of imborivungu; the clay head? If so, it would be of very great benefit to the Museum and I could place these series where their scientific value could be clear. The other objects would be retained on loan, though I would, naturally, welcome them all permanently, but that would be asking too much.9

Balfour's obvious conspiracy paid off when the whole specimen were unconditionally offered to him. The Resident, Benue province, replying on behalf of the secretary, Northern provinces, told professor Balfour that, "... It has been decided that the whole of the collection including the two skulls, the series of Imborivungu and the clay head, are to be presented permanently to the Museum and that the Wukari Native Administration will not continue to retain ownership".[10]

One other thing that deserves comment is the discrepancy between the list sent to professor Balfour and the actual number of specimens sent to him. For instance, five metal Imborivungu reached him as he acknowledged whereas the list mentioned only four. (see Table 1). Balfour also acknowledged the receipt of a cast brass figure of a woman amongst the specimens sent to him.[11] Apart from the pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), some Tiv ritual objects were also "loaned" the British and the Jos Museum. Mr. H.J. Braunholtz, the Assistant keeper of ceramics and ethnographic materials at the British Museum also acknowledged the receipt of objects not specified on the list sent to the Museum. These were (1) a small clay head (2) one bone Imborivungu [The list mentioned five wooden Imborivungu instead of six. see table 2]. Apart

from this, Braunholtz acknowledged the following objects not mentioned on their list, namely: Four carved wooden figures, one wooden head and one fur-covered gourd.[12] All these objects (including those listed on table 2) were later "donated" freely to the British Museum.

Table 1 below shows list of articles (most of which were of scientific value and interest) taken to pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. [Note that the articles delivered were actually in excess of the above list.].

Articles	Quantity
Skulls (Tar burial)	2
Ivungu night - call implement	1
Head of Ivungu bird	1
Alom night - call implement	1
Metal Imborivungu	4
Bone Imborivungu	6
Mfe stone	1
Atsuku figures, wooden	4
Woso quills	1
Night horse, clay	1
Mbatsav loin cloth	1
Tsuwo chain	1
Gajil night - bow	1
Divining apparatus	1

Articles	Quantity
Ifi pot	1
Charms	1
Night briddle	1
Metal bird	1
Whip	1
Iba'a mask	1
Iko'or snail shell	1
Ako rods	1
Gourd cups	1
Clay head	1
Afia hat	1
Riga	1
Spears	2
Bo'on night call implement	1

SOURCE: NAK, MAKPROF, 3202 (p 73)

Table 2 below shows list of articles (most of which had scientific value) taken from Tivland to the British Museum. [Note that the actual amount of articles delivered exceeded the list here J. P. T. O.

Articles	Quantity
Skulls (Tar burial)	2
Akiki night call Implement	1
Head of Akiki	1
Bo'on night-call implement	1
Mbatsav night-call implement	1
Kibire night-call implement	1
Metal Imborivungu	2
Bone Imborivungu	5
Imborivungu in skull	1
Mfe stone	1
Atsuku Figures, wooden	4
Double Atsuku	1
Woso quills	1
Night horses	2
Mbatsav loincloth	1
Tsuwe chain	1
Gajil night - bow	1
Immitation snake	1
Divining apparatus	1
Ishan	1
Metal figures	2
Dance doll	1
Iba'a head dress	1
Iko'or shell	1
Bagu (Monkey's) skull	1

Articles	Quantity
Human jaw	1
Clay - head	1
Ikba Ingo'ov figure	1
Snuff stand	1
Clay smoking pipe	1
Spears	2

SOURCE: NAK, MAKPROF 3202 (p 74)

Table 3 below shows list of Tiv articles sent to Jos Museum. The list is not only short of the articles actually sent to Jos but also, it should be noted that some of the articles were stolen in transit.

Articles	Quantity
Skull (Tar burial)	1
Metal Imborivungu	3
Bone Imborivungu	4
Mfe Stone	1
Atsuku, wooden	4
Night-horse	1
Whip	1
Iko'or shell	1
Clay head	1
Spears	2

SOURCE: NAK, MAKPROF, 3202 (p 75)

But the thieving tendency of the colonialists was actually demonstrated in the objects meant for and sent to the Jos Museum. This is because, some of these objects were stolen in transit. Objects stolen from the Tiv scientific collection meant for Jos Museum included: one night horse; one horse tail whip; one clay head; three metal Imborivungu and two bone Imborivungu.[13] Also, like the collection sent to the British and pitt Rivers (Oxford) Museums, there were objects in the Jos Museum collections which were not mentioned in the list. The chief Inspector of mines described these unlisted objects thus:

> ...two small articles covered with feathers luckily labelled kbire (sic) and Mbatsa'an (sic), both of these appear to be horns of some small buck covered with some resinous matter and stuck over with feathers. There is also a small talisman of dark blue cloth less than two inches long with two red seeds attached to it, one in the middle and the one at the lower end, the whole being hung on a modern chain similar to a key chain.14

Still on the theft of the objects, it was the the secretary of Northern provinces himself who reported that: "The case was apparently tampered with in transit and delivered, in the first place, by mistake, to the veterinary Department at Bukuru".[15] According to police report, it seemed a little "unfortunate in the first place that for such objects of value, only an ordinary wooden petrol case was used, lightly nailed and addressed by type-written label; a seal might have caused the risk to have been considerably lessened".[16]

The police report further blamed the Nigerian Railway for off-loading at Bukuru a box addressed to Jos. This happened on the 26th of September 1931 and the following day, it was conveyed to Vom by the Veterinary Department where it was said to be opened by the two "natives" employed for such tasks.[17] Thereafter, captain Hall examined the articles. The report concluded therefore that, the articles were either abstracted or mislaid and lost between September 30th when the "native" Garuba and his assistant opened the box and October 3rd when the chief Inspector of mines, Jos checked the list and found the objects short by eight. The native administration and the commissioner of police reached a dead end in the "attempts" to discover the thieves.

It was resignedly declared that, the objects, "if purloined, will by now have been got rid of, and if mislaid will have been destroyed."[18]

That the articles were purloined there is no doubt as the Anthropological Officer, Captain R.C. Abraham had earlier packed all of them in a newspaper.[19] There was no way they would be selectively "mislaid". That the theft was carried out by colonial officials is again not doubtful because, according to police reports, "The fact that the articles exposed were of value was not appreciated until the chief Inspector of mines communicated with the commissioner of police, Jos".[20] And for all this considerable loss of objects of extreme value, only a claim of £2 was submitted by the D.O. in charge Wukari Division. Even this was not pressed against the Railway corporation and so it was not paid after all. The Resident explained:

> It seems that Capt Abraham's lists of the articles said to have been included in the three collections are inaccurate. Under the circumstances, Ido not think a claim of loss would be considered by the railway. 21

Finally, it should be noted that, all consignees of the objects (Oxford, British, and Jos Museum officials) drew attention to the damaged state of the collections arising from poor and inadequate packing.[22] It is therefore clear from the above that, the Tiv people lost many objects of scientific and technological value through colonial purloinage, damage arising from negligence and underlisting of objects sent to Jos and metropolitan Britain.

4.2 ACTIVITIES OF B.C.G.A. AND TRADING FIRMS.

The Oldham chamber of commerce in 1901 showed a keen interest in cotton growing in Northern Nigeria.[23] After the formation of the British cotton Growing Association (BCGA) in 1902 for the specific purpose of promoting cotton growing in the British Empire, it became the Associations responsibility to encourage cotton growing in Northern Nigeria.[24] Up to that time, the Elder Dempster Shipping Company had sent a quantity of American cotton seed to Northern Nigeria to be distributed among and planted by farmers. The aim was to promote cotton growing for export which the company stated, if encouraged in the territory, it would be prepared to ship in its ships at freight rates amounting to ¼d per lb.[25] Lord Lugard sub-sequently

sent the cotton seed received from Elder Dempster Company to be distributed to farmers throughout Northern Nigeria.

But whereas it was easy to distribute these cotton seeds to farmers in other parts of Northern Nigeria (with centralised political organisation), the reverse was the case in Tivland. Moreover, Tivland at that time was not yet formally occupied by the British. Although it appeared that there were bright prospects for cotton growing in Northern Nigeria, Lord Lugard himself stated:

> I entertain the hopes that the industry will form one of the sources of wealth and revenue in this protectorate in the not distant future. The imported seed appears to do well and the natives are much delighted with it and are clamouring for more of it. 26

On the basis of the above, Shelly Neely, a cotton expert was appointed for the protectorate. He was soon replaced by another expert J.W. Chandler. Chandler saw the essential position of waterways (the Benue and the Niger Rivers) in facilitating the transportation of cotton. He opined that, for practical purposes, it was necessary to confine the development of cotton to the riverine provinces where the waterways could be easily used to evacuate the produce. (He actually suggested that the areas to

be cultivated should be limited to about thirty miles from the banks of the rivers).[27] It should be noted that, the previous year (i.e. 1904)the colonial office had put forward similar views. The significance of this view was that, the imperial Government would not be called upon to shoulder the responsibility for the construction of railways for the evacuation of the cotton produced. As they said:

> There appears to be excellent prospects of good results from growing cotton near the Niger and Benue in the lower reaches - i.e. in places which would be easily accessible for transport without any railway building.28

Again, instead of establishing large plantations managed by Europeans, the B.C.G.A. re-emphasised the policy of establishing experimental farms. Such experimental farms existed all over central Nigeria especially at Lokoja, Zaria, Ilorin, Zungeru, Minna, Bida, Pategi, Kabba, Keffi and Ibi. In Tivland and especially in the Southern parts, there existed experimental farms at Kuhe, Mkovur, Kokoiwen (started by Nov 1931 with each being a 4 quarter acre plot); Agara, Ikpato, Ajio and Ikaagba (started in Nov 1932 with each being a one acre plot).[29] These demonstration farms were located

in the houses of District Heads and were meant to demonstrate that it was possible to use Macuna to farm (not only cotton but other export crops) continuously.

What was the net effect of B.C.G.A. activities in the Benue province, particularly in Tivland? In order to promote the production of cotton in the territory, the B.C.G.A. and the colonial administration had encouraged the distribution of seed cotton of an American specie to peasant farmers. It was believed that Britain would, by this gesture, secure the long staple American specie which she preferred to that of Northern Nigeria. However, D.C. Dudgeon an experienced Tropical Agriculturist tells us that, the American varieties, unlike the local ones, were unsuited to the climate and susceptible to many fungoid diseases. This led to low yields. Also, local peasant farmers mixed the long staple lint from the species with the short staple lint of the local variety thus, producing a low grade lint that was unwanted in Lancashire.[30]

The B.C.G.A. encouraged (unnecessarily) the importation of experts who did not even appreciate the fact that local species of cotton seeds produced good quality lint much better than the long staple American variety, the middling American.[31] This

opinion is confirmed by the colonial Government of Northern Nigeria which blamed American cotton experts for encouraging the growing of exotic cotton to the exclusion of the indigenous variety.[32] As Dudgeon noted:

> If it be the object of the Association to increase cotton growing as a native industry, their operations, I am convinced, should be directed towards the improvement by selection of the best native varieties and the exclusion of the exotic ones. 33

But their efforts were obviously not directed towards increasing cotton growing to the benefit of native industry. Again, as already pointed out the B.C.G.A./ colonial Government policy encouraged cotton growing near navigable rivers to make evacuation of produce easier. When railways were later built, farmers were encouraged to make their farms near railways. Indeed, the construction of colonial infrastructures was as a result of the cotton growing industry. The secretary of state, Lord Elgin bowed to the powerful cotton lobby in 1906 which emphasised the need to tap the cotton resources of Northern Nigeria. It is therefore clear that colonial infrastructures were meant to enhance the exportation of cotton rather than promote the production of cotton for the local textile industry.

taking with the B.C.G.A. This proved to be the undoing of the B.C.G.A. because, the R.N.C. paid in kind for goods bought (i.e. cotton) contrary to articles of the undertaking. The result was that, farmers were obliged to accept certain trade goods, salt or cotton cloth in exchange for their products. It frequently happened that the producers wanted neither the salt nor the manufactured fabrics. Thus, farmers spent many days trying to dispose of goods they had been compelled to accept and often, they sold these goods at give-away prices.

The above, as might be expected, discouraged cotton farmers. But the real point is that, by buying cheaply from Tiv farmers and selling dearly on the European markets, the R.N.C. denied the colony of raw materials for the weaving industry. Not only that, the R.N.C. introduced a lot of bar iron into the Tiv colony. This had a destabilizing effect on Tiv smelting. In the same vein, the importation of coloured yarns by the R.N.C. severely affected the development of traditional dyeing process in Tivland. Ink (called galu) of various colours was also brought into the Tiv colony and sold either by the merchantile companies or their Hausa agents. These, coupled with the mass importa-

Table 4 below shows cotton export from Northern Nigeria in bales (1 bale = 400 lbs).

Year	Bales
1902	-
1903	50
1904	100
1905	500
1906	1,000
1907	1,500
1908	500
1909	400
1910	400
1911	600
1912	2,600
1913	2,000

SOURCE: P.H. Lamb, "past, present and future of cotton growing in Nigeria", Empire Cotton Review vol 11 (1925) p 185.

At this point, it is worthwhile to consider the role of trading firms in the under-development of Tiv handicraft industries. For a long time, the Royal Niger company enjoyed the monopoly of buying produce from Benue province for export to Britain and the import of British manufactures into Tivland. In the case of cotton for instance, the R.N.C. made an under-

Also, it appears that, the efforts of the colonial administration and the B.C.G.A. in destabilizing the Tiv weaving industry continued not to bear significant fruits up to 1914. This is because, Tiv weavers were very skilled in the manufacture of high quality cloths which were more durable than machine made textile from Britain. E.D. Morel tells us that, the local population (of Northern Nigeria) preferred the locally manufactured cloths to imported materials from Lancashire which were said to be "too thin and so heavily starched that on the first washing they became threadbare and useless".[34]

The demand for local fabrics in Tivland was also based on the fact that, until the introduction of European coinage, strips of local fabrics formed the chief currency in Tivland. The low level of cotton exports can also be seen in the fact that, local weavers were paying higher prices for raw cotton than that of the agents of the B.C.G.A. While the B.C.G.A. agents paid 3/4d per lb, local weavers were paying 1d to 3d per lb.[35]

tion of coloured fabrics, led to the decline of the weaving craft.

It should also be stated that, these goods which were imported into Tivland were of inferior quality and this act was perpetrated not only by the R.N.C. but also by other Merchantile firms like the Alexander Miller brothers, C.F.A.O., Metal containers West Africa and a host of others. On 10 February, 1944 Stanhope White, the Ag. Resident of Kano province passed this information to the Resident, Benue province:

> Kano Native administration has recently obtained some latrine buckets costing 6/- each, made especially for them by Metal containers West Africa Ltd. Whilst not as strong as the ones imported before the war, they are nevertheless a good substitute and this information is passed on to you in case other Native authorities are also wanting similar buckets. 36

It is a puzzle how buckets which admittedly were of inferior make could be a better substitute and preferrable to local buckets from the Tiv blacksmiths. But true to colonial logic of not wanting to develop local industries and the attendant sectoral linkages, Benue province subsequently ordered for fifty of these buckets.

What has come to be called colonial "free trade" also meant mass import of implements such as hoes, cutlasses, shovels, rakes, axes and so on from Britain into Tivland. The principal agents (especially during the construction of the railway) were V. and R. Blakemore (see indents attached in appendix). Thus, by 1946, the number of tradesmen or craftsmen had gone down as a census was to show.

Table 5 below shows

(This excludes the f

DISTRICT	S
WUKARI	
TAKUM	
DONGA	
KENTU AREA (MANDATED)	

TABLE 5, SOU

Potters		
Tanners	94	"
Total	1093	

Table 7, SOURCE: NAK, MAKPROF LAB/12 (p6)

Note that J.P. Dolphin (The then Director of commerce and Industries) writing to the secretary, Northern provinces on the 6th June, 1946 declared that: "I should make it clear to his honour that the figures supplied should only be considered correct plus or minus 10%. see Ibid, p 1

4.3 Taxation, Monetization and the decline of Tiv Handicrafts.

The forcible involvement of Tiv peasants in the World capitalist economy was brought about by the imposition of taxation and the commoditization of the economy with the introduction of money in the form of European currency.[37] With the exception of a few lineage groups in the vicinity of Wukari (in Taraba state), the Tiv had no experience of paying of tributes or taxes prior to the advent of European Imperialism. When taxes were first introduced, they were paid and collected in kind due to the absence of cash currency. Strips of local cloth, raw cotton, pottery wares and handicraft manufactures were the means of paying taxes. Table 8 shows that 38,924 pounds of cotton and 1,092 iron bars were taken from Eastern Tivland alone in the year 1913 as tax payments. Cattle, cloth and local manufactures were sold on the spot to Hausa traders while cotton, beniseed and bar iron was transported

to Katsina Ala or Abinsi for sale to trading companies.[38] (It should also be noted that, nearly 60% of the 1913 tax was in kind and the basic assessment rate was two shillings per adult; this created prominence of cloths of that value as they came to be produced in large quantities for the purpose of tax payment).

Thus, in the case of bar iron, the standard value was two shillings each. In the case of raw cotton, it was taken away on such a massive scale that a state of scarcity was created within Tivland. Thus, the additional demand for woven (Munshi) cloths could not be met because of the scarcity of cotton to weave the cloth. In the later years (during the period of railway construction and subsequently), blacksmiths embarked on the massive stealing of railway scrap from steel keys, mileage posts and steel sleepers. (see table 9)

Table 8 below shows Revenue for 1913 from the assessed areas of Eastern Tiv.

115 Munshi cloths at 4S each	£23/- /-
11,480 Munshi cloths at 2S each	£1,148/-/-
894 Munshi cloths at 1 S 6d each	£67/1/-
922 Coloured cloths	£56/10/10
38,924 pounds of cotton at 1d per pound	£162/3/8
17,800 bags of beniseed	£1,773/17/-
1,092 iron bars at 2 S each	£106/12/6
1,920 bags of guinea corn	£96/13/6

SOURCE: NAK, SNP10/15p/1914, U.F.H. Ruxton, Annual Report, Muri province, 1913.

While the collection of taxes in kind by the colonial administration led to a dearth of raw materials (cotton and bar iron), the monetization of tax payment did more harm to Tiv handicraft industries. The colonial state insisted that European currency be the sole means of paying taxes and the medium of exchange. This meant that, the mass of Tiv craftsmen (as well as other peasants) had to be become wage earners as labourers, houseboys, porters, government employees or turn to producing cash crops desired by Europeans in order to obtain European currency. The net effect was the diversion of Tiv energies from local handicraft manufactures (as well as from food cropping) to the service of metropolitan needs (viz, the production of raw materials for British industrial needs).

D.C. Dorward minimalizes the significance of this diversification of labour. When he says: "Not withstanding the difficulty of quantifying African peasant labour in-put, it would appear that beniseed was not particularly a demanding crop".[39] This claim is erroneous. The vent for surplus theorists have argued that, since African labour was under-utilized,

the introduction of cash crops into the Tiv (as in other African) economy was costless in labour terms.

Table 9 below shows -
Makurdi sub-district: statement of Railway property stolen during 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954.

Month		Properties Stolen
Jan	1951	508 steel keys 60 BS
Feb	1951	1,410 steel keys; 2 blankets; 2 bedsheets; 2 pillows; 2 pillow cases; 1 rail post
March	1951	2168 steel keys
May	1951	2,312 steel keys
June	1951	686 steel keys
July	1951	1,882 steel keys; 1 kicking strap
Aug	1951	9,351 steel keys 60 BS
Sept	1951	2,221 steel keys
Oct	1951	2004 steel keys; 26 scrap steel sleepers 60
Nov	1951	3732 steel keys; 2 scrap steel sleepers 60
Jan	1952	9,627 steel keys; 1 steel sleeper 60 lb
Feb	1952	8272 steel keys (from the main line)*
"	"	8279 steel keys *
March	1952	5189 steel keys
April	1952	10,019 steel keys; 11 no.3 pieces rial; 1 rail mileage post; 2 sleepers.
May	1952	8353 steel keys
June	1952	3277 steel keys
July	1952	1434 steel keys
Aug	1952	1862 steel keys; 2 scrap sleepers; 60 BS second hand.
Sept	1952	4417 steel keys; 2 corrugated culvert sheets; 2 serviceable steel sleepers; 2 unserviceable steel sleepers.
Oct	1952	2386 steel keys
Nov	1952	1025 steel keys
Dec	1952	2056 steel keys; 1 culvert pan

* These Figures slightly differ. The mistake is however original as the two reports are in the same file.

month/year		Properties stolen
Jan	1953	810 steel keys
Feb	1953	2,571 steel keys; 34 timbers
March	1953	1005 steel keys: 4 steel sleepers 60 lbs
April	1953	6621 steel keys; 4 steel sleepers ends
May	1953	2197 steel keys
June	1953	700 steel keys
July	1953	330 steel keys; 12 steel sleepers
Aug	1953	1,373 steel keys; 6 scrap sleepers
Sept	1953	3 scrap sleepers
Oct	1953	1726 steel keys; 2 no. 45lbs Bs steel sleepers; 2 no. rail beacons
Nov	1953	1095 steel keys; 6 steel sleepers; 2 checker plates
Dec	1953	964 steel keys
Jan	1954	-
Feb	1954	15 steel keys
March	1954	432 steel keys
April	1954	90 steel keys
May	1954	2632 steel keys; 4 steel sleepers
"	1954	284 steel keys; 1 no. Rail 10'60lb BS,
June	1954	11 steel sleepers 60 lbs weight; 1005 steel keys.
July	1954	702 steel keys
Aug	1954	2038 steel keys; 2 no. Rail beacons
Sept	1954	2036 steel keys; 2 no. of Rail beacons; 200 steel keys (again).
Oct	1954 st	steel keys; 142 steel beacons
Nov	1954	1260 steel keys; 4 rail becons
Dec	1954	41 steel keys; 4 rail beacons; 127 steel sleepers.

SOURCE: compiled by the author from MAK PROF/NAK, RLY/3

The same argument is extended to land and other factors of production. However, upon closer examination of D.C. Dorward's case study (beniseed, it is clear that beniseed production (as in the production of other crops) was a tedious, labour-intensive and time-consuming business. Apart from the planting and weeding, harvest took the form of plucking each spike, then typing the beniseed heads together in small bundles and hanging these bundles over the rails to dry. It was then pounded in a mortar and then winnowed. If you consider that handicrafts were in most cases part time, (agriculture being the main occupation) in Tivland, then you will realise what the diversion of Tiv labour cost handicraft industries in labour terms.

Table 10 below shows Tiv labour diverted from handicraft and agricultural practices to rail-road construction during 1923 (nearest to 100).

Month	Year	Tiv labourers
January	1923	3,000
February	"	3,000
March	"	3,000
April	"	3,000
May	"	3,000
June	"	2,000
July	"	2,000
August	"	2,000
September	"	2,000
October	"	2,000
November	"	1,000
December	"	1,000

SOURCE: J.I. Tseayo, Conflict and Incorporation in Nigeria: The Integration of the Tiv (Zaria, 1974) p 119.

Still on Tiv labour, of the 8,000 troops that Benue province alone provided during the second World war, 6000 men came from Tiv Division and the remaining 2000 from Idoma Division.[40] Add to the above the fact that there was another intensive conscription of Tiv

men to the minefields of the Jos plateau. The divisional quota of Tiv division far exceeded that of any other division or even province.[41] Thus, the massive drain of Tiv labour (labour that was grossly marginalised and abused) through conscription and systematic diversion, Tiv economy suffered labour shortage. The labour question was worsened by the fact that, a considerable number of able-bodies men were reported to have miratedd to neighbouring Jukun, Lafia and Idoma divisions to avoid being drafted.[42]

Table 11 below shows increases in tax rates in Tivland (1953 - 60).

Year	Rate
1953	14 S 1d
1954	16 S 1d
1957	£1.7 S
1959	£1.10 S
1960	£1.15 S

Table 11, SOURCE: provincial Annual Reports of Northern Nigeria, Kaduna 1953 (p 29); 1954 (p.2); 1957 (p 29); 1959 (p 31) and 1960 (p 31).

The purchasing power of the Tiv people was also reduced by increases in taxes as table 11 above indicates. This created low demand for local manufactures (and to some extent foreign goods) thereby leading to a shiggish economy. It has been stated that tax increases in Tivland did not correspond with harvest booms (or increases in personal income so that they had an impoverishing effect. They were meant to appropriate Tiv surpluses, to drive Tiv labour into the labour market and to continue the process of integration of Tiv economy into the World capitalist system.

4.4 COLONIAL POLICY TOWARDS INDUSTRIALISATION.

Actually, up to the period of the second World war, there was no definite development plan on the part of the British colonial government especially regarding handicrafts. During the second World war however, it appears that British industries were so pre-occupied with the war effort that they could not meet the usual demands for British goods in Nigeria. The Acting Senior Manager of U.A.C. West Africa for

instance wrote to the Resident, Benue province on the 29th April, 1942 saying:

> In an endeavour to relieve pressure on home factories and shipping space, the military authorities have asked us to investigate the possibility of supplying some of their requirements from locally native made commodities. Their chief needs at the moment are as follows: 1. Basket ware i.e. chairs, bed trays etc 2. Native canvass suitable to replace imported canvass for chairs (sic), beds (sic) etc 3. Furniture (all types) 4. Cotton twine (13,000,000 yards) for camouflage nets. They state that, the above requirements are urgent and also that, as their requirements are practically unlimited, they wish to be informed of any other established trade likely to be of use to them.43

In another letter titled "Baskets", the General Manager UAC West Africa told the Resident, Benue province on 20th January, 1942 that:

> The mining industry is finding it impossible to obtain sufficient metal headpans and they are seeking a substitute. What they want is a strongly made basket... we have already received an order from one mine alone for 5000 and if a suitable basket can be evolved, several thousands a month would be required monthly (sic) while the war lasts. 44

That was not all C.W. Rustom (General Manager, UAC West Africa) in yet another letter to the Resident, Benue province dated 20th March, 1942, painted a picture of desperation arising from war time needs. He said:

> As you are no doubt aware, as a result of the extension of the war to the Far East, prospects of obtaining further shipments of calcutta produce bags are remote... I asked Mr. Bishop to ascertain what the prospects are of considerably increasing the supply of Tiv sacks and what price would be paid to encourage production. His reply indicates that, Agric. Officer Yandev has more orders on hand than he can cope with, and that increased production is doubtful. In view of the importance of finding substitutes for imported bags, I beg to enquire whether anything can be done to increase production. If so, is there any way in which we can help? 45

From the above, it is clear that, the colonial administration became interested in stepping up local production in the colony during the second world war years and due to war time needs. Consequently, it was resolved that each clan should send in ten men to the Agric. Officer Yandev to learn the art of making ore bags. After training each clan could be given a reasonable quota of ore bags to produce.

By 1944, there was talk of evolving a development plan for the colony. However, the colonial secretary for Northern provinces, Mr. H.S. Bridel complained of lack of European personnel to implement the plan. As he said, "... Until Development Officers become available, little can be done to implement any plans that may be made as supervision by a European officer is essential.."[46] Mr. Bridel also said that, it was impossible in the prevailing circumstances (unstated) to plan comprehensively for the whole country alleging that, "one can only plan selectively for areas where conditions are favourable for planning and which can be developed as models".[47]

The central Development Board was later formed and it held its first meeting on 7 January, 1945. The Board took a loan of £12,000 under the colonial Development and Welfare Act with the object of providing assistance to "promising village and rural industries". From all indications, this Board was not interested in improving the technical basis of the indigenous production sector. From the first Board meeting, it resolved that, where the help needed by any local industry was technical (as it was bound to be), firm estimates of the cost of aid to such an industry could not be expected until a technical study of it had been made.[48]

Significantly, the Agric. Officer Benue province wrote to the Resident Benue province informing him that, he did not consider that there were any industries in the province worthy of recommendation for support.[49] The actual case however and as the Resident had explained in a missive to the scretary, Northern provinces a day earlier: "... Those who have replied have submitted no suggestions except the District Officer, Tiv Division, who says that none of the existing industries which are of spare time handicraft type are capable of appreciable development without some degree of mechanization"[50] This was exactly what colonial capitalism did not want in the colony (i.e. availing the colony of machinery).

It is even more significant that proconsuls were talking of rural development that would be devoid of "industrialization". summarising the minutes of the first meeting of the Northern provinces Area Development Committee held on Wednesday 30th/5/1945, the Resident, Benue province expressed the thinking of the colonial planners thus:

> His honour said that, in his view, it was important not to confuse rural industries with industrialization. Developing rural industries meant improving the quality of local carpentry, mason work, thatching and all local trades and crafts. 51

The colonial government did not want to foot the bill of developing local industries and according to colonial thinking, it was difficult to visualise such village industries in the Northern provinces capable of repaying the expenditure of large sums on development.[52] By this, however, it appears that, colonial "development" planners had to contend with another problem - finding work for demobilized soldiers, especially those with technical experience.[53]

Some colonial officials were nevertheless impressed with the potentials of industrialization open in Tivland and sometimes went out of their way to recommend them for development. These requests were largely ignored, because, it was not in the interest of colonial capitalism to effect them. The District Officer, Tiv Division once suggested that, there was a field for enterprise in certain new industries such as soap making and improved loom weaving with flying shuttle and foot-power.[54] In another development, Mr. J. F. Murdoch, the Senior Manager of UAC office in Makurdi wrote to the Resident, Benue province that: "It has struck me on many occasions that the use of spinning wheels by Hausa, Tiv and Jukuns would be of considerable advantage to them and a precursor to improved hand-looms."[55]

But the example which threw itself up to demonstrate the lack of desire on the part of the colonial administration to improve indigenous industry was that of slate. During this time, all slate used in Education departments in Nigeria was imported from Sweden. Around August, 1947, Mr. Carpenter, the Mass Education Officer for Tiv Division informed the District Officer that, while a slate cost 2/- from S.I.M. bookshop in Jos (where the Tiv Native Authority used to obtain it), it could be obtained at a lower price in Tiv Division.[56] The fact was that, clay and slate pencil was quarried and produced in southern Tiv by Akagerger (name possibly muffled), one of the Mass Education instructors. All quarrying and finishing was manually done and the price charged by Akagerger was 1/- for each slate and 1d for each pencil. Recommending this slate industry to the Resident, Benue province, the District officer, Tiv Division stated that:

> Without introducing modern methods, this price cannot be reduced to any large extent, quantity orders making no difference to production costs. 57

But like the other recommendations, this one from the District Officer, Tiv Division was ignored by the colonial Authorities for fear that improving this industry would entail the introduction of "modern methods" (i.e. Machinery).

What then was the reality of colonial industrial policy? Regarding pottery for instance, M.A. Cardew of the Department of Commerce and Industries had stated in his research survey that,

> A whole scale transformation of the Nigerian native pottery is considered neither practicable nor desireable... The industry is apparently not in danger of decline or extinction. It is likely that new technical methods taught will be adopted only by a small fringe of women potters as, in general, the wheel and the kiln transform pottery into a male industry requiring whole-time attention and a long training. 58

Being a work commissioned by the colonial Government, it is not shocking to have it express the "non-desireability" of improving pottery or the lie that, "the industry is not in danger of decline or extinction". Regarding the textile industry, it is suggestive to turn to the colonial central Development Board (Northern Provinces) which declared in 1942 that:

> There is one possible way in which more immediate aid might be given to the textile industry and that is by sending practising weavers, selected for intelligence, for a few months to existing centres at which a higher standard of production has been attained... 59

With regards to the above, weavers of raffia were supposed to be sent to Ikot — Ekpene to learn decorative raffia work. But it would appear that no Tiv weaver was "intelligent" enough to be selected!

Thus, looking carefully at colonial industrial policy in Benue province, specifically in Tivland, it was not meant to develop but to underdevelop the area. Rather than promote "arts" and "industries", the central Development Board soon became a conduit for pilfering (or "collecting" as they claimed) local produce (crafts). The Adviser on Rural Development recommended the the "collection" of articles of "utilitarian value" which was to be sold in both local and export markets. He further gave an indication on the type of articles he wanted:

> Articles produced in reasonable quantity and likely, having regard to such factors as production cost, bulk and transportability, to be saleable in local or export markets at the distance from the source of supply Foodstuffs and perishable goods would not be included, nor would 'fine-arts' products or 'museum pieces' produced in very limited quantities. 60

Thus, it became obvious that, the Rural Development Board was essentially a mercantile organ specifically interested in making profits from sale of local "utilitarian" articles. Specifically recommended for "collection" (and the list was described as "not

necessarily comprehensive") were the following: Textile goods; embroideries; mats; raffia-products; basket ware; rope, twine and raw fibres; bamboos and canes; pottery; glassware; metal ware; leather and leather work; wood-carving and poker work; cabinet makers work; turnery; calabashes; toys; articles of personal adornment (other than fine jewelry); non-bulky articles of household furniture e.g. stools, deck chairs, brush ware, hats, fezzes, household goods such as floor polishes etc[61]

4.5 COLONIAL PATENT LAWS AND DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION.

The laws relating to patent, registered designs, copyright and trade marks deal with the rights which inventors and authors enjoy in the products of their skill and inventiveness, the protection which they enjoy under the law exclusively to make, use, exercise and vend their invention for a period of about 20 years. Patent laws are perhaps the most overt symbolism of capitalist selfishness, exclusiveness and the desire to maximize profit at an individual level on what, otherwise, would be for the general good and benefit. In 1945, the colonial Government of Nigeria dealt with these various branches of the law in one ordinance: the patents, Designs, copyright and Trade Marks (Emergency) ordinance No. 21 of 1945. It should

be noted that, although this ordinance was assented to on 17th April 1945, the date of commencement was 3rd September 1939 (an early example of retrospective legislation in Nigeria!)[62]

Thus, in order to secure monopoly rights for use of one's invention or innovation, anyone devising an improvement in a manufactured article, or in macninery or in methods for making it, will upon disclosure of his improvement at the patent office demand to be given a monopoly in the use of it for a period of years. The essential function of a patent, it is said, is to protect expenditure on research and development (R and D). The system thus, offers rewards only to those who can get their inventions put to commercial use so that the public can benefit from them.[63] The monopoly period which the patentee obtain precludes others from making, using, exercising, importing or vending the invention in a period of twenty years.[64] One is quick to contrast this with the pre-colonial times when handicraft activities were openly carried out and innovations and criticisms too generously passed round. (It must be conceded however that, traditional medical and magically - related "arts" were a matter of secrecy and continue to be so in Tiv society up till date).

A.T. Blanco White gives us an insight into what is supposed to be the philosophy of the law of patents: "It is desireable in the public interest that individual techniques should be improved. In order to encourage improvement and to encourage also the disclosure of improvements in preference to their use in secret, any person devising an improvement in a manufactured article or in machinery or in methods for making it may upon disclosure of his improvement at the patent office, demand to be given a monopoly in the use of it for a period of years... and the 'temporary' monoploy is not objectionable for if it had not been for the inventor who devised and disclosed the improvement, nobody would have been able to use it at that or any other time since nobody would have known about it."[65]

First of all, a period of 20 years is not "temporary" and is enough for an innovation or improvement to become obsolete and outdated. Secondly, the philosophy of patents assumes too much by holding that nobody else is capable of knowing of an innovation 'at that or any other time' once it is enacted by an individual. For as far as we know, similar inventions or innovations can be carried out about the same time and the first person to arrive at the patent office will have undue protection over

similar inventors/ innovators. Thus, many (almost all) applications for patent during the colonial era (and even in the post colonial era) were made from abroad. The inventors merely applied for patents here in order to protect their inventions and thereby claim priority if any similar attempts were made to patent a similar invention here. (This is because, Nigeria is one of the ninety three countries within the international convention set up for the protection of industrial property).[66]

There is no gain saying the fact that, the filing in Nigeria of a foreign patent validly held in the applicants country (other than Nigeria) is obstructive to the industrial and technological development of Nigeria. This aspect of patent prevented a Nigerian inventor from importing, selling, stocking or using the product of a foreign invention after it had been registered in Nigeria. It was presumed that, the purpose of allowing registration of foreign patents in Nigeria was in order to "enhance transfer of technology" [the effects were, and continue to be the opposite] and not merely collecting royalty payments emanating from licensing and technology transfer agreements.[67]

There existed cases where inventors took out patents for their inventions but refused to have them worked either because they asked for exhorbitant and unreasonable royalties or by refusing to work the innovations themselves.[68] In either case, the general public was denied the benefits of such inventions; the position being as if the invention or improvement protected by law was not made afterall. (In the Nigerian patents and Designs Decree No.60, (1970), there is a provision in schedule 1 of the Decree permitting a compulsory licence to be issued where a patentes fails to work a patent three years after the grant of patent. This implies however that, if investor or inventor applies for a compulsory licence, the foreign patentee is guaranteed enjoyment of his monopoly for 20 years without necessarily working it). My opinion is that, if we must continue with patent laws, foreign patentees should be required by law to work a certain percentage of their patent holdings over a short (specified) period rather than merely licence indegenous businessmen to import their products and collect royalties, thus, consolidating our status as a consumer nation.

In the strict sense of the word, an inventor does not earn any recognition for his invention until it is manufactured and the prototype functions properly.[69]

According to the provisions of the patent laws however, anybody (be he a crank or a genius) who thinks he has made an invention can file application with the patent office, observing the numerous formalities prescribed and paying the fees. An applicant who has complied with all the relevant sections of the decree can not be denied the grant of a patent on the grounds that his invention cannot work.[70] This is because, the "examination" referred to in section 4 of the Decree is that of the relevant documents for compliance with the provisions. The claims of a fake inventor can however be challenged by a true inventor, and if successfully done, the original patent becomes invalidated. Nonetheless, patent law gives too much room for fakes.

At this point, it is worthwhile to state that, laws relating to patents, Designs, copyright and Trade Marks derive from the English law (this, in legal circles, is called "the Received law"). Specifically, Ordinance No.3 of 1863 applied the laws of England to the settlement of Lagos. One of the laws so applied was the statute of Monopolies of 1623 AD which declared that, monopolies in general were bad but save "grants of priviledge for the term of 14 years or under hereafter to be made the sole working or making

of any manner of new manufactures, which others, at the time of making such letters patent and Grants, shall not use, so as also they be not contrary to the law or mischievous to the state by raising prices of commodities at home or hurt of trade or generally inconvenient".71 [Note at once the concern for the "state" (Britain) and "raising prices ... at home"]. From 1863 to date, about 60 patents - related laws have resulted and whether enacted by the colonial or post colonial administrators, they are alien to our political-economic reality and serve to perpetuate Nigeria's dependent status. [see Appendix

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CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

5.1: CRITICAL OVERVIEW

The overal interest of metropolitan capitalism from colonialism through to neocolonialism has been to make their colonies and neo-colonies sources of cheap raw materials and a market for manufactures. It has always been the intention of the colonizing power to develop a colony in ways which would be useful to itself. It is paramount in the imperialist agenda that a pre-capitalist economy be disarticulated and so re-organised as to serve imperialist economic needs. One of the methods of doing this is through undermining the indigenous technology and the industries associated with it. The decline of Tiv handicaraft science, technology and industry can best be understood within this pattern.

Tiv science, technology and industry were subjected to the destructive impact of British imperialism during the period under study. The most primitive of these forms was straight forward plunder. During the period of the conquest, considerable amounts of foods, animals and tools were destroyed or carted away. In addition, Tiv ritual and cultural articles were removed to Museums

in Britain where they were studied as scientific curiosities. One particular object was a voice disguising instrument which was described as"interesting" by these academic pilferers.

There were however, more systematic metho of ruining Tiv handicaraft industries. The Niger Company introduced a lot of bar iron into Tiv land, thus, leading to the decline of Tiv smelting industry. When this was abruptly abandoned in order to introduce manufactured articles into Tivland , blacksmiths employed new sources of iron by stealing railway scrap keys and iron posts. Colonial "free trade" policies meant that there was no protection against cheap imports of finished European manufactured goods especially of hoes, shovels, axes, dane guns, iron basins, rakes, picks and matchets(see appendix for indents). All these combined to cripple the iron smelting and smithing industry in Tiv land.

In the case of the indigenous textile industry (i.e weaving), Mercantile companies engaged in mass exportation of cotton from Tivland to Lancashire. The efforts of the B.C.G.A. (British cotton Growing Association) to increase the quantity of cotton produced in Tivland were aimed at maximising the export of such cotton and were in any case,

unsuccesful, Cotton exported from the Tiv area was sent back to Tivland in the form of manufactured fabrics. The introduction of foreign textiles overtime, led to changes in fashion thereby leading to more patronage for European goods. In other areas of textile manufacture (such as dyeing), there was also a substitution of foreign products for local goods. Coloured yarns and dyeing ink of different colours(called galu) came to replace Tiv cotton spinning and dyeing activities.

In the case of potmaking, no attempt was made to introduce new techniques such as the use of the potter's wheel, glazing or the use of kilns. The potter's wheel for instance was deliberately not introduced because, it was alleged that:

> Where ever and whenever the potter's wheel has come into use, pottery has become a trade, i.e a whole time occupation for men, working not individually but with a fair amount of division of labour.[1]

The undeclared reason however, was the fear that labour would be divierted from cash-crop production in the service of British industrial needs. Techniques of glazing and kiln were not introduced and as European buckets, kerosine tins, plates, aluminium pots and so on came to take over the earth-enware

market in Tivland,"native pottery" and "traditional shapes" of pots and bowls became excellent for horticulture and admirable only as flower vases.[2]

The introduction of European coinage and the insistence that taxes, commercial exchanges, marriage payments and other obligations be met in cash led to the diversion of labour from handicraft based activities to European services (especially the labour-demanding production of cash crops such as beniseed). Mass conscription of labour for the Jos tin mines, railway construction and the West Africa Frontier Force (WAFF) worsened the already bad labour situation for handicraft industries. Add to these the fact that colonial patent laws, operative from 1902 in the case of Northern Nigeria (i.e . The patents proclamation no. 12 of 1902 - for the protectorate of Northern Nigeria) handicapped rather than helped the innovative spirit of the Tiv craftsmen.

Colonial infrastructure, especially the rail- road system, was not aimed at technological and industrial development of the country but rather of facilitating the export of raw materials and the introduction of British manufactured goods. As we have seen, instructions were given that cotton

production should be encouraged near navigable rivers, railway stations and roads. It was not until the World war II that any"serious" attempt at development was undertaken. But its intention was to use the colonies to help Britain to recover after the war. However, the so called development, while emphasising on cash crop production especially vegetable ones, showed little interest in industriaa-ization of Tiv land particularly and Nigeria in general. The so called Rural Development seems to have had little or nothing to offer in terms of rural industry or technology transfer. Little wonder then that, the central Development Board soon came to play the role of a mercantile company— that is, marketing local produce to Britain.

To have an idea of the value of local crafts and the differentials which colonial officials made from sale of Same, one is quick to point to an experimental exhibition which was arranged in 1941 and the money collected was used for the Troops comfort Fund. For just two weeks when the show room was kept open, over 800 visitiors paid to enter and nearly all the exhibits were sold and many orders were booked for local craftsmen.[3] Many requests were received for the re-opening of the show-room

as a permanent sale centre. E. H. Duckworth announced a suggestion that cloth woven with Nigerian yarn(both plain, coloured and decorated) would be particularly interesting.[4] Other exhibits included: mats, leather work, good pottery work, carved figures, carved canoe paddles and so on.[5]

However, the most fundamental damage done to indigenous industry was social, Technological and industrial change does not take place in a social vacuum and the dislocation of the econnomy or technological capacity of a people is incomplete (if not impossible) without the manipulation of the social classes. Thus, metropolitan Britain created an idle elite, who through mission education was orientated towards Western values and disdainful of indigenous ones. It is this class of idle-rich in Tivland (and Nigeria generally) who have over time, done much to discourage and destroy local industries. Being the ruling class, they have over time helped to promote the belief that all local products were bad and have sought to import foreign technology which may not be appropriate for the country, disregarding local experience.

5:2: SUGGESTIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, it is easy to recognise the intrinsic significance of indigenous handicraft industries in Tiv culture and society. This insight into the importance of Tiv handicraft industries made the colonial conquerors uneasy. The process described in this study is merely a microcosm of the fate of Nigerian indigenous technology and industry during the colonial period. The technology involved in the handicraft industries might appear too simple and out of tune with the present age but the potentials which they offer can not be ignored. Their reactivation and development could provide a solution to rural unemployment and a basis for the technological transformation of this country. In a very populous country with a high level of unemployment, labour-intensive as opposed to labour-saving (automated) technology is more appropriate and relevant.

The starting point of such a reactivation policy should be training. Properly equipped metallurgical schools, ceramic colleges and specialised wood carving/carpentry schools should be established (one in at least every local government of the Federation). In so doing, factors such as

availability of raw materials (siting a wood carving school in Maidugri will be ridiculous) must be considered. Government and individuals must work towards eliminating the stigma normally accorded craftsmen and technicians. Government should also give some incentives to pioneer students of craft centres if possible.

Training should be planned and trainees must be sure of the existence of industries which require and could absorb their services. That means that, in case of wood-carving or pottery , trainees would need a long term loan after their training. Government must also create awareness of, and stimulate demand for local wares. In the case of pottery and blacksmithing, small factories and smithies could be built where necessary and leased out to trainees (after their completion of studies). Modern aids to mass production like the potter's wheel, glazing, the use of kiln, the use of electricity as alternative fuel, pitcher moulders and so on (for pottery) should be introduced but their use should be based on such considerations as that; these methods enhance increased productivity, improve technical quality and do not lead to much increased costs and unemployment .

One other important line of development of local industries is sectoral linkage. In pre-colonial Tivland, the wood carver was important to the blacksmith because, he carved the handles for picks, knives, hoes, matchets and so on. On the other hand, the wood-carver required the small axe, anvil and knife which the smith made. The wood carver also required the blacksmith's axe for felling trees. The weaver required the big pots from the potter to put his dye, and his loom was the product of the blacksmith and the Wood carver. All of them required hoes to cultivate the land and pots, plates and so on to cook with and eat of. Government policy today must re-activate this chain of sectoral linkages in the economy by making every craft relevant to (not necessarily dependent on) another.

On a more general plane, I wish to posit that, my position does not infer the total neglect of "foreign" technology. My stand is that, local technology should be the basis upon which importation of technology shall be effected . Thus, a more appropriate choice of technology that is consonant (or capable of being altered to conform) with the perculiar needs of the local environment should be imported.

Maximum integration of craftsmen, technicians and local engineers in science and technology"packages" and "agreements" would also reduce the foreign exchange costs and at the same time , ensure maximum local participation of human inputs, construction skills in project design and even equipment. This way, more room is given for the adaptation of imported technology(which were evolved under different set of conditions). Also, requisite skills would be acquired (more easily) not only in eventual take-over of project by local scientists and technicians but in the quicker modification of the imported technology to render it more appropriate.

Government must not only encourage Research and Development (R and D)through the opening up of more research institutions and the provision of adequate research grants, it must ensure that such research has a linkage and relevance to our industrial needs. Government must create a conducive atmosphere for researchers (to stop the current "brain drain" syndrome) and must compensate inventors and innovators adequately (to avoid the temptation to monopolise and commercialise discoveries through patent laws).

To ensure technical self-reliance and to reduce vulnerability in technology equipment and turn-key project purchases, we must avoid high-technology whose use, maintenance and repair will necessarily bring back the technical partners. Government must also form an Engineering and Technological consulting agency whose primary function shall be to safeguard Government and other entrepreneurs from acquiring obsolete, in-appropriate or commercially unproven technologies, thereby preventing the use of Nigeria as a test bench for foreign technologies.[5]

Government must legislate for the protection of local industries. Hence most of the local industries are not only handicraft-based but also small in nature and incapable of mass production (and so cannot attain the economies of scale), prices of local produce are bound to be high in the short run. Government can, after raising the tariff walls, subsidize the cost of production in order to bring down the final commodity prices.

Also, Government must provide infrstructural requirements for technological take-off. This is in the area of transport, communication, adequate water supply, energy (fuel and eletricity), housing,

raw materials and so on. Information concerning former specifications, tender drawings for equipment and that regarding new innovations must be documented and made available to industrial organisations and Associations (like Manufacturers Association of Nigeria) every quarter of thee year. The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria should also pick up the challenge of circulating the list of patents from other countries to its members so that those with the ability to exploit them will avail themselves of these new innovations.

Finally, more rational planning and investment decisions is called for. Such planning should take into cognisance such factors as realistic estimates for project costs, gestation periods, linkage requirements, realisation of rated out-put capacities and so on. This will hopefully minimize cases of abandoned projects in Nigeria and waste of technological and material resources.

5.3: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Chapter one of this dissertation is the introduction - the theoretical framework of the subsequent chapters. This chapter gives the background to the study, critically examines the methodology employed in obtaining and assessing data and reviews the literature related to the subject under study. Theory explains the perspective and framework of actions or practice and is essential for the explanation of the latter.

Chapter two of this dissertation deals with the pre-colonial mode of production in Tivland and the process of historical change in Tiv economy before the imposition of colonial relations of production on Tiv economy. It concerns itself with the organisation of labour, traditional Agricultural practises, trade and so on. Here, the Bantoid origin of the Tiv is established, being a fore-runner to the argument that the origin of the Tiv handicarafts in Tivland (as well as agricultural practices) is independent of other Nigerian ethnic groups and that it can be located in their Bantoid roots in central Africa.

Chapter three treats pre-colonial handicraft industries in Tivland . The technological sophistication of the Tiv in this era has been thrown up with the view to establishing the level of

technical fineses, the utility and antiquity of handicrafts and artefacts and so on. Here, it is proven that, Tiv handicarafts had a great antiquity, were quite utilitarian and generally had a special place (like the craftsmen) in the social life of the Tiv people.

Chapter four of this dissertation deals with the first and second phases of de-industri-industrialisation in colonial Tiv land. The first phase spans from the period of conquest to the beginning of the second World War whereas, the second phase coincides with the war and after World War years. In this period(of de-industrialisation), the activities of the B.C.G.A and Mercantile firms are critically examined with a view to showing that they were agencies of dislocation of local industries. Also examined are: confiscations of Tiv ritual objects of scientific value, The effects of taxation and monetization of Tiv economy on Tiv handicrafts, patent laws and the overall colonial policy towards industrial-ization.

Chapter five of this dissertation is a critical review of the whole subject matter based on the evidence from the preceeding chapters. Some serious recommendations have also been made regarding what should be the place of handicraft industries in Nigeria's industrial agenda.

In conclusion, we have identified colonial and neo-colonial imperialism as the principal agents of scientific, technological and industrial stagnation in Tivland and Nigeria in general. Objectively speaking thus, technological and industrial development in Nigeria is only possible on the basis of a radical break from the exploitatory international capitalist system. This structural de-linking and re-orientation must begin at the national level with the removal of all persons who are only interested in collaborating with foreign capital for their own selfish and class interests. Other wise, our goal of technological and industrial self reliance will continue to be elusive, even mythical .

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(ii) Oral Sources:

(Interview)

S/NO	NAME OF INFORMANT	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1,	Dzeremo Adedzwa	70	M	Blacksmith	Kpamo/V-Ikya	9/8/91
2	Hembadoon Dzuana	65	F	Potter/Farmer	Mbagbera	12/12/91
3	Ator Beetse	72	M	Wood carver	Turan	9/8/91
4.	Tyokase Nyior	69	M	Wood carver	Mbagbera	12/8/91
5	Hange Loranyi	65	M	Smith/Carver	Mbagbera	8/6/91
6.	Bende Shamin	60	M	Farmer	Ushongo	3/5/91
7	Asemave Ikoive	53	F	Farmer	Konshisha	6/5/91
8	Agber Hueza	61	M	Farmer	Konshisha	7/5/91
9	Asemave Kaatyo	55	F	Potter/Farmer	Ushongo	18/8/91
10	Toryila Kwakar	50	M	Blacksmith	Gboko	16/8/91
11	Vaamo Zende	50	M	Farmer	Usar-Adikpo	17/9/91
12	Yuhengi Kwaghgande	59	F	Potter/Farmer	Mkar/ Gboko	17/9/91

S/No	NAME OF INFORMANT	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
13	Denvihin Gberkon	62	F	Potter/Farmer	Buruku	20/9/91
14	Kwaghtser Atachin	45	F	Potter	Mkar/Gboko	17/9/91
15	Zaiyol Akpem	40	F	Potter/Farmer	Mkar/Gboko	18/9/91
16	Atese Anongo	47	F	Potter	Ukum/Biam	25/9/91
17	Torkwase Wuhena	40	F	Potter	Ude/Makurdi	8/10/91
18	Kpadoo Hembaci	47	F	Potter	Ude/Makurdi	20/10/91
19	Dekera Nongo	82	M	Farmer	Mbaduku	7/3/91
20	Peverga Mbashinya	62	M	Weaver	Kanshio/Makundi	3/12/91
21	Denen Lorbo	62	M	Weaver	Adikpo West	17/10/91
22	Demenongo Tso	50	M	Weaver	Ugbema/K/Ala	17/10/91
23	Lorhen Mamkaa	53	M	Weaver	Tse-Kucha	18/10/91
24	Belbe Ashar	70	M	Weaver	Adikpo/Kwande	17/10/91
25	Lahaga Adzoom	45	M	Weaver	Mbayion/Gboko	13/4/91
26	Atenger Kerker	57	M	Carver	Konshisha	8/5/91
27	David Ubegba	66	M	Carver	Konshisha	8/5/91
28	Samu Dega	64	M	Ex-Soldier	Abagu/Gboko	16/8/91
29	Tativ Mbayan	70	M	Farmer	Ushongo	3/5/91
30	Pius Aguji	50	M	Trader	Ushongo	3/5/91
31	Samuel Adzenda	42	M	Trader	Ushongo	4/5/91

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Appendix (A)

GLOSSARY

Abe	=	Hardened iron stone
Agbande	=	Drums. (It also means plates)
Ahi	=	Groundnuts
Akambe	=	Crabs
Akombo	=	Rites or fetishes; (for farming, these include wayo, agashi, ribi and gwaymou.
Aliwe	=	Wife of Takuruku
Alogo	=	Cassava
Ambi-a Iwagh	=	Slag for the furnance
Anadendem	=	Son of Tiv; said to have disappeared into the bush to turn into a hedge-hog.
Angum-ada	=	A small bow-like weaving instrument which curved the stick upon which it was tied.
Aondo	=	Sometimes called Aondo Baverjua means God in present day parlance. Aondo - Gba means thunder bolt while Gba-Aondo means "natural" or "God's creation".
Asenge	=	Joke
Ateiwa	=	Smithy
Atsaka	=	Sweet potatoes
Atsua	=	Pots (especially small ones for cooking soup and stew).
Avom	=	Mounds

Awange	=	Some Tiv traditions mention him as the direct father of the Tiv.
Ayaaya	=	Wife of Tiv (The progenitor of the Tiv people).
Beba	=	Indigo
Chamegh	=	Olive tree.
Chifi	=	also called achagh is used for stiffening cloth.
Dugh Ityegh ato	=	"Giving ears to the pot". A characteristic feature of Tiv pots which make the 'mouths' of the pots look like satellite dishes (or ears).
Dughun Ityegh Yav	=	"Aborting the pots pregnancy." Also called Uhuen Ityegh or Utimen Ityegh meaning: digging or building the pot.
Dzelagba	=	A chain of short rods kept by soothsayers for purposes of divinition.
Galu	=	Coloured (dyeing) ink.
Gbev	=	Eldest son of Tiv; alleged by legends to have turned into a bird.
Icnenge	=	Broken pot that serves as frying pan or an open basin for giving water to animals.
Ichongu	=	Son of Tiv born after Tiv had circumcised.
Igoev	=	A kind of sandpaper obtained from the cover of Iyiase pods.
Igbou - ahi	=	Bambara groundnuts.
Igya - ichol	=	A fairly long bamboo bar used for lifting the spread threads in front of the weaver to ease the "open" and "close" processes of the loom.

Ijembe (jiga)	=	The big axe or digger. There is also Ijembe Aondo which means "axe of God associated with thunder-bolt.
Ikondu-Itumen	=	Cloth weaving (or woven cloth).
Ikundu	=	Means twenty. It also refers to 20 strips of cloth.
Iligh-Bashi	=	Brass partly used as money and welded into a continous length, loosely bent into a spiral and tied round the waist or ankles.
Imbor-Ivungu	=	Family deity usually under the custody of the house head.
Imenger -Inyaar	=	Also called achi bagh-bagh means clay lamp.
Ingyor	=	Marriage wards. A social unit above the Ya level comprising about 20 compounds and sharing a common ancestry.
Inya-hur	=	Ant-hill clay
Inya-tyuu	=	Clay for pottery.
Ipusu	=	Son of Iiv said to have been given birth to before Tiv knew the art of circumcision.
Ishegher	=	Flask
Ityegh	=	Multi-purpose boiling pot (plural; mtem).
Ityekpe	=	A big calabash.
Ityo	=	One's agnatic lineage of whatever depth. Power is said to belong to the Ityo and not the individual.

Ivor-tan = Broadcast Sowing.

Iwa-Varen = Iron stone

Iyange-Iwagh = Special workdays

Iyou = Yams

Kanji = Small hand axe

Kapu = Bushel

Kwav = Progressive age grades or groups

Kyekye = Bicycle. (Also refers to the skeletal loom).

Luwa = Also called agom means girdle for tying around the waist.

Mbatsav = Witches/Wizards

Mkurem = Oil.

Msabe = A form of hammer also called Igbugh-yo

Mtem = Plural of Ityegh. (Msoo u mtem means firing of pottery).

Mtsem = Calcium carbonate (locally prepared).

Mtuhwem = Ash.

Munchi = A derogatory name for the Tiv, meaning "We have eaten." It is derived from the fable that the Tiv stole and ate fulani cattle. It is likely to be a corruption of the Jukun word Mitshi for strangers or foreigners.

Ngo-Kon = "Mother Wood," a rectangular piece of wood dug in the centre into which picked cotton was put.

Nyambuan = The anti-witchcraft cult which began in Tivland around 1939.

Orvesen	=	Elder
Oryan	=	House - Head
Chon	=	Some Tiv traditions of origin mention him as either father of Aondo (Aondo Shon) or father of Awange
Sokpo	=	Brass rods
Suwa	=	Corporate fishing involving damming up waters while parties use different methods to trap fishes.
Swem (Karagbe)	=	Ancestoral home of the Tiv people located in the Bamenda (cameroun) highlands.
Ta-atsuku	=	Bewitch
Takuruku (Anyamazenga)	=	Variously claimed to be the first man God created, the creator (God) himself and the father of the Tiv people.
Tiv	=	The progenitor of the Tiv people of central Nigeria.
Tombur Ku Kughur	=	Raffia Shoot.
Tor Agbande	=	Drum chieftaincy institution.
Tsue	=	Individual fishing (with hooks)
Uke	=	Alleged progenitor of all non - Tiv races. Also used for all non - Tiv people.
Wua tia	=	Fines or sanctions for offences.
Ya	=	Compound. (The smallest social unit in Tiv Society comprising of sons of a grandfather living in a compound).

Appendix (B) — 1

LAGOS (ORDINANCES OF THE SETTLEMENT OF LAGOS AND THE COLONY OF LAGOS 1862 – 1905)

1. 1888 AD: Merchandise Marks Ordinance of the colony of Lagos, No 8 of 1888– was repealed by ordinance No 23 of 1915

2. 1889 AD: Merchandise Marks Ordinance of the colony of Lagos, No 13 of 1889 – was incorporated with NO 8 of 1888

3. 1900 AD: Patents ordinance of the colony of Lagos, No. 17 of 1900 – was repealed by ordinance No 30 of 1916

4. 1901: Trade Marks Registration Ordinance No 4 of 1901 of the colony of Lagos– repealed by ordinance No. 20 of 1914

5. 1902 AD: Designs Registration Ordinance No 20 of the colony of Lagos–was repealed by ordinance No 4 of 1903

6. 1903 AD: Designs Registration Ordinance No 4 of 1903 of the colony of Lagos–was repealed by ordinance No 23 of 1902

7 1903 AD: Trade marks Ordinance No 5 of 1903–was amended by Ordinance No4 of 1901

SOUTHERN NIGERIA (PROCLAMATIONS 1900 – 1905)

8. 1900: Trade Marks proclamation No25 of 1900 (Proclamation of Southern Nigeria)– was repealed by ordinance No 8 of 1907

9. 1900:AD: Patents proclamation No27 of 1900–was repealed by ordinance No 3 of 1908.

10 1901 AD: Patemts amendment proclamation No. 19 of 1901 – was amended by ordinance 27 of ~~e~~ 1900

11 1901 AD: Trade Marks proclamation No 20 of 1901 – was amended by proclamat–ion No 25 of 1900

ORDINANCES OF THE COLONY OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA

1A(1906 – 1913)

12 1906 AD: Trade Marks ordinance No 2 of1906

13 1907 AD: Trade Marks consolidation Ordinance No 8 of 1907 – was repealed by proclamation No 25 of 1900 and amended by Ordinance No 4 of 1901

14 1910AD: Trade Marks Ordinance No 18 of 1910 – was repealed by ordinance No 20 of 1914.

PROCLAMATIONS OF THE PROTECTORATE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA (1900–1913)

15	1902 AD:	Patents proclamation No 12 of 1902 – was repealed by ordinance no 30 of 1916

ORDINANCES OF THE COLONY AND PROTECTORATE OF NIGERIA (1914 – 1953)

16	1914 AD:	Trade Marks Ordinance No 20 of 1914 – became chapter 142 of the laws of Nigeria, 1923 edition came into operation on 31 December 1916
17	1915AD:	Merchandise Marks Ordinance No 23 of 1915 – became chapter 143 of the laws of Nigeria 1923 and came into operation on 6th January 1916
18	1916 AD:	Patents Validation Ordinance No 20 of 1916 – was Ommitted from the laws of Nigeria, 1923 edition
19	1916 Ad:	Patents Ordinance No 30 of 1916 became chapter 141 of the laws of Nigeria 1923 (Vol 2) and came into effect on the 13th July 1916
20	1918 AD:	Patent Amendment Ordinance No 40 of 1922 was incorporated with chapter 141 of the laws of Nigeria 1923

21	1920 AD:	Trade Marks Amendment Ordinance No 6 of 1920 was incorporated with chapter 142 of the laws of Nigeria 1923
22	1922AD	Patents Amendment Ordinance No 40 of 1922 was incorporated with chapter 141 of the laws of Nigeria 1923
23	1923 AD:	Trade Marks Ordinance No4 of 1923
24	1925 AD:	Registration of United Kingdom patents ordinance No 6 Cap 198 of the law of Nigeria, 1948 edition.
25	1926:	Trade Marks ordinance No 13 of 1926 Cap 142 laws of Nigeria 1948 edition(Amended Trade Marks ordinance 1914 and 1923)
26	1928AD:	Registration of United Kingdom Designs Ordinance no 30 of 1928
27	1932:	Registration of United Kinddom patents, Ordinance No 23 of 1932
28	1933:	United kingdom Designs (Amendment) Ordinance no 38 of 1933
29	1933:	United Kingdom Designs(Amendment) Ordinance no 39 of e9933
30	1936:	Registration of united Kingdom patents (Amendment) Ordinance 1939; came into effect on 1/10/1936

was amended by expanding section 13 of 1925 ordinance to include patents granted under the patents ordinance

31 1936: United kingdom Designs (Protection) ordinance no 36 of 1936 (provided for the protection in Nigeria of designs registered in the United kingdom)

32 1937: An ordinance to amend the United kingdom Designs (Protection) ordinance 1936, no 22 of 1937 - came into effect on 22 July 1937

33 1938 Registration of United kingdom patents no 18 of 1938

34 1958 Chapter 182 of the laws Nigeria 1958 (ed)

35 1958: Chapter 104 of the laws of Nigeria 1958

36 1965: Trade Marks Act No 29 of 1965 repealed the trade marks Act cap 199 laws of Nigeria 1958, the Trade marks Regulation Vol 10 of the 1958 edition P. 2516, the Trade Marks Cap 199 in the Adaptation Laws (miscellaneous provisions) order 1964

37 1968 Patent rights limitation Defree no 8

38 1970 Patents and Designs Decree No 60 of 1970 - which is the present

law on patents and Designs.

39 1970: Copyright Decree No 61 of 1970

(Apart from the above, there were regulations, orders and rules relating to copyright, Trade marks, Designs, patents etc spanning from 1911 to the present day which number more than thirty).

SOURCE: O'Chukura," patent laws in Nigeria" in D. Ehigie Osifo (ed) , The role of Technology in the Industrial Development of Nigeria (Ibadan: 1982)pp 269-264

Census of Tradesmen in BENUE Province.

District	Smiths	Tailors	Dyers	Weavers	Metal Workers.	Builders	Leather Workers	Potters	Tanners	Total
IDOMA:										
Adoka	14	4	29	4	3	1	2	-	-	57
Agala	6	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
Agatu	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Akweya	3	1	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	9
Boju	17	2	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	26
Edumoga	13	1	7	4	1	-	3	14	-	43
Egedde	9	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Ichama	6	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	9
Igumale	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Ishieke	7	3	3	13	-	7	2	-	-	35
Ito	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
Ocheku	4	2	-	3	-	-	9	-	-	18
Oglewu	6	1	2	9	-	-	-	10	-	28
Okwoga	12	2	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	22
Orokam	8	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	12
Orukpa	5	1	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	11
Otukpa	8	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
Oturkpo	20	21	5	8	2	5	-	2	-	63
Ulayi	5	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8
Utonkon	10	2	4	4	1	1	-	-	-	22
Yangedde	9	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	16
LAFIA:										
Lafia	116	30	34	62	16	74	12	-	6	350
Doma	18	2	-	27	-	-	6	-	-	53
Keana	7	1	-	8	-	7	2	-	-	25
Assaikio	20	2	-	-	-	6	1	-	-	29
NASARAWA										
Nasarawa Town	17	19	1	8	3	21	16	2	-	87
" District	15	5	-	13	-	-	7	-	-	40
Loko "	10	9	12	12	3	5	9	1	1	62
Afo "	5	-	5	400	-	-	2	-	1	413
Gade "	12	11	24	6	1	15	8	-	5	82
Toto "	15	40	200	20	-	7	7	-	2	291
Umaisha"	50	35	250	2	3	7	6	-	8	361
Keffi Town	40	78	69	69	19	18	30	-	27	350
Keffi District	56	11	60	9	3	-	-	-	6	145
Yeskwa "	22	3	14	17	-	-	-	-	-	56
Karshi "	9	2	-	5	-	-	4	107	-	127
Karu "	25	7	18	22	-	-	-	-	1	73
TIV	94	127	936	108	56	33	45	-	94	1093
WUKARI	78	66	35	34	-	9	31	?	3	255
Takum	43	39	-	2	-	7	20	?	3	114
Donga	17	12	10	8	-	-	7	?	-	54
Kentu Area (Mandated)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	1
	846	553	1340	899	111	223	231	138	157	4498

Nor

Res/

Consolidated return above f.i.

[illegible] 28/9/46 I did not know there were so many in Tiv. [illegible]

[illegible]

Engineer i/c's Office.
Nigerian Railway Corp.,
Makurdi.

APPENDIX I

DATE November, 1956

(a)	(b)		(c)				(d)	(e)								(f)				REMARKS
TRADE, ALLIED TRADE, OR CALLING	NUMBERS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED		+ REGION OF TRIBAL ORIGIN OF EMPLOYEES NUMBER				NUMBERS WHO HAVE COMPLETED APPRENTICE-SHIP	TRADE TESTED NUMBER AND GRADING								SPECIAL GRADE LABOUR GRADING				
								LABOUR DEPT. GRADING				DEPARTMENTAL GRADE								
			N.	E.	W.	C.		Number	I	II	III	Number	I	II	III	Number	I	II	III	
Carpenters Staff	8	28	-	8	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	8	7	1	-					
" Daily Paid	20		-	20	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	20	-	5	15					
Mason Staff	6	31	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6	5	1	-					
" Daily Paid	25			25	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	25	-	6	19					
Fitters Staff	5	11	1	4	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	3	2	-					
" Daily Paid	6		-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	5					
Painters Staff	10	24	1	8	1	-	10	-	-	-	-	10	4	6	-					
" Daily Paid	14		-	14	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	14					
Bridge Painters	40		10	28	2	-	40	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-					
Blacksmith Staff	2	3	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-					
" Daily Paid	1		-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-					
Other Trades men & Staff	2		-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-					
Strikers Staff	2		-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1					
Headmen Staff	1		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-					
Drivers Staff	3		2	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-					
" Daily Paid	3		-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-					
Special Labour	28		10	28	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	28	6	4	18	121 General

Engineer in Charge, MD.

The Provincial Engineer,
Public Works Department,
Makurdi, Benue Province.

APPENDIX I

Makurdi.

DATE November, 1956.

(a)	(b)	(c)				(d)	(e)								(f)				REMAR
TRADE, ALLIED TRADE, OR CALLING	NUMBERS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED	+ REGION OF TRIBAL ORIGIN OF EMPLOYEES NUMBER				NUMBERS WHO HAVE COMPLETED APPRENTICE-SHIP	TRADE TESTED NUMBER AND GRADING								SPECIAL GRADE LABOUR GRADING				
							LABOUR DEPT. GRADING				DEPARTMENTAL GRADE								
		N.	E.	W.	O.		Number	I	II	III	Number	I	II	III	Number	I	II	III	
Motor Mechanic	3					3	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	
Blacksmith & Welder	6	–	6	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	1	–	1	–	
Carpenters	68		66	–	–	52	39	–	8	31	13	–	2	1	16	16	–	–	
Bricklayers	54	2	51	–	1	42	26	1	1	24	16	–	6	10	12	12	–	–	
Painters	3	–	2	1	–	3	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	
Plumbers/Fitters	8	–	7	1	–	7	1	–	1	1	4	–	–	4	–	1	–	–	
Wood Machinist	1	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Motor Drivers	17	6	10	1	–	17	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	7	7	–	–	

NIGERIA. Quadruplicate. Gen 20

N. A. Indent No.* BENUE 3/1938-39 Date* 9 May 1938

Indent on the Crown Agents for the Colonies for †

Road Construction Materials.

required by Tiv Native Administration.

ADDRESS.

O.H.M.S.

TIV N.A. GBOKO VIA MAKURDI,

Requisition C/\A § VIA PORT HARCOURT, NIGERIA.

Parcel Post Address ‖ Tiv Native Administration c/o Divisional Officer, Tiv, Makurdi, Nigeria.

Weight and/or size limit (if any) for individual packages

If necessary that goods be shipped by a fixed date or by a particular vessel enter instruction here and briefly indicate reason for necessity

As soon as possible.

Estimated total cost in sterling exclusive of packing and freight £ 132. 9. 4d.

Special account with the Crown Agents to which the Cost is to be charged ¶

Any other instructions to the Crown Agents as to the execution of this indent as a whole

Head XVII Item 205 R.I.E. No. 19 38-39 N. A. Estimates.

Vote on Estimates £1240. Balance available £1240. Estimated Total cost of Indent (inclusive of freight) £132. 0. 0.

Native Treasurer.

Native Authority (or delegate)

Indenting Official

Divisional Officer [initials.]

Resident Benue Province.

Correspondence in connexion with this indent should be addressed direct to the Resident, Benue Province, Makurdi.

* Give No. and date to be used in correspondence with the Crown Agents.

† Brief description of the goods required.

§ Give here the exact abbreviated marks to appear on packages.

‖ If parcel post likely to be used state how packages so despatched should be addressed.

¶ If this is not filled in the cost will be charged to the general account of the Colony.

Where there is a covering R.I.E. the signatures of the Native Authority and Native Treasurer may be omitted, but the R.I.E. number should be quoted.

(INSIDE SHEET.)

NIGERIA. Quadruplicate. ORIGINAL. DUPLICATE

General 21.

Indent No._____ Page_____

Item No.	Quantity.		Description of Articles.	Estimated Cost in England. Rate.	Total. £	s.	d.	Remarks or references to specifications or special notes [if any] on separate sheets.
			~~XXXXXXXXX~~ Brought forward ...					
	500	only	Steel Head pans Black 18" diameter x 20 G with handles	2/-	50	-	-	
	200	"	Square Mouth Shovels Blade 12½" x 10" - open socket crutch	2/3	22	10	-	
	200	"	Picks, solid eye chisel and point with handles.	2/8	26	13	4	
	300	"	Matchets	7d	8	15	-	
	100	"	Rakes with handles 14" x 14 teeth.	2/9	13	15	-	
	24	"	Felling axes fitted with 36" ash handles weight with handle about 7½ lbs.	7/-	8	8	-	
	48	"	Hoes, large 12" x 6" good quality.	1/-	2	8	-	
					132	9	4	
			Freight etc.		29	10	6	
					162	-	-	
			Carried forward					

G.P., Kaduna. 755/35

12

INVOICE.

(Advice Copy)

INCOMPLETE

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES.

Dr. to Messrs. W & R BLAKEMORE

of 38, CHARLOTTE STREET BIRMINGHAM

Date 19th July 1938

Reference W 5598/1 Nigeria

Indent No. Benue 3/38-39 dated 9/5/38

Special a/c (if any)

Department Tiv N A

Shipped by S.S./M.V. or Date of posting William Wilberforce Harrington Docks L'pool

To be filled in by Contractor.

Item Nos.	Quantity.	Description of Article in wording of Tender.	Weight. T.	c.	q.	lb.	Rate.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		O H M S TIV N A GBOKO via MAKURDI PORT HARCOURT											
	R 5598	B 118/37											
1	500	Pans head black steel 18" dia x 20 G No 9138 with handles					2/0½ ea	51	0	10			
		Gross cwt 0-2-6 ea Nett cwt 0-2-6 ea 50 B'dles 22½" x 18½" x 13"						-	-	-	51	0	10
		B 168/37											
3	200	Picks solid eye No 7340 chisel & point = cwt 12-2-0 26/- cwt						16	5	0			
		Gross cwt 0-2-15 ea Nett cwt 0-2-14 ea 20 B'dles 36" x 15" x 5"						-	-	-	16	5	0
		B 209											
7	48	Hoes 12" x 6" No 9140					1/1½ ea	2	14	0			
		Gross cwt 1-1-16 Nett cwt 1-1-4 Case 22" x 15" x 8"							4	6	2	18	6
		Delivered F.O.B Liverpool									-	-	-
											70	4	4

Copy forwarded D-O Tiv

[initials]
1/9/38

[signature]

59 100,000/11/37. W. & S. Ld.

SECOND SHIPPING ADVICE.

The Crown Agents for the Colonies transmit documents for the undermentioned shipment. The freight account is detailed below.

1765

Reference	S/ Nigeria 5598
Indent No.	Benue 3/38-9
Special A/c	
Dept.	Tiv N.A.
Ship	Accra
From	Liverpool
To	Port Harcourt
Consigned to	The Port Traffic Supt.
Sailing Date	10.8.38.

Invoice :—

	£	s.	d.
Messrs. V. & R. Blakemore	11	-	6
do.	32	18	2

FREIGHT ACCOUNT.

Messrs :— Greenshields Cowie & Co.

	DESCRIPTION OF STORES.	Measurement.	Weight.	Rate.	£	s.	d.
3 cases	Matchets		C.4.0.23.	52/6	-	11	-
1 case	Rake Heads	5' 11"					
1 bag	" Handles	7 4					
16 bdles.	Shovels	1 23 8					
		1 36 11		52/6	5	-	11
					5	11	11
			Harbour Dues	4/-	-	8	6
					£6	-	5

To :— The Resident,
Benue Province,
Northern Provinces,
Nigeria.

Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies,
4, Millbank, London, S.W.1.

KS

S. 68. 35,000/9/38. W. & S. Ltd.

S. 59 100,000/11/37. W. & S. Ld.

INVOICE.

(Advice Copy)

14

INCOMPLETE.

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES.

Dr. to Messrs. V & R BLAKEMORE.

of CHARLOTTE STREET BIRMINGHAM.

Date 27th. July 1938.

Reference "W" 5598/1. NIGERIA.

Indent No. Benue 3/38-39 Dated 9.5.38.

Special a/c (if any)

Department Tiv N.A.

Shipped by S.S./M.V. "Accra", Brunswick Docks, Liverpool.
or
Date of posting

To be filled in by Contractor.

Item Nos.	Quantity.	Description of Article in wording of Tender.	Weight. T.	c.	q.	lb.	Rate.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		O.H.M.S. Tiv. N.A. Oboko, Via Makurdi, Port Harcourt. R. 5598.											
		B. 929.											
5	100	Rakes 14" x 14 teeth No. 9117. 3/- each						10	0	0			
		Gross cwt 1-2-2. Nett cwt 1-0-22 Case ppd. 2'3" x 1'9" x 1'6"						-	-	6			
											10	0	0
		B. 930.											
5	100.	Handles Rake. Price Included in Rakes						-	-	-			
		Gross cwt 1-3-8. Nett cwt 1-2-4. Bag 5'7" x 1'7" x 0'10".						-	-	-			
											-	-	-
		Packed & Delivered Liverpool.									1	0	6
											£ 11	0	6

INVOICE.

(Advice Copy)

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR

Dr. to Messrs. V. & R. Blakemore.

of Charlotte Street, Birmingham

Date 29th July 1938.

Reference "W" 5598/1 Nigeria.

Indent No. Benue 5/38-39 dated 9/5

Special a/c (if any)

Department Tiv. N.A.

Shipped by S.S./M.V. "ACCRA" Brun
or
Date of posting

To be filled in by Contract

Item Nos.	Quantity.	Description of Article in wording of Tender.	Weigh T.	c.
		O.H.M.S. Tiv. N.A. GBORO, Via Makurdi, PORT HARCOURT. R. 5598.		
		B.895/97.		
4	300	Matchets No.8614. 7½d. e		
		Gross cwt 1-1-17 en Nett cwt 1 3 Cases 23⅝" x 14¼" x 11"		
8	300	Shovels Sq. Mouth Blade, 12½" x 10", open socket crutch handle, No.8612. 2/3 ea		
B.959/70		Gross cwt 0-2-6 en Nett cwt 0- 12 B'dles 39" x 13" x 14½" ea		
B.931/74		Gross cwt 0-2-16 en Nett cwt 4 B'dles 39" x 14" x 14½" ea		
		Packed & Delivered Liverpool		

INVOICE.

(Advice Copy)

17

COMPLETE

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES.

Dr. to Messrs. V. & R. BLAKEMORE,

of 38, CHARLOTTE ST, BIRMINGHAM

Date 20th. August 1938

Reference W5598/1 NIGERIA

Indent No. Benue 3/38-9 dated 9/5/38

Special a/c (if any)

Department TIV.N.A.

Shipped by S.S./M.V. "APAPA" BRUNSWICK DKS, LIVERPOOL.
or
Date of posting

To be filled in by Contractor.

Item Nos.	Quantity.	Description of Article in wording of Tender.	Weight. T.	c.	q.	lb.	Rate.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		O.H.M.S Tiv N.A GBOKO via Makurdi Port Harcourt R5598											
		B729											
6	24	Axes Felling No6049 with 36" ash handles 7½ Lbs with handle					7/- Ea	8	8	0			
		Gross cwt 1-3-21 net cwt 1-2-10 case 40" x18" x13"						0	9	0			
		Delivered f.o.b. Liverpool						-	-	-			
											£	8	17 0

NIGERIA QUINTUPLICATE General 20

*Give No. and date to be used in correspondence with the Crown Agents.

Indent No.* BENUE 1A/1948-49 Date* 17th July, 1948.

† Brief description of the goods required.

Indent on the Crown Agents for the Colonies for † Tractor Equipment

‡ Department of the Colonial Government ordering the goods.

required by the ‡ Div Native Administration. Department.

§ Give here the exact abbreviated marks to appear on packages.

ADDRESS

O.H.M.S.
Tiv N.A.
c/o Resident Makurdi
via Port Harcourt
§ Nigeria.

Requisition C/\A

‖ If parcel post likely to be used state how packages so despatched should be addressed.

Parcel Post Address ‖ Tiv N.A. c/o Resident Makurdi, via Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

Weight and/or size limit (if any) for individual packages

If necessary that goods be shipped by a fixed date or by a particular vessel enter instructions here and briefly indicate reason for necessity. As early as possible.

Estimated total cost in sterling exclusive of packing and freight £ 675

Special account with the Crown Agents to which the cost is to be charged ¶

¶ If this is not filled in the cost will be charged to the general account of the Colony.

Any other instructions to the Crown Agents as to the execution of this indent as a whole

Head XVIII Item 10 R.I.E.No. 1948/49 Estimates.

Vote on Estimates £1480 Balance available £1029 Estimated Total cost of Indent (inclusive of freight) £900

Native Treasurer

for Native Authority (or delegate)

Indenting Official.

Do. Tiv

Tiv Divisional Officer (initials).

(Sgd) L. Broughton Resident Benue

NIGERIA

Indent No._____ Page_____

Item No.	Quantity	Description of Articles	Estimated Cost in England				Remarks or references to specifications or special notes (if any) on separate sheets
			Rate	Total £	s	d	
		Brought forward					
1	1	Fordson Major Tractor fitted with Power take-off, Belt Pulley, and Tool Box.		450	-	-	The Ford Motor Company Ltd., Dagenham Essex.
2	1	3 - furrow plough to fit Item 1		90	-	-	
3	2 sets	Cultivator Tines to fit Item 1	£15	30	-	-	
4	3	Ridging Bodies to fit above Tool Box and throw a 40" ridge	£10	30	-	-	
5	1	Mowing attachment to fit and work from Fordson power take-off.		45	-	-	
6	1	Light Harrow suitable for covering broad cast seeds.		30	-	-	
7	1	Two furrow Statesman DJ Disc Plough fitted with Disc scrapers, for use with Tractor.		90	-	-	Ransomes, Sims and Jefferies Ipswich England.
				675	-	-	
		Plus 33⅓ % cost of freight		225	-	-	
		Total cost of Indent £		900	-	-	
		Total Estimated Cost of the Indent					

The Indent should be prepared in conformity with the "Rules governing the Preparation of Indents." The list of Articles should be written on one side of the paper only. Specifications or explanatory notes which cannot be put in the margin should be written on separate sheets and referred to in the Indent. Inside sheets (General Form 21) to be used if necessary, so that this page may be the last of the Indent.

NIGERIA.

Gen 20

N. A. Indent No.* N.P. 34/1937-38 Date* 16th April 1937

Indent on the Crown Agents for the Colonies for †

TOOLS

required by TIV Native Administration.

ADDRESS.

O.H.M.S.
TIV N. A. GBOKO VIA MAKURDI
Requisition C/|\A VIA PORT HARCOURT, § NIGERIA.

Parcel Post Address ‖ Tiv Native Administration
c/o Divisional Officer, Tiv, Makurdi, Nigeria.

Weight and/or size limit (if any) for individual packages

If necessary that goods be shipped by a fixed date or by a particular vessel enter instruction here and briefly indicate reason for necessity

As soon as possible

Estimated total cost in sterling exclusive of packing and freight
£4. 1. 0

Special account with the Crown Agents to which the Cost is to be charged
¶

Any other instructions to the Crown Agents as to the execution of this indent as a whole

Head XV Item 3 R.I.E. No. 1937-38 N. A. Estimates.

Vote on Estimates £20 Balance available £20 Estimated Total cost of Indent (inclusive of freight) £5. 1. 3

A. Onoh Native Treasurer.

H.S. Arnold Native Authority (or delegate)

H.S. Arnold Indenting Official

H.S.A. Tiv Divisional Officer [initials.]

G. G. F. Benue Province. Resident

Approved this 19 day of April 1937.

(Sgd) G. A. Carr
for Secretary, Northern Provinces.

* Give No. and date to be used in correspondence with the Crown Agents.

† Brief description of the goods required.

§ Give here the exact abbreviated marks to appear on packages.

‖ If parcel post likely to be used state how packages so despatched should be addressed.

¶ If this is not filled in the cost will be charged to the general account of the Colony.

Where there is a covering R.I.E. the signatures of the Native Authority and Native Treasurer may be omitted, but the R.I.E. number should be quoted.

(INSIDE SHEET.)

NIGERIA.

General 21.
ORIGINAL.
DUPLICATE.

Indent No.______ Page______

Item No.	Quantity.		Description of Articles.	Estimated Cost in England. Rate.	Total. £	s.	d.	Remarks or references to specifications or special notes [if any] on separate sheets.
			[redacted]					
1.	200	only	Best quality Hoes identical Negro Head Brand Kaffir Pick 7" x 9" No.163 V. & R. Blakemore, Birmingham. Reference No. on Catalogue 46.	1/-	10	-	-	
2.	200	"	Best quality Hoes identical Negro Head Brand Native Spiked. No.3181 V. & R. Blakemore, Birmingham. Reference No. on Catalogue 46.	1/-	10	-	-	
					20	-	-	
			Freight, Packing etc. 25 %		5	-	-	
					£25	-	-	
			Carried forward					

Res. P2 for signature pl

[initials] 14/7

[initials]

(INSIDE SHEET.)

NIGERIA.

General 2
ORIGINAL.
DUPLICATE.

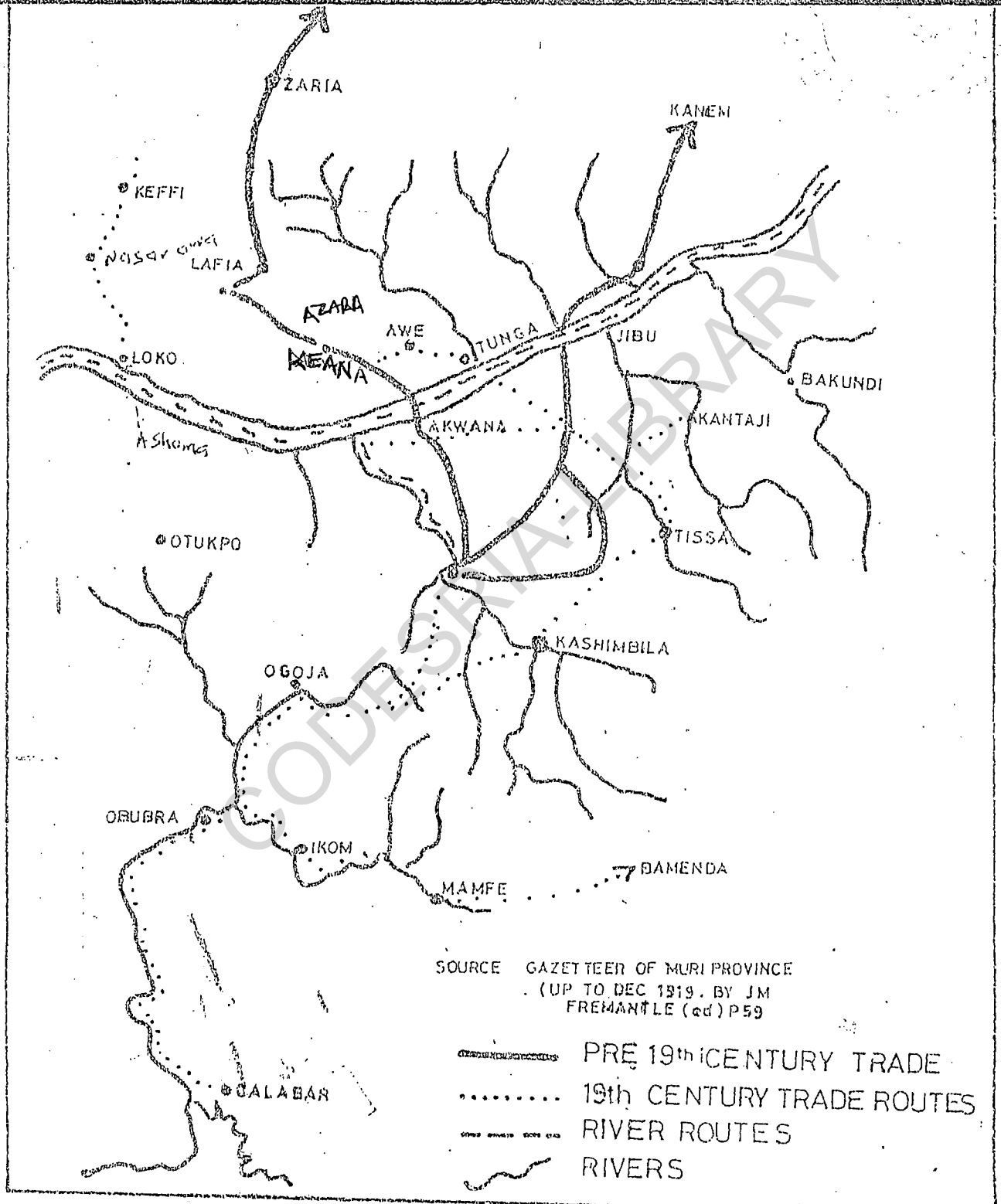
Indent No._____

Page 1

Item No.	Quantity.	Description of Articles.	Estimated Cost in England. Rate.	Total. £	s.	d.	Remarks or references to specifications or special notes [if any] on separate sheets.
		ENGINEERING ...					
1	One dozen	Hardy's "Nurseryman" Spade made by the Hardy Patent Pick Co.Ltd. Sheffield, England. Maker's No. 1538, size 2. Last obtained on the Crown Agent's Indent No. 544/29-30 of 15/7/29. Reference No.2028A/3 (for the Senior Conservator of Forests in charge N.P. Nigeria	36/-	1	16	-	
2	Half dozen	Secateurs, size 7½". Aubert's Pattern as in illustration. No other pattern is suitable.	7/6	2	5	-	
				4	1	-	
		Freight, Packing etc. 25%		1	-	3	
				£5	1	3	
		Carried forward					

G.P., Kaduna. 755/35

12 flagged for signature



ig·3 Pre 19th and 19th century Trade routes of the Middle Benue Belt