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ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NIGERIA
With Particular Reference to the Problem of Unification

By

J. OLOLADE ADEJUYIGBE, B.A.

Thesis submitted for examination for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
Durham University

May, 1967

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PREFACE

This study is about Nigeria under the existing Constitution and the present composition of the Federation.

It was started in October, 1964 as an exercise in political geography. At the time there was no idea that before the study would be completed there would be disruptions in Nigeria and that serious thought would have to be given to the political geography of the country. In spite of the disruptions the original aim has been retained. The aim is to see how far the principles of political geography can be applied to a study of a state rather than to a study of just the boundaries of the state.

There is of course, no agreement among political geographers on how the political geography of a state should be studied. Some authorities suggest that political geography should be the study of the geographical factors affecting politics within states and between states. As Wooldridge and East put it political geography "concerns the relationship between geography and political phenomenon."¹ This approach leads to the study of voting patterns at parliamentary and other elections within a

1. Wooldridge, S. W. and East, W. G. The Spirit and purpose of Geography (rev. ed.). London. Hutchinson Univ. Library, 1958 p. 123

state and to the study of international politics and the military power of states. However, the approach does not lead back to geography, rather it leads to political science. Indeed Sprouts, a political scientist, once suggested that political geography studied in this way is rightly a field of political science.²

Since political geography is a branch of geography it should lead back to the main stream of geography. The aim of geography is to recognise and study regions of the earth and a state is often regarded as a single human region. Therefore the interest of the political geographer is to study the qualities which make a state a single human region. In other words political geography may be taken as the study of the bases of a state (or any other political unit) and of the problems involved in holding the different parts of the state together. As Hartshorne puts it "in political geography our interest is in the problem of unification of diverse regions into a single whole."³ This is the approach which is followed in this study.

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2. Sprouts, H. H. "Political Geography as a Political Science Field."
American Pol. Sc. Rev Vol. XXV, 1931
pp. 439-442
 3. Hartshorne, R. The Functional Approach in Political Geography.
Annals Ass Amer. Geographers.
Vol XL, 1950. pp 95-130

PLAN

After a short description of the physical setting in Chapter I the resources of Nigeria are described in Chapter II, particular attention being paid to the productivity of each part of the country. Chapter III describes the peoples and their relationships before the British occupation. Chapters IV and V trace, respectively, the establishment of British authority and the pattern of British administration in Nigeria. Chapters VI to X treat in turn the Northern, Eastern, Western and Midwestern Regions and the Lagos Federal Territory. Following these the bases of the Federation are discussed in Chapter XI, inter-Regional boundary problems in Chapter XIII. Finally, in Chapter XIV the problems of unification are summarised and there is a consideration of how they can be solved.

SOURCES

The greater part of the material used was collected during the field work in Nigeria from October, 1965, to the end of March, 1966. All sources consulted are listed in the Appendix.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the help rendered by very many people, most of whom cannot be named individually. I should, however, like to record my thanks to the following people in the University of Durham.

The staff of the University Library, Science section, for the help they gave in borrowing many books from other Libraries.

Professor W. B. Fisher for the privilege of using the excellent research facilities in the Department of Geography.

Dr. J. M. Hunter, my supervisor who has taken a great deal of interest in my studies and he has spared much of his time in helping me.

In Nigeria much help was received from various peoples but I should like to mention the following:

The staff of the Federal Ministry of Education (Students' Section), Lagos for much help during the field work.

The Assistant Registrar, (Students) Ibadan University, for allowing me to use the University as a base for my field work and for providing accommodation while I was in Ibadan.

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The University Librarian and the staff of the Africana section, Ibadan University for the help they so willingly gave.

My field work in the Eastern Region was made easier by the facilities provided by the Assistant Dean of Student Affairs on the Enugu Campus of University of Nigeria.

At Zaria the University authorities gave much help and allowed me to stay on the campus. The Professor of Geography in the same University allowed me to use the facilities in his Department.

The Federal Government of Nigeria awarded me a post-graduate scholarship to complete the study.

The study would not have started at all without the constant encouragement of my brother, Dare Adejuyigbe who also gave much financial assistance and who made my field work much easier than it would have been.

I owe much to my wife for her help in very many ways. Without her assistance, interest and encouragement I could not have undertaken the study.

OLADE ADEJUYIGBE

Durham

May, 1967

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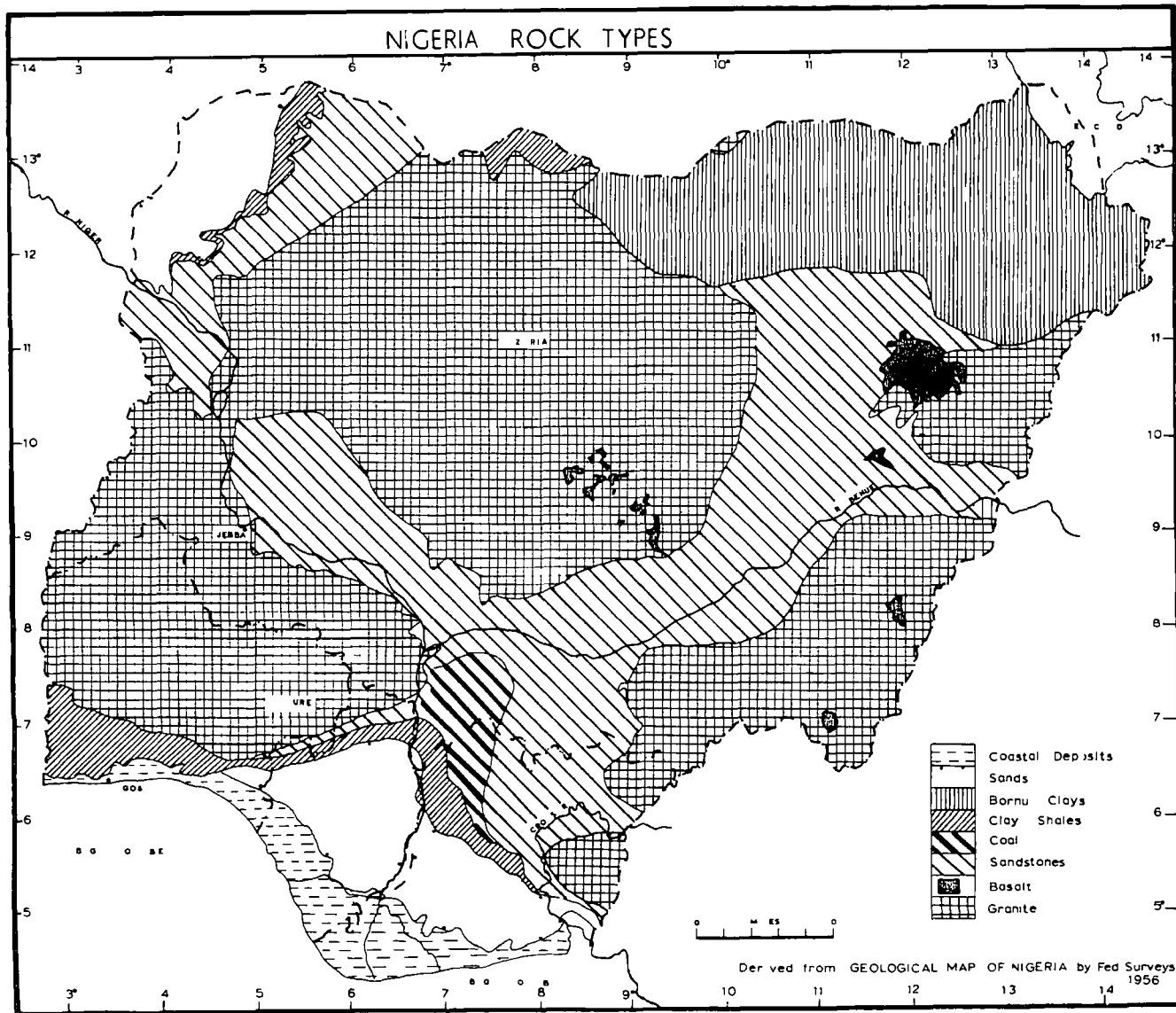


FIG 1

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL SETTING

Nigeria covers an area of 356,669 square miles between 4° and 14° N. and 2° E. and 15° E. In such a large area there are marked differences in the physical geography of the widely separated parts. These differences have had some influence on political organization as well as social differentiation within the country. Hence it is necessary to give a description of the country's main physical features at the outset. But since this is not a study in regional or general geography, the description will be concerned with only the broad patterns of the physical background.

ROCK TYPES

The whole of Nigeria is underlain by crystalline and granitic rocks, mostly of the pre-Cambrian era, but in some areas these basement rocks have been covered by younger deposits. Nevertheless, the granitic rocks remain uncovered in many places particularly in the southwestern, central and eastern parts of the country (Fig. 1). These basement rocks are heavily mantled by weathered material, but in a few cases the mantle is absent and the basement complex is exposed. In such cases the rocks form domes and inselbergs as for example near Akure in the southwest, and near Zaria in the northwest.

Sandstones, the oldest of the younger rocks which cover the granites are found in the northwestern, central and southeastern parts of the country, but the northwestern zone of sandstones is separated from the other sandstone areas by a narrow belt of crystalline rocks between Jéboa and Kainji. Economically the sandstones are noted for their salt springs which used to be worked especially in the Benue valley, and for coal. Deposits of the latter are found in various parts but in most areas they are too thin and of poor quality. At present only the deposits to the southeast of the Niger-Benue confluence are considered suitable for mining.

Spanning the southern edges of the granites and the sandstones are the clay shales which form a belt stretching from the west, where it is widest, eastwards to the Cross River. There is also a narrow belt of clay shales in the northwest. In the southern part of the country, the clay shales are intermixed with sandstones but in the northwest they are intermixed with calcareous rocks.

Over a large part of the northeast the bedrock consists of clays which were probably deposited in the Quaternary period. In central Bornu the clays are known to be as much as 200 feet thick. In many areas the clays have been covered by later deposits, usually wind-borne material from the Sahara desert.

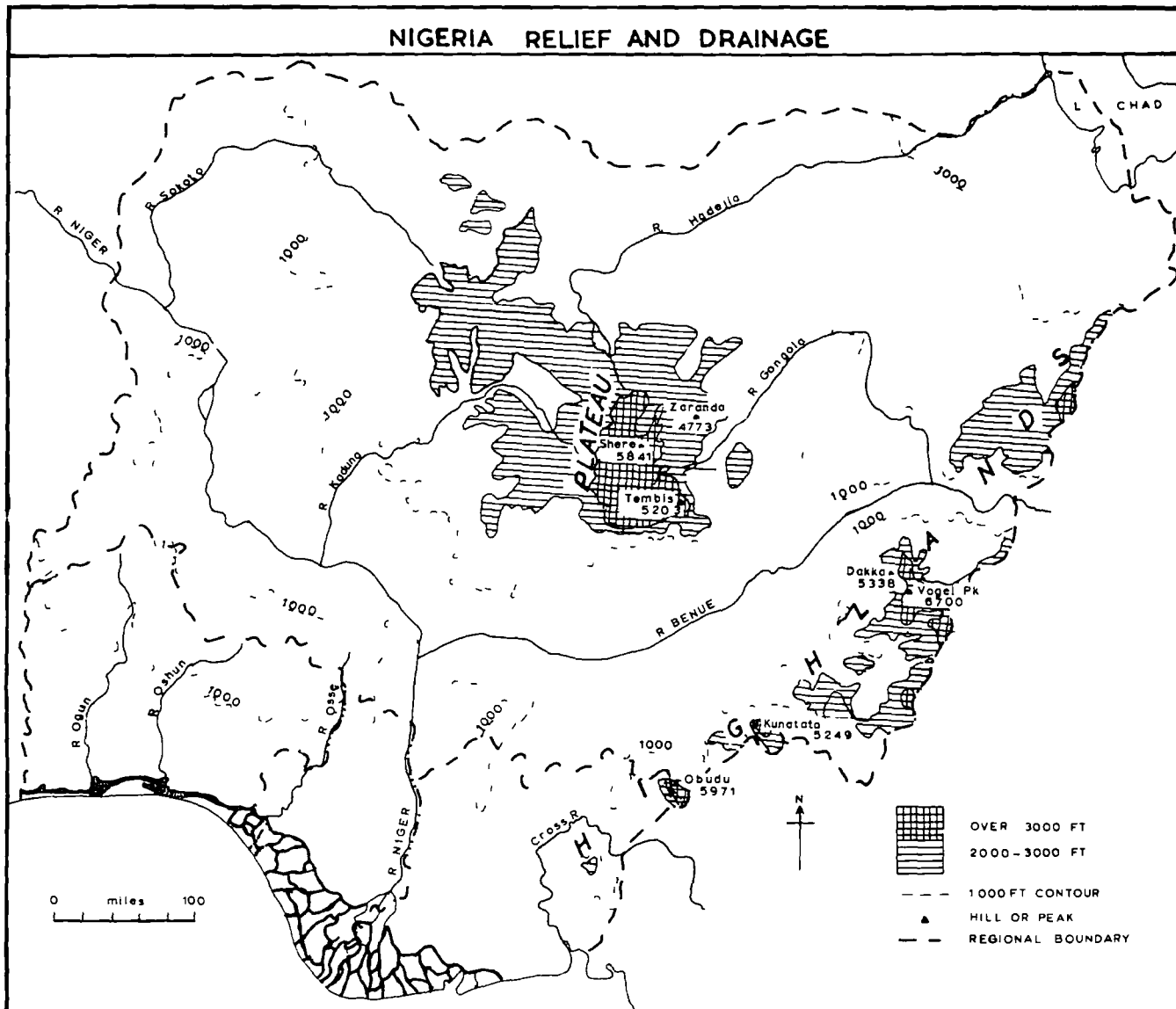


FIG. 2

Sandy deposits are found in various parts of the country, in the extreme northwest and also in the south where they cover a wide zone to the south of the clay shales.

The coastlands and the Niger delta are underlain by sediments deposited by the rivers from the interior.

RELIEF

The highest surfaces are the highlands of the eastern borderland (Fig. 2). These are formed by granites and other crystalline rocks which were uplifted as a result of earth movements before the Cretaceous period. The highlands extend from the Oban hills in the south to the Mandara mountains in the north and the only breaks are the Cross River and the Benue valleys. The highest peaks are in the centre where they include Vogel Peak (6,700 feet), Obuau Hills (5,971 feet) Dakka Hills (5,338 feet), and Kunatata Hill (5,249 feet).

Jos plateau lies in the central part of the country. It presents a very steep slope to the south but descends more gently to the north. The plateau comprises plains at a height of about 4,000 feet but some peaks rise to greater heights. Among the latter are Shere Hills (5,841), Temois Hill (5,203 feet), and Zaranda Hill (4,773 feet).

The greater part of Nigeria rises gently from the coast to the highlands and the plateau mentioned above. Generally, throughout the area, the only notable variations of relief to be seen are associated with inselbergs and exfoliation domes which rise abruptly above the local landscape. With the exception of these, gradients are gentle so most of the country may be regarded as a single and fairly uniform relief zone.

The coastal areas are very low in elevation and are characterised by lagoons, creeks and swamps.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

Since Nigeria lies entirely within the tropics and since there are no great differences in its relief, climatic differences within the country are related to seasonal and spatial variations of rainfall. Two air masses are involved: a moist tropical maritime airmass coming from the Gulf of Guinea and a dry tropical continental airmass, known as 'harmattan', coming from the Sahara desert.

In January, when pressure is high in the Sahara, the harmattan is at its strongest and its effects may be felt on the coast. The airmass is characterised by dry, hazy weather and a considerable diurnal range of temperature. At Kano, the temperature in January ranges from a

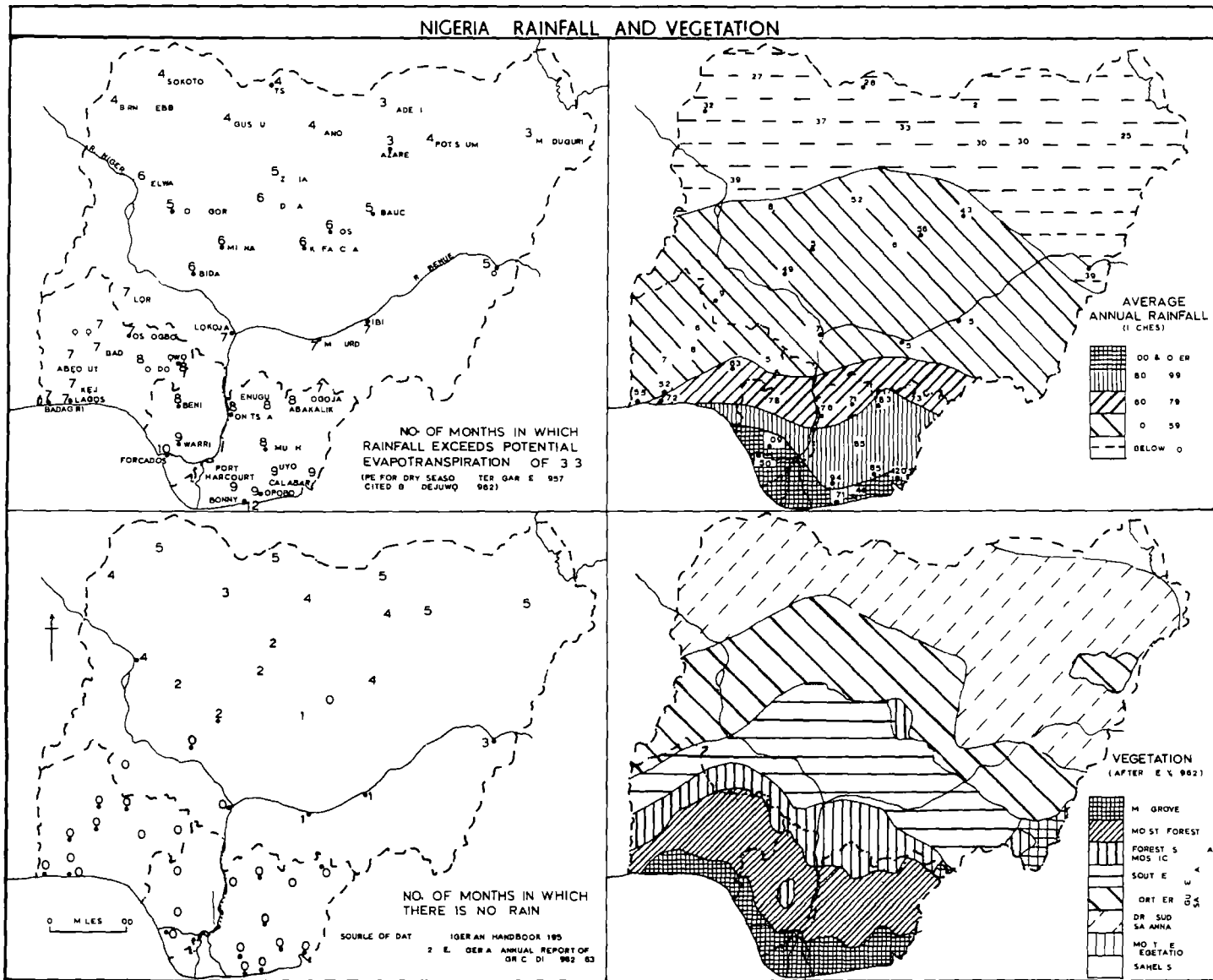


FIG. 3

maximum of about 86°F to a minimum of 55°F , thus giving a diurnal range of 31°F compared with a range of 17°F in July when the tropical maritime airmass has reached Kano. Because the harmattan is a completely dry airmass no rain falls when it lies over an area.

As surface pressure decreases over the Sahara the strength of the harmattan falls and its southward extension declines. As this happens the tropical maritime airmass begins to replace the harmattan and since it is moist it gives rise to rain. By March most of southern Nigeria is under the influence of the tropical maritime airmass and by May it is well established over the whole country. However, by November, when pressure begins to rise in the Sahara the harmattan starts to replace the tropical maritime airmass in the north. The areas which are the last to be affected by the maritime airmass are the first to come under the influence of the harmattan again.

For this reason the rainy season is shortest in the north, and its duration increases to the south (Fig. 3). This affects total rainfall. The areas which enjoy the maritime airmass for the longest period have the highest annual rainfall.

Rainfall affects plant growth. Areas with the longest rainy season and highest rainfall have very thick forest vegetation. Areas with a short rainy season have a vegetation cover of a savanna and thorn scrub. In the south the grasses are tall and very thick and are interspersed with woodland patches, particularly in the zone of forest - savanna mosaic. Farther north there are no woodland patches and the grasses are much sparser, in the extreme northeast only trees which can endure the long dry season thrive, the vegetation consists mainly of grasses and thorn scrub (Sahel Savanna).

SOILS

The soils are largely determined by the rock types and climate. The only exceptions to this are the northern parts where there are deposits of loose sands formed from wind-sorted desert material accumulated in an arid period in the past. These deposits produce two types of soil: in the Kaduna-Zaria region where the materials are finer, the soil is heavy and tends to become waterlogged in the rainy season and to crack during the dry season. This soil type is relatively difficult to work but is good for guinea corn, millet and particularly cotton. In the northern part where the deposits consist of coarse material, the soil is lighter and easier to work, and is good for guinea corn, millet and especially groundnuts.

In the rest of the country the soil is determined by the rocks, relief and climate of each area. Over the crystalline rocks, the soil consists of gravelly clayey-sands, sandy clays and loose sands. The loose sands occur on the lower slopes while the sandy and gravelly clays occur on the upper slopes. These differences in texture are particularly important in the southwest where the soils on the upper slopes have been found suitable for cocoa.

On the sandstones, clay shales and sandy deposits, the soils consist of very deep porous reddish clayey-sands and sandy clays. Such soils are moderately leached in the south and before cultivation they are fertile, but after prolonged cultivation fertility declines seriously, and the soil becomes liable to sheet erosion. To the north, where the rainfall is small, there is less leaching so much of the fertility remains.

In the coastal and Lake Chad areas where waterlogged conditions occur during the rainy season swampy soils have developed. In the western part of the coastlands there are freshwater swamps with soils of sandy and clayey muds. Soils similar to those in dryland areas are found on the patches of firm land scattered throughout the coastal zone.

EFFECT OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The major physical differences outlined above have affected the nature of human occupation from place to place. The highlands have given protection to peoples retreating before waves of immigrants, and the lack of barriers on the plains has been of great significance to the distribution of new immigrants.

Economically, Nigeria's physical differences make it possible to have widely varied products: root crops such as yams with tree crops such as kola and oil palm in the wetter south, and, of late, cocoa on the soils of the southern crystalline rocks and rubber on the sandy soils. In the north, where the climate is drier, guinea corn, millet, cotton and groundnuts are cultivated, while livestock are extensively reared.

The differences in economic production have led to interdependence between different areas. The south depends on the north for meat and on the central parts for many foodstuffs. The north depends on the south for kola and for fruits. The southwest, where cocoa is produced, is an area of employment for migrants, while the tin mines of the Jos Plateau and the petroleum fields of the delta attract labour from all areas.

NIGERIA NATURAL RESOURCES

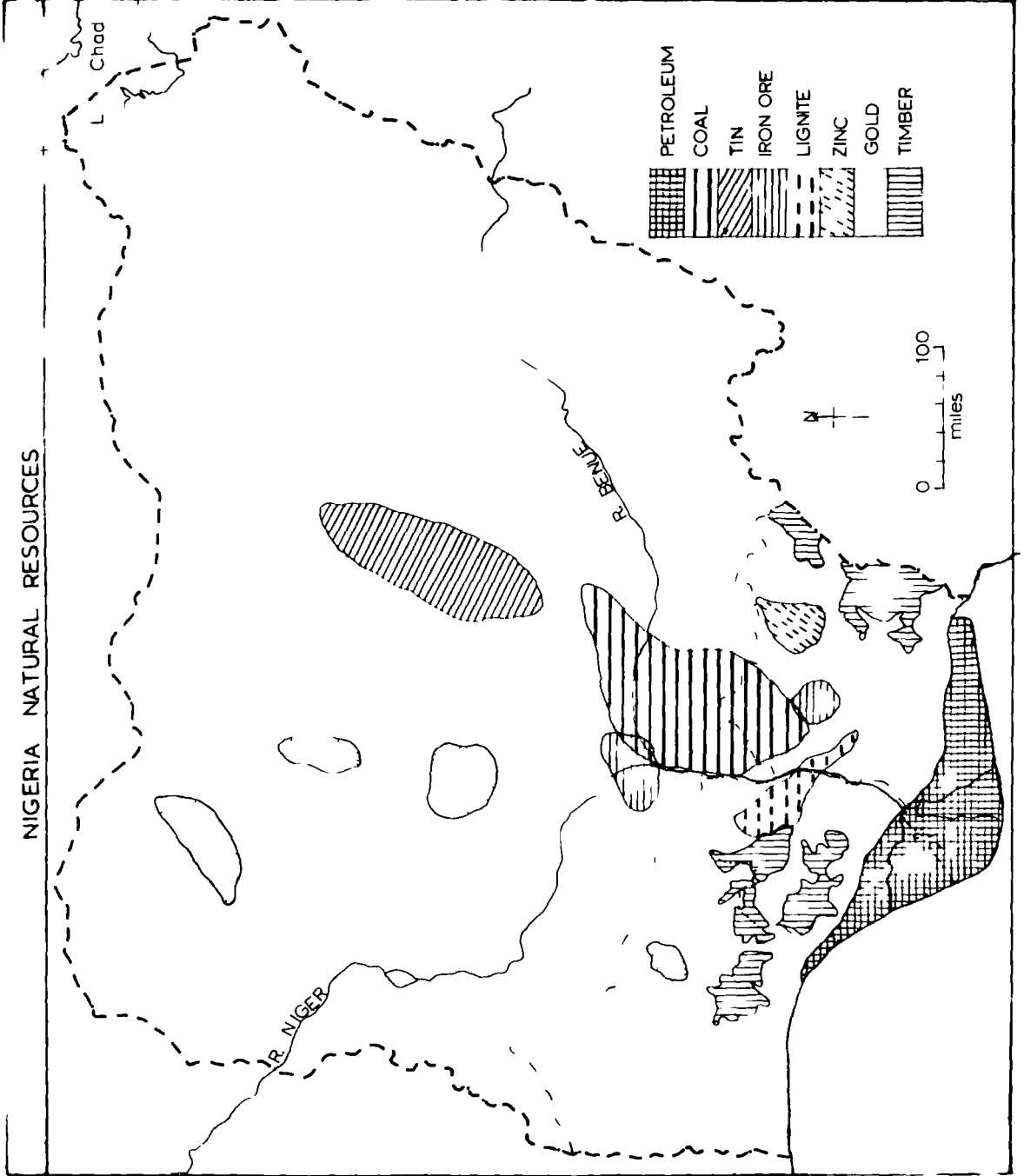


FIG. 4

CHAPTER II

RESOURCES

The resources of Nigeria most affected by physical factors are the natural and agricultural resources and, to some extent, the population and its distribution. These are the resources considered in this chapter.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Nigeria has three main resources - minerals, water-power and timber - which are derived directly from nature. The main minerals are iron ore, tin, coal and petroleum. The waterpower resources are not great - there are no important waterfalls - but electricity is being produced from some hydroelectric stations. Timber resources are mainly in the south. The distribution of these resources is shown on the map opposite (Fig. 4).

Deposits of iron ore have been discovered at Agbaja, near Lokoja and also near Enugu. The ore content of the Agbaja deposits is estimated at about 30 million tons and that of the Enugu deposits at about 45 million tons. In both cases the iron forms between 40 and 50 per cent of the ore deposits. At the time of writing (April 1967) the deposits are not mined but they will be the bases of the proposed iron and steel industry to be established at Idah.

There are tin deposits on the younger granites of the Jos Plateau where the mineral had been mined for a long time before large scale production started in 1903. Known reserves are estimated at about 114,259 tons but it is likely that actual reserves are much higher because the non-alluvial deposits under the basalt cap have not been included. In recent years production has varied greatly being 12,772 tons in 1956, 7,414 tons in 1958 and 11,275 tons in 1962.

Deposits of coal are found in the area to the south-east of the Niger-Benue confluence where large-scale mining started in 1915. The coal is of the sub-bituminous, non-smoking variety and the main mining centres are to the west of Enugu. Production in 1962 was 624,885 tons and reserves are estimated at about 237 million tons distributed as in table I.

TABLE I.

DISTRIBUTION OF COAL RESERVES

<u>FIELD</u>	<u>RESERVES</u> <u>(MILLION TONS)</u>
Enugu	54
Ezimo	46
Orukpa	57
Okaba	73
Ogboyoga	107

Petroleum is found on dryland and swamps of the coastlands and the Niger delta as well as on the offshore area. At present extraction is concentrated on the fields in the eastern part of the delta and in Itsok® and Ahoada Divisions. Reserves are not published but production has been rising since commercial production started in 1958. By 1965-66 production had risen to 109,144,751 barrels. Pipelines link the oil fields to the terminal at Bonny from where the oil is exported, and to the refinery at Port Harcourt.

There are no important waterfalls in the country but hydro-electric power is generated in a number of places. The most important of these will be the dam on the Niger at Kainji from where electricity will be generated to many parts of the country. Other hydro-electric stations have been established in the Plateau area - in 1962 these stations generated 112,425,950 units of electricity. These stations serve the mines on the Plateau.

There are still about 11,200 square miles of forest capable of producing timber in the country but only 6,900 square miles are declared as forest reserves. The forest reserves are closed for cultivation and agriculture but are devoted to timber production. The Governments

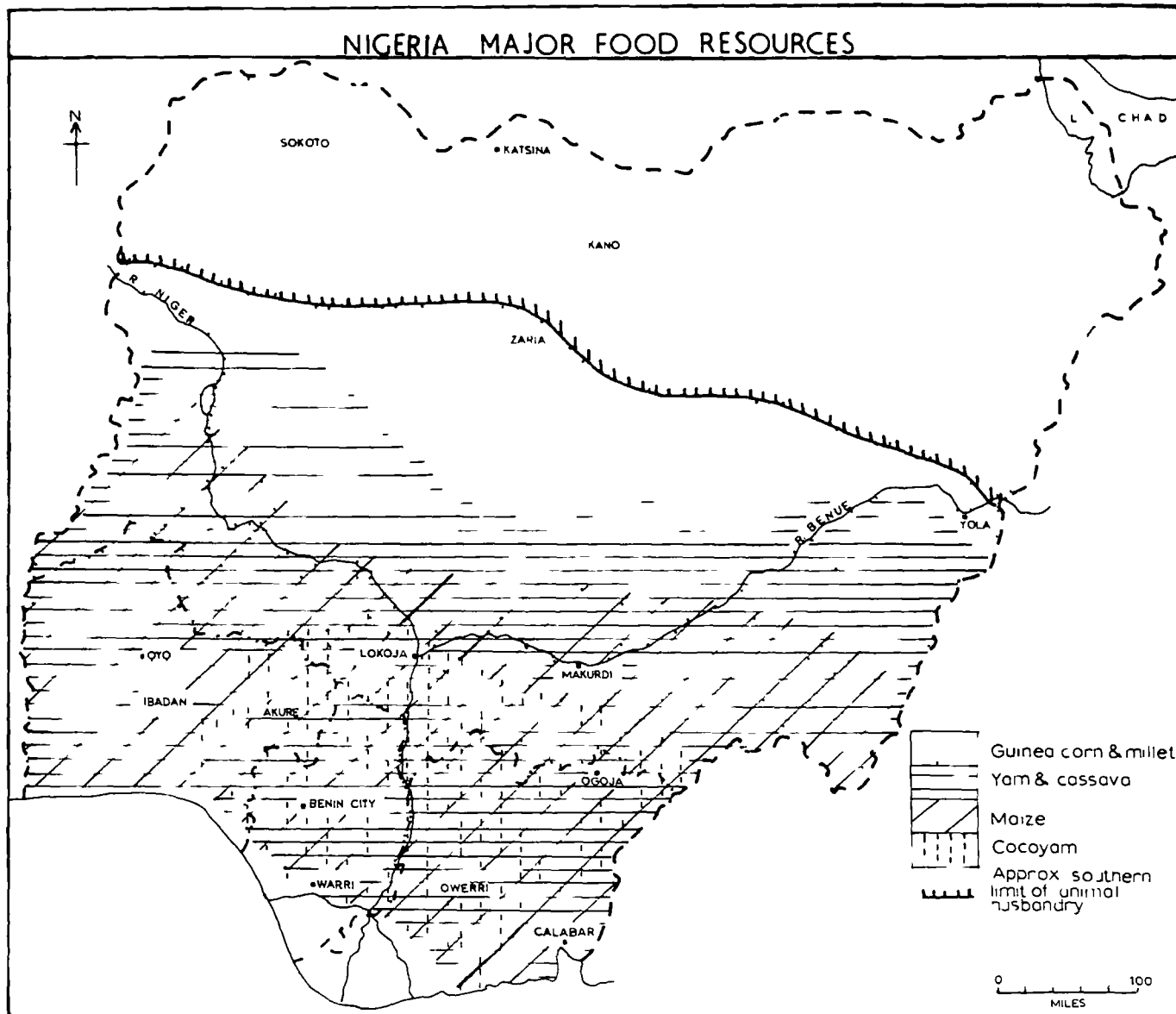


FIG. 5

have schemes of reafforestation in the reserves. Timber is produced from other forests which are not reserves but the increasing cultivation of tree crops and the lack of plans for regeneration leads to the gradual decrease of the non-reserved forests.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

There are two major types of agricultural products in Nigeria, namely livestock and farm products. The farm products fall into two major subdivisions - subsistence and cash crops. The subsistence products (Fig. 5) are food crops intended mainly for the farmer and his family but surpluses may be sold. The cash crops are produced entirely for sale. Between the two groups are crops which were originally produced as subsistence crops but of which large quantities are now sold. In many of these, for example palm oil and groundnuts, priority is now given to commercial production even though some of the harvest is still retained for the farmer's household, they are therefore shown on the map of cash crops (Fig. 6), rather than on that of subsistence crops.

Livestock Cattle are the most important animals kept in large quantities in any part of the country. There are two types of cattle, humped or zebu type and the

humpless or muturu cattle. The latter are resistant to the tsetse fly and are kept in the southern part of the country. However, they are few in number and are of no importance in any locality. The humped cattle are the only important breed but they are susceptible to the tsetse fly. They are therefore kept in areas free from the tsetse fly in the northern part of the country. These cattle are noted for their strong constitution and adaptation to their environment. There are no accurate data on cattle in the country but some estimates put the number at between seven and eight million head of cattle.¹

The cattle produce both milk and meat. The milk is sold in the areas near the production centre but beef cattle is sold to all parts of the country.

Large numbers of goats and sheep are kept in the same areas as the cattle. These are intended mainly for meat and are sold in various parts of the country. It is estimated that there are about 13 million goats and four million sheep in the country.²

-
1. Buchanan, K. M. and Pugh, J. C. Land and People in Nigeria.
London Univ. of London Press, 1955. p. 120
 2. National Economic Council Economic Survey of Nigeria, 1959.
Lagos, 1959. p. 45

Subsistence Crops

There are two main types of subsistence crops in Nigeria: tubers and grains. The tubers are grown mainly in the southern part of the country and the most important ones are yams, cassava and cocoyams. Some grains (e.g. maize) are grown all over the country but grain cultivation is most marked in the North.

Yam is grown in areas where there is rain throughout the year but it does best on the sandy - clayey soils of the southeast. The yields per acre vary greatly - in the Onitsha area the yield per acre is about 14,000 lbs, in the area around Lokoja it is about 10,000 lbs while in Ibadan area it is 6,000 lbs and in the Niger delta about 5,000 lbs. Many areas do not produce enough yams for local needs and they buy from those parts which produce surplus yams.

Cassava is replacing yam in many areas because the former is easier to cultivate and the meal is easier to prepare. Besides, gari, the cassava 'flour' usually sold to the public, is easier to store and carry than yam. Though cassava is grown in many parts of the country the main concentrations are in the southwest and the southeast.

These are the areas with the highest concentrations of population in the country. Yields of cassava per acre are highest in the Kaboa area (12,739 lbs) and lowest in the Abakaliki and Makurdi areas (6,150 lbs and 5,617 lbs respectively). Surplus gari is produced in the Owerri-Onitsha areas of the Southeast and Oyo - Remo areas of the Southwest.

Cocoyam is grown in many parts of the South, usually in combination with other crops but the main producing areas are the Owerri, Calabar and Ogoja areas in the southeast. Its yield varies from about 10,000 lbs per acre near Port Harcourt to under 2,000 lbs per acre in the Ikeja area.

Maize is grown in all parts of the country but the main concentration of its cultivation is in the southwest. In the south two crops of maize are planted in the year the first in late February or early March and the second in late August or early September. The highest yields per acre are in the Akure area (1,370 lbs) and the lowest yields are in the Ilorin area (600 lbs). Maize is an important food crop in the Oyo - Ibadan areas and maize (or corn) meal is a common breakfast in many Secondary schools in the Southwest.

NIGERIA MAJOR CASH CROPS

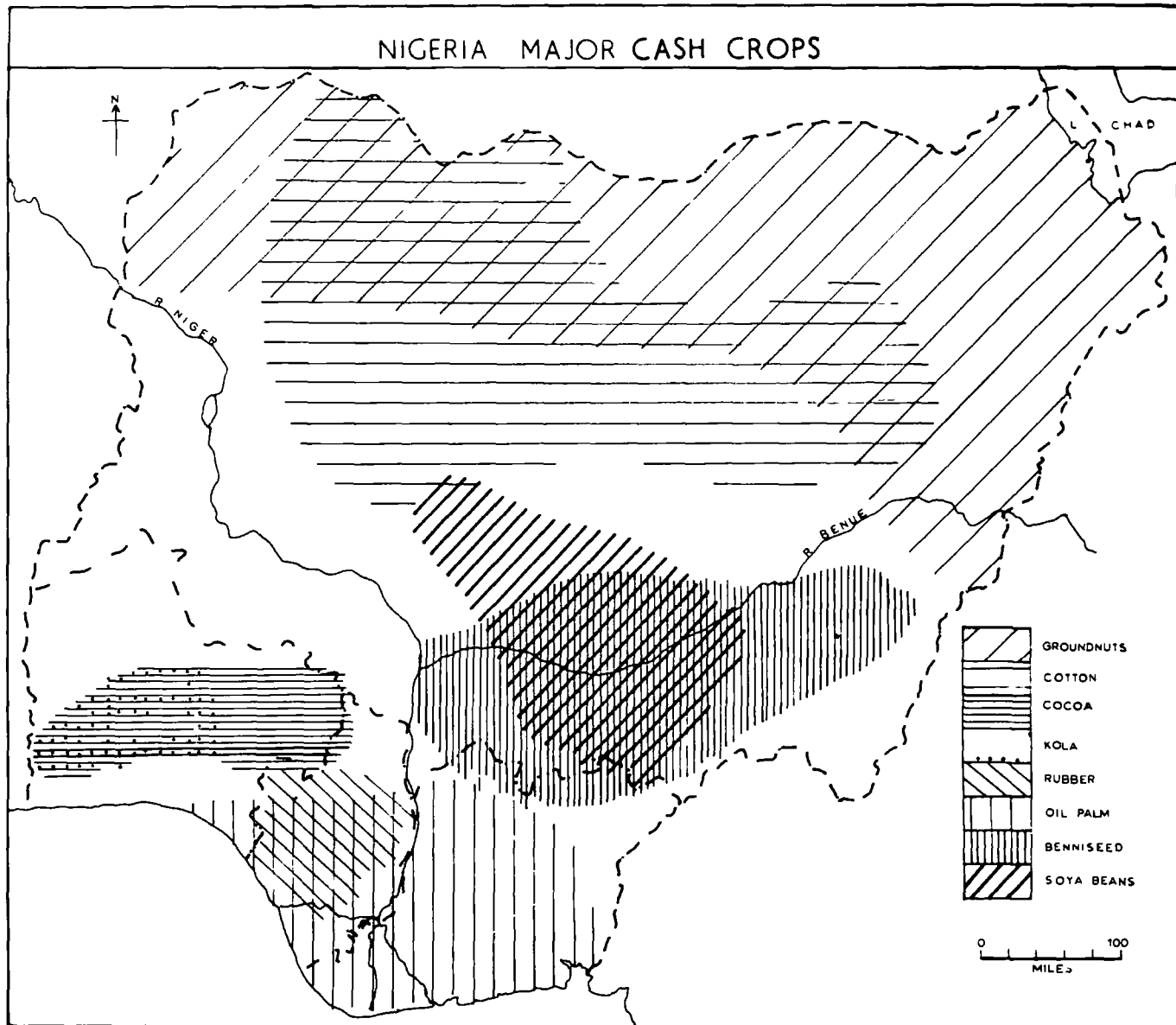


FIG. 6

Guinea corn is the main grain crop in the northern part of the country, and, by volume, is the most important grain in the country. Yields per acre vary from 1,105 lbs in the Bauchi area to 712 lbs in the Yola area. It is a major foodstuff in the areas where it is grown.

Millet is also a grain crop whose cultivation is restricted to the northern part of the country. Although it is sometimes grown in the same areas as guinea corn its main concentration is in the low rainfall areas of the north. In the Yola area the yield per acre is about 939 lbs but in the Zaria area it is only about 500 lbs. Surpluses of both guinea corn and millet are produced around Yola, Kano, Katsina and the Lake Chad basin.

Cash Crops

Cash crops may also be divided into two groups: tree crops such as oil palm, kola, cocoa, rubber, and annuals such as groundnuts, cotton, benniseed, soya beans. The tree crops are grown in the south while the annuals are grown mainly in the north (Fig. 6).

Groundnut is cultivated in most dryland areas of the country but the main cultivation is in the northern part of the country where it was grown as a food crop before commercial production developed in the twentieth century. Nowadays emphasis is laid on commercial production. As table II shows yields vary from year to year and from place to place.

TABLE II
GROUNDNUT: YIELD ESTIMATES 1957-1961³
 (lbs Per Acre)

<u>Area</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>
Maiduguri	870	531	626	867	673
Bauchi	750	1,004	912	652	876
Kano	801	582	487	725	625
Sokoto	533	434	471	744	859
Zaria	666	376	773	821	636

Cotton is grown mainly for commercial purposes. It is cultivated in many parts but large-scale production is confined to the Zaria area where it is grown on the

3. Northern Nigeria Statistical Yearbook, 1964.
 Kaduna, Ministry of Econ. Planning.

heavier type of soil derived from the desert deposits. Yields vary from 474 lbs per acre in the Lake Chad basin to 456 lbs in the Zaria area and 278 lbs per acre around Bida.

Benniseed and soya beans are grown in the Benue valley. They were formerly cultivated as subsistence crops but large proportions of the harvests are now sold. The yields per acre are about 134 lbs.

Of the tree crops the oil palm is the most common. Palm trees grow naturally in many areas of the south but the main concentrations and commercial cultivation is restricted to the southeast and adjacent areas to the west of the Niger. The trees yield various products including palm oil, kernels and palm wine. Palm wine is tapped from the trees throughout the southern part of the country and is drunk by a great many people. Palm oil is produced from the pericarp of the fruits and is used for cooking by the people. Because of this every area manages to produce some palm oil for its own use. Palm oil became a commercial product in the nineteenth century when British merchants bought it for use in the tin industry and, later, for manufacturing margarine.

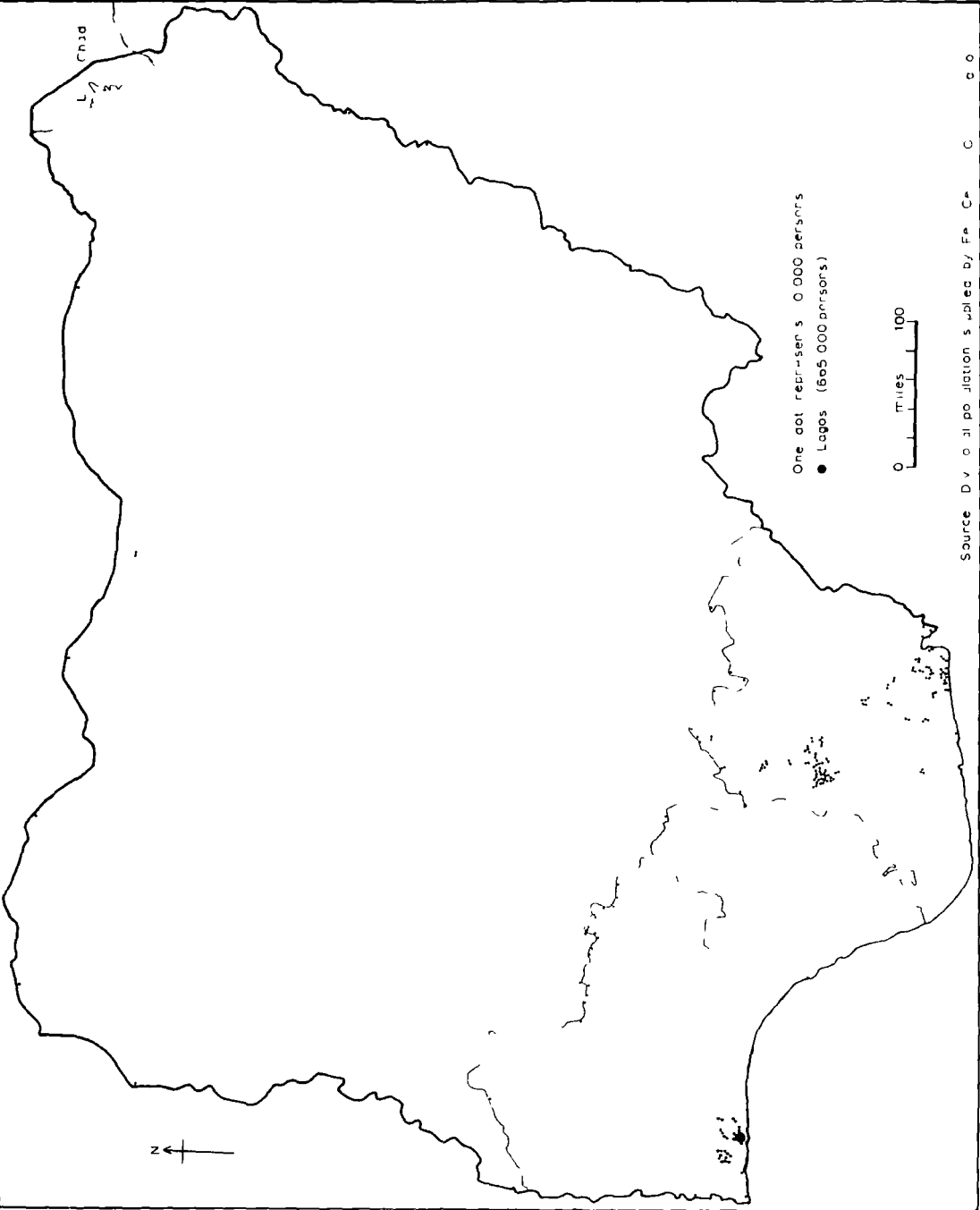
Kola is grown also in the southern part of the country. There are two types - abata and gbanja. Abata is indigenous to southern Nigeria and most farmers, particularly in the southwest, have a few stands. Gbanja was introduced from Ghana and its main concentration is also in the southwest. The abata type is of great social significance in southern Nigeria for the 'nuts' are presented to visitors on many social and religious occasions. Although there are now many products which can be substituted for them kolanuts are still important on such occasions. The gbanja type is becoming increasingly popular in the south. However, the greater proportion of gbanja kolanuts are sold in the north where they are very popular and serve the same purpose as do abata nuts in the south.

Cocoa is grown mainly on the lateritic soils which develop on the crystalline rocks in the southwest of the country where the rainfall is at least 45 inches per annum. The crop was first introduced to Nigeria in 1874 when a plantation was established near Bonny. From there the

crop was introduced to other areas for example Ilesha in 1896 and Ibadan in 1889. The development of cocoa cultivation in Nigeria has been affected by the soil type for though the crop was first introduced to the southeast the soils of that part of the country are unsuitable for cocoa hence main cultivation has been in the Southwest. Nigeria is now the second largest producer of cocoa in the world, in 1965-66 production was 294,000 tons. All the crop is sold for export to other countries. The devotion of land and time to cocoa has made farmers in the cocoa growing areas neglect food production so they are now dependent on other areas for some foodstuffs.

The rubber now produced in Nigeria is from para rubber trees. Para rubber was introduced from Brazil in 1895 and since then its cultivation has spread through the southwest. Unlike cocoa, rubber thrives very well on the sandy soils of the areas of high rainfall. Consequently, its cultivation is concentrated in the Benin - Warri areas which are outside the cocoa belt. Rubber, like cocoa, is produced mainly for sale and export.

NIGERIA DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 1963



Source: Division of Population Statistics, Federal Government of Nigeria

PATTERN OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Although there is much argument about the reliability of the censuses of 1952-53 and 1963 it is possible to show the pattern of population distribution. This is because errors in existing records are not likely to make any great changes to the pattern and it seems certain that an area showing higher densities according to the records would still show it when the correct figures are known. This view can be supported by the fact that the three areas of high concentration of population (Fig. 7) correspond closely with the areas of greatest food and economic production while the areas with less population are those with small agricultural and other economic productions.

The greatest concentration of population is in a belt stretching from Nsukka and Awka to Uyo and Eket in the southeast. The high concentration of people in this area is due to two main reasons: firstly, the easily-worked sandy soils of the area make food production (e.g. yams) easy, so that there was food for the people. Secondly, the area has been more peaceful than other parts of the country where people were killed or sold into slavery as a result of inter-state wars. The peace of the area is

possibly due to the protection offered by the physical features: to the south the area is fringed by a belt of creeks and high forests so that coastal attackers found it difficult to reach the zone. To the west, the Niger hindered movement of possible attackers and to the north there were no powerful political units to raid the areas. The lack of any large internal political units to organise punitive expeditions against disobedient parts also contributed to the peace of the area.⁴ Consequently the population has expanded gradually until the area has one of the largest rural populations in the world. The high population has led to a decrease in the land available for cultivation, indeed over-cultivation is prevalent in many areas. As a result of over-cultivation and the high rainfall there is great soil erosion particularly on the scarp face of the "Udi Plateau." Consequently people are moving away from the areas to find employment in other parts.

4. This explanation does not conform with Dike's reports that many of the inhabitants of the area were sold into slavery during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it is doubtful that all the slaves sold in Bonny and other ports were people from the area sold by the priests of the Arochuku Oracle. It seems likely that people from outside the area were sold in Bonny but were mistakenly described as Ibos by slave traders.

The second major concentration is that of the northwest. The area is located on the loessic soils which are good for a number of crops. In addition large cities such as Kano, Katsina and Zaria were established there long ago. Protective walls were built round the cities so that the local people were always certain of safety in case of attack from outside. The cities were also seats of well organized states to which captives were brought, this is particularly true of the Sokoto area. There are high concentrations in many rural areas consequently people go to other parts of the country to work.

The third largest concentration of people is in the southwest. This area lies on the edge of the high forest and was a zone of retreat for refugees during the nineteenth century. In addition, there are many large towns in the area, these towns were centres of well organized states, so that people were assured of protection from attackers. Generally, people in the zone are less concentrated in rural areas than the other major population centres. However, since the expansion of cocoa cultivation in the last twenty years many people have moved to the

rural areas. At present there is no great pressure on land but if more land is planted with tree crops such as cocoa and kola there will be less land for other people and other purposes.

Apart from the areas of high concentration the most notable features of the pattern of population distribution are the areas of low population which are found in different parts of the country. On the coastlands, particularly the Niger Delta, the population is low. The main reasons for this are possibly the terrain and late settlement of the area, for the swampy and waterlogged nature of the soil and the difficulty of movement through the creeks put men off for a long time. It is likely that people did not settle there until events in other parts had forced them to seek protection in the area. After the settlement of the area the difficulty of food production mitigated against rapid increase of population.

The highland zone of the eastern part of the country is also an area of low population. The area was also settled later than other parts and conditions of life are not conducive to a rapid increase of population: movement is difficult, food production is not easy and the fear of attack was always present until the late nineteenth century.

The zone of low population around the bend of the Niger, in the western part of the country, is also characterised by poor and infertile soil. No important food is produced in the area. Because of this people have not been attracted there in large numbers so that the population remains low.

It is often said that slave raids caused the low population in these and other areas. This is not true in every case. The main cause of low population in most areas is the terrain and soil. The swampy or hilly terrain and the infertile soil of many areas made the earlier inhabitants avoid such areas and people did not settle there until they were forced to leave their homes by newly arrived immigrants. Conditions in many of these areas have not changed so the population has not increased as those in other areas. Even in those few cases where slave raiders were active e.g. around Kontagora it is certain that the success of the raiders depended on the low population at the time. For if the population had been large the people could have resisted attackers but since there were few and scattered people it was difficult to organise resistance.

This infertility of many of the areas of low population is one of the factors which make the redistribution of population difficult. Because of the infertility such areas cannot support a large population hence the Governments cannot easily send more people from the areas of high population to those of low population.

Another major obstacle, and possibly the greatest of all, is the cultural difference between the peoples in any low population area and the adjacent high population area. In all cases the indigenous people in the low population areas speak different languages and have different cultures from those of the high population areas. It is therefore difficult for immigrants from the latter areas to be absorbed into any community in a low population area. Such immigrants are regarded as foreigners by the local communities and where they have been allowed to settle they are not allowed to take part in local discussions.⁵ Any attempt by the Governments to redistribute people will meet with strong opposition from the

5. See for example: R. K. Udo "The Migrant Tenant Farmer in Eastern Nigeria" Africa Vol. XXIV, 1964. pp. 325-339 particularly pp. 335-336

indigenous people of the low density areas. Furthermore the people of the high density areas do not want to move permanently to the low density areas which they, too, regard as foreign land. Thus the differences in language and customs make it difficult to redistribute the population.

These ethnic and language differences also affect other aspects of life in the country for they show the feelings of the people to each other. To understand the feelings it is necessary to describe the various peoples and their connections before they were brought together in a single state.

CHAPTER III

THE ETHNIC NATIONS

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

Not much is known about the earliest inhabitants of what is now Nigeria but the later immigrants acknowledge the presence of such people as is shown by the accounts of origin of the Hausa,¹ Yoruba² and many others. All that can be said about all the earliest inhabitants is that they were probably scattered over the country with concentrations in what is now Hausaland and the northern edge of the rain forest. When the later immigrants arrived some of the earliest inhabitants left their homes while others stayed on and were absorbed by the immigrants.

In the north those who left their former homes moved to the less accessible areas in the central part of the country while in the south the displaced groups moved into the rain forest zone. Many of the present communities in the Middle Belt have accounts of former residence of their ancestors in Hausaland or in Bornu.³ In the south the inhabitants of

1. Walwyn, E. Notes on the History of Daura. SMP 3704.

2. See for example: S. C. Biobaku The origin of the Yorubas. Lagos. Fed. Ministry of Information, 1955. p. 16

3. See for example Kurama, Shen (etc.) in D. Gunn. Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria. London, 1956. p. 37
 also Goari in H. D. Gunn and F. P. Conant. Peoples of the Middle Niger Region. London, 1960. p. 87
 and H. R. Palmer Gazetteer of Bornu Province. Lagos. 1929. pp. 10-11

eastern Yorubaland tell tales of Apa (Kororofa) while their former connections with others in the rain forest is indicated by the prevalence of the "U" sound in a belt stretching from Ijesha and Ekiti countries through Edo-Urobo areas to parts of the Eastern Region. It could therefore mean that the earliest inhabitants of the south were the ancestors of the Edo and the Ijo. The movement of the Edo to the rain forest might have forced the Ijo to the Niger delta while that of the Ibo might have forced the Ibibia farther south. Farther west the Yorubas of Dahomey and the peoples of Togoland and eastern Ghana would probably represent another section of the earliest inhabitants.

It is not certain whether the groups of the earliest inhabitants spoke the same language or different languages. Whatever the case the arrival of immigrants led to the development of separate languages so that the common qualities, if any, are now lost.

PRESENT INHABITANTS

The immigrants from whom most of the present inhabitants claim descent entered the area from all sides: the northeast was a very popular route and most of those from that side entered in the Bornu region, the Fulani came

from the west and entered the area from the northwest and north while the Ekoi and the Tiv entered from the southeast. These immigrants absorbed some of the earliest inhabitants and from the various mixtures came the peoples of today.

Anthropologists have recognised many ethnic groups in Nigeria but it is not intended to describe each of them because, firstly, the number recognised by anthropologists is great - some have listed over 240 groups, secondly the linguistic and cultural relationships between some of the groups have not been clarified. It is likely that when language is made the basis of grouping the number would be greatly reduced. For this study a preliminary grouping based on what anthropologists call "language similarities" has been attempted. The meaning of "language similarities" is not clear but in the few cases where the vocabularies of the dialects or languages concerned have been seen by the writer it appears that "language similarities" may, in many cases, mean similar vocabularies and common understanding of one or more of the dialects. All groups which have a common understanding of one or more dialects always regard themselves as one unit in such groups are considered as one unit in Nigeria. Where no other common

name exists the groups which have common understanding of a particular dialect will be described by the name of that dialect or that of the group which speaks it.

Some groups whose languages have not been studied have various cultural and religious similarities and may, therefore, be regarded as one unit. This is particularly true of the plateau area where villages have been described as separate units, but many of the groups probably speak similar languages and ought to be regarded as one unit. Such groups will be treated as one but it is hoped that further work on their languages will allow a better grouping to be made.

Each of the groups described is an ethnic nation but hitherto they have been described as tribes. A tribe has been described as "a group speaking the same language, with approximately the same custom, religion and state of civilization".⁴ This definition corresponds with that of a nation, the word used to describe language and cultural groups in most parts of the world. But since states are sometimes described as nations it is necessary to distinguish between political and ethnic nations, hence language groups will be described as ethnic nations.

4. Talbot, P. A. The Peoples of Southern Nigeria (4 Vols.) London, 1926. Vol. IV. p. 17

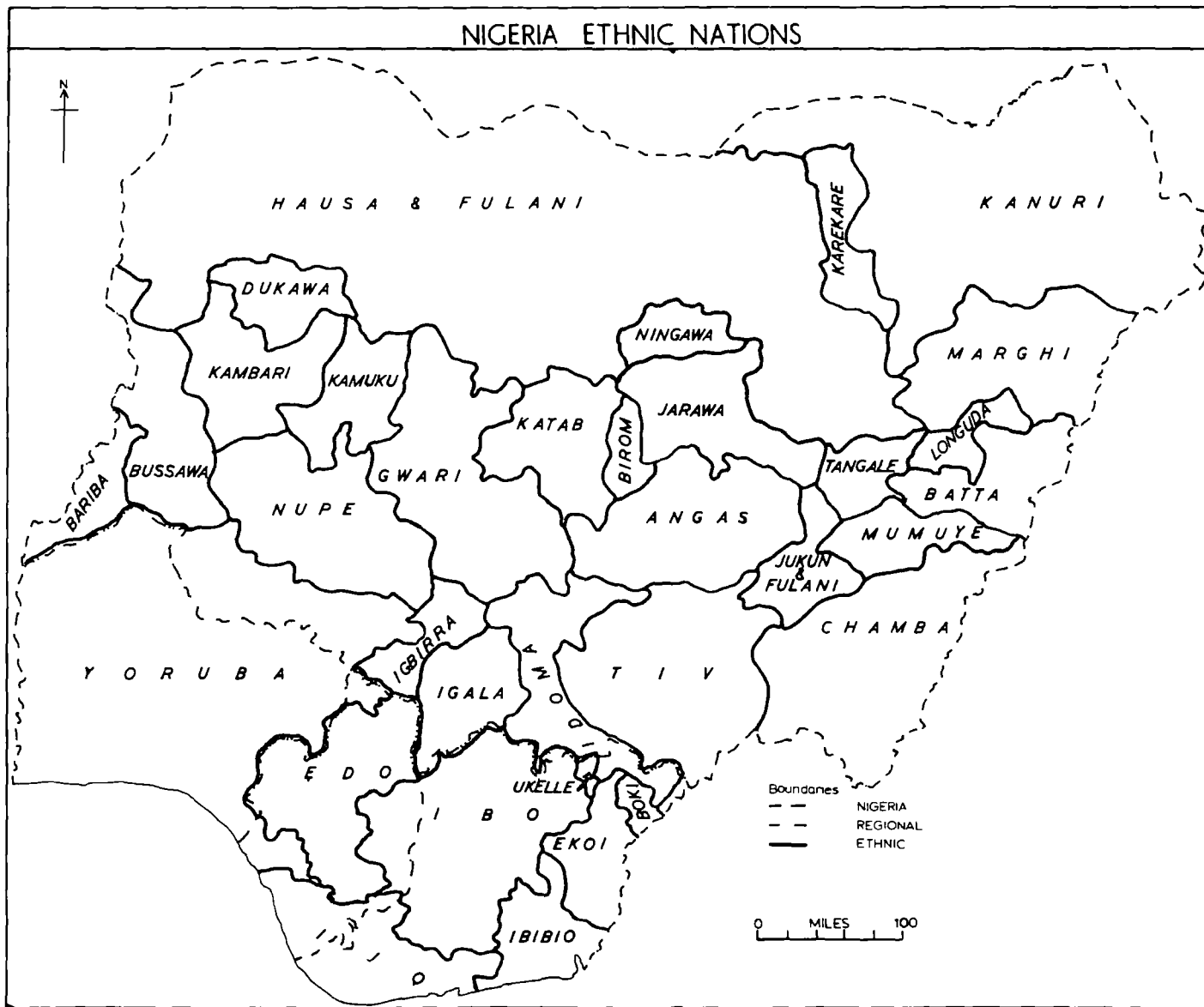


FIG. 8

In the following accounts the ethnic nations are described in a locational sequence - the order they appear on the map (Fig. 8)* - starting from the northeast. This makes it possible to locate each one in relation to its neighbours and all others. This is important because location is the basis of relationships and contacts.

KANURI

The Kanuri inhabit the northeastern part of Nigeria and constitute the largest unit in Bornu Province. They arrived in the area probably in the 14th century and after defeating the earlier inhabitants they established a Kingdom which remained in existence till the British Occupation. In the 19th century, when the Fulani attacked them, the Kanuri were helped by some Arabs who later settled in the eastern part of the Kanuri homeland and are now known as Shuwa Arabs. They have accepted the authority of the Kanuri ruler, they have also adopted many Kanuri customs hence they may be regarded as part of the Kanuri unit.

The Kanuri are mainly Muslims and have always been in contact with other Muslims to the west and north of their homeland. In 1952 they numbered over three-quarters of a million and were the fifth largest ethnic nation in Nigeria.

*. See also Fig. 83 (in pocket).

KAREKARE

In the country between the Kanuri and the Hausa, four or five different communities have been recognised - Bedde, Ngizim, Bolewa, Karekare and Gamawa - but it appears they are all closely related. Palmer noted that Bedde and Ngizim are not separate and distinct but subsections of one group called Walu,⁵ while, according to Whiteley, the Karekare and the Ngizim can understand each other's dialects and some Ngizim call themselves Karekare. Whiteley also noted that the Gamawa language is approximate to that of Karekare, and that the Gamawa have long been in contact with Bolewa.⁶ These connections appear to indicate that the five groups understand the Karekare dialect and may be regarded as one - hereafter called Karekare.

The Karekare are the main elements in the population of Bedde and Potiskum Divisions as well as parts of Katagum Division, in 1952 the Karekare formed about 62 percent of the population of 176,000 in their homeland. Most of them trace their origins to Kanem from where the Kanuri came.

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5. Palmer, H. R. Gazetteer of Bornu Province (revised.), 1929. p. 37-38
6. Whiteley, G. C. Anthropological Notes on the Gamawa, 1918. SMF/K 2975.
 Anthropological Notes on the Ngizim, 1918. SMF/K 2976.
 Anthropological Notes on the Karekare, 1918. SMF/K 2977.

Though some Fulani live among them they were never conquered by the Fulani in the 19th century and they maintained their independence of Bornu. They still have contacts with the Kanuri with whom they are grouped in Bornu Province. Like the other peoples in the Far North of Nigeria the Karekare are mainly Muslims.

MARGHI

Biu Division with the adjacent areas of Bornu, Adamawa and Gwoza Divisions is inhabited by the Fahir, Bura, Kilba and Marghi with other communities known by different names. These communities belong to a common stock and speak dialects of the Marghi language⁷ and should therefore be regarded as subdivisions of the Marghi.

The Marghi probably arrived in their present homeland before the 15th century. On their arrival they forced the previous inhabitants, Batta, to move south, later the Marghi spread southwards to conquer and occupy more territory. They intermarried with their neighbours and established kingdoms in Kilba and Sukur. In the 15th century a Bornu warrior conquered the Fahir and Tera sections but failed to subdue all sections of the Bura.

7. Meek, C. K. The Marghi of Adamawa, 1929 SMF/K 6797

During the 19th century Fulani from Yola attacked southern Marghi but conquered only some parts. The Kilba and Sukur sections succeeded in maintaining their independence. The partition of the late 19th century split the Marghi for sections were left in the Cameroun. Those in Nigeria were further split between Bornu, Adamawa and Biu Divisions, those in Bornu and Adamawa were merged with the Emirates but those in Biu retained their independence. When the Mandated Territory of Northern Cameroons became Saradauna Province in 1961 the Marghi in that Province were separated from the Emirates and grouped in the Northern Division of Saradauna Province.

Most sections of Marghi have always been in contact with the Kanuri and it would appear that they share many Kanuri customs.

FULANI

The Fulani are found all over the northern parts of Nigeria. They probably arrived in Sokoto in the 13th century,⁸ by 1300 they had reached Bornu from where some went southwards.⁹ In every case they settled among the indigenous people whose authority they accepted.

8. Sherwood Smith, B. E. Assessment Report on the Cattle-Owning Fulani of Gwandu Division, 1934. SNP/J.2

9. Anon. Yola, later Adamawa Province Collected Histories. SNP/J.1

Originally the Fulani were a pastoral people but later some settled down to teach the Islamic religion. Eventually the settled or town Fulani lost both interest in cattle and contact with their pastoral brothers. They adopted the languages and customs of the towns. Consequently the differences between the town and the pastoral Fulani were more important than the territorial, occupational or religious differences between the various sections of the race.

From the beginning of their residence in the area the majority of the Fulani had lived in the Hausa country. In the early 19th century the town Fulani, led by Usman dan Fodio, revolted against the Hausa rulers. They were joined by the pastoral Fulani and the revolt spread far beyond Hausaland. The Fulani leader in each area became the Emir hence there are now Fulani rulers in many parts of the Northern Region.

The town Fulani have adopted many Hausa customs but the pastoral Fulani, who are in the majority retain their distinctive customs and pay for the right to graze their livestock on Hausa farms and lands. In spite of

these the intermingling of the Hausa and the Fulani is such that it is difficult for the outsider to differentiate between the two and it would be more appropriate to speak of a Hausa-Fulani culture than to regard each as a separate culture in Nigeria.

HAUSA

The Hausa people who form the largest national group in Nigeria constitute the main elements in the population of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and the northern parts of Zaria and Bauchi Provinces. Hitherto some sections of the Hausa viz. Adarawa, Zaberawa, and Arawa in Sokoto Province have been described as separate entities. But since all these groups speak the Hausa language¹⁰ they are regarded as Hausa. The ancestors of the Hausa probably migrated from Bornu¹¹ but they were joined by immigrants who arrived in the 10th or the 11th century and established six or seven states in Hausaland. In 1804 the Fulanis revolted successfully against the Hausa states and established Emirates ruled by Fulani in all parts of Hausaland.

10. Anon. Gazetteer of Sokoto Province.
(Typescript), 1934. SMP 15/1

11. Palmer, H. R. op. cit. p. 9

The Hausa language has been adopted by the Fulani and many other peoples so that the influence of the Hausa has spread beyond their homeland. There were plans to make Hausa the official language of the Northern Region. By 1965 it was compulsory for all civil servants in the Northern Region to pass an examination in Hausa. The Hausa people themselves are mainly Muslims and have adopted many Islamic practices into their custom and in their way of life.

JARAWA

Many different communities have been recognised in the southern part of Bauchi Division but they all probably speak dialects of the same language called Jaranchi. These groups should therefore be regarded as one and may be given the name Jarawa. They are found in Dass Independent Districts and also in Duguri, Zungur and Ganjuwa Districts of Bauchi Emirate, all of which had a total population of 294,000 in 1952.

Many Hausa and Fulani have settled among the Jarawa and constitute the majority of the population in most of the Districts mentioned above. As a result the Jarawa have copied many Hausa ideas but only a small proportion are Muslims.

NINGAWA

Two separate indigenous groups Burra and Ningawa have been recognised in Ningi Chiefdom but they have cultural similarities with each other. Although they have some cultural relationship with some of those grouped as Katab in the southwest they differ from them in that during the 19th century, they accepted a Hausa from Kano as their chief¹² and there is now a high proportion of Hausa Fulani in the population of the area. This has led to the acceptance of Hausa standards in education and in other ways. The Bura and Ningawa groups in the area may therefore be regarded as one unit in Nigeria under the name Ningawa. In 1952 their nomeland had a population of 61,000 of which they formed 52 percent.

DUKAWA

Zuru Federation of Kontagora Division is inhabited by two communities known as Dakakari and Dukawa but both are probably closely related for there is a similarity of

12. Gunn, H. D. Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria.
London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1956. p. 11

language and custom among them.¹³ It is therefore better to regard them as one. They were in the Gwandu Province of the Fulani Empire but towards the end of the 19th century their allegiance was not freely given. They are now mainly Muslims and have adopted many Hausa customs with the Hausa language.

KAMBARI

The greater part of Kantagora Division and parts of Yauri Emirates with some Districts of Borgu Division are inhabited by a people described as Kambari. Other peoples in Yauri Emirate viz. Gungava and Yaurawa are usually described separately but they share many aspects of Kambari culture and language. It is better, therefore, to treat all these groups as one under the name Kambari.

The Kambari homeland may be described as part of Kontagora Division, Yauri and Bussa Emirates. Before the Fulani revolt of the 19th century practically all Kambari were in the Yauri kingdom. All the groups have adopted Hausa customs while the Hausa language is more widely spoken than the local dialects, for example Hausa has almost replaced the local language among the Yaurawa.

13. Gunn, H. D. and Conant, F. P. Peoples of the Middle Niger Region, Northern Nigeria.
London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1960. p. 30

KAMUKU

To the east of the Dukawa and the Kambari three different communities have been recognised - Achipawa, Kamuku and Bassa Kaduna - but all three appear to understand the Kamuku dialect and are greatly Hausafied. According to Gunn the language of the Achipawa may be closely related to that of the Kamuku while Bassa Kaduna are practically one, in language, with Kamuku.¹⁴ These three groups are therefore regarded as one under the name Kamuku.

They inhabit the Kotonkoro and Mashegu Districts of Kontagora Division and the Kamuku Federation of Minna Division. Many Hausas live among them and the Hausa language is replacing Kamuku among some sections.

GWAHI

The people usually described as Gwari inhabit the eastern part of Niger Province and the adjacent areas of Zaria and Benue Provinces. In the southern part of the area they live alongside Koro but the Koro speak Gwari exclusively or as their first language. The group described as Koro is therefore regarded as part of Gwari. In 1952 the population of the Gwari homeland was over 340,000.

14. Gunn and Conant op. cit. pp. 55 and 73

The Gwari differ from some of their neighbours e.g. Kamuku and Kambari in that their language is being learnt by others such as the Kajara and the Kajuru of Zaria Division. Furthermore the Gwari do not neglect their own language in favour of Hausa as others do even though Hausa is known by many of them. They also differ from the others in that Islam has not been generally accepted among them.

The former home of the Gwari is thought to be present Hausaland from where they were probably driven by migrants from the east and the north. After the Fulani revolt of the 19th century some Gwari owed allegiance to Zaria, others joined forces with the Hausa ruler who left Zaria to establish a new kingdom in Abuja while those in Gwari Federation remained independent and were incessantly raided by the Emir of Kontagora, based in the Kambari country.

KATAB

Villages and village-groups of Jema'a and southern Zaria Divisions have been described as separate cultural and ethnic units. Similarities of dialect are traced between some of them but it is not certain that there is any mutual intelligibility of the different dialects. All the groups have common problems and experiences:

the isolation forced on the people by the fear of raids (from Zaria and elsewhere) and the difficult terrain of the area have led to the development of separate dialects. Their small sizes distinguish all of them from other cultures in Nigeria. The problems of their environment and the experience common to them in the past have made them desire separation from Zaria Emirate. For these reasons all the groups ought to be regarded as one unit in any consideration of pan-Nigerian affairs. The name Katab is that of one of the groups but it has often been used for larger units.

The people described as Katab are therefore, the inhabitants of Jema'a Division and the Kauru, Kajuru, Kachia Zangon-Katab, Lele, Kagoro, Ilorin and Jaba Districts of Zaria Division. The population of these areas in 1952 was 370,000 of which the Katab groups formed 77 percent. The Katab are mainly pagans among whom there is some acceptance of Christianity.

BIROM

The Birom are the indigenous people of Jos Division. Though many other people have come to work in the tin mines the Birom still form 55.5 percent of the population in

their homeland. They are related to some of those included in the Katab Group but it is not certain that the languages are mutually intelligible. Outside their homeland the Biron are better known as Shawshaws but the latter term is usually used derogatorily and it would be better for all to know and use the proper name.

ANGAS

Each of the groups, Angas, Sura, Mirriam, Montol, Ankwe and Dimmuk, of Fani'soin, Shendam and Akwanga Divisions and the Seiyawa of Lere District has been described as a separate unit. A comparison of their vocabularies suggests that the dialects of Montol, Ankwe, Angas, Tab, Sura, Mirriam, Dimmuk, Kanan and Piapum have many words in common and may be dialects of a single language.* These groups are therefore regarded as sections of one unit which may be collectively described as Angas.

The people are mainly pagans but Christianity has been accepted by some of them. There are no large numbers of Hausa and Fulani immigrants among them, thus they are different from the Jarwa who are their northern neighbours.

*. The comparison was made by the present writer from word lists available in the National Archives, Kaduna.

TANGALE

Tangale-Waja Independent Districts are said to be inhabited by the following different groups: Tangale, Waja, Tula, and Pero. It is also said that the Pero speaks a dialect of Tangale while the Tula, Waja and Tangale are similar to one another and may be regarded as a definite linguistic entity.¹⁵ In view of this the inhabitants of the area and related groups in Wurkum District (Muri Division) may be regarded as members of the same unit which may be called Tangale.

The Tangale are not Muslims and there is some preference for European standards among them. Like the peoples of Plateau and southern Zaria Provinces they are badly affected by the imposition of Muslim practices in the Northern Region.

LONGUDA

The Kanakuru, Longuda and Lala peoples of Shellen District regard Shellen as their chief centre but they are described as separate units. The Hona, Gabin and

15. Newton, T. Bauchi Province: Provincial Gazetteer (Typescript), 1932
SIP 690.

Lala are said to be of the same Yungur stock.¹⁶ The Kanakuru, Longuda and Yungur may therefore, be regarded as closely related groups and considered as single unit under the name Longuda. Apart from Shellen District the Longuda are also found in Longuda, Yungur and Ga'anda Districts of Numan and Adamawa Divisions.

BATTA

The eastern and southern neighbours of the Longuda and the Marghi are the Bachama, Malabu, Batta, Kofa, Holma and Mbula. The first five of these speak the same language¹⁷ while the Mbula has much in common with the Batta and the Bachama. Consequently these group may be regarded as one unit which may be called Batta.

16. Anon. Yola, later Adamawa, Province:
Collected Histories SNP/J.1

17. Kirk - Greene, A. H. M. Adamawa Past and Present.
London. O. U. P , 1958.
p. 18

The Batta homeland was in a single Batta Kingdom which extended to other areas before the Fulani attacked it in the early 19th century. As a result a Fulani Emirate was established over most of the Batta homeland, the Bachama section being excluded.

There are now many Fulani in the Districts around Yola: in 1952 their proportion of the population in some Districts were, Gurin, 54%, Ribadu 41%; and Yola, 40%. In other Districts the Batta people predominate: Sorau, 73%, Belel 76%, Zummo 76%, Batta 83%, and Bachama 90%. Fulani influence has not been great in the religious field for over 60 percent of the population are pagans.

MUMUYE

To the southwest of the Batta, in Muri Division, are the Mumuye, Yendang, Waka, Kugama, Teme, Kumba and Verre. The Yendang claim Mumuye origin but have linguistic connections with the Kugama, Teme and Kumba.¹⁸ The Kugama

18. Meek, C. K. Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria,
Vol. 1
 London. Kegan Paul, 1931. p. 447

is an off-shoot of the Verre ¹⁹ It would therefore appear that there is a close connection between all the groups and they may be regarded as one unit. Most of their homeland was conquered by the Fulani and they are now administered as parts of Muri and Adamawa Emirates.

CIAMBA

The Chamba are the main inhabitants of southern Sardauna Province with the adjacent areas of Benue and Adamawa Provinces. They moved to their present home from the Yola region where they were displaced by the Batta. Since their arrival they have absorbed earlier inhabitants of the area. The connection between the Chamba and the people of Ndoro, Tigon and Ichen Districts is not clear but those in Ndoro and Ichen Districts have probably been in contact with the Chamba before the creation of Nigeria. The Tigon are related to the Mbembe of Cameroun but an investigator ²⁰ noted that their mother tongue is Ndoro. The inhabitants of Tigon, Ichen and Ndoro may therefore be regarded as part of the Chamba.

19 Webster, G. W. Kugama Tribe 1912, SNP/J 4.

20. Cole, C. W. Intelligence Report on the Kentu Mandated Area of Wukari Division, 1934
SNP 21837

The Chamba were attacked by Fulani during the 19th century and some sections were probably in the Yola Emirate until the partition of the late 19th century. There are now many Fulani in some of their Districts, in 1952 they formed up to a fifth of the population in Chamba Area and Gashaka Districts.

JUKUN

The Jukun who, with some Fulani, inhabit Muri, Mutum Biyu, and Gassol Districts of Muri Division are the main concentration of a people whose influence is reported among many of the peoples in the eastern section of Nigeria from Bornu to Calabar. This influence was established between the 15th and late 18th centuries when the Jukun established a powerful kingdom in Central Nigeria. The kingdom was later attacked and defeated by the Fulani and the Jukun spread to other parts. They do not have any large concentrations in any place other than the area mentioned above. In that area they form only a small proportion of the population - 58 percent in Muri District, 20 percent in Gassol and 18 percent in Mutum Biyu. The main element in the rest of the population is Fulani.

TIV

From their homeland in the Division named after them the Tiv have spread to other areas to the north and the south. In 1952 the total population of the Districts in which the Tiv predominated was 862,000 of which the Tiv numbered 777,000.

The Tiv are mainly pagans and have led the Movement for the Middle Belt Region to comprise all non-Muslim areas of the Northern Region. There are great population densities in some parts of the Tiv homeland, the highest densities being in the clan areas of Shangev Ya, Kunav and Raav, while the lowest densities are in the areas to the north of the Benue.

IDOMA

The people usually described as Idoma inhabit most of Idoma Division, the Doma and Lafia Districts of Lafia Division and the Yala District of Ogoja Division. The Afu of Nassarawa Division and the Yachi of Ogoja Division speak dialects related to Idoma and may be regarded as part of Idoma. The Egedde of Idoma Division also speak a dialect closely related to Idoma²¹ and belong to the same stock as

21. Armstrong, R. G. Peoples of the Niger - Benue Confluence.
ed. by D. Forde. London.
Int. Afr. Inst., 1955. p. 91

the Bette-Bendi, Bekworra, and related groups of Ogoja and Obudu Divisions.²² If, as should be done, the Egedde are regarded as part of Idoma then the peoples of Ogoja and Obudu related to the Egedde should also be regarded as part of the Idoma unit. Hence the Idoma homeland may be described as Idoma Division, Afo and Loko Districts of Nassarawa, Lafia and Doma Districts of Lafia and Yala, Yachi, Otukwang, Bekworra, Bette-Bendi, Aferika, Obubu and Obanliku Districts of Ogoja and Obudu Divisions. In 1952 the population of these areas was 541,000 of which the Idoma groups formed 84 percent.

Armstrong noted that the Afu, Egedde and Yachi speak separate languages²³ each of which is different from Idoma but given the considerable differences in dialect between recognised Idoma groups²⁴ it could be that the so-called separate languages of Afu, Egedde and Yachi are only distant dialects of Idoma. It is likely that these peoples can easily understand Oturkpo, the central Idoma dialect, even though the Oturkpo people may find it somewhat difficult to understand the dialects of the various groups.

22. Stoddart, A. F. R. Intelligence Report on the Bette-Bendi Clan, Obudu District. EP. 8880A.

23. Armstrong op. cit. pp. 136, 141, and 148.

24. Ibid p. 92.

The Idoma are not Muslims and have cultural affinities with the Tiv and the Igala. The Ibo people are moving into the southern part of Idoma homeland.

IGALA

The majority of Igala people live in Igala Division but there are also Igala-speaking peoples in Nsukka, Onitsha and Awka Divisions - the Clan²⁵ and the villages²⁶ of Ogurugu, Asaba, Ojo, Unye and Igga in Nsukka Division, Aguleri, Igbariam, Nadi, Nsugbe, Ntenje and Umunga,²⁷ as well as Nzam, Inoma, Ode, Ala, Onugwa, Odekoe, Igbokanyi, Ighedo, Nnani, Okpunke, and Ireagu²⁸ villages in Onitsha and Awka Divisions. In all cases the Igala in Awka, Onitsha, and Nsukka Divisions claim descent from an Igala father and an Ibo woman but Igala is their main language* though most adults understand Ibo.

25. Clarke, H. J. Intelligence Report on Ete Clan.
Nsukka Division. EP. 9262A
26. Meck, C. K. An Ethnographical Report on the Peoples
of Nsukka Div. Lagos, 1931. p. 4
27. Stone, B. G. Intelligence Report on Uweri Villages,
Awka and Onitsha Divisions. EP. 9562A
28. Milne, W. R. T. Intelligence Report on the Eleven
Villages of the Nzam Area.
EP. 12208A

*. An administrative officer in Onitsha Division confirmed that the languages of the areas mentioned is not Ibo

The Igala Kingdom which existed until the British occupation extended to Igbirra areas and the northern part of Ibo homeland.²⁹ Some Ibo communities in Nsukka Division still accept the authority of the Atah of Igala, for example newly appointed chiefs at Enugu-Ezike go to Idah for confirmation of their appointments and traditional staff of office.³⁰

The Igala language is very similar to Yoruba and culturally the Igala have much in common with the Yoruba and the Edo.

IGBIRRA

Igbirra Division is the main homeland of the Igbirra people but there are Igbirra living intermingled with Bassa Komo in Koton Karifi and surrounding Districts. The Bassa Komo have links with the Bassa in Kontagora Emirate but they have adopted many Igbirra customs and may be considered part of the Igbirra unit.

The Igbirra trace their origins to the Igala. Many Igbirra have left their homeland to work and trade in adjacent areas of the Midwest and Western Regions where

29. Clifford, M. A Nigerian Chiefdom - Some Notes on the Igala, 1936. SNP 212/1930.

30. Information supplied by Dr. J. M. Eze when a research student in Durham University in 1965.

they are particularly known for beautifully woven cloth. Unlike all their neighbours there is a high proportion of Muslims among the Igbirra - in 1952, 47 percent of the people in Igbirra Division were Muslims as against 12 percent in Kabba, 15 percent in Igala and 26 percent in Afemai Divisions.

NUPE

The Nupe are the main inhabitants of Bida and Lafiyagi-Pategi Divisions with the Egan and Kuba Districts of Koton Karifi Division and Zugurma and Washishi Districts of Kontagora. In 1952 they formed 89 percent of the population in those areas.

The Nupe trace their origin to Igala and have many varied connections with the Yoruba. In the 19th century the Fulani conquered the Nupe and raided the Yoruba and Igbirra areas as far as Akoko District and adjacent territories of Igbirra and Edo. At that time Nupe influence spread to the southeast ³¹

The establishment of Fulani rule linked the Nupe rulers with the North and led to the spread of Islam among

31. Bradbury, R. E. The Benin Kingdom.
London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1957.
p. 113

them. They are now mainly Muslims. In 1952 88 percent of the people in Bida and 64 percent of those in Lafiagi-Pategi were Muslims. However, the relationship of the Nupe with their southern neighbours has been very cordial. Their Muslim practices are more akin to those of Ilorin and Oyo than to those of Sokoto and Kano.

BUSSAWA

Kalama, Wawa, Bussa and Babana Districts of Borgu Division with Illo District of Gwandu Division are the main homes of the Bussawa. When their ancestors arrived in the area they met some people whom they fought and conquered. Consequently they established three Kingdoms at Bussa, Illo and Nikki the last one being among the Bariba.³²

Though they are the largest single unit in their homeland they do not form the majority of the population: in 1952 they constituted only 42 percent of the population of the area. The main elements in the rest of the population were Kambari in Bussa and Wawa Districts, Fulani in Kalama and Babana and Hausa-Fulani in Illo District. They are mainly Muslims and they share characteristics of

32. Anon: Borgu - its People, History and Problems, 1939
SNP 3813.

Muslims in the Far North. The negligible proportion of Christians among them (0.4 percent) is almost identical with those in Sokoto (0.5 percent) and Kano (0.4 percent); in the north, and is in great contrast with those in Ilorin (7.8 percent) or Bida (3.7 percent), to the South.

BARIBA

The Bariba inhabit Yashikera, Gwanara, Ilesha and Okuta Districts of Borgu Division and have sections in Dahomey. They claim kinship with the Yoruba whom they regard as brothers.³³ Individuals, and probably everyone, in each group understand the other's language.

The Bariba joined the Oyo Kingdom in the wars against the Fulani during the nineteenth century but the allies later disagreed. They were under the King of Nikki until the partition in 1898. After the partition they were grouped under Kalama but they never accepted the authority of the British-created Emir: they continued to look to Nikki than to Kalama.³⁴ In 1952 they formed 59 percent of the total population of the Districts named above.

33. Rae, E. V. Ethnological Report on the Tribes of Borgu, the Yaurawa and the Shangawa. SNP 230/1926 Vol. I

34. Anon: Borgu Divisional Notes SNP 3158.

YORUBA

The Yoruba people inhabit the southwestern part of Nigeria and the central area of Dahomey. In 1952 they were the third largest unit, after the Hausa and the Ibo and have usually competed with the other two for leadership of the country. Like the Ibo and the Hausa they formed the basis of a Region which, until 1963, included the Edo and some Ibo. With the creation of the Midwest in 1963 the Western Region became virtually a Yoruba Region. However, there are still other Yorubas in the Northern Region and there have been demands that they should be allowed to join other Yorubas in the West. The Egun of Badagry Division have adopted many Yoruba customs and the Yoruba language and may be regarded as part of the Yoruba.

Before the creation of Nigeria the Yoruba were organised in many different Kingdoms of which the Oyo Kingdom was the most important. Because of the partition some Yoruba Kingdoms e.g. Ketu and Sabę were split between Nigeria and Dahomey while others were left completely in Dahomey. In Nigeria the Kingdoms have been used as the bases of the Divisions in most areas but the Yorubas have accepted themselves as one unit in the country.

Though both Islam and Christianity have wide support in Yorubaland religion does not play any part whatever, in personal or group relationships.

The Işekiri of Warri Division speak a dialect of Yoruba but there is much Edo influence among them. In 1963 they voted to join the Edo in the Midwest rather than stay with other Yorubas in the West.

The Yoruba language is being adopted by other Nigerian peoples particularly the Edo. It is taught as a second Nigerian language in Ivbiosakon District of Afenmai Division and among other Northern Edo groups.

EDO

The Edo are the eastern neighbours of the Yoruba and live in Afenmai, Isuan and Benin Divisions. The Urobo of Urnobo Division speak a dialect of Edo: Urobo people claim they can understand Edo when it is spoken, but it is not certain that the Edo have such understanding of Urobo dialect. In any case the two groups are very closely related and form a distinct unit in the country.

Before the creation of Nigeria the Edo were organised in separate units but each unit owed some allegiance to the Opa of Benin and was thus in the Benin Kingdom. The Opa himself is of the same origin as the Obas in Yorubaland.

The Benin Kingdom once extended to parts of eastern Yorubaland and also parts of Iboland. Because of this historic past of the Edo and because of the cultural differences between them and the Yoruba the Edo demanded separation from the Yoruba. In 1963 they and their neighbours separated from the Western Region to form the Midwest. With the creation of the Midwest the Edo became the largest unit in it and expected to lead it. Their homeland had a population of about 950,000 in 1952.

IJO

Western Ijo Division of the Midwest with Brass and Degema Divisions of the Eastern Region are inhabited by the Ijo. Although their language has not been investigated the Ogoni of Ogoni Division are probably related to the Ijo, hence the two groups should be regarded as one unit.

The Ijo have demanded that they be united in a Region distinct from the Eastern and Midwestern Regions. The petroleum in the two Regions come mainly from the Ijo homeland hence it has been difficult for the authorities in both Regions to agree to the demands of the Ijo. The latter claim that only those who live in their environment can plan for them as no dryland community can understand the problems of their riverain and deltaic homeland.

IBO

The Ibo, or more properly the Igbo, inhabit the territory to the east of the Edo, and north of the Ijo, stretching from Asaba and Aboh Divisions of the Midwest to their main concentrations in Onitsha, Enugu, Abakaliki, Umuahia, and Owerri Provinces and the Ahoada and Port Harcourt Divisions of the Eastern Region. In 1952 they were the second largest ethnic nation in the country and with the Hausa and Yoruba form the three main nations contesting for leadership in Nigeria.

Before the British occupation there was no large political unit among the Ibo but the priests of Chuku Ibinckpabi Oracle in Arochuku wielded great powers in many areas. Since the creation of Nigeria the Ibo have come together and regard themselves as one unit.

The density of population in the central areas of Iboland is very high - in 1952 the population densities in Orlu and Okigwi Divisions were 873 and 754 persons per square mile respectively. Because of this many people have moved from the land to find employment in non-agricultural occupations. A great number of people have gone outside Iboland to other parts of the Federation where they engage in varied occupations of which trading is very important.

UKELLE

The Ukelle live in the western part of Ogoja Division. They claim descent from the Cross river area. In 1952 they formed 84 percent of the 190,000 people in their homeland. Their homeland is split into two by a belt of Iyala settlements. It could therefore be that they now have much in common with the Iyala. Their western neighbours are the Ibo of Abakaliki Division and many Ibo live among them.

IBIBIO

The indigenous inhabitants of Annang, Ogoja, and Uyo Provinces and the southern Districts of Calabar Division speak mutually intelligible dialects of which Efik is the most important and the only one with a literature. The various groups of the area claim descent from the Ibibio but they have always been defined as Efik-Ibibio. This description appears to give special prominence to the Efik so other groups have demanded separate treatment. However, it is better to retain a single name for all the groups hence rather than treat all groups like the Efik it would be better to treat the Efik as other groups and use only the name of the parent group to describe the whole ethnic nation.

In 1952 the population of the Ibibio homeland was 1,492,000 of which they formed 91 percent. They are mainly Christians and the rate of literacy among them is one of the highest in Nigeria.³⁵

EKOI

The Ekoi people inhabit the Northern District of Calabar Division and adjacent areas of Ikom and Obubra Divisions but five of their ten clans are in Western Cameroons. The connections of the Ekoi with the various groups to the west of them viz. Mbembe and Yako, is not clear but in 1952 the Yako and Ekoi were grouped together by census officers. The Yako are related to the Mbembe hence all the groups may be treated as one unit.

The Ekoi speak a common language, it is not certain whether the Mbembe understands the language or whether the Ekoi understands the Mbembe language. However, all the groups are connected by the Cross River and have long been in contact with the Ibibio. Efik, one of the dialects of Ibibio is used as the medium of instruction in their schools and as the lingua franca between the various peoples.

35. In 1952 the highest rate of literacy was in Ibibioland but with the introduction of free primary education in the Western Region from 1955 the position might have changed. Even then the rate of literacy in Ibibioland would still be one of the highest in the country.

BOKI

The Boki inhabit the southern parts of Ogoja and Obudu Divisions as well as Boje and Abo Districts of Ikom Division. They speak a different language and claim they have always lived in their present homeland. In 1952 they formed 97 percent of the population of 37,000 in their homeland.

PRE-BRITISH POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF ETHNIC NATIONS

From about the 11th century onwards there had been many attempts to create political units comprising one or more of the ethnic nations described above. In the north-west immigrants established states among the Hausa during the 11th century, at about the same time Oduduwa and his followers established states among the Yoruba and the Edo, in the 14th century the Jukun established their state of Kororofa in central Nigeria, and the movement of the rulers of Kanem to the west of Lake Chad in the late 14th century was the beginning of the Bornu Empire. Each attempt was independent of the others and neighbouring states were often struggling for supremacy among themselves. Internal discontents and revolts led to the disintegration of some states and the establishment of others in their

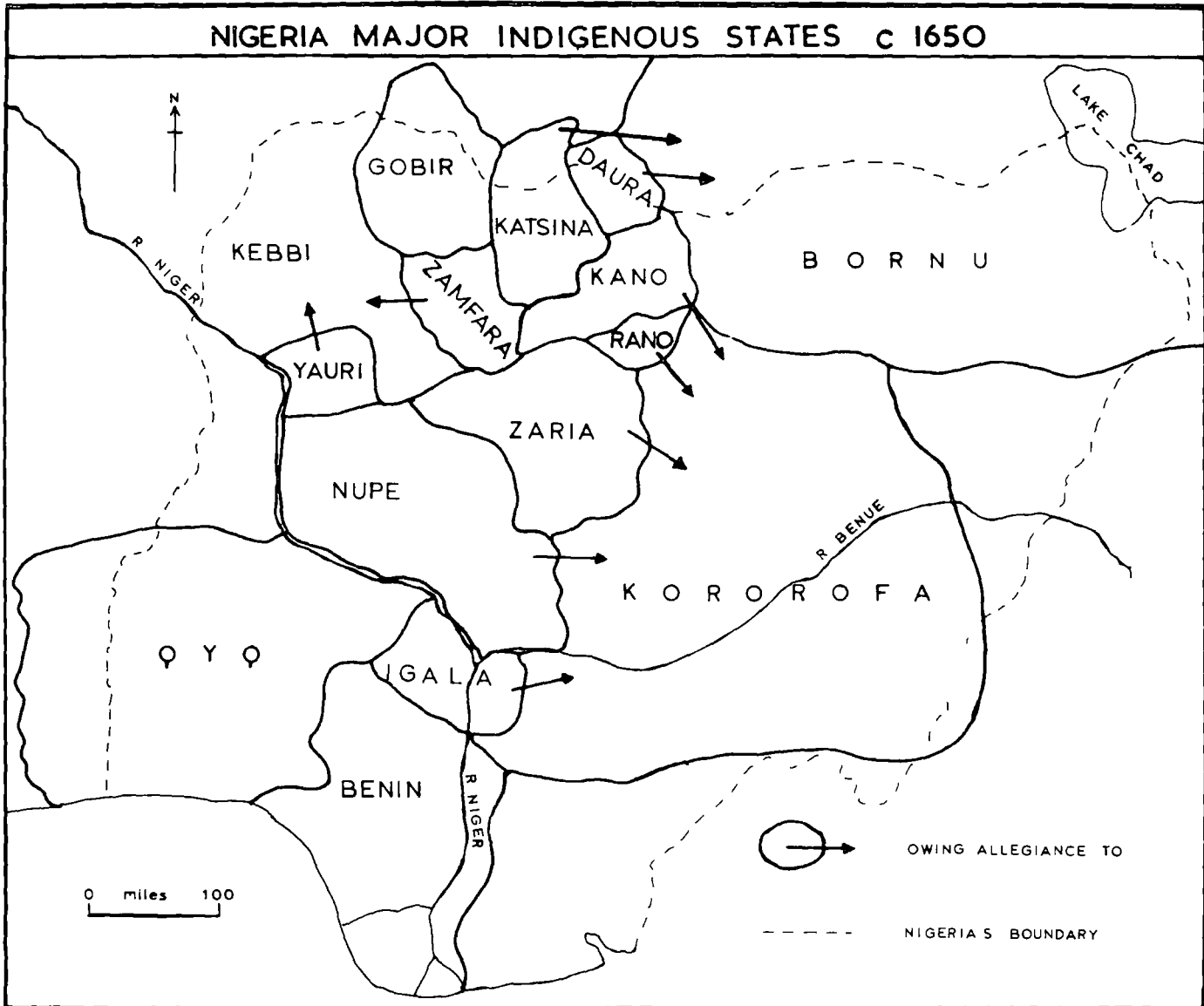


FIG. 9

places, the fall of the Hausa states was the beginning of the Fulani Empire (Figures 9 and 10).

The various political units brought different national groups together for although the subject peoples often revolted some of them adopted the practices and languages of the dominant races. The cultural and linguistic similarities resulting from these contacts have sometimes made two or more separate groups look on themselves as one in Nigeria. Hence some knowledge of the extent and influence of the important Kingdoms and Empires is necessary for an understanding of Nigeria.

HAUSA STATES

During the 10th and 11th centuries immigrants established some states among the Hausa. The first of these was possibly Biram for Hausa accounts state that Biram was "the first of the seven Hausa states."³⁶ After the establishment the immigrants went to Daura from where they spread out to five other centres and so established the well known six Hausa states of Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Rano, and Zaria.

36. Hassan and Naibi, S. A. A Chronicle of Abuja (rev. ed.) Ibadan University Press, 1962. p. 1

Each of the states was independent of the others and although they were regarded as one they fought for supremacy among themselves. By the 14th century Kano was probably the most important among them and at that time it received tributes from other Hausa states and Kororofa. Zaria gained ascendancy during the 14th century but by the 16th century Katsina was the most important. During the 13th century Gobir gained supremacy and controlled the eastern part of Hausaland.

The extent of the Kingdoms is not known but up to the early 18th century Gobir controlled most of the central part of present Niger Republic. Zaria controlled or raided the non-Hausa peoples to the south and Bornu prevented expansion to the east of Hausaland.

YORUBA STATES

Although the first states in Yorubaland were probably established in the Ekiti country before the arrival of Oduduwa the larger states are due to that man and his followers and descendants. On their arrival in about the 11th century they founded Ife, Oyo, Ketu, Sabe and other states, outside Yorubaland they established a Kingdom among the Edo.

NIGERIA MAJOR INDIGENOUS STATES c 1880

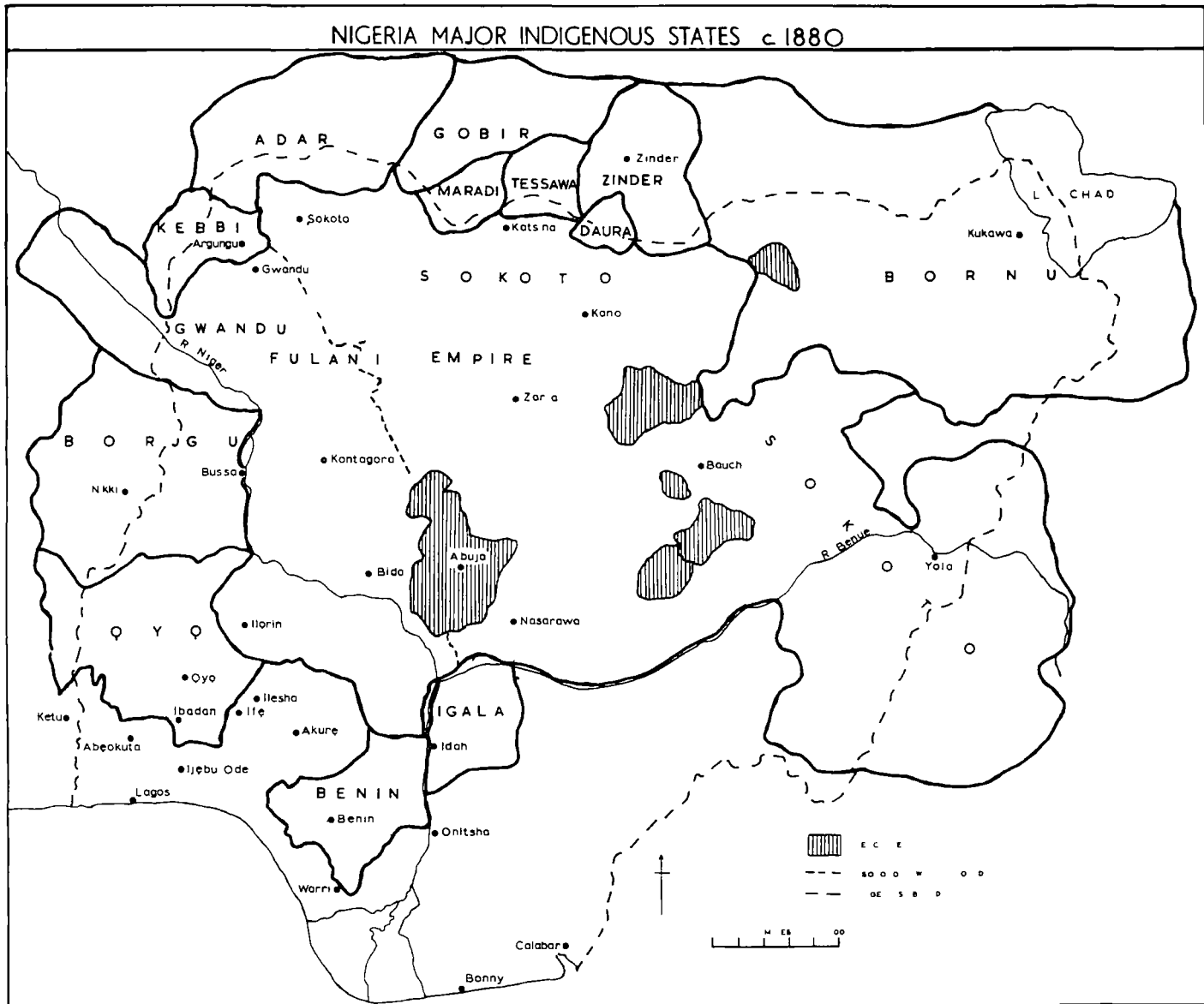


FIG. 10

The Oyo Kingdom became the most important of the Yoruba states. Other Kingdoms were conquered and the jurisdiction of Oyo extended to the Fon territory, now in Dahomey and possibly to the Gas of Togoland and Ghana.

During the 19th century Ilorin revolted and, later other Kingdoms did the same. As a result each Kingdom became independent and the struggles for supremacy started again. However, no one state was able to control others before the advent of the British.

BENIN EMPIRE

A descendant of a son or a follower of Oduduwa became ruler of the Edo probably in the 13th century. Later the Kingdom became powerful and brought neighbouring areas under its jurisdiction.

At its greatest extent the Benin Empire probably comprised all areas in the present Midwestern Region, and possibly the Igala country as well as the western part of the Eastern Region. Much of eastern Yorubaland was also included in the Benin Kingdom.

By the 18th century various parts started to revolt and by the 19th century the Benin Empire consisted of only part of Afenmai Division and the whole of Ishan, Benin, Urhobo and Itsoko Divisions.

KOROROFA

The Jukun Kingdom of Kororofa was probably established in the 14th century but before the end of that century Kororofa was paying tribute to Kano. In the 16th and 17th centuries Kororofa became very powerful and received tributes from Kano and other Hausa states. In the north Kororofa shared borders with Bornu while in the east it probably did not conquer the Batta Kingdom.

By the late 18th century many areas had revolted and Kororofa was reduced to the territory which now constitute the southern part of Gombe Division, the south-western parts of Adamawa and Gashaka-Mambilla Divisions, the Ukari and Muri Divisions and the eastern parts of Shendam and Lafia Divisions. After the Fulani attacks in the 18th and 19th centuries the influence of Kororofa was destroyed completely.

BORNU

As a result of pressures from invaders in the 14th century the rulers of Kanem moved to the west of Lake Chad and built a new capital at Ngazergamu. Thus started the Bornu Empire. By the mid-fifteenth century Bornu had defeated, and was receiving tributes, from Kano.

In the 16th century Bornu gained control of nearly all territories in the former Kanem Empire. In the 18th century all the Hausa states were paying tributes to Bornu and Kororofa was doing the same. By the end of the 18th century Bornu was the most powerful state in what is now Northern Nigeria.

When the Fulani attacked Bornu in the 19th century they occupied the areas which are now Katagum and Gombe Emirates but failed to conquer the rest. After that the rest of the Kingdom was consolidated and Bornu became powerful again.

In 1893 invaders sacked the capital and took over the Kingdom. The leader of the invaders was killed in 1900 and the former ruler reinstated. When Nigeria was created parts of the Bornu Kingdom were cut off and are now in Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republics.

FULANI EMPIRE

In 1804 Fulani Muslims led by Usman Dan Fodio and joined by other Fulani revolted against the Hausa king of Gobir. Soon afterwards the revolt spread to other Hausa states where the kings were overthrown.

In other areas where Fulanis lived armies were formed and territories occupied. In the east Bornu was attacked and the western part of the Kingdom occupied. In the southeast indigenous rulers were conquered, and Kororofa and the Batta Kingdom in the Yola Region were occupied by Fulani armies. In the south the Nupe Kingdom and the Ilorin Province of the Oyo Kingdom were added to the areas under Fulani.

After the war the Emirates were grouped into two Provinces - Gwandu and Sokoto. Gwandu, the smaller one, comprised the Emirates of Gwandu, Yauri, Kontagora, Bida, Lapai, Agale, Lafiagi and Ilorin. The other areas were under Sokoto whose ruler called Sultan, was the overall head of the Empire and was given the title of Sarkin Mussulimi.

Although some emirates were challenging the Provincial Heads by the late 19th century the Emirs still remembered their common origin and loyalty to Sokoto. This has been revived in recent years. Many Emirs still retain the powers they had in the nineteenth century.

OTHER STATES

Apart from the larger states described above there were other political units in various parts of the country. The largest of these were Igala, Nupe, the Bariba Federation and Yauri.

Yauri was located along the bend of the Niger round Bin Yauri and comprised the Isl and communities and parts of the Kambari. It owed allegiance to other units such as Zaria and other Hausa states. In the 19th century it was conquered by the Fulani and it paid tribute to Gwandu.

The Bariba Federation consisted of the Kingdoms of Nikki, Illo and Bussa. It was independent of other units but in the 19th century Illo was occupied and annexed to Gwandu Emirate.

The Nupe Kingdom was founded by an immigrant from the Igala country and comprised the Nupe homeland. It was more or less independent of other units until the Fulani conquered it and made it part of the Gwandu Province.

The Igala Kingdom, centred on Idah, was founded by immigrants who settled among the local people. At one time its influence extended outside Igala homeland and it was frequently mentioned as an important Kingdom. It is not certain whether it was under Benin but it possibly did not owe allegiance to any others for a long time.

CHAPTER IV

THE CREATION OF NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

The partition of Africa which led to the creation of states such as Nigeria is a topic of great interest to historians as well as geographers, and scholars in both disciplines have studied it. Such studies examine the motive for the establishment of European influence and the attempts by European Powers to gain more territory at the expense of their rivals. The aim in this chapter is not to duplicate such studies in the case of Nigeria but to show, briefly, the development of British interest in the Lower Niger Region and indicate how the boundaries of the British sphere of influence (which became Nigeria) in the area were determined.¹

DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH INTEREST IN THE LOWER NIGER

The Coast

The first Europeans to establish contact with the Lower Niger Regions were the Portuguese who visited

1. Detailed examinations of Nigeria's international boundaries were made by J. R. V. Prescott.

"The Evolution of Nigeria's Political Boundaries."
Ph.D. Thesis. London Univ. 1961

Benin in 1486 and started trade in pepper and other products. When the importation of Benin pepper was banned in Portugal, in order to protect the trade in Indian pepper, the Portuguese traders in West Africa concentrated on the slave trade.²

In 1563 John Hawkins became the first Englishman and the first non-Portuguese to join in the slave trade.³ From then on other Europeans joined and the slave trade overshadowed all other trades until the mid-nineteenth century. The main centres of the trade on the Gulf of Guinea were first the Benin country and later the Niger delta and the Ibibio country, but by the nineteenth century the Yoruba coastlands had become the main centre.

Public opinion against the slave trade in Europe made Denmark abolish it in 1792 and Britain prohibit it from May 1, 1808. Many other countries followed the examples of Denmark and Britain but Portugal and some American countries refused to co-operate.

2. Blake, D. W. European Beginnings in West Africa
London. Longmans, 1937. p. 84

3. Keltie, J. S. The Partition of Africa.
London, Stanford. 1895. p. 64.

When compensation and appeals failed to win co-operation Britain decided to enforce international obligations about the slave trade. Accordingly troops were sent to West Africa to prevent any ship from engaging in the slave trade. In view of the concentration of the trade on the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea a base was set up in Fernando Po in 1827.⁴

The Interior

While steps were being taken to abolish the slave trade on the coast, attempts were made to learn more of the hinterland. In West Africa interest centred round the cities of Kano and Timbuktu as well as the Kingdoms about which Arab and European travellers had reported. In addition there was a desire to know the true course of the River Niger about which there were conflicting reports. Herodotus who first reported the Niger said it flowed from west to east but Idrisi, a twelfth century writer said the large river in West Africa flowed from east to west. Herodotus was supported by Ibn Batuta who visited the area in the 14th century while Idrisi was supported by Leo Africanus who travelled to West Africa in the 16th century

4. Crowder, M. The Story of Nigeria
London, - Faber and Faber, 1962.
p. 137.

and claimed to have travelled with the current from east to west.⁵ These conflicting reports arose because there are many large rivers in West Africa of which a traveller might have seen one the Niger flows from west to east, but the Benue and the Senegal are also big while each flows from east to west. Each of these might have been mistaken for the large river mentioned by classical writers.

These different rivers were not known to 18th century Europeans. In order to ascertain the true course of the only big river mentioned by classical writers and establish contact with the people an African Association was formed in Britain in 1788. In 1794 the Association sent one of many expeditions to West Africa with instructions to go to the Niger and "ascertain the course, and if possible, the rise and termination of that river", also, "to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo (Timbuktu) and Houssa".⁶ In 1794 the expedition, under Mungo Park, saw the Niger near Segou and later returned home to report that

5. Bovill, E. W Caravans of the Old Sahara.
London, Oxf. Univ. Press 1953. p. 210

6. Bovill, E. W op. cit p. 211

it flowed from west to east. Hausaland was not visited by the expedition and the source and the mouth of the Niger were not ascertained.

In order to ascertain the mouth of the Niger and establish contact with Hausaland the African Association with the assistance of the British Government sent other expeditions to West Africa.

One of such expeditions, sent out in 1821, reached Bornu where they concluded a trade treaty and also Sokoto where Clapperton, one of the members, received an account of the country from Sultan Bello, the Fulani ruler and also promise of trade with Britain. However, it was not until 1830 that John and Richard Lander sailed from Bussa to the coast on the River Niger.⁷ By this act they proved to their fellow countrymen that the Niger flowed to the Atlantic through the delta.

When British traders knew that the Niger discharges to the coast they realised it could be used for carrying goods to the interior. In 1832 ships were sent to the Niger for trade, in 1841 an expedition reached Lokoja

7. Bovill, E. W. The Golden Trade of the Moors.
London, Oxf. Univ. Press 1958.
pp. 212-213

where it established a model farm.⁸ By 1857 trading posts had been established in Abok, Onitsha and Lokoja⁹ - these represented the first British footholds in the interior.

The trading agreements with Sokoto and Bornu and the establishment of trading posts in the interior show clearly the main interests of the British, like other European Powers, in Africa. Trade is possible only if there is a free flow of goods. Except for the slave trade the production of goods for trade was not possible without peace. Since it was decided that the slave trade should be abolished peace was necessary if any other trade was to develop. The desire to ensure the development of such trade and flow of goods made Britain discourage the slave trade which thrived on war.

But it was also necessary to ensure that the goods flowed to the right places and persons, (in the case of Britain the right persons were British traders and the right places were ports at which British ships anchored).

8. Crowder, M. op. cit. pp. 124-125

9. Ibid p. 145

The flow of goods to such places and persons was best ensured if the ports were controlled by the particular nation. In the early days of European contact with West Africa such control was exercised by the construction of forts and castles but by the late 19th century it was by laying claims to the ports. The rush to make such claims and retain control of the hinterland led to the Scramble for Africa and the subsequent partition of the continent. In the following pages the effect of the scramble on the determination of Nigeria's international boundaries are discussed.

PRELUDE TO THE SCRAMBLE

Though the establishment of a naval base in Fernando Po enabled the British to prevent many slave-trading ships from going to the coast, some ships slipped through and carried on the trade particularly on the Yoruba coastlands where, up to the 1840's, captives from the inter-state wars were sold in Lagos and other ports. Appeals to the coastal states to ban slave-trading ships did not always help. Consequently, force was employed.

MAJOR TRADING ZONES OF THE LOWER NIGER c 1880

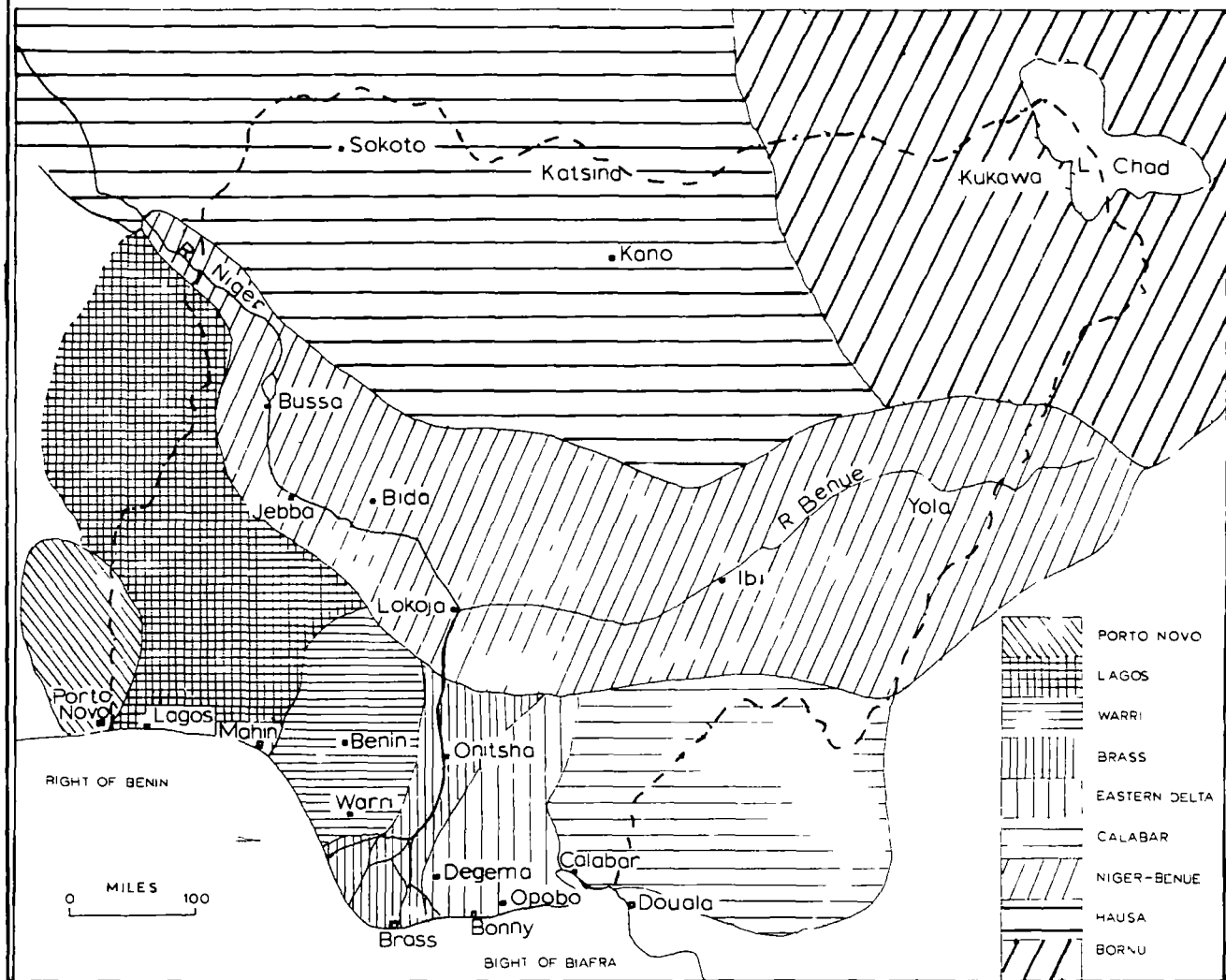


FIG. 11

In 1851 when the King of Lagos refused to co-operate in discouraging slave-trading ships from anchoring in Lagos the British engineered his removal and another king was installed. When the new one was not able to abolish the slave trade the British occupied Lagos and made the king cede his territory to Great Britain in 1861.¹⁰

Other European nationals on the coast were worried by the British annexation of Lagos. The French traders pressed their government to take similar action and in 1862 the French signed a treaty with Porto Novo¹¹ The British were not pleased with the French action, so they went on harassing Porto Novo and in 1879 blockaded the port by occupying Cotonou.¹²

Germany revealed her interests in the area when she signed treaties of protection with states on the Togoland coast, in Mahin and in the Douala region in July, 1884 (See Fig. 11). The German action surprised the French and

10. Burns, A. History of Nigeria (5th ed.).
London, George Unwin 1955. pp. 125-126
11. Hargreaves, J. D. Prelude to the Partition of
West Africa.
London, Macmillan 1963.
pp. 110-120
12. Newbury, C. W. The Western Slave Coast and Its Rulers.
London, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1961.
p. 94

the British who did not expect or want German intervention in the area. In order to forestall Germany and each other both Great Britain and France started to sign treaties with states on the coast. The Scramble for Africa had begun.

THE BERLIN WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE

The competition in West Africa made Portugal seek recognition of her claims to Central Africa from the mouth of the Congo to the southern part of Angola and eastwards to the Indian Ocean, parts of which were then being visited by French and Belgian citizens. In order to obtain British recognition Portugal concluded, in 1884, an agreement for a most-favoured-nation treatment with Britain.¹³ France and Germany wanted to have a free trade area in the Congo basin, so they proposed a conference to discuss the problems involved and also navigation on the Niger.

The conference which was held in Berlin from November, 1884 to February, 1885¹⁴ decided, among other things, that navigation on the Niger shall be free to traders of all nations. The nations which had or may have

13. Hargreaves, J. D. op cit. p. 303

14. Crowe, S. E. The Berlin West African Conference
1884-1885.
London, Longmans, 1942. p. 95

influence on the Niger were to enforce the act in their respective areas. The only two nations which had influences in the Niger basin at the time promised to enforce the act while "Each of the other signatory Powers binds itself in the same way in case it should ever exercise in the future rights of sovereignty or protection over any portion of the waters of the Niger branches or outlets."¹⁵

On the occupation of territories in Africa the conference decided that:

"Any Powers which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African Continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such possessions, shall acquire them, as well as the Power which assumes a Protectorate there shall accompany the respective act with a notification thereof, addressed to the signatory Powers of the present Act, in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claims of their own."¹⁶

These agreements make it clear that the Niger basin was not allocated to any particular power or powers. More important still they make it clear that Africa was not

15. Hertslet, E. Map of Africa by Treaty Vol. I
London, H.M.S.O., 1894 p. 41

16. Ibid op. cit. p. 43

NIGERIA DETAILS OF BOUNDARY AGREEMENTS

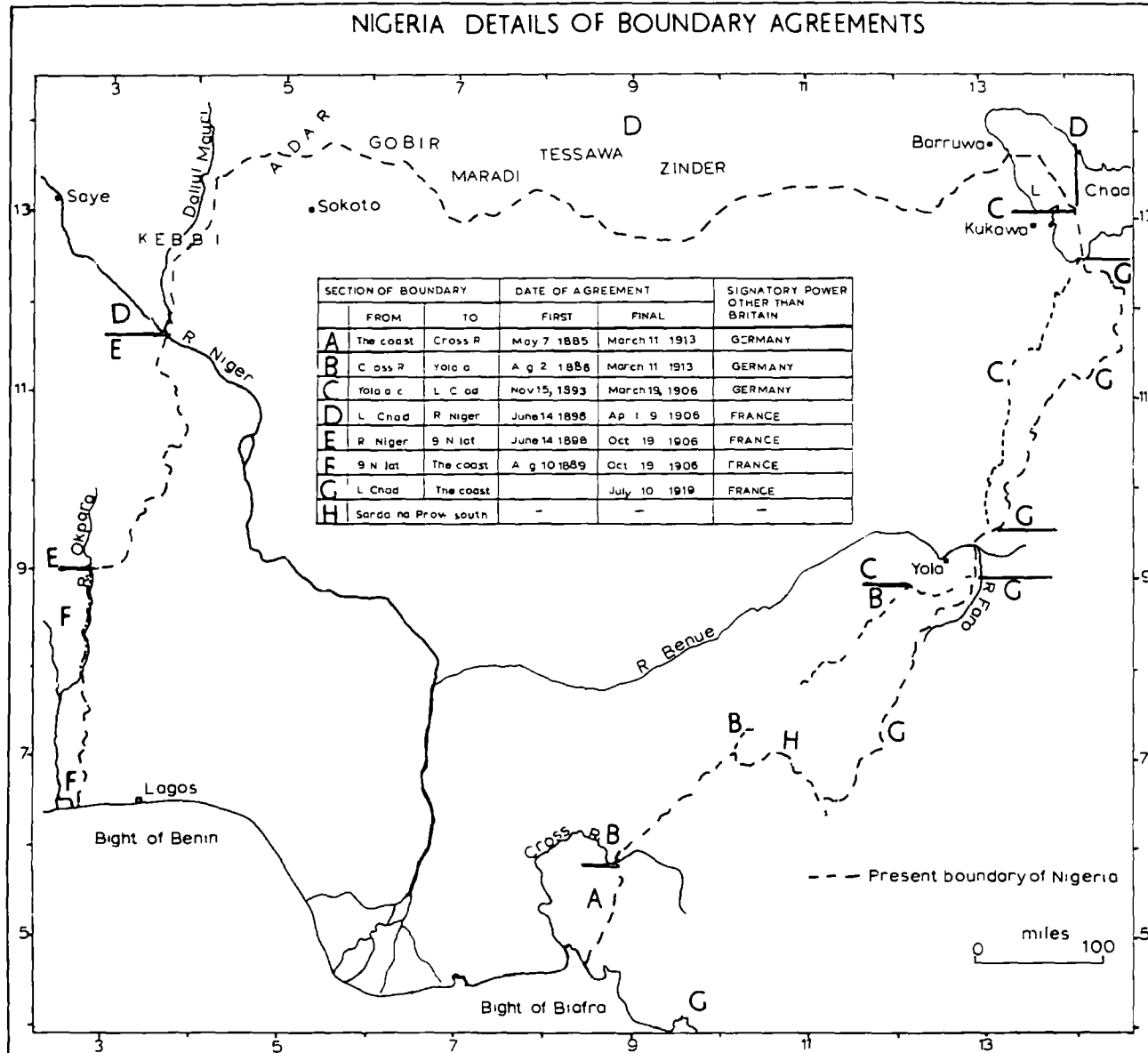


FIG. 12

partitioned at the Conference. The aims of the agreements reached at the Berlin conference was to prevent clashes between rival European Powers.

THE RACE TO LAKE CHAD

The scramble for territories was not affected by the Conference. Before the beginning of the Conference British traders on the banks of the Lower Niger bought out the French traders there, and so only British influence remained.¹⁷ After the Conference the Scramble continued outside the banks of the Niger (Fig. 12).

In the bight of Biafra British and German agents came in contact and each tried to outdo the other in signing treaties and there were clashes between the two sides.¹⁸ In order to avoid further clashes, Britain and German defined, in May, 1885, the boundary between their spheres of influence as follows:

17. Crowe, S. E. op. cit. p. 124

18. Rudin, H. H. Germans in the Cameroons.
London, Jonathan Cape, 1947. p. 47

"... On the coast, the right bank of the Rio del Rey entering the sea between $8^{\circ} 42'$ and $8^{\circ} 46'$ longitude east of Greenwich, in the interior a line following the right river bank of the Rio del Rey from the said mouth to its source, thence striking direct to the left bank of the Old Calabar or Cross River, and terminating after crossing that river at the point about $9^{\circ} 8'$ of longitude east of Greenwich marked 'Rapids' on the English Admiralty Chart."¹⁹
(See Fig. 12)

After that both Germany and Britain were anxious to get to Bornu. The British were helped by the activities of the Niger Company. In June 1885 the Company signed a treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto the overlord of the Fulani Empire and a trading post was opened at Garua. In the same year the Company signed treaties with Katsina Ala and Gashaka. These treaties enabled Britain to accept a German suggestion that the boundary between their spheres of influence be continued northwards of the Cross river rapids. In August 1886 the agreement defining the boundary was concluded as follows:

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19. Hertslet, E. op. cit. Vol. II pp. 598-599
 For a discussion of this agreement see
 J. R. V. Prescott "Geographical Problems Associated
 with the Delimitation of the
 Nigeria-Kamerun Boundary 1885-1916
 Research Notes No. 12.
 Geog. Dept. Univ. Coll., Ibadan.
 February, 1959.

"... the line starting from the point on the left river bank of the Old Calabar River, where the original line terminated shall be continued diagonally to such a point on the right bank of the River Benue to the east of, and close to Yola, as may be found on examination to be practically suited for demarcation of a boundary."²⁰ (See Fig. 12).

In 1891 and 1892 French agents signed treaties with the Emirs of Muri and Yola.²¹ Neither Great Britain nor Germany welcomed this French intervention so it was agreed that the boundary be continued northwards. In November, 1893 agreement was reached on the boundary as far as Lake Chad.

Near Yola the boundary was defined as an arc with a radius equal to the distance between the centre of Yola and "a point on the left bank of the river Benue five Kilometres below the main mouth of river Faro." To the north of Yola the boundary was defined as:

20. Hertslet, E. op. cit. Vol II pp. 612-613

21. Cook, A. N. British Enterprise in Nigeria
London, Cass. 1964. pp. 134-135

"A line ... crossing the river [Benue], shall go direct to the point where the 13th degree of longitude east of Greenwich is intersected by the 10th degree of north latitude. From that point it shall go direct to a point on the southern shore of Lake Chad, situated 35 minutes east of the meridian of the centre of the town of Kuka, this being the distance between the meridian of Kuka and the 14th meridian east of Greenwich measured on the map published in the German Kolonial Atlas of 1892."²² (See Fig. 12).

The greater part of the boundary defined above is no longer an international boundary. This is because of the addition of parts of the German sphere to Nigeria during the first world war. After the war the German sphere was put under French and British mandates. The British section comprised some of the parts of the Bornu kingdom and Adamawa Emirate left in the German section in 1893, and also the areas near the coast contested between Britain and Germany before 1885.

THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY AND THE STRUGGLES FOR SOKOTO

The northern and western boundaries were agreed upon between Britain and France. French attempts to reach the area were directed from their bases in Porto Novo and

22. Hertslet, E. op. cit. pp. 658-659

North Africa, and they hoped to achieve two aims: to prevent the British from encroaching on the French sphere of influence in North Africa and to have a continuous territory between their spheres of influence in West and Equatorial Africa.²³ The British were anxious to keep the French away from the Fulani Empire with which the former signed treaties.

The objectives of the two countries seemed to have been achieved by their agreement of August, 1890 by which Britain recognised "the sphere of influence of France to the south of her Mediterranean Possessions, up to a line drawn from Saye on the Niger to Barruwa on Lake Chad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto."²⁴

The success of this agreement depended on the recognition of "all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto." The British relied on Barth and thought that the Fulani

23. Perham, M. Lugard The Years of Adventure
London, Collins 1956. p. 486
also Cook, A. N. op. cit. p. 132-133

24. Hertslet, E. op. cit. Vol. II p. 572

Empire included the Hausa states of Gobir, Kebbi, Adar, Maradi, Tessawa and Kassaura. The French found out that the states were not in the Fulani Empire and so claimed they could not be in the area under the Niger Company. Farther east the French were going south of the Saye Barruwa line. These uncertainties made the British urge that a more definite agreement be reached. This was done in June, 1898 when it was decided that.

"... the frontier shall follow the median line of the Dallul Mauri until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the centre of the town of Sokoto with a radius of 100 miles (160.932 metres). From this point it shall follow the northern arch of the circle as far as the second intersection with the 14th parallel of north latitude. From this second point of intersection it shall follow this parallel eastwards for a distance of 70 miles (112.230 metres), then due north until it regains the 14th parallel of north latitude, then eastwards along this parallel as far as its intersection with the meridian 35' east of the centre of the town of Kuka and thence this meridian southward until its intersection with the southern shores of Lake Chad."²⁵

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25. Hertslet, E. Map of Africa by Treaty Vol. II
 London H.M.S.C. 1909. pp. 787-788
 also Hertslets Commercial Treaties Vol. XXI, 1901
 pp. 378-379
 Apparently by "metres" they meant kilometres.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH SCRAMBLE FOR BORGU

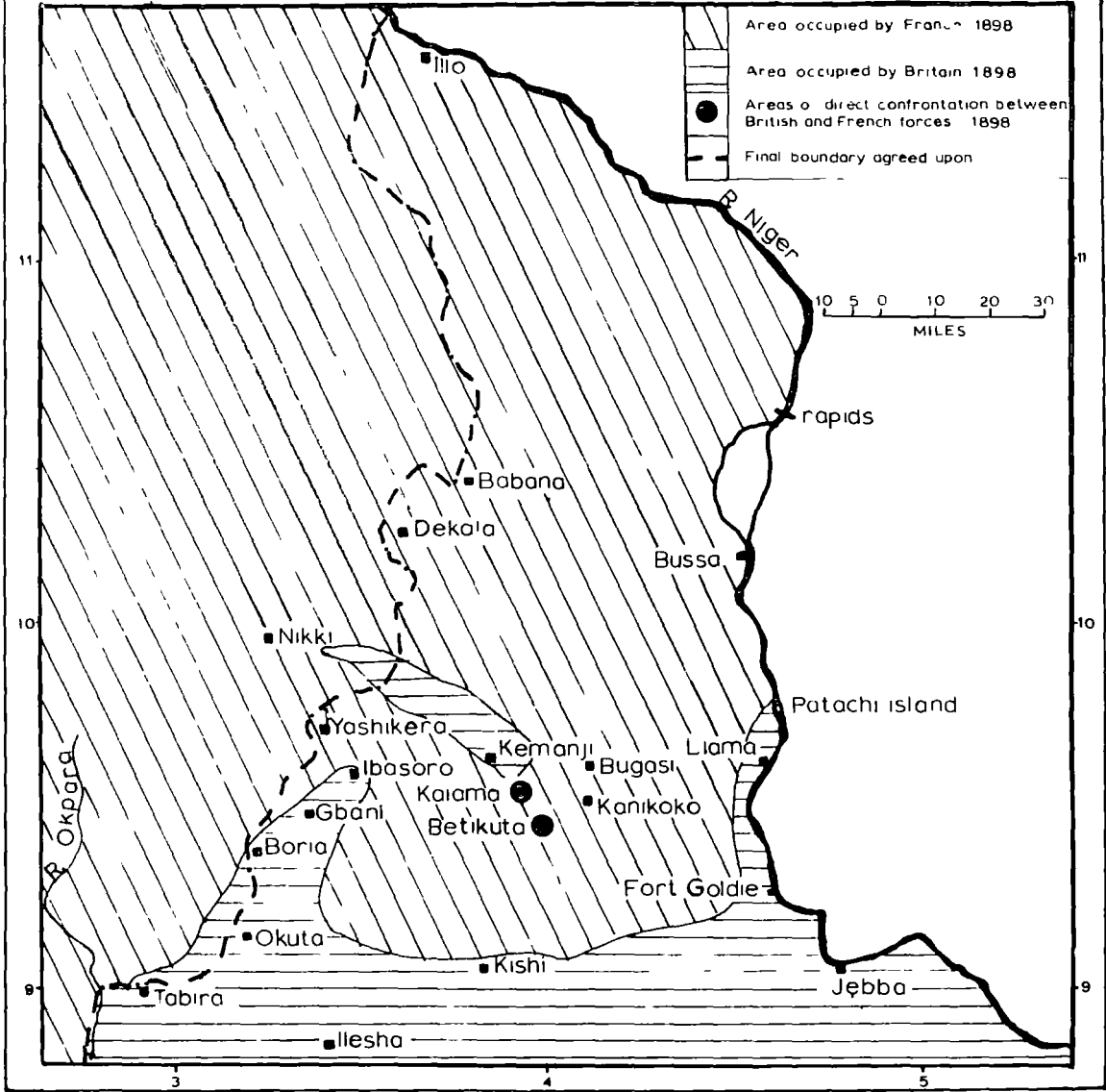


FIG. 13

Later the French discovered that the boundary cut across the route between Say and Zinder and that it did not allow them to have all-season access between the northern and southern shores of Lake Chad. So they asked for adjustments. The British agreed to this and the present boundary was arrived at.

SCRIBBLE FOR BORGU

The section in Borgu was the most hotly contested of the Nigerian boundary (Fig. 13). The section lies to the west of the Bussa rapids below which the Niger is navigable to the ocean. The French were anxious to get a foothold below Bussa so that they could have free access to the ocean. The Royal Niger Company, which operated in the area did not want any French interference because it would break its trade monopoly. To achieve its aim the Company decided to occupy Borgu.

The Company signed a treaty with the king of Bussa whom they considered to be the overlord of the Bussawa and the Bariba but the French pointed out that the overlord was the king of Nikki. Hence there was a race to sign treaties with Nikki.²⁶

26. Perham, M. op. cit. pp. 486-490

On November 10, 1894 the British signed a treaty with Nikki and on November 26 the French did the same. After Nikki the British signed treaties with Kishi and Kalama the French later did the same. Early in 1895 the French built a fort at Jebba. The seriousness of the rivalry made Britain decided to raise a force to "occupy important places on the Hinterland of Gold Coast and Niger territories, which are within the British sphere of influence and which otherwise may be occupied by the French."²⁷

In 1898 there were confrontations between British and French forces in Borgu. On May 2, 1898 there were counter accusations of trespass at Kanikoko. Three days later the forces faced each other at Kalama. On May 26, the French demanded British withdrawal from Betikuta. The British refused and went on to hoist a flag at Kalama where the French flag was flying.²⁸

Back in Europe the two governments met and on June 14, 1898 reached an agreement which demarcated the boundary as follows.

27. Perham, M. op. cit. p. 616

28. Ibid op. cit. pp. 687-700

"From the point of intersection of the River Ocpara with the 9th degree of north latitude, ... the frontier separating the British and French possessions shall proceed in a northerly direction, and follow a line passing west of the lands belonging to the following places viz., Tahira, Okuta (Okouta), Boria, Tere, Gbanu, Ashigere (Yassikera), and Dekala. "From the most westerly point of the lands belonging to Dekala, the frontier shall be drawn in a northerly direction ... and shall strike the right bank of the Niger at a point situated 10 miles (16.093 metres) up stream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris) the port of Ilo), measured as the crow flies."²⁹

When the area was surveyed adjustments were made to the boundary defined above to arrive at the present boundary in the area (see Fig. 13).

DIVISION OF YORUBALAND

Yorubaland was occupied from the British base in Lagos and the French base in Porto Novo. After much struggles and rivalries between the authorities in Lagos and Porto Novo³⁰ the British and French governments agreed in August, 1889 that the boundary shall be:

29. Hertslet, E. op. cit. Vol. II, 1909. p. 787

30. Newbury, C. W. op. cit. pp. 131-140

"... identical with the meridian which intersects the territory of Porto Novo at the Ajara Creek, leaving Ipokia to the English Colony of Lagos. It shall follow the above-mentioned meridian as far as the ninth degree of north latitude, where it shall stop. To the south it shall terminate on the seashore after having passed through the territory of Appah, the capital of which shall continue to belong to England."³¹

This boundary divided Yorubaland into two parts.

A CRITIQUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

The agreements cited above show clearly that the international boundaries of Nigeria cut across many political, linguistic and cultural units which existed before the European Occupation (Fig. 14). The main reason usually given for this is that the Europeans had very little knowledge of the territories and the people when the boundaries were defined.³² Consequently it is argued that it was impossible to take account of the physical and cultural units.

The facts however, do not support this argument. The Europeans signed treaties with local states but when the

31. Herislet op. cit (1894) Vol. II p. 561
 also Johnson, S. History of the Yorubas
 Lagos, C. S. Bookshop, 1922
 p. 666

32. See for example, Hodder, B. W. and Newbury, C. W.
 "Some Geographical Changes Along the Slave Coast
 of West Africa."
 Tijdschrift Voor Econ. en. Soc. Geog.
 Vol. 52, 1960. pp. 77-84

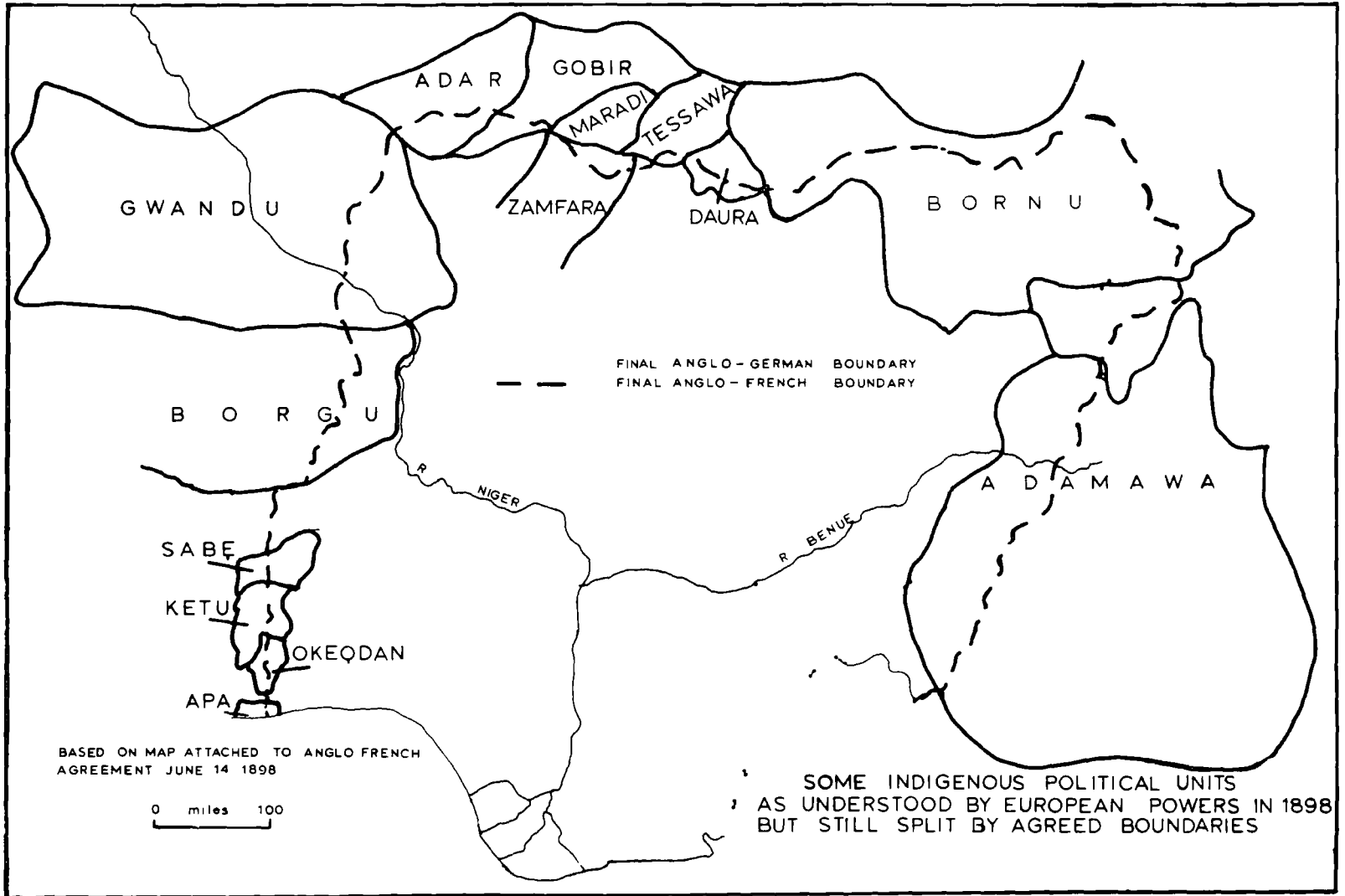


FIG. 14

boundaries were drawn the states were wilfully and intentionally divided.³³ The boundary in the southwest was drawn across the territories of Apa, Porto Novo and other Yoruba kingdoms while that in the Bariba country took no notice of the political alignments of the villages and settlements. The northern boundary was made to cut through many Hausa kingdoms such as Gobir, Maradi and Zinder and the Fulani empire was divided to suit European interests e.g. Adamawa Emirate was split between Britain and Germany. In the east the Chamba were split between British and German spheres. In all these cases the Europeans had some idea of the linguistic and political alignments at the time of the partition.

One way of accounting for this disregard of known facts about the people is to argue that the boundaries were drawn to delimit trading zones and not administrative zones. The first treaties between Britain and France indicated that they were delimiting "areas of influence" rather than "possessions" and "territories". Greater emphasis was also placed on traders and trade. It is also

33 See for example remarks by Macdonald, C in Geog. Jnl. Vol. 43, 1914 p. 649

certain that the first European Government representatives were there to protect their own European citizens rather than govern the indigenous people, they were usually Consuls and Commissioners rather than Governors. Seen in this way it was unnecessary for the Europeans to worry too much about the indigenous people.

The above argument is not supported by later developments for immediately after the boundaries were defined each European power attempted to prevent contact between the peoples on either side of the boundary. After 1886 the Germans prevented the sections of Adamawa in the Cameroons from going to Yola. Britain and France co-operated in preventing people from crossing the northern boundary. It is therefore certain that the boundaries were meant as administrative boundaries. So account ought to have been taken of the people's political and cultural ties.

POSSIBLE FUTURE ADJUSTMENTS TO NIGERIA'S BOUNDARY

Opinions vary on the best way to deal with the unsatisfactory international boundaries in Africa. Some argue that each European nation made a different impact in its

area of influence and that such impacts have differentiated people on either side of the boundary. Therefore the boundaries should be left as they are. This argument is not supported by field officers who report the maintenance of contacts and ties between peoples on both sides of the boundary. For example villages near the Nigeria - Dahomey border in southwestern Nigeria retain the right to farm on either side³⁴ while the Bariba maintain cultural ties with Nikki³⁵ and other Bariba in Dahomey. Farther north traditional and other ties are not severed between Hausas on either side of the boundary. The present lack of interest in the boundaries by the states concerned has made it possible to maintain peaceful relations. If one side takes a keen interest in a particular boundary it is very likely that this will lead to friction. People who have farms, relatives and property on the other side of the boundary will not easily give up their connections.

Recognition of this fact has led some to suggest that the boundaries should be adjusted. Usually such suggestions imply that language groups should be reunited in the same

34. Curwen, R. J. M. "A Report on the Reorganisation of Badagri" 1937.

35. Anon Borgu Division Notes S.I.P. 3158

country. If accepted such suggestions will rectify most of the anomalies of the present boundaries. However, acceptance is doubtful for if language units are reunited in the Lower Niger Region the central part of Danomey occupied by Yorubas will join Nigeria and the Baribas will probably be reunited in Nigeria. In the north much of the inhabited part of Niger Republic occupied by Hausa will reunite with Nigeria. In the east the Marghi, Batta, Gnamba and Ekoi who are split between Nigeria and Cameroun will reunite in one of them. The main effect of this in the area would be the elimination of Danomey and, possibly, the Niger Republic and the reduction of the Cameroun to a smaller country confined to the coast. Such ideas would not be acceptable to politicians and vested interests in those countries which would lose territory and population. Besides, the enlargement of Nigeria by the addition of more members of certain ethnic nations might be resented by other ethnic nations in Nigeria.

It could be argued that since the political instability of many African states is due to the presence of incompatible elements within such states, and since these peoples often have sections in neighbouring states it may be better to form new states comprising related peoples

POSSIBLE SCHEME OF NEW CULTURAL STATES IN THE LOWER NIGER REGION

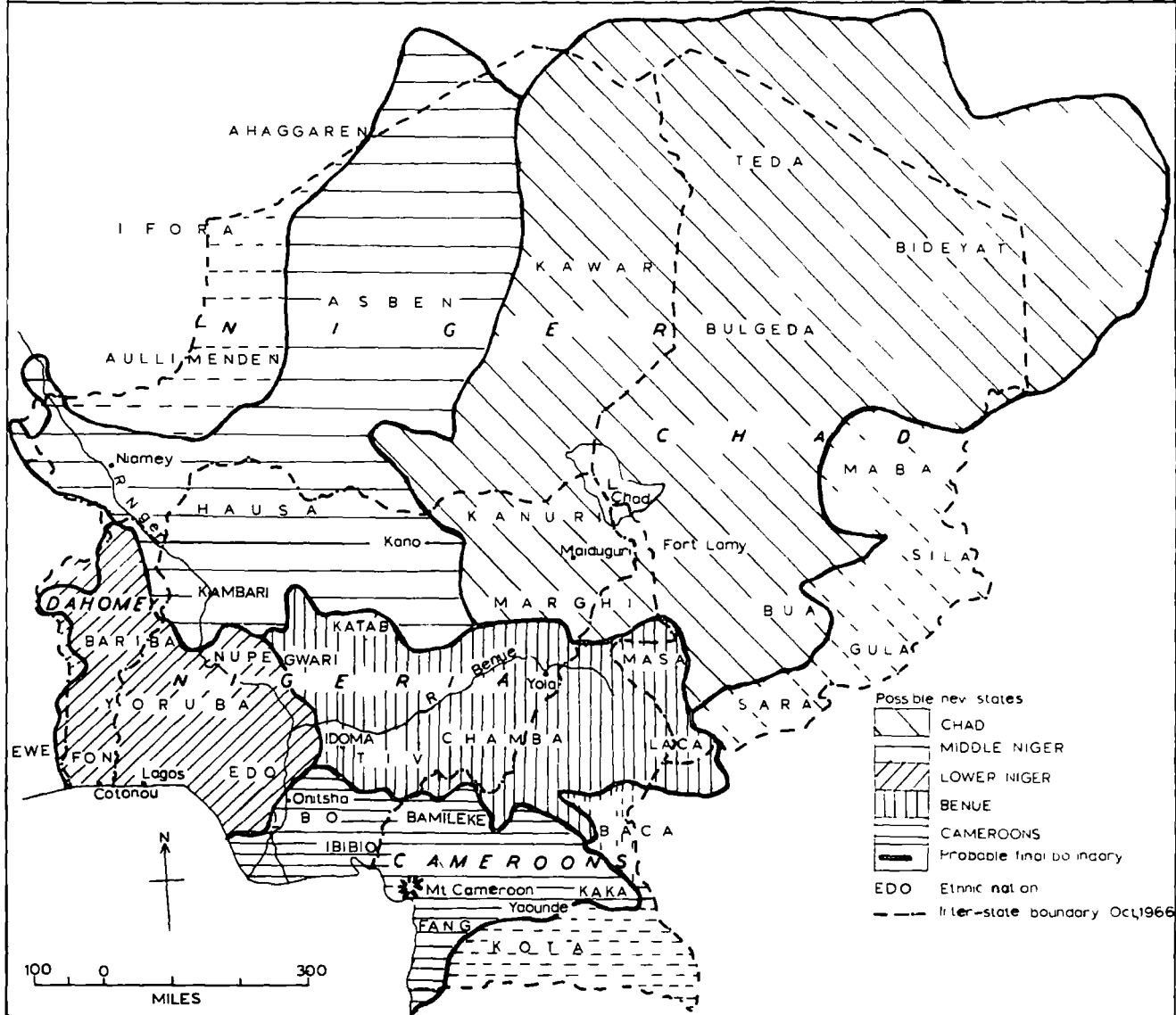


FIG. 15

and groups. Thus in the Lower Niger Region none of the present states viz. Nigeria, Dahomey, Niger, Chad and Cameroun would be enlarged by reunification of language groups. Instead, four or five new states consisting of related peoples would emerge: Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, Bariba, and Fon, Hausa and related peoples in the Niger Republic, Kanuri, Beddawa and related peoples in Niger and Cameroun Republics, Tiv, Batta, Chamba and related peoples in Cameroun, Ibibio, Ekoi and related peoples in Cameroun with possibly, Ibo and the Ijo.

The grouping shown on the map (Fig. 15) is intended to give only an indication of such new states. It is certain that more detailed studies of the peoples and their languages would show the true relationships and similarities between language and dialectal groups in the lower Niger area and make it possible to draw better boundaries (the names indicated for the new states have been chosen in order to avoid affiliation with one ethnic nation only). Such new states would be more culturally homogeneous and may be more stable than existing ones. However, the tendency, at present, is to attempt to preserve existing political units. Moreover, some people would argue that the impacts made by different European Powers over half a

century, on the peoples in their respective spheres of influence would make it difficult to operate such new states as are suggested above.

It could be, therefore, that the best solution is to limit boundary adjustments to dialect or clan groups which regarded themselves as one, before partition. This would mean that only parts of the Apa, Ketu and Sabe section of the Yoruba and parts of the Nikki kingdom would be exchanged between Nigeria and Dahomey (see Fig. 14). Such transfers would be mutual - from Danomey to Nigeria and vice versa. If the same principle is applied in Hausaland and among the Kanuri, Marghi, Batta, Comba and Ekor, Nigeria will gain some from, and lose others territories to neighbouring states. This is more practicable than exchanging whole language groups and would be acceptable to leaders in the countries affected.

The last suggestion would lead to more regional boundaries between Nigeria and neighbouring states but it is not likely to make Nigeria or any country that may adopt it a more stable state. Attempts to make Nigeria a stable state are examined in the succeeding chapters of this study.

CHAPTER V

EVOLUTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS

The development of British administration in the lower Niger region was affected by the way in which the British established and occupied their sphere of influence. The occupation was directed by three separate authorities - the Governor of Lagos, the Consul at Calabar and the National African Company (later Royal Niger Company) - each of which worked independently of the others and accounted to a different authority. The Governor of Lagos received instructions from and accounted to the Colonial Office, the Consul at Calabar was under the Foreign Office while the Royal Niger Company was an independent body. Some idea of the part played by each authority and its area of influence is therefore necessary for an understanding of the evolution of the country (Fig. 16).

THE NAME 'NIGERIA'

It took some time before the British decided on a name for the area. In the early stages the area occupied by the Calabar Consul was called The British Protectorate of the Niger Districts but from about 1889 the area was known as Oil Rivers Protectorate which name had been changed to

Niger Coast Protectorate by 1893. The necessity to have a single name for the British sphere led to the acceptance of a suggestion, by Flora Shaw, in The Times of January 8, 1897 that the region be called NIGERIA.

The word was derived from Niger. The great river beyond the Sahara desert was described by classical writers as Gir or Ngir, the Berber name for a stream and which is still used by some peoples in the Lake Chad region in the form Njer.¹ It was written Nyēīē by the Greeks and translated Nigris by Latin scholars who called the Niger basin Nigritia.²

LAGOS PROTECTORATE

The area occupied by the Governor of Lagos was, until 1906, known as the Lagos Protectorate. The occupation took place between 1863 and 1893 when the Yoruba states signed, with Great Britain, treaties in which they undertook not to cede their territories to any other Power without the consent of the British Governor of Lagos.

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1. Meek, C. K. "The religions of Nigeria"
Africa Vol. XIV, 1943-44. pp. 106-117
 2. Perham, M. Lugard: The Years of Authority
London, Collins, 1956 p. 11

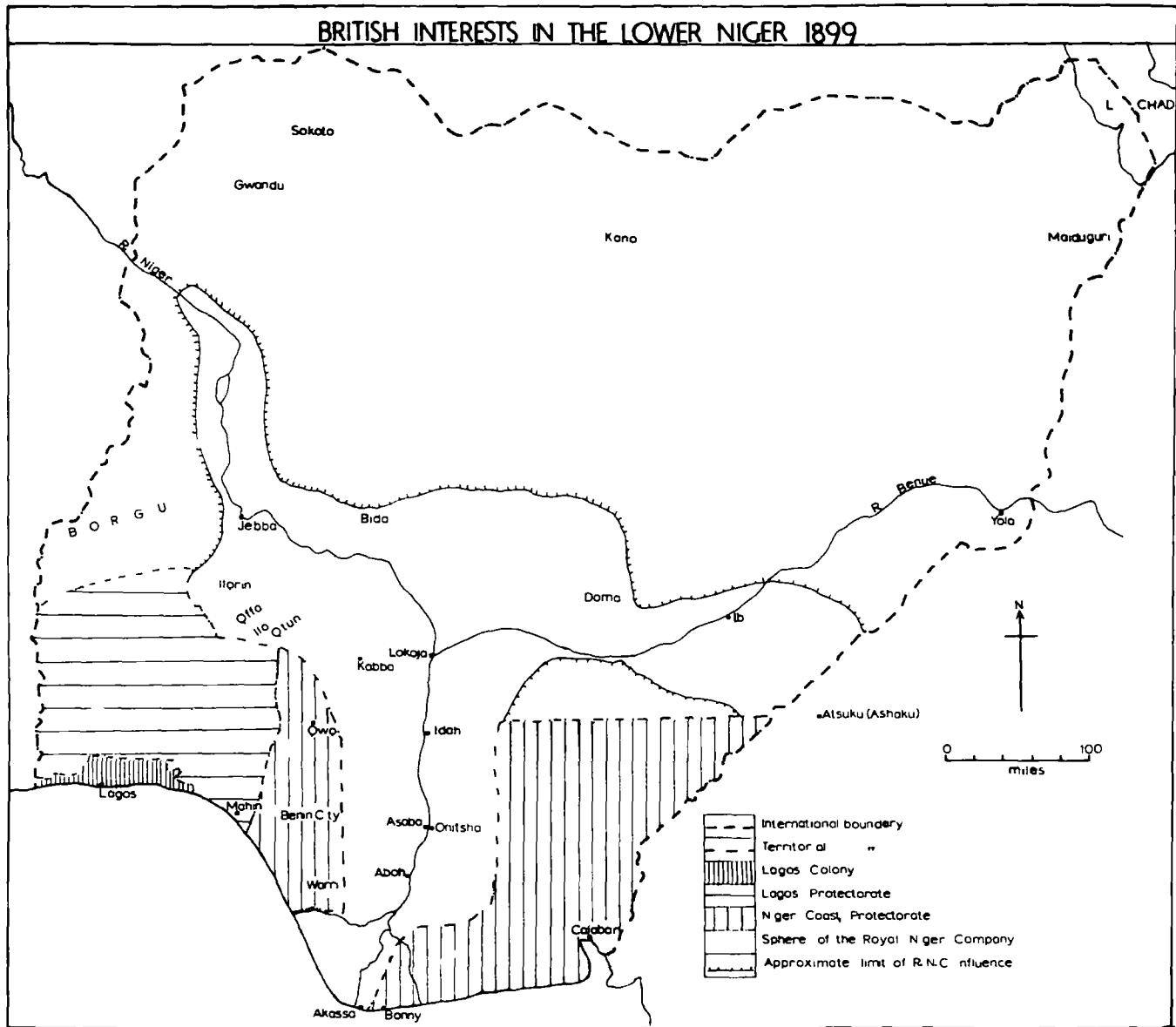


FIG. 16

The area covered by such treaties was limited, in the west, by the Anglo-French boundary agreement of 1889; in the east, by the Benin Empire, and in the north by the territories of Ilorin with which the Royal Niger Company signed a treaty in 1890 and the Bariba country to which the Company laid claim in 1894 (Fig. 16). British political advisers were sent to the area but they did not interfere with local Rulers who continued to govern their territories.

PROTECTORATE OF THE NIGER DISTRICTS

The British Consul on the Bight of Biafra started to sign treaties with coastal communities soon after the German declaration of a Protectorate in the Cameroons in July, 1884. After the Anglo-German boundary agreement of 1885 Britain declared a Protectorate in the Niger Districts and defined it as:

"... the territories on the line of coast between the Protectorate of Lagos and the right or western bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey. It further comprises the territories on both banks of the Niger, from its confluence with the River Benue at Lukoja to the sea, as well as the territories on both banks of the River Benue, from the confluence up to and including Ibi."³

3. Hertslet, E. Map of Africa by Treaty, Vol. I
H. M. S. O. 1909 p. 123

The territory thus defined included areas with which the National African Company had signed treaties.⁴ Notable among these were:

Onitsha	August 20, 1884
Asaba	August 28, 1884
Aboh	October 2, 1884
Ogu	October 11, 1884
Akassa	November 20, 1884
Doma	May 22, 1885

When the Company received a Royal Charter in 1886 it was "authorized and empowered to hold and retain the full benefit" of the areas with which it had signed treaties "or any of them, and rights, interests, authorities and powers for the purpose of government."⁵ Accordingly the Company assumed control in the areas mentioned above (Fig. 16). When the Charter was revoked in 1899 the areas governed by the Company in the Niger delta and along the Niger to Idah was merged with the Niger Districts.

4. For a full list of the treaties to 1892 see Hertslet, E. op. cit. pp. 131-153

5. Hertslet op. cit. p. 123

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA 1900-1914

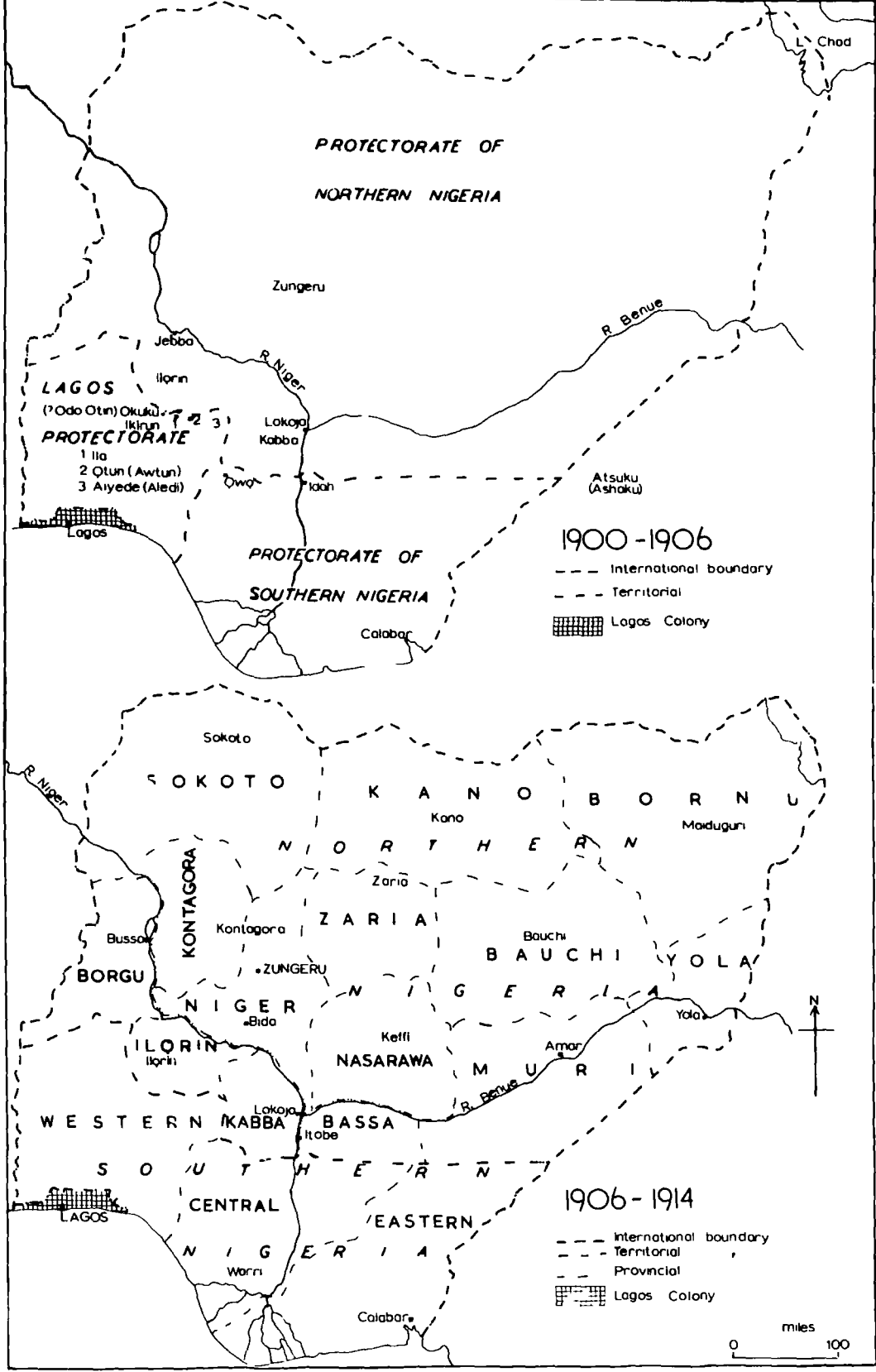


FIG. 17

Thus at the beginning of 1900 the northern boundary of the Protectorate was defined as a line starting from a point near Ashaku and running west to Idah and Owo and then northward to the boundary of Kabba.⁶

The area was described by various names before it was called the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900. The Consul at Calabar administered it as a separate unit until 1906.

PROTECTORATE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

When the part governed by the Royal Niger Company in the lower Niger was merged with the Protectorate of the Niger Districts in 1900 the rest of the Company's sphere of influence became known as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Fig. 17). The boundaries of the Protectorate with German and French spheres of influence were determined by the agreements described in Chapter IV (pp. 81 to 90) while the boundary with other British spheres of influence in the lower Niger region was defined, by an order of 1900, as a line starting near Ashaku (Atsuku) and running

6. Hertslet op. cit. p. 125

"west to Iddan on the Niger leaving Takum to the north. From Idda which it leaves to the south the line runs west to Owo, leaving to the south the Benin territories, and then northwards to the frontier of Kabba district, whence it passes westward to Aiedi, Awton and Illah, leaving to the north the towns subject to Ilorin and to the south the towns subject to Ibadan or Oyo. Thence it runs in a northwesterly direction along the frontier of Ilorin past Odo Otin and Ikirun both of which it leaves to the south until the frontier of Ilorin meets the 9th parallel of latitude. It then runs west, leaving all Borgu towns to the north and all Yoruba towns to the south as far as the point of intersection of the Okpara River with the 9th parallel of north latitude."⁷

From 1900 to 1914 the Protectorate was governed as a separate unit. During that time the Indirect Rule system was introduced. The main aim of the system was to rule the country through the Emirs and thereby make maximum use of the few British personnel then available. Under Indirect rule each Emir governed his own Emirate and employed his own staff and managed his own finances. The Emirates

7. Hertslet, E. op. cit. p. 122

were grouped into Provinces controlled by British Political Officers, called Residents, who were assisted by District Officers (Fig. 17)

AMALGAMATION OF THE PROTECTORATES OF LAGOS AND SOUTHERN NIGERIA

The Lagos Protectorate started the construction of a railway in 1899, by 1902 it owed more than one million pounds on the railway and the line was being operated at a loss for example, from September 1, 1901 to March 31, 1902, the deficit was £3,741. Because of this it was feared that loans to develop the railway would be difficult to raise if the revenue of the Lagos Protectorate were the only security. Such difficulty would not be experienced if the joint revenues of Lagos and Southern Nigeria Protectorates were used as security. To do this an amalgamation of the fiscal and administrative policies of the two Protectorates was necessary.

Accordingly, in 1906, the two Protectorates were merged under the single name of The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The enlarged Protectorate was administered, with Lagos, by the Governor of Lagos. It was divided into three Provinces, Western Central, and Eastern, under High Commissioners with wide administrative Powers (Fig. 17).

The Western Province had its headquarters in Lagos and consisted of the Old Lagos Protectorate. The Central Province comprised the area between the Lagos Protectorate and the Niger as well as the areas to the east of the Niger administered by the Niger Company until 1900. Its headquarters was at Warri. The rest of the area constituted the Eastern Province which had its headquarters at Calabar. Each Province was divided into Districts under District Officers.

AMALGAMATION OF SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA

The separate governments in Nigeria followed different administrative and fiscal policies. The Northern government retained the traditional institutions and practices and made use of them under the Indirect Rule system. In the South attempts were made to establish British laws and practices. The North banned the importation of wines and spirits which the South allowed. The South could construct a railway whereas the finances of the North made this impossible. The South was paying its way while the North was receiving subsidies from the British Government.

The differences in the financial position of the Northern and Southern Protectorates were due to the natural resources of the two areas. The South was rich in oil palms,

wild rubber and was growing the newly introduced cocoa. The North had none of these products which were then in great demand and, at that time, groundnuts were not produced in large quantities while the cotton produced was used locally. The only other major products of the North at the time were hides and skins which did not earn much revenue. The differences in the values of produce from each area are shown in table III.

TABLE III
MALI EXPORTS OF NIGERIA 1908 AND 1913

CROPS	1908		1913	
	VALUE £'000	% OF TOTAL	VALUE £'000	% OF TOTAL
<u>MAINLY SOUTHERN</u>				
Palm Kernels	1,425	45.9	3,100	45.9
Palm Oil	1,155	37.2	1,884	27.7
Rubber	99	3.2	90	1.3
Cocoa	51	1.6	158	2.3
Total	2,730	87.9	5,232	77.2
<u>MAINLY NORTHERN</u>				
Cotton Lint	53	1.7	159	2.3
Groundnuts	15	0.5	175	2.6
Tin Ore	81	2.6	168	8.4
Hides and Skins	2	0.1	166	2.4
Total	151	4.9	1,068	15.7
OTHERS	221	7.2	479	7.1
GRAND TOTAL	3,102	100.00	6,779	100.00

These crops were produced by the indigenous population who could then use the money to buy imported goods. The government revenue was made up of duties on exports and imports and since the South had more earning power the revenue of the Southern government was higher than that of the North. Moreover, since the government of the Northern Protectorate prohibited the importation of wines and spirits it could not share the high duties on those products. Consequently the North was poorer than the South, for example in 1907 when the revenue of the South was £1,140,000 that of the North was only £533,000.

In spite of the small revenue there was a desire to construct a railway in the North. If the railway were started by the North alone it would increase the deficit. Such a situation would not arise if the Northern railway was operated and controlled with that of the South. Furthermore the British Government would not need to subsidise the budget of the North if the administrations of the two Protectorates were unified.

Because of these reasons it was decided that the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria should be amalgamated. To this end a Governor-general was appointed in 1912 and the amalgamation was proclaimed in 1914.

NIGERIA PROVINCES AND DIVISIONS 1962



FIG. 18

PROVINCES AND DIVISIONS

After amalgamation the Indirect Rule System was extended to the South. Residents were appointed to advise the natural rulers and the South was divided into Provinces a province being "a single entity under the control of the Resident in charge."⁸ Each Province was divided into Divisions as approved by the Governor and each Division was under a District Officer responsible to the Resident. The Colony remained a distinct unit.

Throughout the country Provinces and Divisions were created so that no Native Administration may be split between two or more such units.

Provinces and Divisions have been reorganised many times since they were first created. The major reorganisation in the North was in 1926 when there were transfers of territories and the adoption of the present names. Katsina Province was created in 1934. In the South Ibadan, Ijebu and Rivers Provinces were created at a later date but the main reorganisation in the South was in 1956 when new Provincial units were created in the Eastern Region (Fig. 18).

8. Lugard, F. D. Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on subjects chiefly Political and Administrative 1913-1918.
London Waterlow and Sons. 1919
pp. 19-20

NIGERIA ETHNIC NATIONS DIVIDED BETWEEN PROVINCES AND DIVISIONS 1966

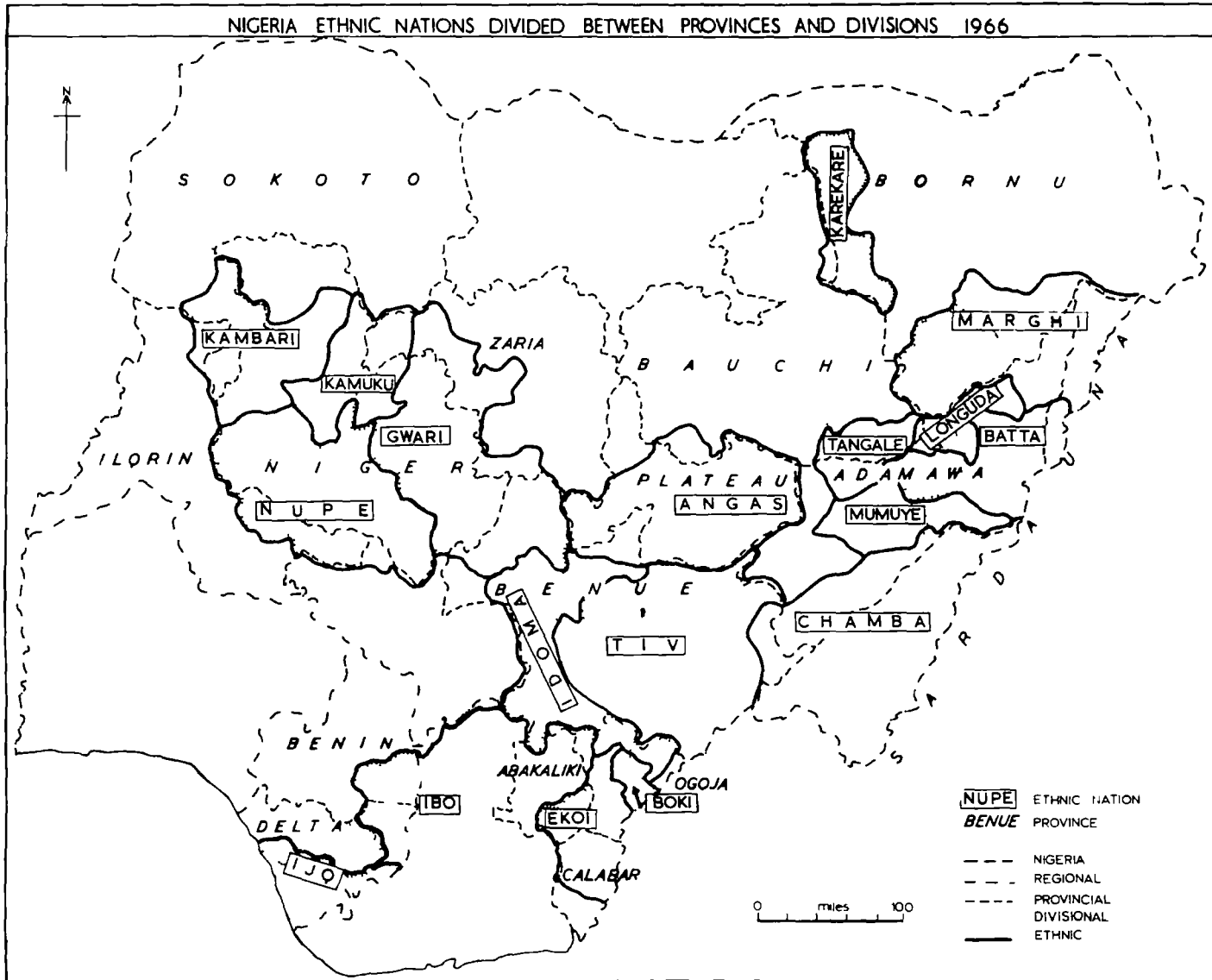


FIG. 19

NATURE OF PROVINCIAL AND DIVISIONAL BOUNDARIES

In most areas the Provinces and Divisions were based on traditional political units and in such cases their boundaries were better than the international boundaries. Nevertheless mistakes were made largely because many ethnic nations were divided into Native Authorities which were subsequently allocated to different Provinces and Divisions. The only rule laid down was that no Native Authority should be split between two or more Provinces or Divisions. The rule was observed but it did not produce satisfactory boundaries everywhere (Fig. 19). The criterion for grouping Native Authorities into Divisions and Provinces was not necessarily affinity between them but accessibility to the particular headquarters chosen by the Administration. This practice was more prevalent in the homeland of the smaller ethnic nations. For example the Nupe were in two Divisions (Bida and Lafiagi-Pategi) but each was in a different Province. The Gwari and the Idoma were split among several Provinces and Divisions. The Ijo were split between Delta and Rivers Provinces while the two Ibo Divisions to the west of the Niger were in two separate Provinces. Some Ibo were grouped with non-Ibo in Ogoja

Province and even in the reorganisation of 1956 non-Ibo were grouped with Ibo in Abakaliki Province even though it was known that the non-Ibo are more closely related to the peoples of Calabar and Ogoja Provinces.

These anomalies attracted no attention in the past because the Provinces and Divisions were supervisory areas with limited functions. If, however, the Provincial Administration system introduced in the North and East in 1959 and 1961 respectively lead ultimately to legislative power for the Provinces and Divisions then problems may arise. For, as legislative units, the Provinces will demand loyalties they have not enjoyed before and each Province will attempt to cater for the interests of all areas in it. At the least the existing Provincial boundaries will create unnecessary duplication of effort. For example it is certain that the administrative and social problems of Bida and Lafiagi-Pategi Divisions are more related to each other than that of Bida to Kontagora or Lafiagi-Pategi to Ilorin (Fig. 19). The social and economic problems of Western Ijo Division have more in common with those of Brass, Degema or Ogoni Division than those of Urhobo or Warri Division and so on.

If any area is made to conform with other areas with whom it has no ethnic relationship than there may be agitation for reunion of related peoples. It is therefore advisable that related peoples should be united in the same Province or Division before the Provinces and Divisions are used as legislative units or for countrywide reorganization.

DE-AMALGAMATION

After the amalgamation in 1914 Southern and Northern Nigeria were each separately administered by a Lieutenant Governor. In 1939 the Southern Provinces (the former Southern Protectorate) were divided into two, the boundary between them being the river Niger and the Delta Provincial boundary in the east. The area to the west was known as the Western Provinces and the rest as the Eastern Provinces, and each had its own Lieutenant Governor. Thus Nigeria was divided into three major administrative units.

In 1922 a Legislative Council was set up, comprising all the Provincial Residents together with representatives from the South. Officially the Council discussed laws for Lagos Colony and the Southern Provinces but not for the Northern Provinces for which the Governor made laws by

Proclamation. However, it was later noted that the laws made by the Council were applied in the North ⁹

In 1947 the Legislative Council was reorganised and the North was represented. At the same time Councils were set up in the Groups of Provinces to advise the Governor on legislation in those Provinces and to send people to the Central Legislative Council in Lagos. From then on the three groups of Provinces became known as Regions.

Each Region sent representatives to the Constitutional Conferences, in 1949 and 1950, which recommended that the advisory councils be given legislative powers and that the Colony should become part of the Western Region. Another conference in 1953 decided that Nigeria should become a Federation and that Lagos, the capital, should become a Federal territory administered directly by the Federal Government.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The Federal system was formally established on October 1, 1954 when the Federal Constitution came into operation. Under this system the Federal Authority

9. Bourdillon, B. Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria
Lagos Government Printer, 1939
p. 8

(or the Centre) had exclusive legislative powers on currency matters, post and telegraphs, defence, railways and inter-regional roads as well as external relations and connected matters such as passports, immigration, deportation and foreign trade.

In addition the Centre as well as the Regions could legislate on labour, higher education, insurance and industrial development. There was to be a Central Police Force but each Region could, if it wished, establish Local Government Police Forces in small units.

All remaining functions of Government were left to the Regional Governments. The Federal Government could not veto any Regional Legislation on matters outside the Federal Legislative List.

Derivation of revenue was based on the recommendation of a Fiscal Commission of 1958 that export duties on produce were to be returned to the Region of origin and sales taxes distributed according to the proportion sold in each Region. The Federal Government collected all import duties of which it took 70 per cent while the remaining 30 percent went into a Distributable Pool.

The Federal Government also had jurisdiction over mining rights and took fifteen per-cent of all mining revenue while the Region of origin had fifty per-cent. The remaining 35 per-cent went into the Distributable Pool.

According to an agreement which came into being on April 1, 1965 the Distributable Pool was shared as follows: Northern Region, 42 per-cent, Eastern Region, 30 per-cent; Western Region 20 per-cent and eight per-cent to the Midwestern Region.¹⁰

The 1953 Constitutional Conference recommended that there should be separate elections to the Regional and Federal Legislatures and that representation in all Legislatures should be based on population, i.e. one representative to an agreed number of people. The Conference also recommended that the British form of Government should be adopted. This meant that the leader with the greatest number of elected supporters would become Prime Minister and choose other Ministers. The other parties would form the Opposition in the Legislature.

10. Supplement to Nigeria Official Gazette Extraordinary
12th October, 1965.

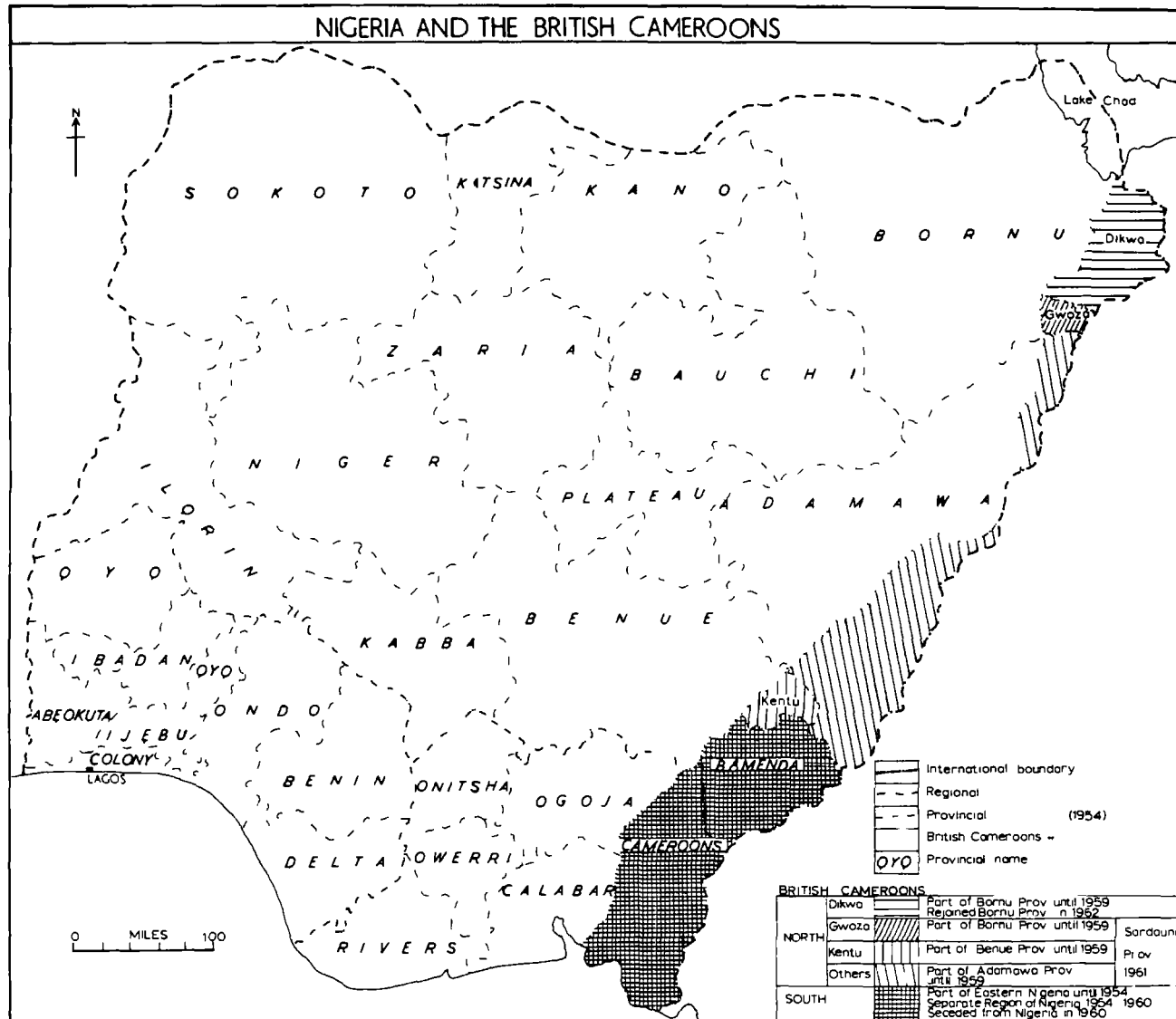


FIG. 20

DEVELOPMENTS IN BRITISH CAMEROONS

The part of the Cameroons under British mandate was administered as part of Nigeria until 1960. It was divided into two - Northern and Southern Cameroons. Northern Cameroons comprised parts of the Bornu Kingdom and areas occupied by the Niger Company before the Anglo-German boundary agreements of 1886 and 1893. Southern Cameroons comprised the Cross River basin and other areas contested between Great Britain and Germany before 1885.

That part of the Northern Cameroons which belonged to Bornu Kingdom was administered as part of Bornu Province, a small area, the Kentu Area, in the southwest was administered as part of Benue Province, while the rest was merged with Adamawa Emirate in Adamawa Province (Fig. 20).

After an indecisive plebiscite, organized by the United Nations in 1959, to determine the future administration of Northern Cameroons the Cameroons sections were separated from the different Nigerian Provinces and brought together as a separate unit. In another United Nation plebiscite in 1961, the people voted to remain with Northern Nigeria and the separate unit was constituted a Province called Saradauna Province.



PLATE I

Southern Cameroons was divided into two Provinces, Bamenda and Cameroons, which were administered as part of the Southern Provinces until 1939 after which they became part of the Eastern Provinces. They were separated from the Eastern Region and constituted as a separate Region known as Southern Cameroons in 1954.

In a United Nations plebiscite in 1961 the Southern Cameroons Region voted to secede from Nigeria and join that part of the former German Kamerun which used to be under French mandate but became independent in 1960. On October 1, 1961, it became the Western Region of the newly constituted Federal Republic of Cameroun. With the separation of the Southern Cameroons Nigeria assumed its present shape and area.

INDEPENDENT NIGERIA

Nigeria became independent of Great Britain on October 1, 1960, and became a Republic on October 1, 1963.

In 1963 Benin and Delta Provinces voted to separate from the Western Region and form a Midwestern Region. The new Region was formally established on August 9, 1963. With its creation the Federation of Nigeria was constituted as indicated in Table IV (see also Fig. 21).

FEDERATION OF NIGERIA OCT 1, 1966

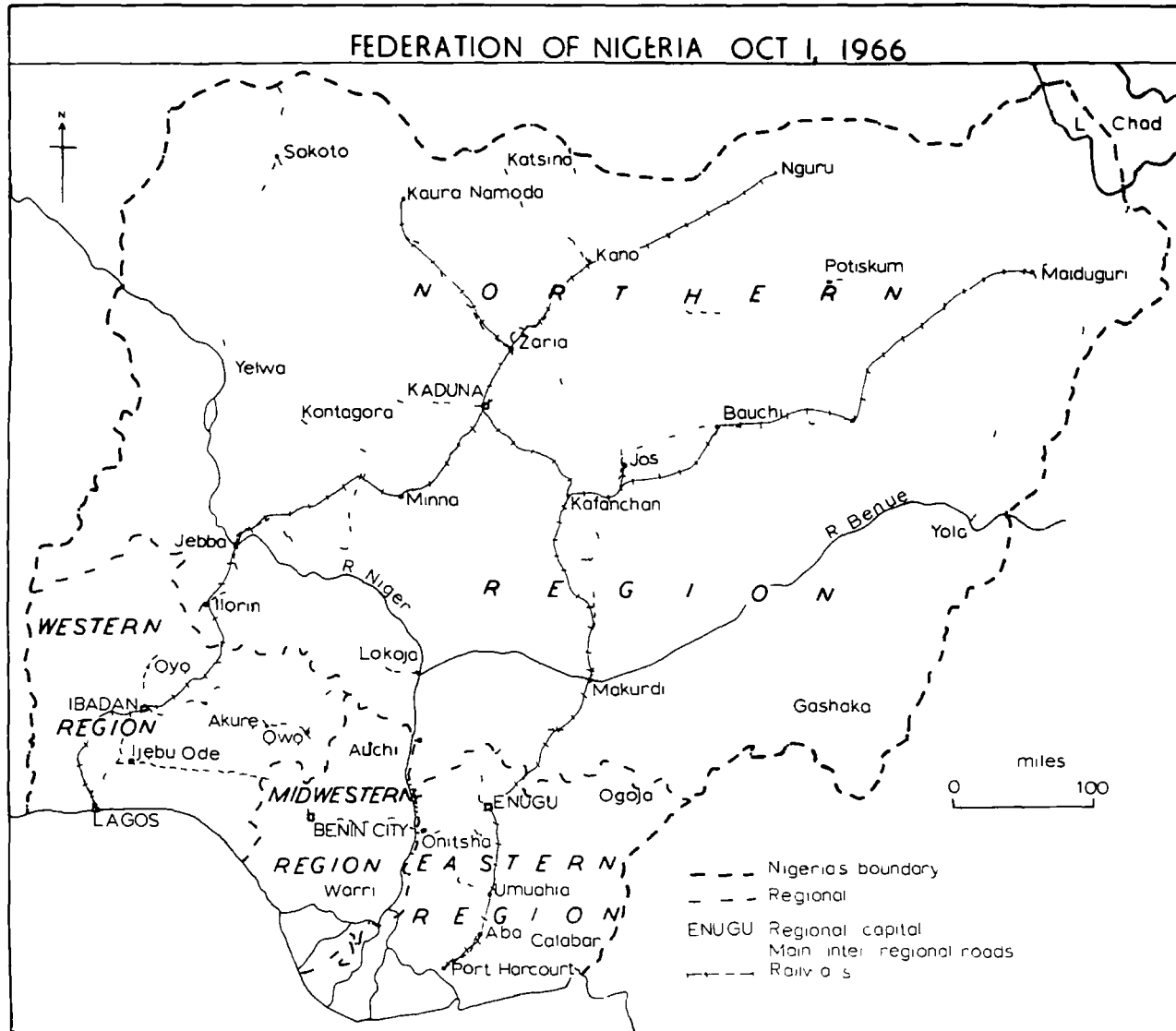


FIG. 21

TABLE IV
 FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
 CONSTITUENT UNITS OCTOBER 1, 1966

REGION	AREA		POPULATION, 1963	
	Sq. Mls	% Total	Persons	% Total
NORTHERN	281,782	79.0	29,808,659	53.5
EASTERN	29,484	8.2	12,394,462	22.3
WESTERN	30,454	8.5	10,265,846	18.4
MIDWESTERN	14,922	4.2	2,535,839	4.6
LAGOS: FED. TER.	27	0.1	665,246	1.2
NIGERIA	356,669	100.0	55,670,052	100.0

CHAPTER VI
THE NORTHERN REGION

The Northern Region which has an area of 281,782 square miles covers 79 percent of Nigeria and its population of 29,808,659 in 1963, represents 53.5 per cent of the country's population. It is therefore the largest and the most populous Region of the country.

The Region was brought together as a unit under British influence through the activities of the Royal Niger Company. Until the end of 1899 the Company had authority to govern the whole area but the parts it actually controlled were the immediate hinterlands of the Niger and Benue Rivers. The Company's charter which enabled it to govern was revoked by the British Government on December 28, 1899. The High Commissioner who was appointed as administrator from January 1, 1900 was therefore responsible for the establishment of British authority over the greater part of the Region.¹ He organised military expeditions against those who opposed

1. Burns, A. History of Nigeria (5th ed.)
London. George Allen and Unwin. 1955
pp. 190-194

also Perham, M. Native Administration in Nigeria
London. O.U P. 1937 pp. 37-42.

NORTHERN REGION: ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH AUTHORITY

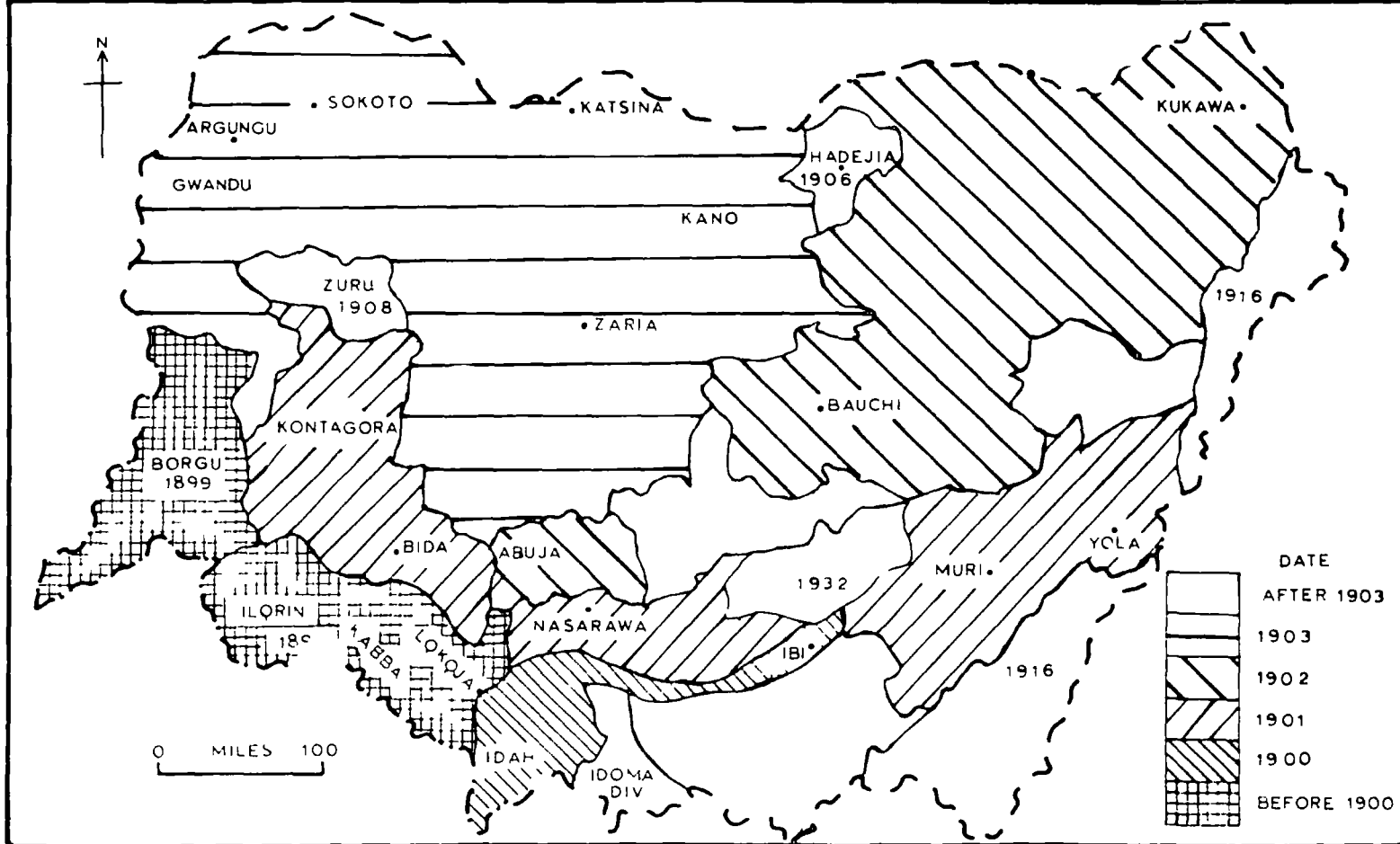


FIG. 22

British rule. Thus Bida Emirate was subjugated in 1900 and Kontagora and Adamawa Emirates in 1901. Bauchi, Bornu, Zaria, Nasarawa and Abuja Emirates followed in 1902 while Kano, Sokoto and Gwandu were occupied in 1903. The Tiv and the Jukun to the south of the Benue were brought under the administration in 1906. But parts of Idoma Division and the Marghi country² were not brought under British control until 1922 and parts of Angas country³ were not occupied until 1932 (Fig. 22).

On the transfer of the administration from the Royal Niger Company to the British Government in 1900 the area became known as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. At first the new administration, like the Royal Niger Company, used Lokoja as its headquarters but in 1902 the headquarters were moved to Zungeru Kaduna, the present capital was built from the scratch for that purpose and the administration moved there in 1917.

After the amalgamation with Southern Nigeria in 1914 the southern boundaries of the Northern Region, as defined in 1900⁴, were adjusted in a number of places. In the east

2; Nigeria Census of Nigeria, 1931. Vol. II.
Northern Provinces.
London. Crown Agents. 1933. p. 14

3. Hailey, Lord Native Administration in the British
African Territories. Part III.
West Africa.
London. H.M.S.O. 1951. p. 49

4. See above. Chap. V. p.

the geometric boundary of 1900 was moved southwards so that most of the Igala, the Idoma and the Tiv were included in the Northern Region. In the west the boundary was moved northwards so that the Akoko area was transferred to the south. As a result of these adjustments the present southern boundary of the Region was achieved.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

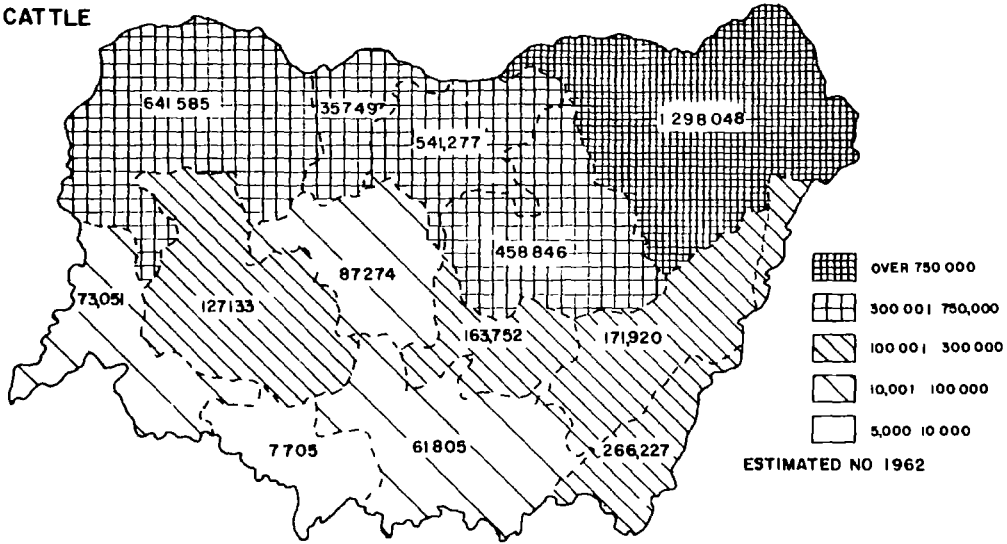
Because of its large size the Region has contrasting physical zones. The western side consists of crystalline rocks which have been weathered to form plains at a height of about 1,000 feet. In the centre the Jos Plateau rises to 4,000 feet while to the east a belt of highlands with peaks rising to 6,000 feet stretches across the boundary (Fig. 2 p.3). The great latitudinal extent from about $6^{\circ} 30' N.$ to about $13^{\circ} 50' N.$ gives the Region a wide variation of rainfall. Annual rainfall varies from about 50 inches in the south to about 30 inches in the north and the natural vegetation grades from forest - savanna - mosaic in the south to extensive areas of savanna in the north and sahelian vegetation in the north-east (Fig. 3 p.5).

RESOURCES

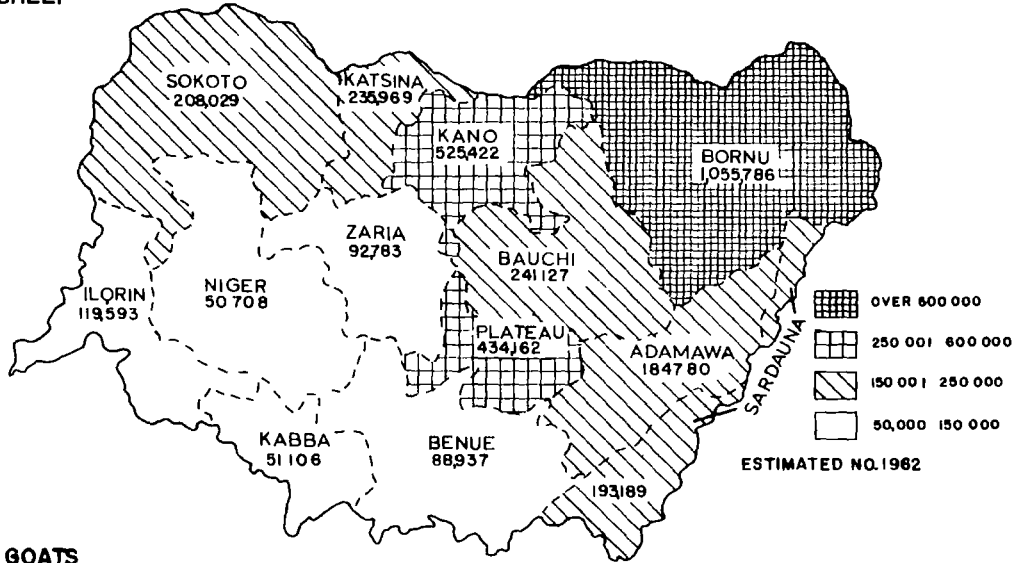
Although nearly all the tin produced in Nigeria comes from the Northern Region, revenue from tin is relatively small and the Region depends mainly on her agricultural and human resources.

NORTHERN REGION DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK BY PROVINCES 1962

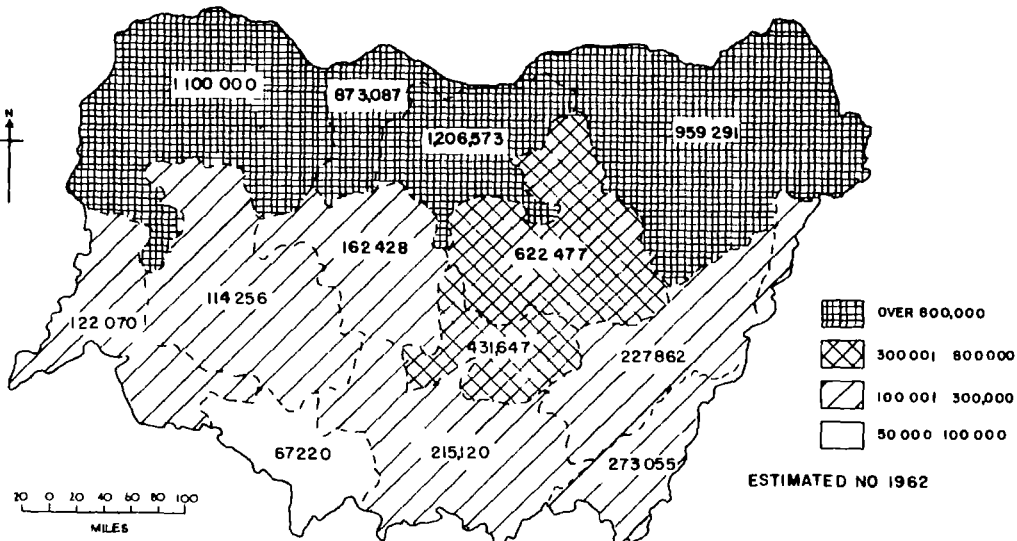
CATTLE



SHEEP



GOATS



SOURCE: NORTHERN NIGERIA STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 1964

FIG. 23

Livestock The Region is rich in livestock of which cattle, sheep and goats are the most important. In 1962 there were over 4,200,000 head of cattle, more than 3,400,000 sheep and over 6,300,000 goats in the Region.⁵ The cattle in the Region are concentrated in the Provinces of Bornu, Bauchi, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto in each of which there were, in 1962, over 300,000 head of cattle (Fig. 23). By contrast each of the southern Provinces of Benue, Kabba, and Ilorin had less than 100,000. Similarly sheep are concentrated in the northern part of the Region, the greatest concentration being in Bornu with over a million sheep. Goats, like the other livestock resources, are concentrated in the northern part with more than a million goats in Sokoto and about a million in Bornu.

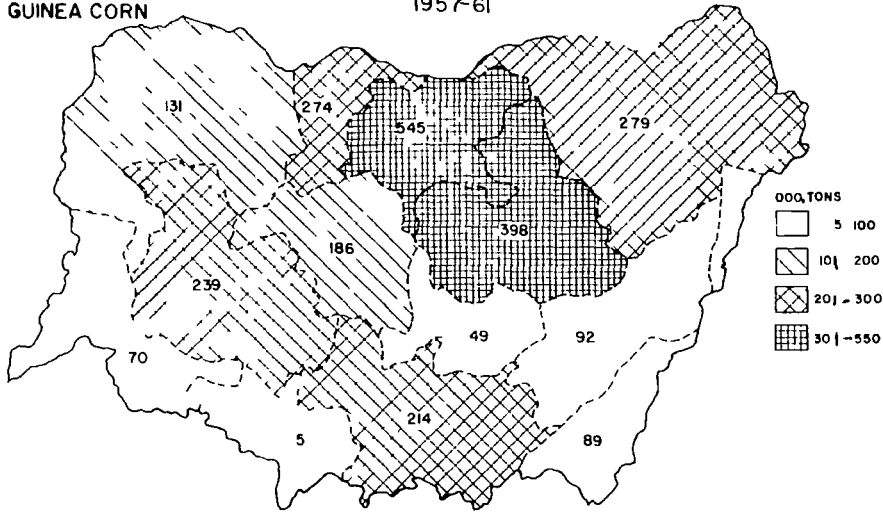
The livestock are sold for slaughter all over the country. In 1962 more than 378,000 head of cattle were sold to the other Regions and large numbers of goats and sheep are also regularly sold. Hides and skins of animals slaughtered in the Region are also sold, for example in 1962 revenue from these sources was over three million pounds.

5. These figures are, according to the Regional Ministry of Agriculture, possibly under-estimates.

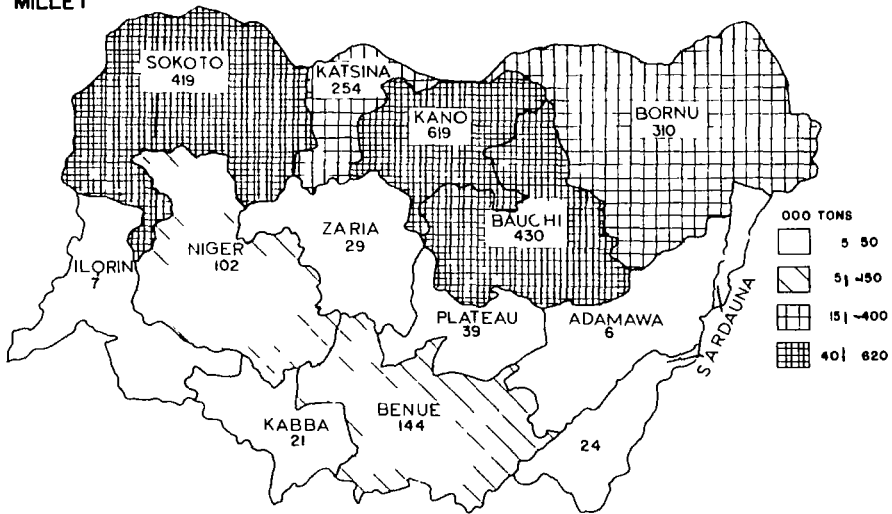
NORTHERN REGION AVERAGE ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF MAIN FOOD CROPS BY PROVINCES

GUINEA CORN

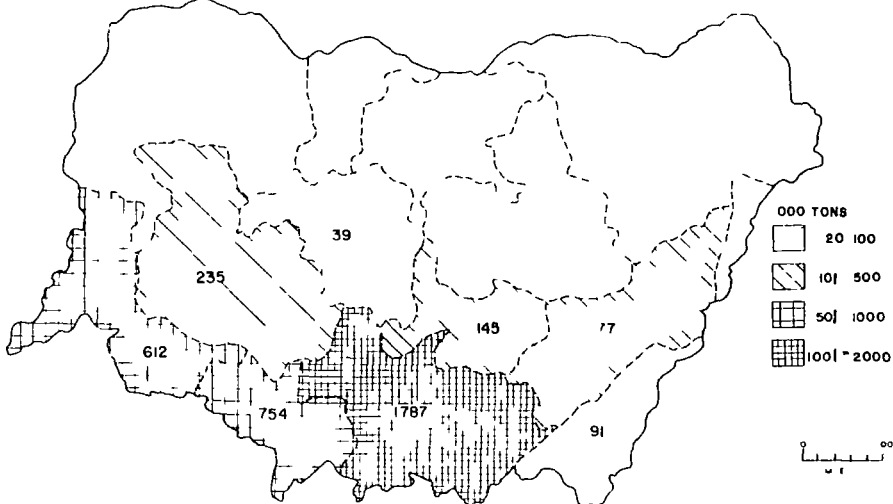
1957-61



MILLET



YAM



SOURCE: NORTHERN NIGERIA STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 1964

FIG. 24

Foodstuffs The main sources of food for the people are grains and root crops. The most important grains are guinea corn and millet whose cultivation is concentrated in the northern part of the Region (Fig. 24). Kano and Bauchi Provinces are the leading producers; the estimated average annual production for the years 1957-1961 in each of these Provinces was over 350,000 tons in guinea corn and over 430,000 tons in millet. Outside the five northern Provinces large quantities of guinea corn are also produced in Zaria, Niger and Benue Provinces and of millet in Benue and Niger Provinces. Other areas produce only small quantities of these grains.

Apart from guinea corn and millet the only other major foodstuff is yam. Yam is a root crop and, unlike the grains, its cultivation is concentrated in the southern part of the Region. Benue Province is the greatest producer (Fig. 24). The average annual production from 1957 to 1961 was 1,787,000 tons in Benue Province, 754,000 tons in Kabba, and 612,000 tons in Ilorin Province. Smaller quantities of yam are produced in Niger, Plateau and Adamawa Provinces.

NORTHERN REGION AVERAGE ANNUAL SALE IN PROVINCES OF MAIN CASH CROPS 1957 - 1961

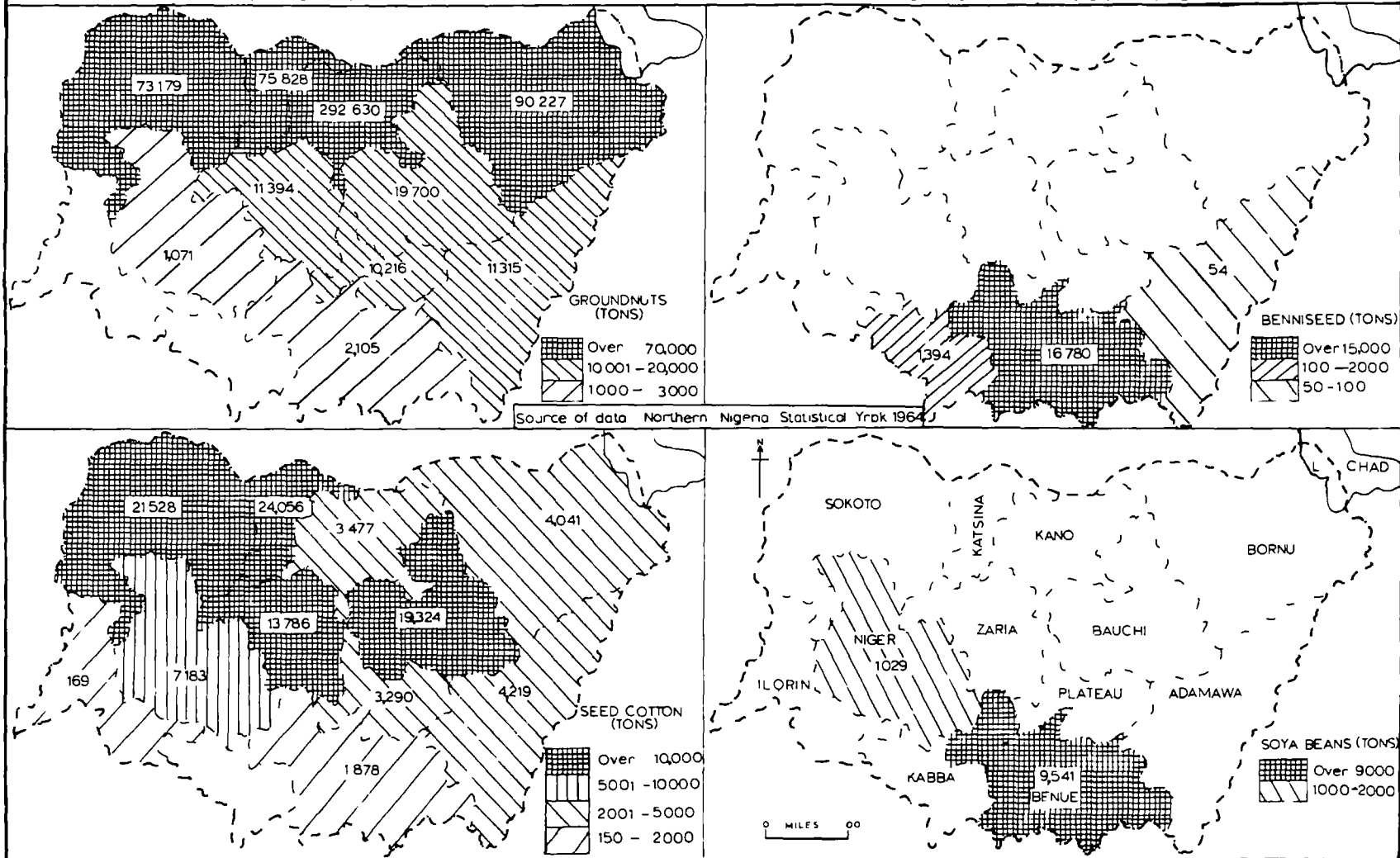


FIG. 25

Cash Crops Groundnuts were at one time grown purely as a subsistence crop but the greater part of the harvest is now intended for the market and groundnut is the major cash crop of the Region. The main groundnut producing areas are the four northern Provinces of Bornu, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto (Fig. 25). The average annual sale to the Regional Marketing Board, for the years 1957-1961, in each of the four Provinces was over 70,000 tons and Kano Province led easily with 292,630 tons. Smaller quantities of groundnuts are produced in Sardauna, Adamawa, Bauchi, Plateau and Zaria Provinces but Kabba and Ilorin Provinces do not produce substantial quantities of the crop.

The bulk of the groundnut harvest sold to the Marketing Board is exported and the Government derives most of its revenue from sales and export taxes on groundnuts. The crop is therefore of great importance in the economy of the Region.

Cotton is second to groundnuts in importance as a cash crop for the Northern Region. Unlike groundnuts, the entire cotton crop is sold by the farmer. The main producing areas are, therefore, more accurately shown by the sale of seed cotton and cotton lint. These main

NORTHERN REGION DIVISIONAL POPULATION DENSITY 1963

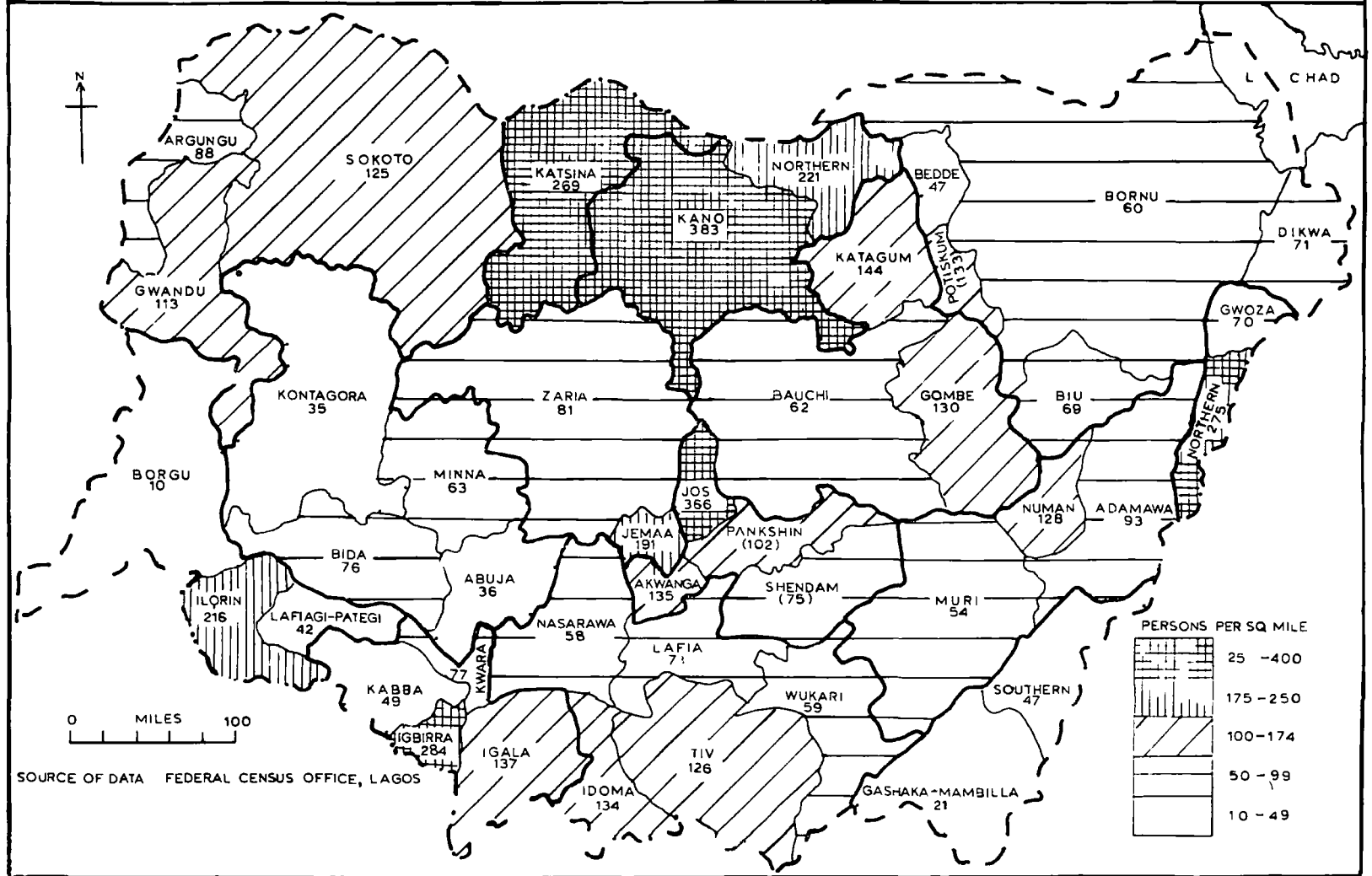


FIG. 26

producing areas are the Provinces of Sokoto, Katsina, Zaria and Bauchi while smaller quantities are produced in Kano, Bornu, Adamawa, Plateau and Niger Provinces (Fig. 25).

Benniseed and soya beans are the only other important cash crops in the Region. Both are grown mainly in Benue Province but smaller quantities are also grown in neighbouring areas.

Some ~~palm~~ oil and palm kernels are produced in Benue, Ilorin and Kabba Provinces. In 1962 the totals of palm kernels sold for export in each of these Provinces were 720,240 and 14,117 tons respectively. Some cocoa is also produced in Kabba and Ilorin Provinces. In 1962, 186 tons were produced in Ilorin and 757 tons in Kabba Province.

POPULATION

As with the agricultural resources the population of the Region is not evenly distributed (Fig. 26). The greatest concentrations are in Kano and Katsina Provinces. In 1963, the average density was 383 persons to the square mile (hereafter psm) in Kano Division and 269 psm in Katsina Division. High population densities also exist in Jos Division, (306 psm), Igbirra Division (281 psm) and in Ilorin Division (216 psm).

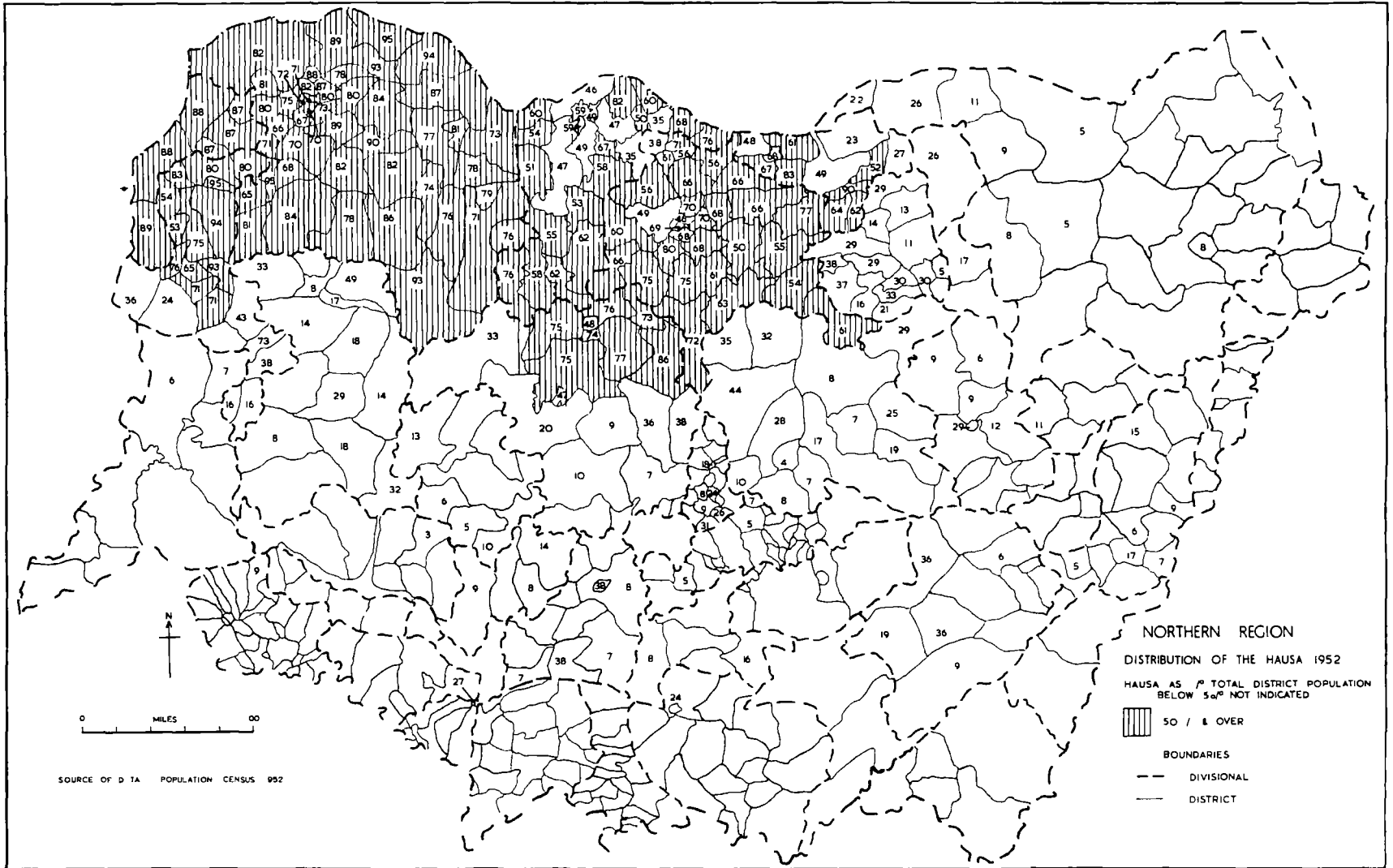


FIG. 27

The lowest population densities are in the western and west-central parts of the Region where, in 1963, values were 36 psm in Abuja Division, 35 psm in Kontagora and only 10 psm in Borgu Division. As explained in Chapter II (p. 25), the low density of population in these areas is probably due to the infertility of the soil and the difficulty of settling there.

The population comprised many ethnic nations the largest of which are indicated in Table V.

TABLE V
NORTHERN REGION ETHNIC NATIONS 1952

Nation	1952 Population in Northern Region	% of Regional Population
Hausa	5,538,105	32.90
Fulani	3,022,581	18.00
Kanuri	1,297,809	7.72
Tiv	769,530	4.57
Yoruba	535,491	3.21
Nupe	347,411	2.08
Others	5,314,655	31.52
Total	<u>16,835,582</u>	<u>100.00</u>

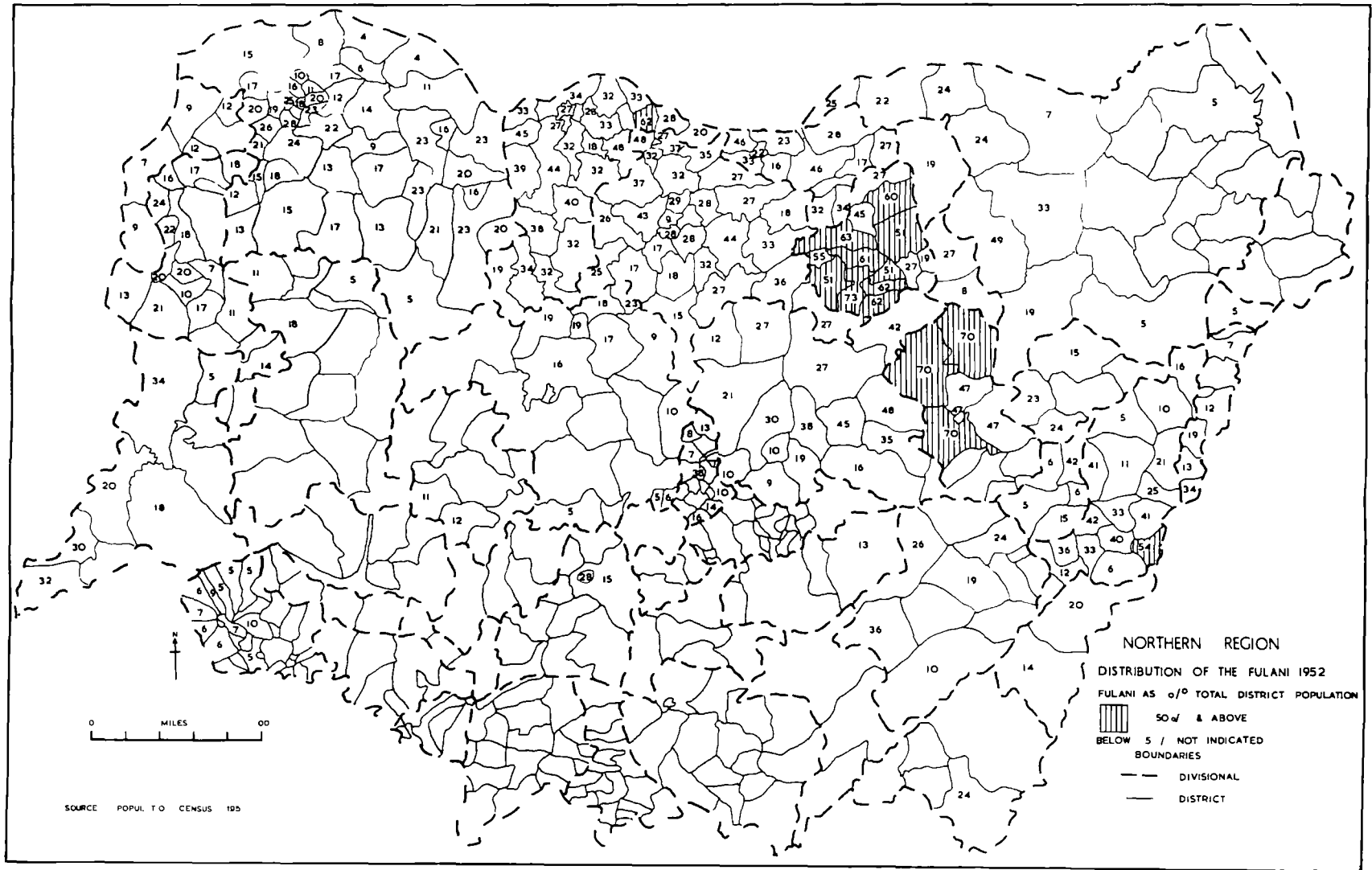


FIG. 28

Although the Hausa and the Fulani are mentioned separately in Census records it is extremely difficult to separate the two culturally and geographically. The Hausa are the indigenous people of Sokoto, Katsina, and Kano Provinces as well as the northern parts of Zaria and Bauchi Provinces. In all these areas the Hausa still form more than half of the population (Fig. 27). But the Fulani have also settled extensively among the Hausa and among the Jarawa in the Southern part of Bauchi Province. In Hausaland the Fulani constitute nearly a half of the population while in Southern Bauchi Province they form more than half the population in many places (Fig. 28) Because of this intermingling there are few really separate and distinct Fulani territories.

The Hausa and Fulani also share many cultural features. This has arisen from their long association together which dates from the thirteenth century and also in the absorption of the Town Fulani into Hausa society. Since they have permanently settled among the Hausa, the Town Fulani have lost many of the Fulani traits, and intermarriage with Hausa makes them look physically more like Hausa than nomadic Fulani. It would appear that the only connection with the nomadic Fulani is their common ancestry.

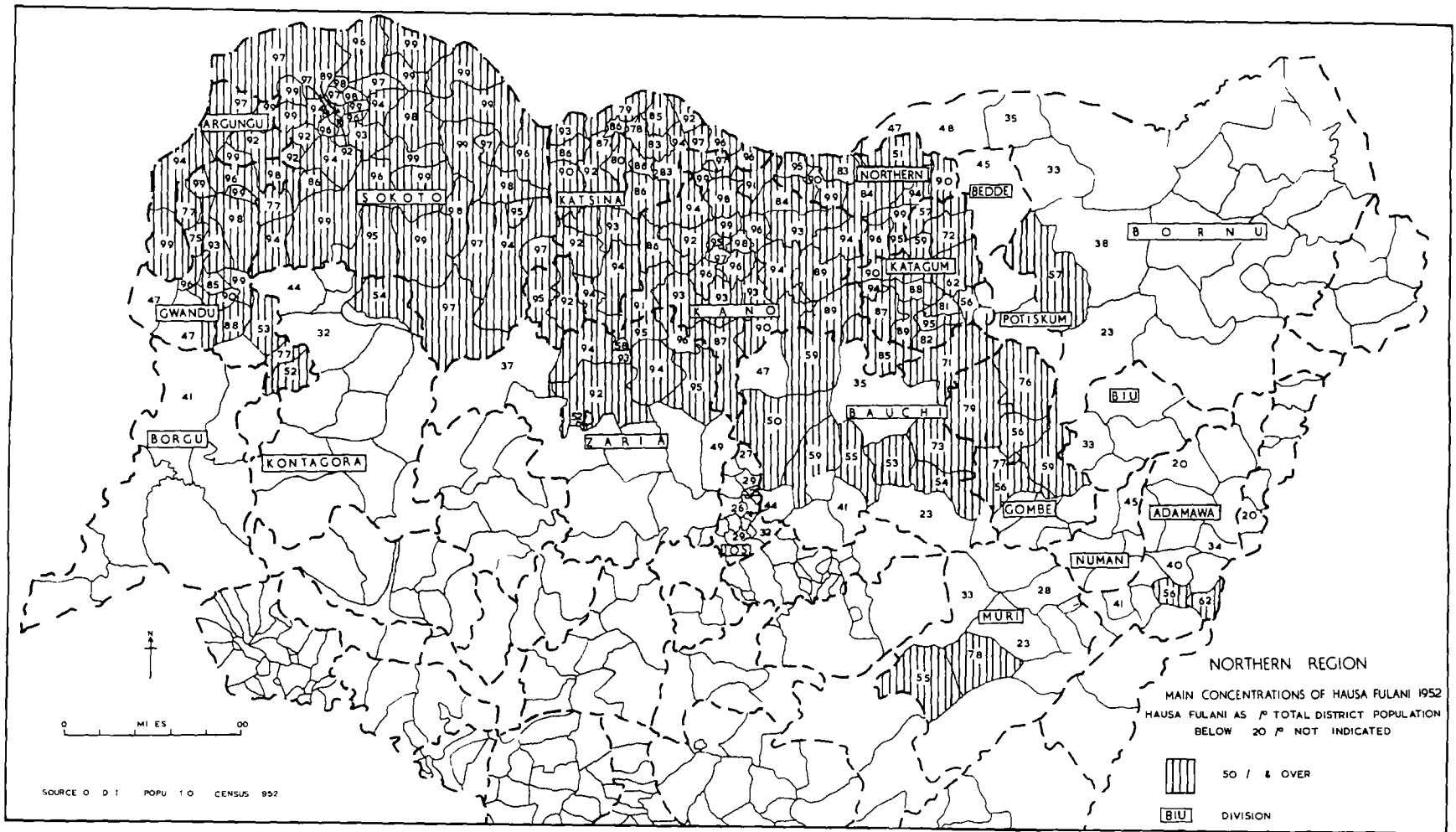


FIG. 29

But they still claim to be Fulani and distinct from Hausa. This makes it very difficult to separate the Fulani from the Hausa. Furthermore all Fulani in Hausaland use the Hausa language although the nomadic Fulani usually speak Fulfulde, their native language.

In view of this symbiosis Hausa and Fulani ought to be regarded as one culture-group in the Region. Regarded in this way, it becomes difficult to specify their homeland for they are found in widely separated areas (Fig. 29). However, in most of the areas outside Hausaland the Hausa and Fulani are regarded as 'strangers' or 'foreigners' even if they constitute a majority. This feeling is more likely to be expressed against the Hausa than the ubiquitous Fulani who would probably support the indigenous population on whom they depend for grazing rights. It is therefore better to regard the joint Hausa-Fulani homeland as the continuous territory stretching from Sokoto to Bauchi Province where the two nations form more than half the population (Fig. 29). In Bauchi Province, the Jarawa constitute the rest of the population but they too have adopted many Hausa customs and may be regarded as part of the Hausa-Fulani culture-group.

NORTHERN REGION ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DIVISIONAL POPULATION 1952

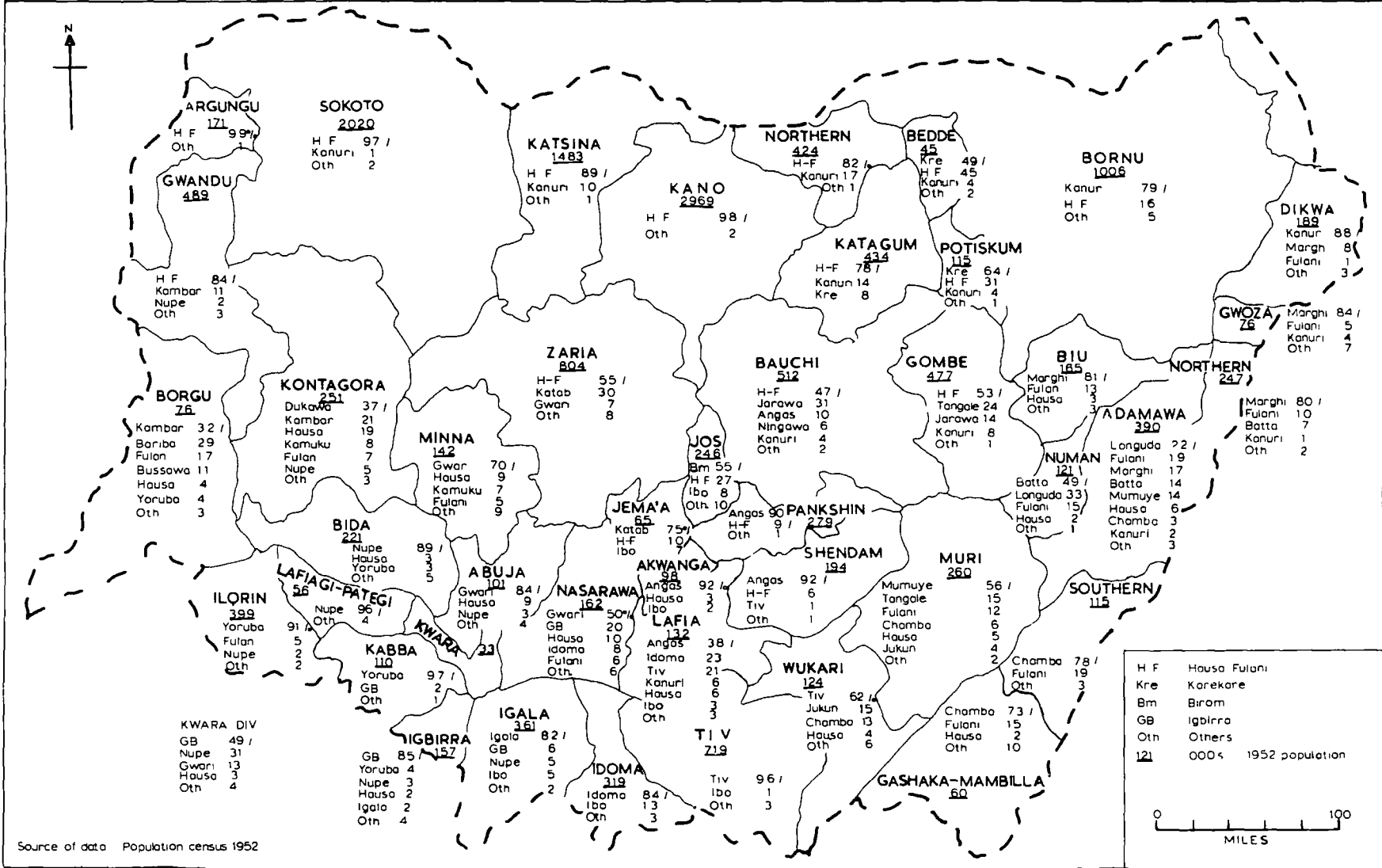


FIG. 30

The other ethnic nations of the Northern Region inhabit the areas described in Chapter III (Fig. 8 p. 32). The distribution by Divisions of all these ethnic nations is shown on Fig. 30.

RELATIONSHIPS BEFORE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

Before the British brought all these ethnic nations together in a political unit there were some connections between a few of them. The Kanuri and the Hausa were in contact before the nineteenth century. Bornu, the Kanuri Kingdom, extended to parts of Hausaland and before the Fulani conquest of the early nineteenth century Hausa rulers were visiting Bornu every year.⁶ The Fulani were also in contact with the Kanuri and today a substantial proportion of the population of western Bornu is formed by the Fulani (Fig. 29). Apart from the Hausa the Kanuri had contacts with the Marghi and the Karekare. The ruler of the Marghi in the present Biu Division descends from a Bornu immigrant.⁷ Ambassadors were exchanged between Bornu and Kororofa, the Jukun Kingdom in the Benue-Gongola basins.⁸

6. Walwyn, E. Notes on the History of Daura. SNP 3704

7. Palmer, H. R. Gazetteer of Bornu Province (rev. ed.).
Lagos, G. P. 1929 p. 31

8. Meek, C. K. A Sudanese Kingdom
London, Kegan Paul, 1931. p. 31

Besides their associations with the Fulani and the Kanuri the Hausa had connections with some of the peoples in the Plateau area and in the southern part of the Region. Sections of the Dukawa claim descent from places in Hausaland⁹ while the Hausa kings of Zaria conquered and ruled over the Kambari and sections of the Gwari.¹⁰

In the southern part of the Region the Bariba, Nupe, Yoruba, Igbirra and Igala were in contact with each other. The rulers of the Nupe before the Fulani conquest descended from an Igala immigrant¹¹ while the Igbirra trace connections with the Igala.¹² Sections of the Idoma were ruled by the Igala.¹³ In the east the Chamba, Mumuye and Batta had links before the British occupation.¹⁴

Outside Hausaland and Bornu the Fulani had connections with the Batta and other peoples in the Yola area. They were probably instrumental in the spread of Islam before and after the Jihad of the early 19th century. As a result

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9. See for example Notes on Katsinawa (by A. M. Mathews) and Dukawa (by Harris) SNP 2100 and 7407.
 10. P. G. Harris Notes on Yauri SNP 7407.
 11. Nadel, S. F. A Black Byzantium.
London, O.U.P., 1946. p. 406
 12. Notes on the Igbirra SNP 296.
 13. Clifford, M. "A Nigerian Chiefdom - Some Notes on the Igala" SNP 212/1930
 14. Lilley, E. S. Historical and Anthropological Notes on the Chamba of Dakka SNP/J8.

NORTHERN REGION LOCAL AUTHORITIES

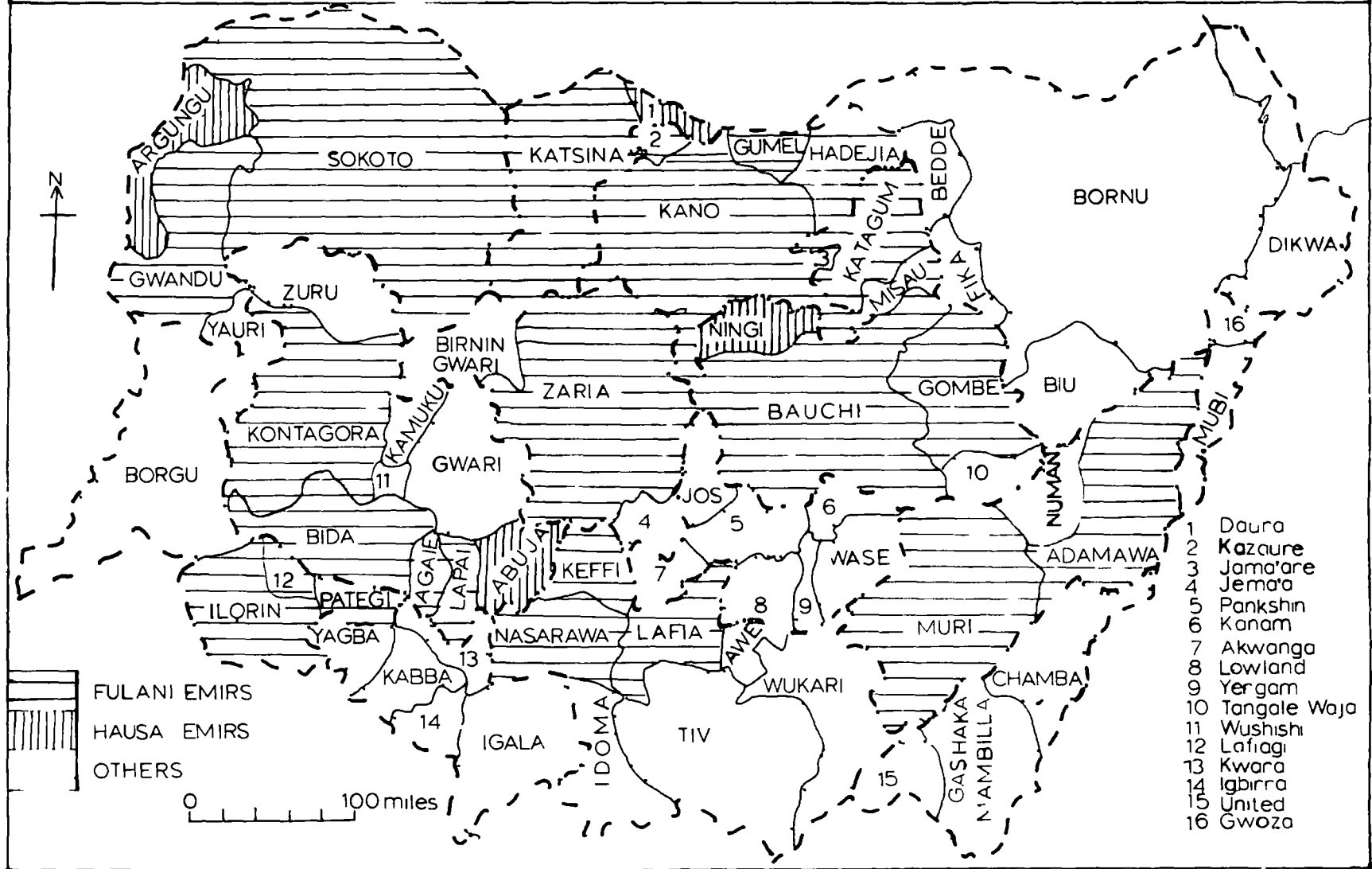


FIG. 31

of the Jihad Fulani became rulers in many areas (Fig. 31). The Fulani Emirs owed allegiance to The Sultan of Sokoto, the descendant of Usman dan Fodio and inheritor of the title of Sarkin Mussulumi or Leader of the Faithful. Through this allegiance different peoples were drawn together.

The people most affected by these associations were chiefs, traders and scholars who formed a relatively small proportion of the population. However, they were very influential in their areas. This is particularly true of the Fulani Emirates where officials in the Districts were in regular contact with the Emirate headquarters and with other areas. Each Emir employed Muslim scholars who taught the religion and who were also in touch with Muslim scholars in other areas. It was therefore possible to read or learn about distant places.

However, the importance of these associations must not be exaggerated because, in most cases, they affected only immigrant communities and the ruling classes. The majority of the people were not affected so their ideas and knowledge of other areas were limited.

NORTHERN REGION RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION BY DIVISIONS 1952

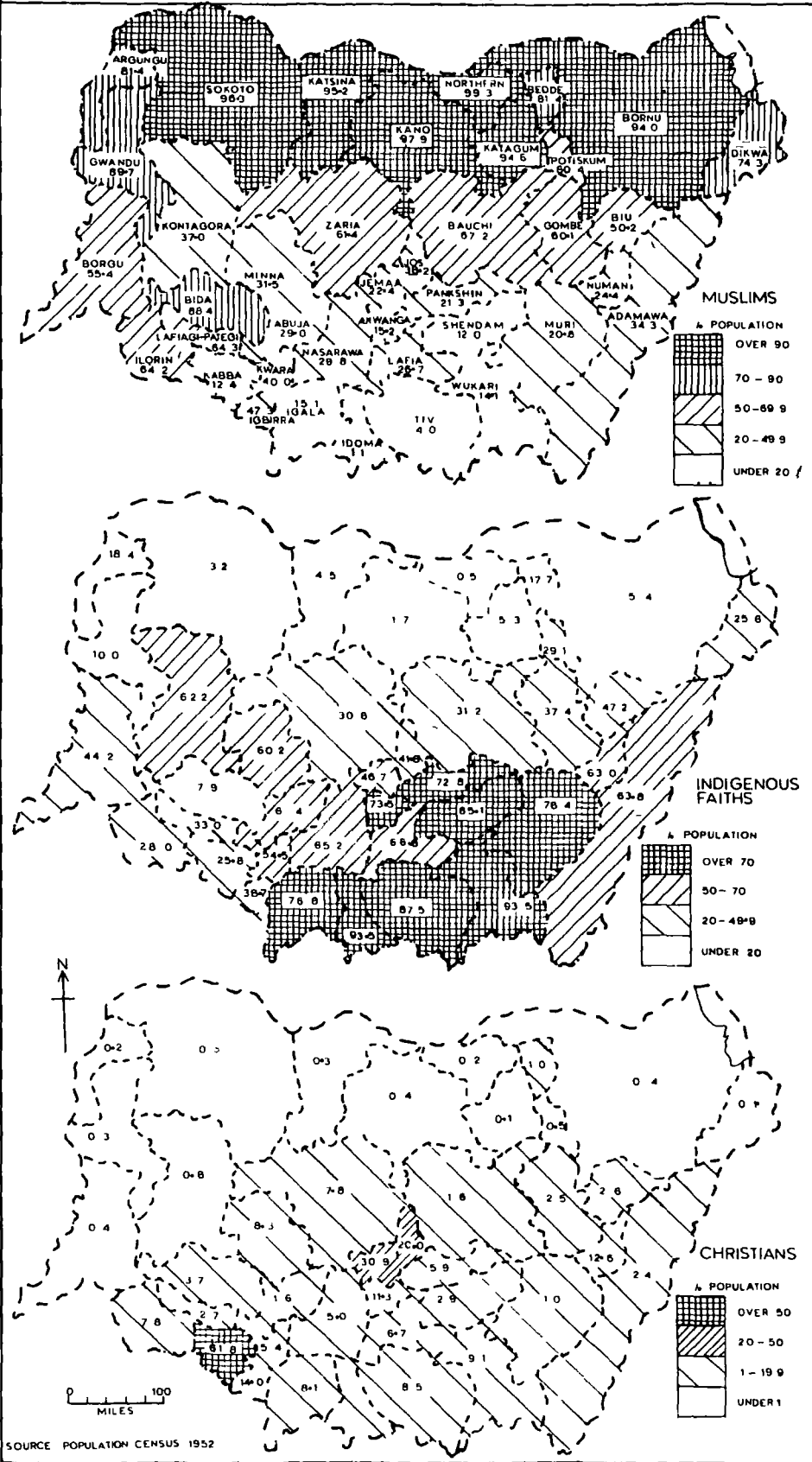


FIG. 32

SOCIAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE REGION

The association of scholars and traders from different places led to the spread of ideas. This is particularly true of Islam which was preached in all the Fulani Emirates and in those areas visited by Muslims from Bornu and Hausaland. The Fulani revolt of the early 19th century arose because it was alleged that some Hausa kings were not practising Islam. After the revolt the Emirs embarked on Muslim proselytization. Today the majority of the population in Hausaland and in Bornu are Muslims (Fig. 32). Over 80 percent of the population of Bornu and Hausaland now profess the Islamic faith. Outside the areas Muslims form more than half the population in the southwest, among the Bussawa, Bariba, Nupe and Yoruba of Ilorin Division.

Islam is not only a religion but also a way of life, hence the predominantly Muslim areas have developed common social characteristics. Before the establishment of British authority Islamic laws and practices were common in all areas which had Muslim rulers. Courts were staffed by scholars of Islamic law and the standard of justice and behaviour was based on Islamic teaching. After the establishment of British authority the Emirs

continued to administer justice on Islamic laws and required all Muslims to behave according to Islamic codes of conduct. Separate courts were established for Muslims and non-Muslims. Even today Muslims and non-Muslims are tried under separate laws.

Furthermore, there was, until recently, a Muslim conviction that all non-Muslims should be made to accept the Islamic faith. This often led to the use of force to win converts, which resulted in friction between Muslim and non-Muslim areas.

The areas where only a few people accepted Islam (Fig. 32) retained their indigenous cultures which were separate and distinct hence there were as many cultures as there were non-Muslim ethnic nations. On their arrival in such areas the British established courts where British laws were administered. People were encouraged to copy British ways. Hence the non-Muslim areas started to develop an outlook based on European culture and the English language.

The new outlook did not result in a unified culture as Islam did in the predominantly Muslim areas. This was because each area continued to retain its own separate

indigenous culture. In many civil cases the customary or local law which varied from place to place continued to be administered after the British occupation. Moreover, the establishment of the British pattern of justice did not affect religion hence each area continued to practise the particular indigenous faith which it held in pre-British days.

The Muslim attitude generally to other religions was not relaxed so that attempts at conversion continued. To those near Hausaland and Bornu the acceptance of Islam meant the acceptance of the more sophisticated way of life of the Hausa-Fulani and Kanuri Muslims.

But in many areas the new converts did not always accept the rigid social patterns of the northern Muslims. For them conversion to Islam meant only acceptance of the spiritual aspects. Such Muslims have more tolerant outlook towards non-Muslims and are less rigid than the Hausa-Fulani in their interpretation of Islamic law. This tolerant outlook is more pronounced in the southwestern part of the Region - among the Yoruba, the Nupe, and the Bariba.

NORTHERN REGION TYPES AND RATE OF LITERACY 1952

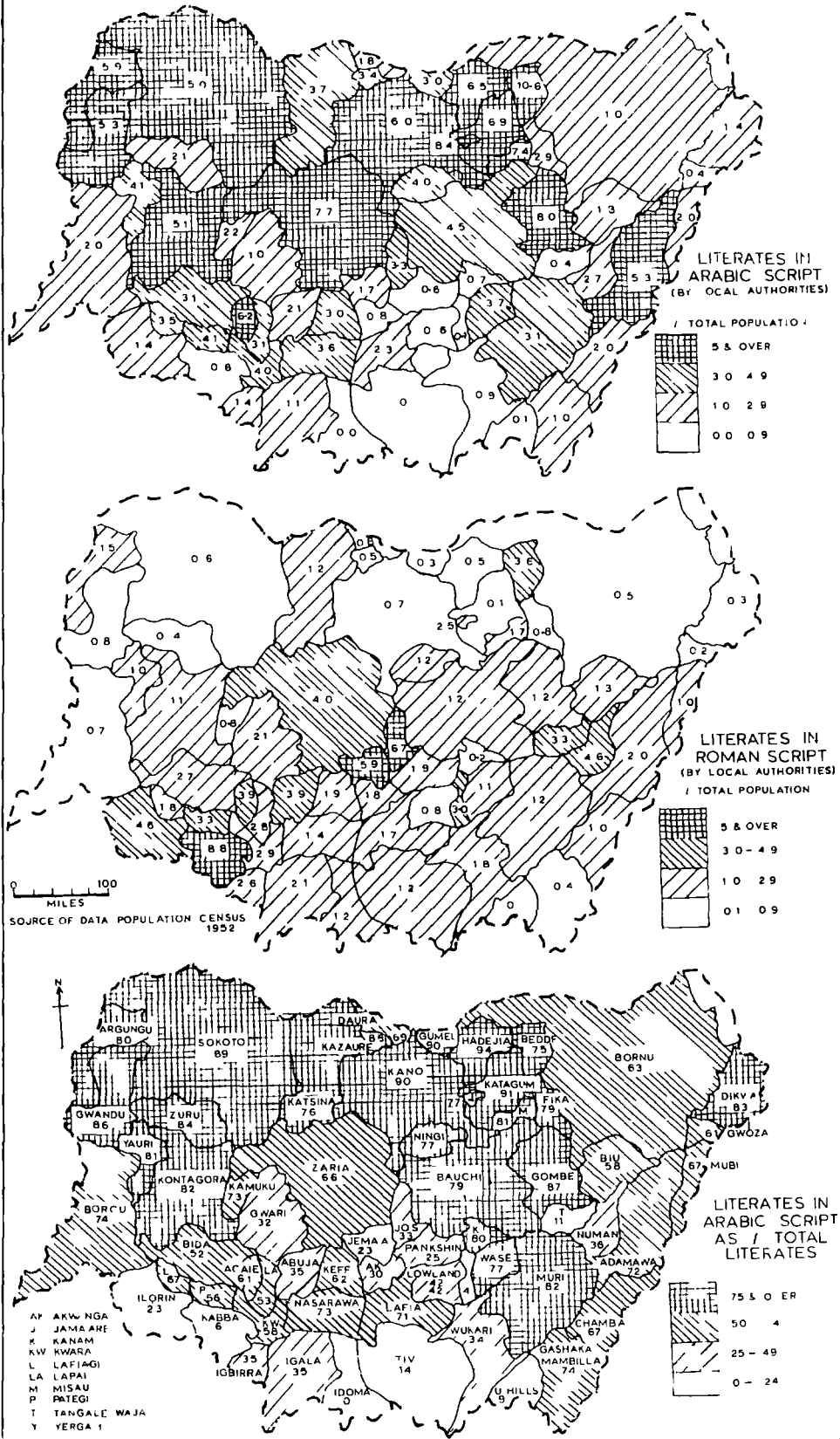


FIG. 33

Christian missions have been competing with Muslims for converts in non-Muslim areas (Fig. 32). As a result of Christian missionary activities many schools have been established and pupils are taught to read in the Roman script.

Thus the differences in outlook which existed before the British occupation have continued in a different form. The non-Muslim areas are mainly orientated towards Western education and influences. The Muslim areas still prefer education in the Arabic script (Fig. 33); although the need to learn the Roman script is realized.

There is no rigid boundary between the two. But, as Figs. 32 and 33 clearly indicate, the non-Muslim cultures predominate in the southeast of the Region while the west appears to be a frontier zone, particularly among the Nupe, Kambari and Gwari. The tolerant attitude of Nupe Muslims is shown by the relatively high proportion of their literates who know the Roman script (47.6 percent in Bida Division). Also the proportion of the population who are Christians is much higher than in the north of the Region. In view of this it can be said that the two cultures meet in Nupeland.

There are many other social differences between the two culture groups. For example the Muslims believe that women, particularly married women, should not engage in public activities, rather they should be in purdah and should wear veils when they go out. The non-Muslim areas, with their orientation towards European attitudes, think that women should have equal rights to take part in public activities, should be allowed to work besides men in business and administrative offices and, if possible, should participate in political activities. Furthermore non-Muslims are not opposed to alcohol while Muslims consider this against their Faith.

INTRA-REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Each of the ethnic nations in the Region wishes to preserve its identity. This has been made difficult by their inclusion in the same political unit. But since Muslims form about 73 percent of the population it has been easier for them to protect and preserve their traditions and ways of life. Even excluding the Muslims of the southwest of the Region, Muslims still generally predominate. The Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri constitute 59 percent of the Region's population and since more than nine-tenths of them are Muslims they still out-number all others. Because of this predominance the Muslims have been able to

NORTHERN REGION THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

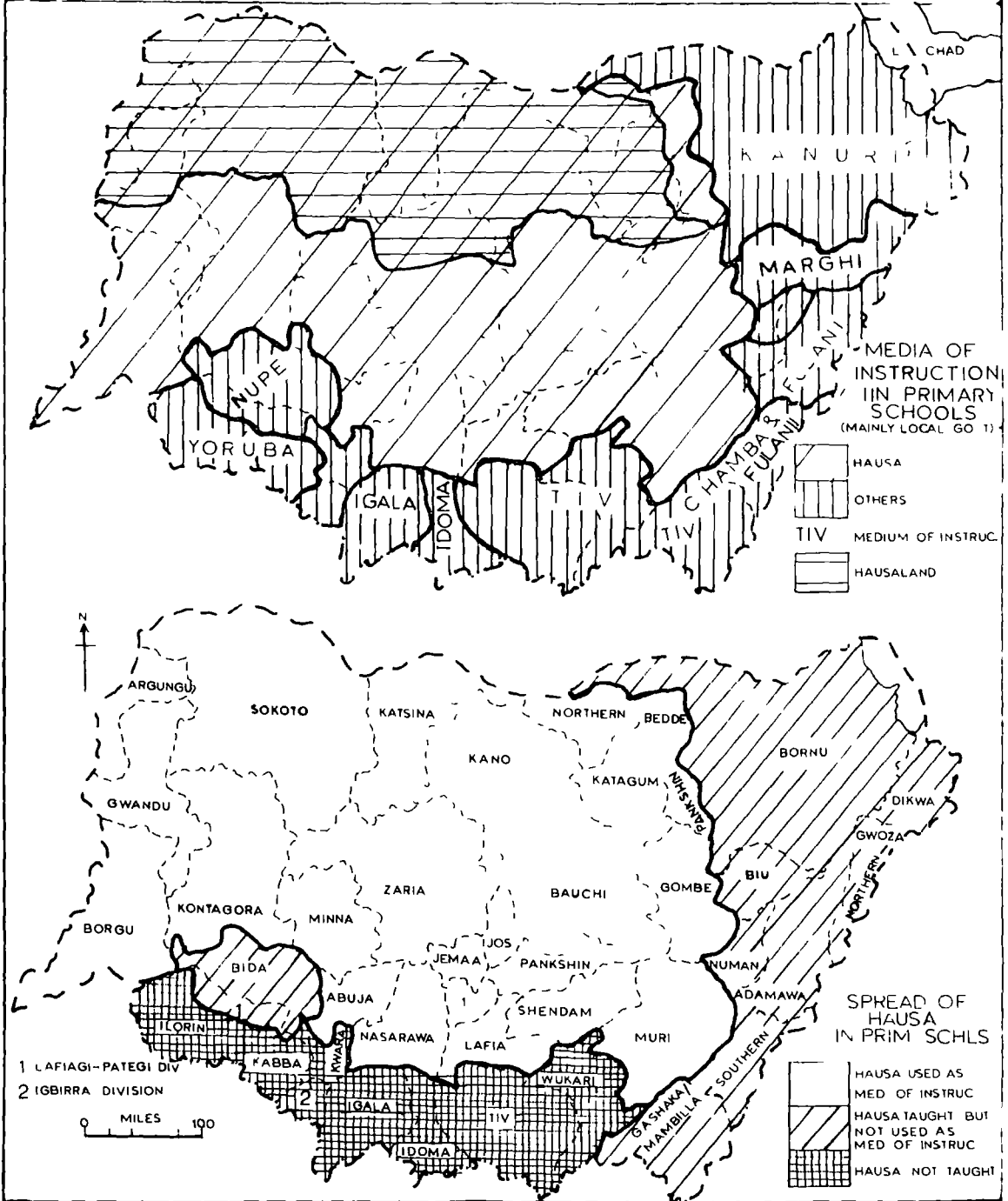


FIG. 34

impose some of their ideas on the whole Region. Thus women are prohibited from public life and the Region's affairs are influenced by Islamic traditions.

This has not pleased the non-Muslims who think the Government pays no regard to their cultures. Hence they complain of Muslim domination which is often interpreted as Hausa-Fulani domination since the Hausa-Fulani form nearly 51 percent of the Region's population. In support of this view they make many allegations:

Firstly, that their languages are not developed while Hausa is used as the medium of instruction in their primary schools (Fig. 34).

Secondly, that in other cultural fields Hausa-Fulani culture is forced upon them.

Thirdly, that in the distribution of Government posts the smaller ethnic nations and the non-Muslims do not get a fair share.

Finally that the Regional Government does not give as much attention to the development of their homeland as it gives to that of Hausaland.

Since these allegations affect the continued existence of the Region as a single unit it is advisable to consider the validity and bases of each.

The use of Hausa as a medium of instruction in the schools of the smaller ethnic nations has to be seen in the light of the number of languages in the Region. There are probably up to 28 different indigenous languages in the Region. Some of these have no alphabets and hence no literature. If people are to learn to read they need books and since they do not have books in their own language they have to use those written in other languages. For most of the Northern Region one such language is Hausa. The choice of Hausa has the advantage that it is officially recognised as one of the three main languages of Nigeria; it is the only language of the Northern Region used on Radio Nigeria.

But the areas affected do not see the problem in this way. They regard the use of Hausa as the medium of instruction in Local Government Schools as an attempt by the Hausa-Fulani to force them to adopt the Hausa language. Instead of Hausa they want their separate languages to be used as media of instruction. If the Regional Government accepts this view it would have to translate all Government notices to the different languages. This would be contrary to the plans of the Hausa-Fulani who are in the majority and who want to develop Hausa as the official language of the Region. In fact by 1965 it had become compulsory for all Civil Servants to pass a test in Hausa.

The plan to make Hausa the official language has further strengthened the arguments of those who complain of Hausa-Fulani domination. For, if it is carried out, the plan will affect people who have their own literature, and at present do not study Hausa (Fig. 34). These include the Tiv, Yoruba and to some extent Nupe. Such people are protesting. For example University students who come from these areas have appealed to the Regional Government to abandon the plan. While such opposition to the adoption of Hausa as the Regional language is understandable it is difficult to blame the Regional Government for having such plans. In any case if the Government drops the plan it would be doing so against the wishes of the Hausa-Fulani who are in the majority. On the other hand if the Government disregards the feelings of minorities it will confirm the worst fears of its critics. It therefore appears that there will be dissatisfaction whatever action is taken.

The allegation that Hausa culture is being imposed is difficult to refute and equally difficult to justify. Many aspects of present Hausa culture are derived from Muslim practices. The Kanuri have also adopted the same Muslim ideas. Muslims gain converts in many areas and non-Muslims may adopt certain feature of the ways of life

of the northern Muslims, for example they dress like the Hausa. The voluntary adoption of the more sophisticated practices of Hausa and other Muslims makes it difficult to deny that Hausa culture is developing at the expense of others. Thus far the allegation of the more conservative non-Muslims is confirmed. But it is wrong to accuse the Hausa-Fulani for all of these developments. People cannot be prevented from adopting practices which they admire and it seems unlikely that any of the leaders of the smaller ethnic nations can restrain their people from adopting Hausa practices and customs.

The complaint about unfair allocation of Government appointments arises from the small number of people from the ethnic nations in the south of the Region who occupy ministerial posts.¹⁵ But then ministerial appointments are based on party allegiance, only parliamentary members of the majority party in the House of Assembly can become ministers. This makes it impossible for people from areas

15. "Minister" is used here for holders of parliamentary posts of Minister (with or without portfolio) and parliamentary secretaries, who are sometimes described as junior ministers.

NORTHERN REGION PATTERN OF PARTY SUPPORT BY DIVISIONS REGIONAL ELECTIONS OF MAY 1961

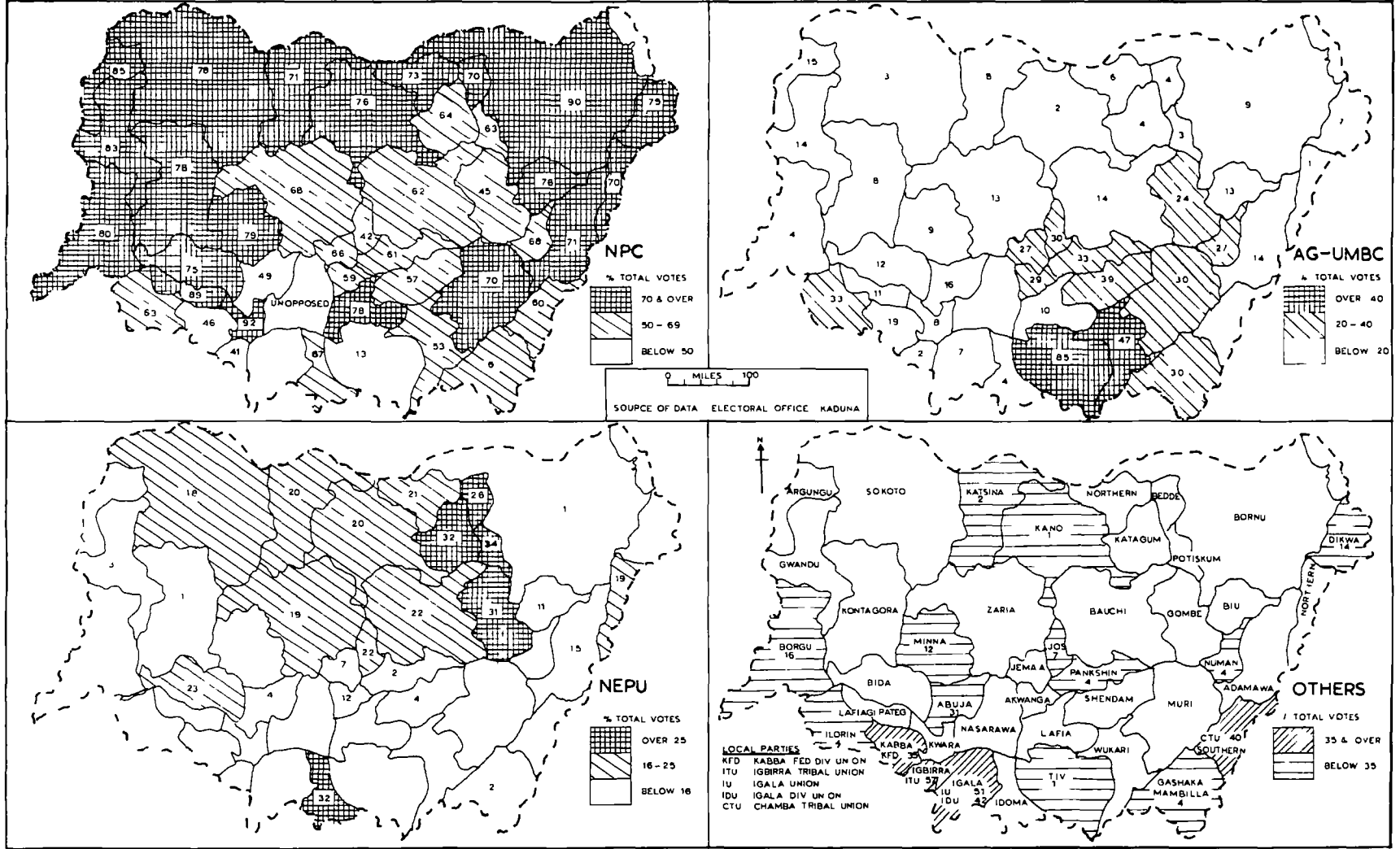


FIG. 35

where opposition candidates are elected to become ministers. The ruling party in the Region (N.P.C.), which enjoys wide support among the Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri, is not greatly supported by the people in the Middle Belt (Fig. 35). The ruling party cannot, therefore, be blamed for not appointing as ministers those who do not support them. Even then the territorial distribution of ministers in 1965 was representative of all areas in the Region as shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI
NORTHERN REGION
NUMBERS OF MINISTERS* FROM EACH PROVINCE, 1965

<u>Province</u>	<u>No. of Ministers</u> ¹⁶
Adamawa	2
Bauchi	2
Benue	2
Bornu	4
Ilorin	2
Kabba	3
Kano	5
Katsina	7
Niger	3
Plateau	2
Sokoto	6
Zaria	2

*. See footnote 15.

16. Compiled from Nigeria Yearbook, 1965.
Lagos. Daily Times Publishing Co., 1965.

The table shows very clearly that no part of the Region is neglected in the appointment of ministers. However, the complaint is not on territorial but on ethnic and cultural grounds. On the basis of the above figures 22 ministers or just under 54 percent of the total come from the Hausa-Fulani areas of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Bauchi Provinces. This is not greatly above the proportion of the Region's population formed by the Hausa-Fulani (i.e. about 51 percent). But some of the representatives of areas outside Hausaland belong to the Hausa-Fulani culture-group. This is particularly true of the Fulani Emirates outside Hausaland because many of the ministers and parliamentary representatives of such areas are Fulani officials or Fulani Districts Heads. For example in 1965 two of the three ministers from Niger Province had been officials in Bida and Kontagora Emirates, and those from Ilorin were also from the Emirates. One of the two ministers from Benue Province was from Keffi Emirate while those from Adamawa Province were from Muri and Adamawa Emirates. Hence apart from the twenty-two mentioned above, seven other ministers share Hausa-Fulani interests. This brings the Hausa-Fulani proportion to 75 percent of the total. This is much higher than the proportion of the population formed by those two peoples.

As to religious affiliations only three of the forty-one people holding ministerial posts can be said to be non-Muslims. Thus 93 percent of the ministers are Muslims. whereas only about 73 percent of the population are Muslims.

All these give the non-Muslim peoples cause for complaint about the distribution of government appointments. While such complaints are understandable it must be realised that the reason for them lies in the composition of the House of Assembly, particularly the fact that some elected members do not belong to the dominant ethnic nations of the areas they represent. The Government cannot discriminate against elected representatives. Therefore, if Muslims or Fulani are elected to represent certain areas they should have the rights and privileges which any other representatives would enjoy.

The fourth allegation, that the development of some areas are neglected, is based on the disparity in wealth and development between Hausaland and the rest of the Region. Generally the average income in Hausaland is greater than those of other parts. Whereas the average annual income from commercial crops is over one pound for each person in the population in Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Bornu Provinces it is less than twelve shillings in

NORTHERN REGION AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME PER CAPITA FROM CASH CROPS 1960-3 (PROVS)

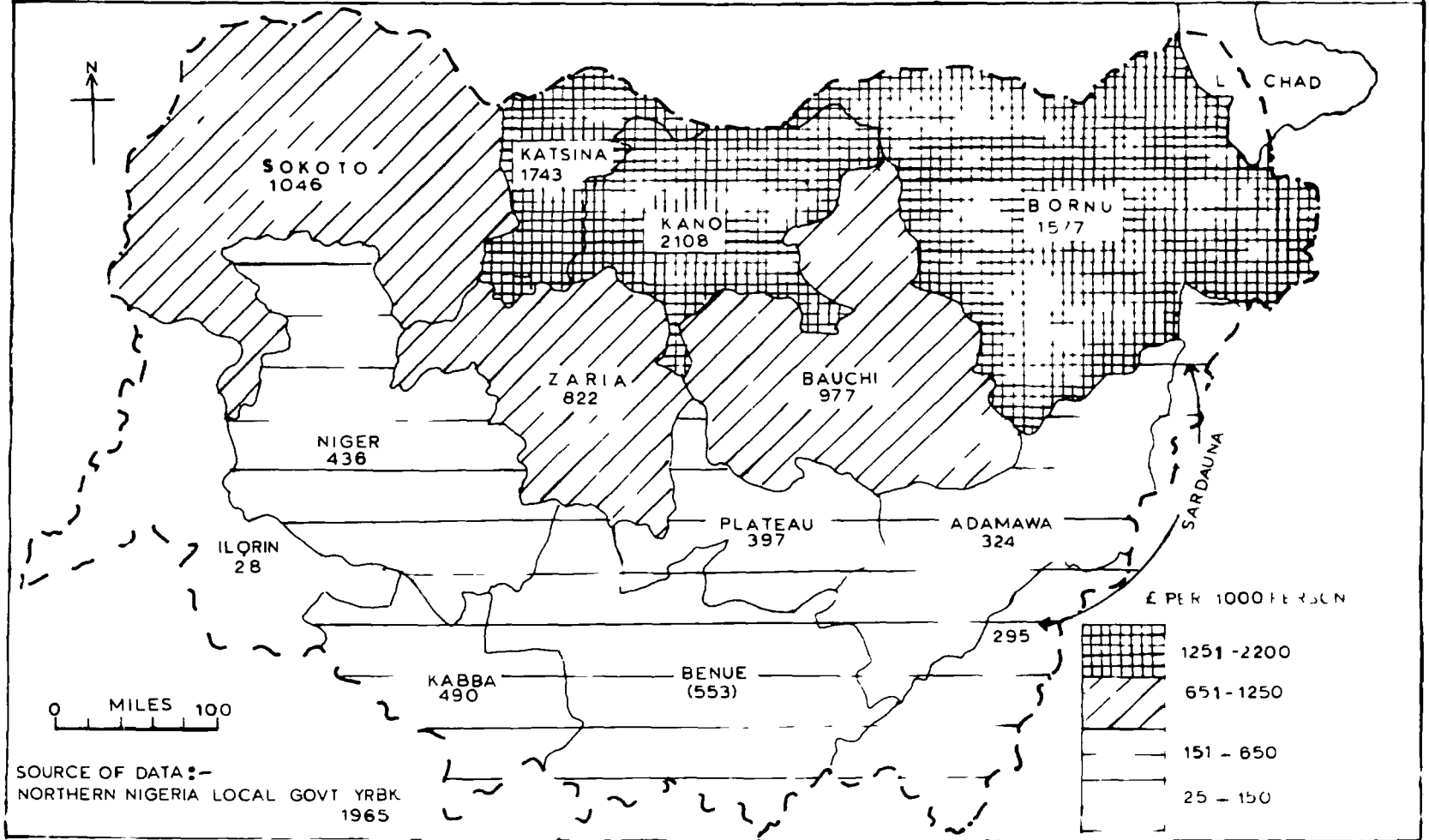


FIG. 36

the southern Provinces of Ilorin, Niger, Kabba, Benue, Plateau, Adamawa and Sardauna (Fig. 36). The richer northern areas coincide with the homeland of the predominantly Muslim Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri whilst the poorer areas comprise the homeland of the non-Muslim ethnic nations of the Region. The latter think that the 'prosperity' of the north is due to help given by the Government in developing their crops. But the truth is that the higher income of those areas is due to the soil and climate which enable the people to produce large quantities of groundnuts and cotton. These are crops which are in great demand on the world market and from which the Government derives much of its revenue. Even if the Government does devote much money to the development of these crops it should not be condemned for doing so.

There are no important commercial crops in the south of the Region which the Government can help to develop. But the people there feel that the Government neglects them whilst it promotes agricultural development elsewhere. They ascribe their poverty to this neglect. However, it should not be forgotten that at present the Government cannot do much to make infertile soils productive neither can it make the climate more favourable for particular cash crops.

NORTHERN REGION ROAD DEVELOPMENT (PROVINCES) 1962

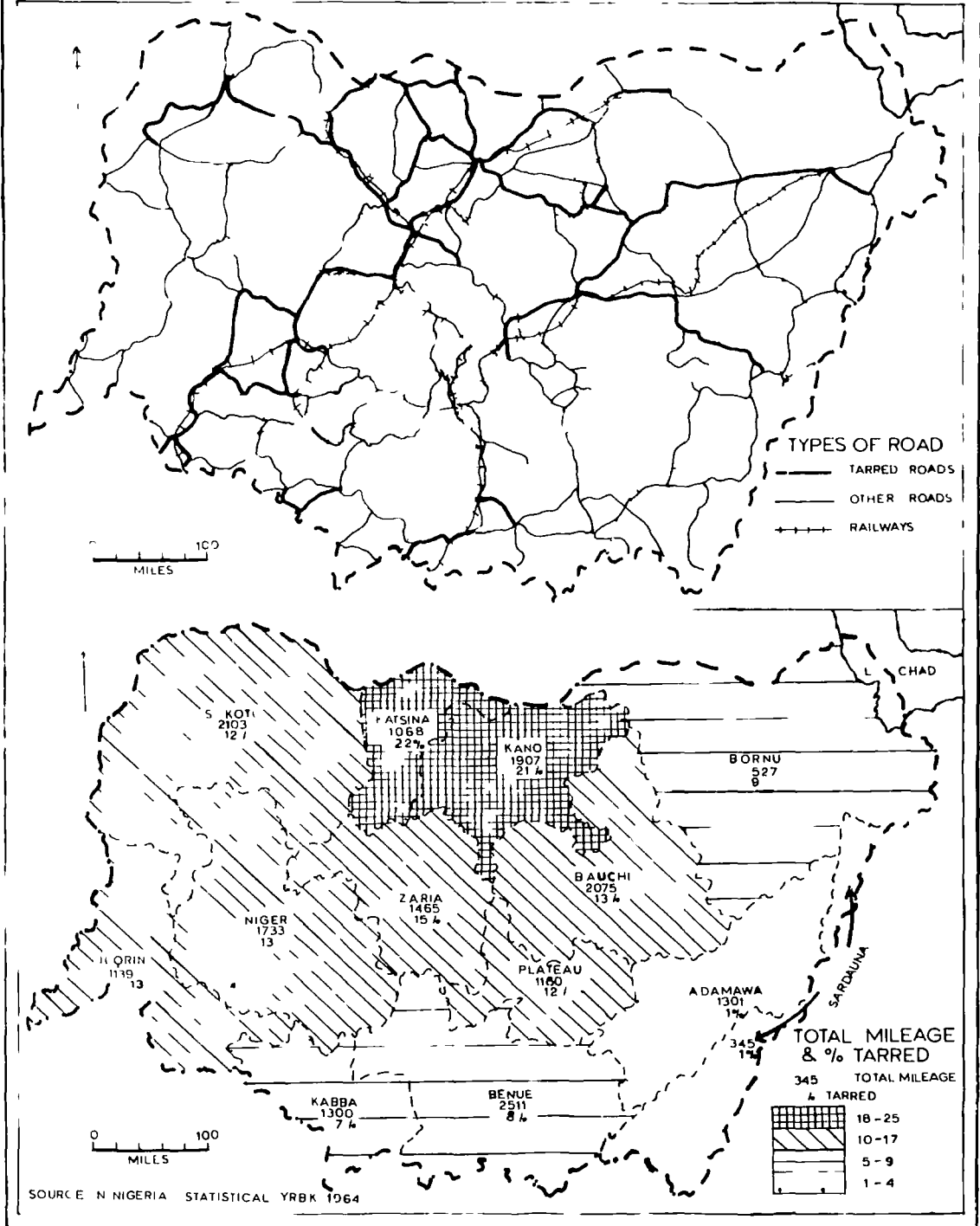


FIG. 37

This is not to say that soil conditions and crops cannot be improved by research. There is no doubt that the menace caused by tsetse fly can be reduced to make many areas favourable for livestock farming. Research can also lead to the development of various crops which will yield well under the soil and climatic conditions of the south of the Region. But research costs money. At the present time money is one of the things which the Regional Government lacks. There is also a lack of qualified personnel. Therefore agricultural research has to be selective and those crops which earn more money deserve preference.

Some of the other complaints about development have similar explanations. For example road development. This is desired in all areas. The construction of a road to a particular area makes communications with other parts much easier. During the rain season many roads are made impassable by torrential rain and in the dry season dust in the wake of the lorry makes travelling unpleasant. These two problems are solved if the roads are tarred. Hence people attach great importance to road construction and consider the tarring of a road as a significant development. Because more roads are tarred in some parts of the north than in the south of the Region(Fig. 37) the latter complains of neglect by the Government.

The relatively high proportion of tarred roads in Kano and Katsina Provinces is to be expected in view of the high population and the economic activity of these areas. Apart from those two Provinces the distribution of tarred roads is not related to ethnic or cultural features. For example, Niger and Plateau Provinces have higher proportions of tarred roads than Bornu Province. Sokoto Province is much behind Kano and Katsina Provinces and a smaller proportion of its roads are tarred than in Ilorin and Niger Provinces. It may of course be considered significant that the lowest proportions are in Kabba, Benue and old Adamawa Provinces. These last are the core areas of non-Muslim cultures. But Bornu has about the same mileage (219) and the same proportion of tarred roads (9%) as Benue (197 miles, 8%).

Besides the lack of relationship between road development and ethnic or cultural areas it should not be overlooked that road development is jointly undertaken by the Federal, Regional and Local Governments. The tarred roads in each area include those tarred by Local Authorities. By 1962, 75 miles of road had been tarred by Local Authorities in Kano Province but only nine miles had been

NORTHERN REGION REGIONAL GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES

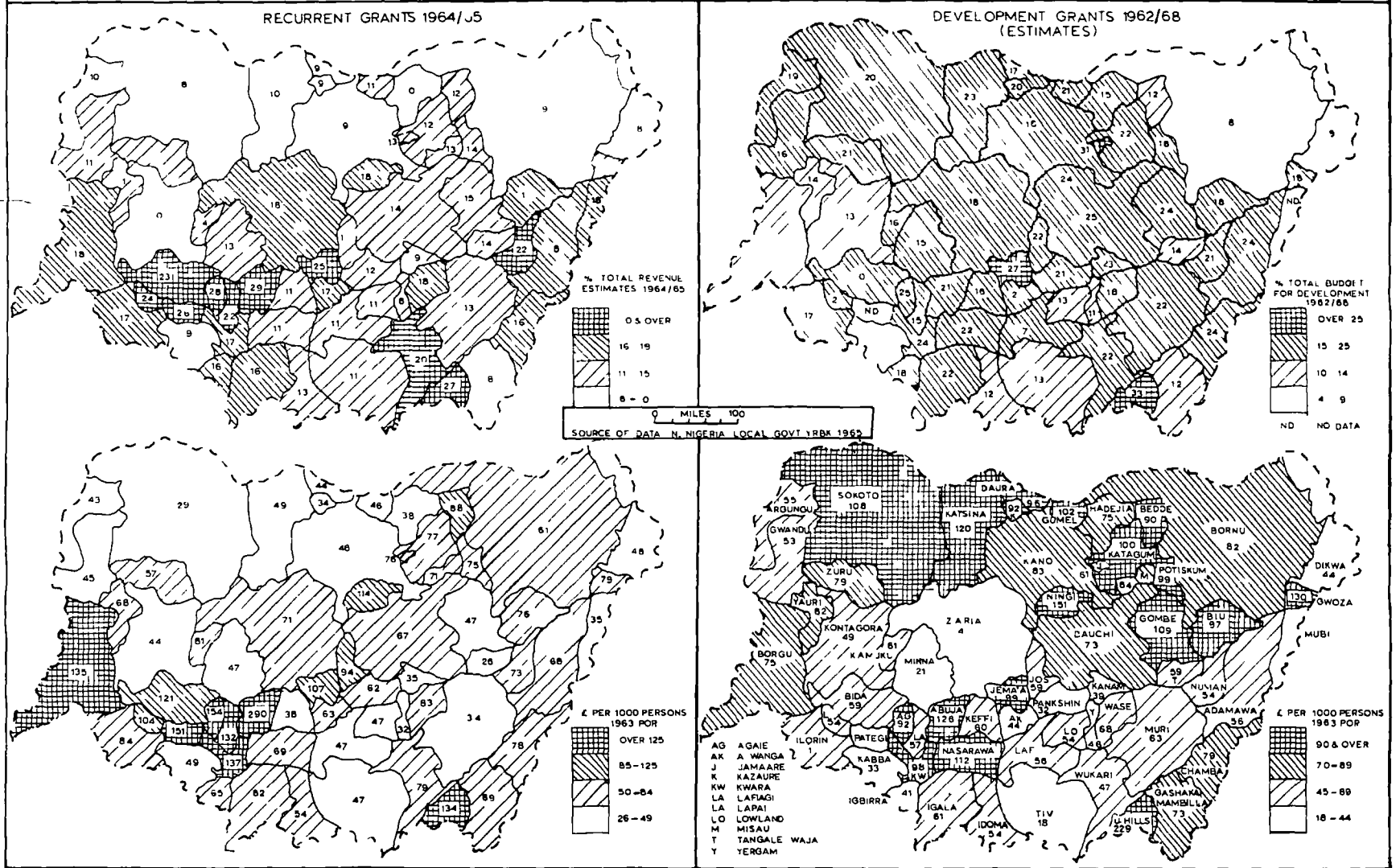


FIG. 38

tarred by such Authorities in Benue, Province, and only four miles in Kabba and six miles in Bornu. Hence the low proportion of tarred roads in some areas is not the fault of only the Regional Government.

It is of course, possible to argue that since Local Government activities are financed with grants from the Regional Government the developments including road development, in all Local Authorities areas are indirectly carried out by the Regional Government. Such argument is not supported by Government grants to Local Authorities. For example the grants for recurrent expenditure for 1964-65 were lower for Local Authorities in Hausaland than for those in say Nupeland and in Jos and Jema'a Divisions (Fig. 38). Sokoto Emirate had one of the lowest grants in the Region.

However, it might be said that grants for recurrent expenditure are for paying the staff and maintaining essential services, while development grants are made separately. In that case grants for development projects in the 1962-68 Development Programme might be examined. The method of calculating the grants to each Local Authority is not known, but it could have been based on either the amount budgeted by each or on a population basis.

If the grants had been calculated as a percentage of the development budget of each area, most of the southern area cannot complain because they received much the same proportions as Hausaland (Fig. 38). But some important areas can justifiably complain, notably Bornu, Tiv, Kabba and Minna. The situation would be slightly altered if the grants had been based on population for the northern areas receive more grants per capita than the south. Only some small southern Authorities receive per capita development grants equal to those of the north. Whichever of these methods was adopted some areas outside Hausaland would complain. It could, of course, be that the grants were based on estimates of population for each Local Authority in 1961 or 1962. In that case the population of the south would have been much more under-estimated on the basis of the 1963 Census figures.

REGIONAL COHESION

The ethnic, social and economic differences which have been discussed above indicate the difficulties of administering the area as a single political unit. Opinions differ on how the problems can be solved. In the Region itself opinions are divided. The Hausa-Fulani who

occupy the most productive areas and form more than half the population of the Region wish to retain the status quo. The Regional Government claims that "the best hope for the future lies in increasing co-operation and goodwill ... while retaining [the Region's] geographic integrity, its historical association and the unifying influence of language, culture and comity of interests."¹⁷

On the other hand the people of the south of the Region believe that they are being dominated by the Hausa-Fulani. Because they think there is no way of preventing such domination in the future, they conclude that the only means by which they can achieve cultural and economic development and be independent of the Hausa-Fulani is to have a separate Region of their own to be called the 'Middle Belt.'

The position of the Hausa-Fulani is quite understandable in that most probably they do not intend to dominate any other area and would not like to deny freedom to anyone.

17. Northern Regional Government: Memorandum to the Minorities Commission from the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria.
Kaduna Govt. Printer, 1958. p. 48

As shown above some of the complaints of those in the Middle Belt arise from misinterpretation of many things. It is extremely doubtful that anyone can prevent the spread of the Hausa language and culture in the Middle Belt. Even if a separate Middle Belt Region were to be created none of the languages in the area could replace Hausa as a common language. The spread of Islam cannot be prevented by the creation of such a Region, so Islam will continue to extend at the expense of indigenous religions. The economic differences will not come to an end even if the Middle Belt Region is created. This is because the Far North, on account of its soils and climate, will continue to be more productive and the people will be more prosperous than those of the Middle Belt. It is likely, however, that if the Middle Belt Region is created its government would pay attention to the development of agricultural resources. But such development would not be possible without money and personnel.

As for political appointments it is often suggested that the best solution would be to have a system in which the Regional Government is not restricted in making appointments by the presence of an opposition party. The system usually suggested is the one-party system. Even if it were possible to work such a system satisfactorily, the difficulties of the Region would not be solved. This is because in such a system the Muslims would still be in

the majority and the Hausa-Fulani could still, through democratic means, force their will on others since they would be in the majority. The others would not therefore, be able to control and manage their own affairs without interference.

If the Region is to remain as a single entity then the fears of the Middle Belt must be allayed. In order to end the disparity in economic opportunities it will be necessary for the Government to divert funds from other projects and areas to the Middle Belt. But this will not be acceptable to the Hausa-Fulani. For although they are more prosperous than the Middle Belt peoples, their own standard of living is by no means satisfactory. They need more tarred roads. They need all the improvements that are necessary to raise their standard of living. They cannot, therefore, accept any curtailment of grants so that the Government can develop other areas.

On the other hand, if the Region remains as it is, the people of the Middle Belt will continue to point to the contrasts between themselves and other parts of the Region. They will blame their lack of development on the Hausa-Fulani and will grow increasingly hostile to those people. This will make it difficult for the Region to survive as a peaceful and stable administrative unit.

CHAPTER VII
THE EASTERN REGION

With an area of 29,484 square miles and a population in 1963, of 12,394,462 persons the Eastern Region covers 8.2 percent of the total area of Nigeria and has 22.3 percent of its population. Its average density of population, in 1963, of 420 psm was nearly four times that of the Northern Region (106 psm), more than double that of the Midwestern Region (170 psm), and higher than that of the Western Region (337 psm). Thus it is the most densely populated Region of Nigeria.

The areas which now constitute the Eastern Region were brought under British influence through the activities of the British Consul on the Bights of Benin and Biafra. The Consul started to sign treaties of Protection with coastal settlements and communities after Germany had declared a Protectorate in the Cameroons on July 14, 1884. As a result of the treaties Britain declared the Niger Districts a Protectorate on June 5, 1885. The British Protectorate included areas along the Benue from the confluence with the Niger to Ibi and also the Edo country to the west of the Niger. The first definite northern boundary was fixed in 1900 when the southern boundary of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was defined.

From 1900 the area became known as the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the name was retained after its administration was amalgamated with that of the Lagos Protectorate in 1906. After the amalgamation, the enlarged Protectorate was divided into three Provinces of which one, the Eastern Province, comprised most of the present Eastern Region, the only exception being the present Oritsha and Enugu Provinces which formed part of the Central Province. After the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914, Southern Nigeria was divided into smaller Provinces collectively under a single Lieutenant Governor until April 1939 when they were divided into two groups. The Provinces to the east of the Niger, which included the two Provinces of Southern Cameroons, became the Eastern Provinces under a separate Lieutenant Governor. Enugu which had been the headquarters of Southern Nigeria since April 1, 1929, was retained as headquarters for the Eastern Provinces. After the administrative reorganisation of 1947 they became the Eastern Region. In 1954 the two Provinces of the Cameroons were separated from the Eastern Region to form a new Region. With their separation the Eastern Region assumed its present shape and size.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

In the western and central parts of the Region sedimentary rocks and deposits have covered the basement series, hence crystalline rocks are found only in the east i.e. in Ogoja and Calabar Provinces. The sedimentary rocks include sandstones in the northwest, clays and shales in the centre and riverain sediments in the south of the Region (Fig. 1 p. 1)

The crystalline rocks form the highest hills in the Region. In Ogoja Province, Obudu hills rise to 5,971 feet while in Calabar Province, Oban hills have a maximum height of 3,771 feet. Apart from these, the only other major relief feature in the Region, the Udi Plateau, is formed by sandstones. The plateau rises to 1,700 feet near Enugu and has a steep east-facing escarpment and a gentle descent to the west (Fig. 2 p. 3). The rest of the Region, which is generally lowlying, may be divided into three zones: the Cross river basin, the Niger lowlands and the Niger delta. The Cross river basin which is drained by the Cross river and its tributaries lies between the eastern hills and the Udi Plateau while the Niger lowlands lie between the river Niger and the Plateau. The Niger delta lies in the southwest of the Region; it is traversed by the distributaries of the great river and is generally swampy.

EASTERN REGION MAJOR MINERALS

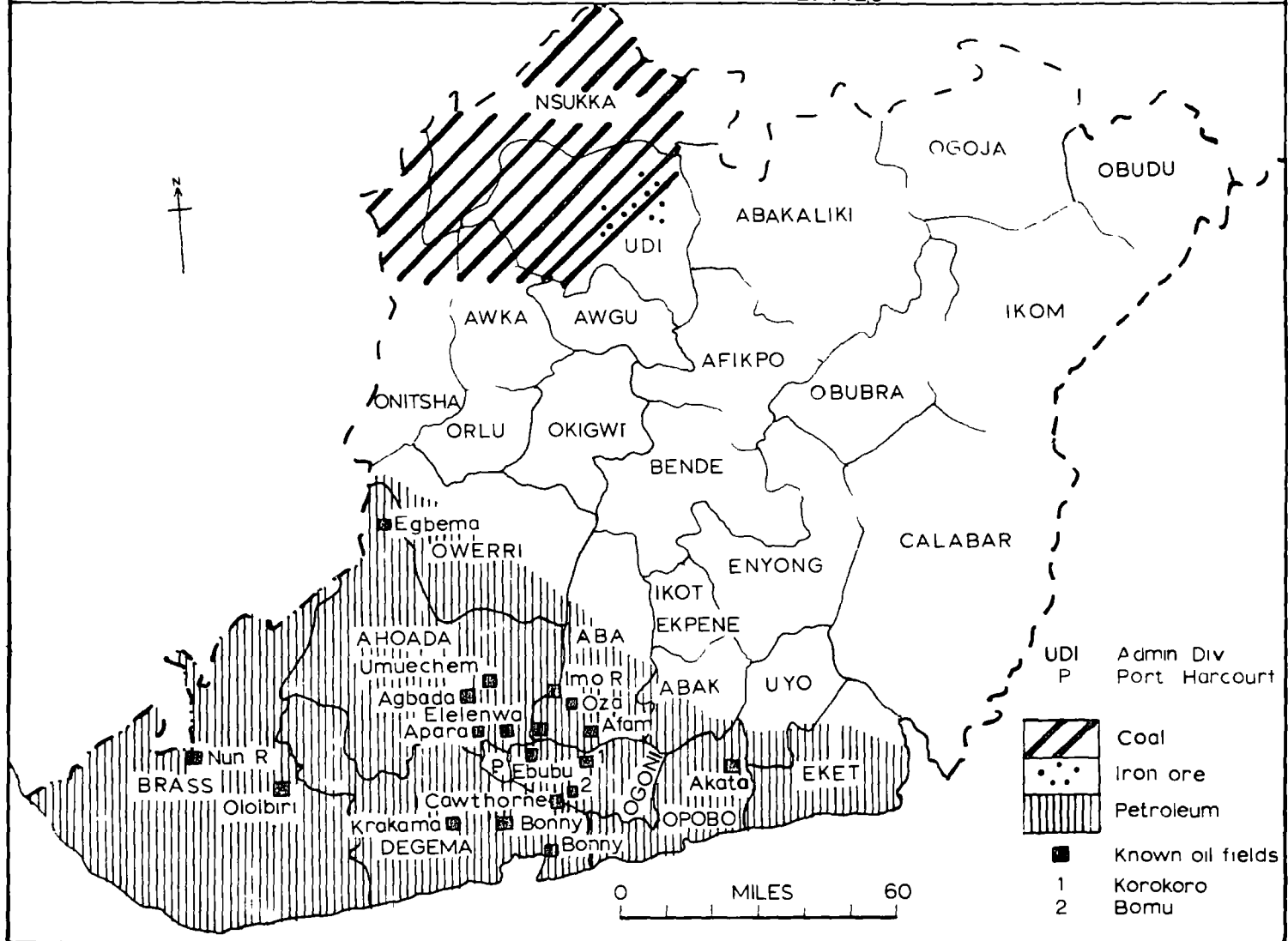


FIG. 39

There are no significant differences in the climate of the Region apart from rainfall which decreases from north to south: from annual totals of 171 inches in Bonny to 71 inches in Enugu. The natural vegetation varies from mangrove forests in the Niger delta and coastal areas to thick rain forests in the centre of the Region and forest-savanna mosaic vegetation in the northern parts.

(Fig. 3 p. 5)

RESOURCES

Minerals: The main mineral resources of the Region are iron ore, coal, petroleum and natural gas (Fig. 39).

Iron ore is found in the sandstones of the Enugu area and reserves are estimated at about 45 million tons.¹ The ore is not yet mined but it is a potential basis of an iron and steel industry. Coal is also found in the sandstones of the northwest of the Region. Although mining has been going on since 1915 reserves are still estimated at 111 million tons. The reserves are distributed as follows:-

-
1. Hazell, J. R. T. "The Enugu Ironstone, Udi Division." Records of the Geol. Surv. of Nigeria, 1955. pp. 44-58

COAL RESERVES OF EASTERN REGION²

Field	Estimated Reserves
Enugu	54 milliom tons
Ezimo	46 million tons
Inyi-Awlaw	11 million tons

The most important mineral in the Region is petroleum which is found in the Niger delta and surrounding areas. Estimates of reserves are not known but it is likely that reserves are very great. Production of petroleum, which rose from 25,042,464 barrels in 1962-63 to 78,344,168 barrels in 1965-66, continues to increase every year.

Natural gas is found in association with petroleum and its production has also been rising. In 1962-63 production was 18,159 million cubic feet. As with petroleum reserves of natural gas are not published but they are probably great.

2. De Swardt, A. M. J and Casey, D P. The Coal Resources of Nigeria. Lagos. Govt. Printer. 1963.
and Hazel, J. T. "The Inyi-Awlaw Coal, Awgu Division" Records of the Geol. Surv. of Nigeria 1954.

EASTERN REGION ESTIMATED PRODUCTION OF MAJOR FOOD CROPS 1959/60

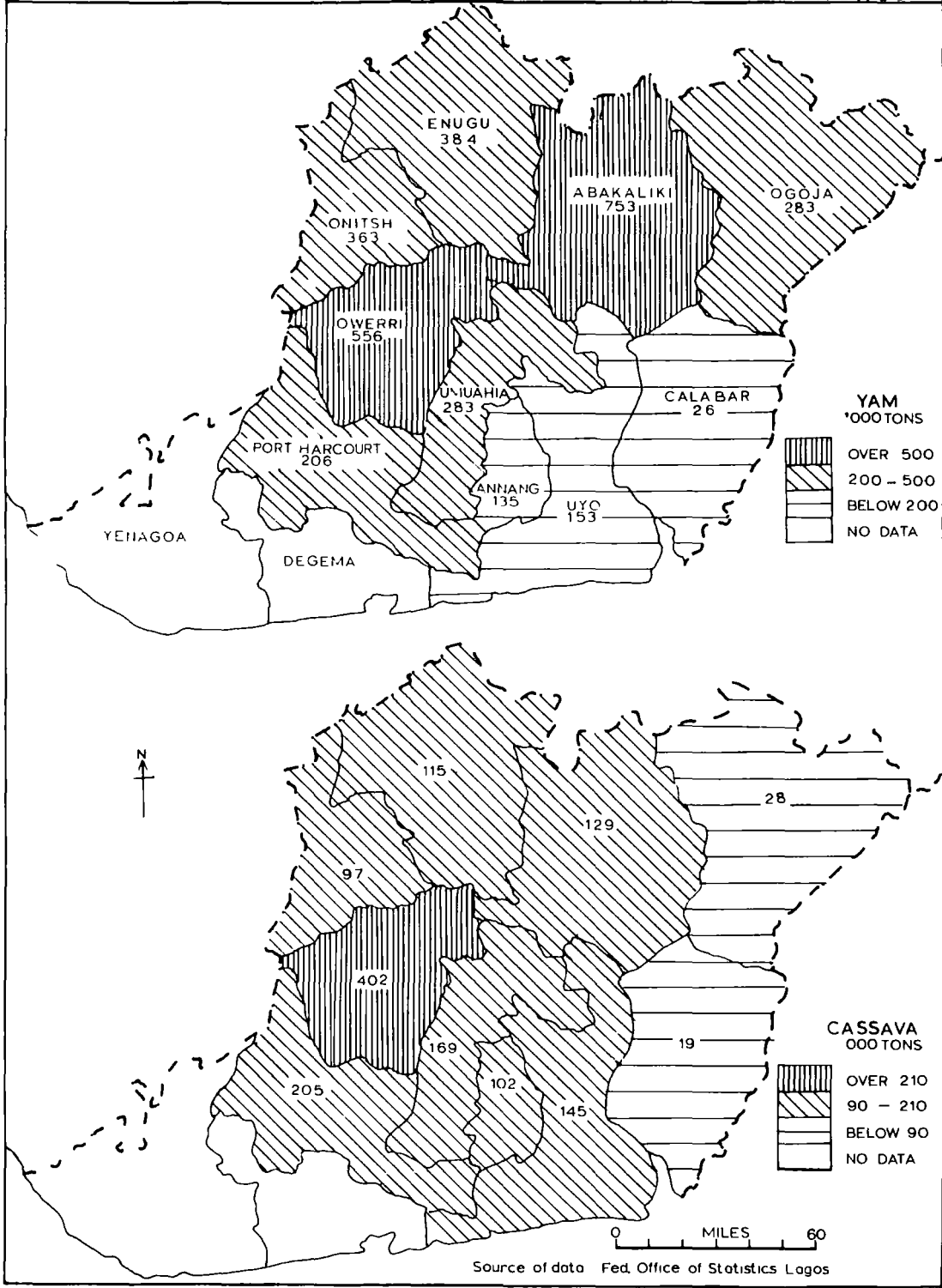


FIG. 40

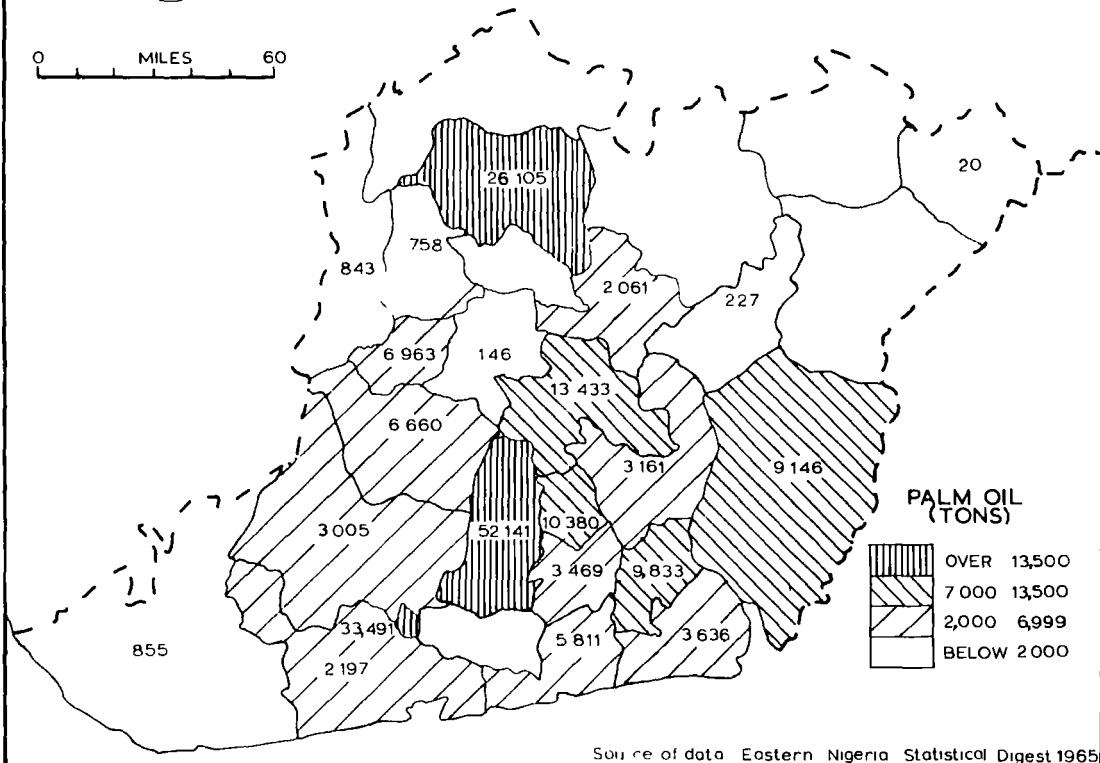
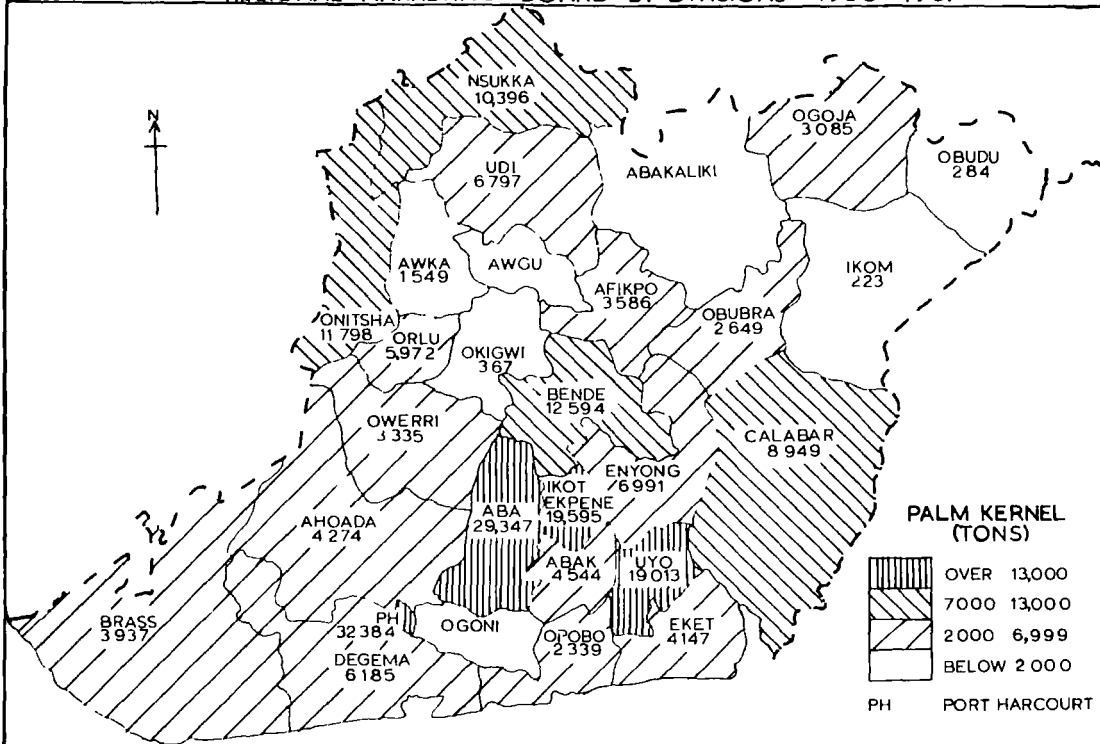
The discovery and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas have brought much revenue to the Region, and such revenue³ will grow with increased production in the future.

Food Resources Like the rest of Southern Nigeria the Eastern Region depends on root crops, principally yams and cassava, for its food resources. Both crops are produced over most of the Region but the greatest productions are in Abakaliki and Owerri Provinces in the case of yams and in Owerri Province in the case of cassava. However, other areas also produce surpluses, for example Ogoja Province where much yam is sent to the more densely populated parts of the Region. Estimates of total Regional production in 1959 was 3,142,000 tons of yams and 1,451,000 tons of cassava.

Cash Crops. Besides yams and cassava, palm oil is a major foodstuff in the Region. But palm oil is also produced for export and is the second major agricultural product sold to the Regional Marketing Board, the main product sold to the Board being palm kernels. The oil palm grows naturally in all parts of the Region and each

3. For the distribution of revenue from minerals between the Federal and Regional Governments see p.

EASTERN REGION AVERAGE ANNUAL SALES OF PALM PRODUCTS TO THE REGIONAL MARKETING BOARD BY DIVISIONS 1958-1961



Source of data Eastern Nigeria Statistical Digest 1965

FIG. 41

community has its palm groves.

The Regional Government has been encouraging people to grow oil palms, and seedlings are distributed. For example, in 1962-63, more than 250,000 seedlings of oil palm were distributed to farmers in the Region. It is hoped that by this method groves of improved varieties of oil palm will be established and the old groves of tall palms replaced by more productive short ones.

The quantity produced in any one area is not published, but the quantity sold to the Marketing Board in each Division is published. Fig. 41 is based on these figures but it should be realised that the sales in any one Division do not necessarily indicate production there since people may sell their products in any Division. This is clearly the reason for the high sales in the towns of Port Harcourt and Aba Divisions, in which farmers sell their products. The same is true of Udi Division in which Enugu, the Regional Headquarters is located. Because of the difficulties of interpreting the data all that can be said is that the central parts of the Region produce greater quantities of both palm kernels and palm oil.

EASTERN REGION DIVISIONAL POPULATION DENSITY 1963

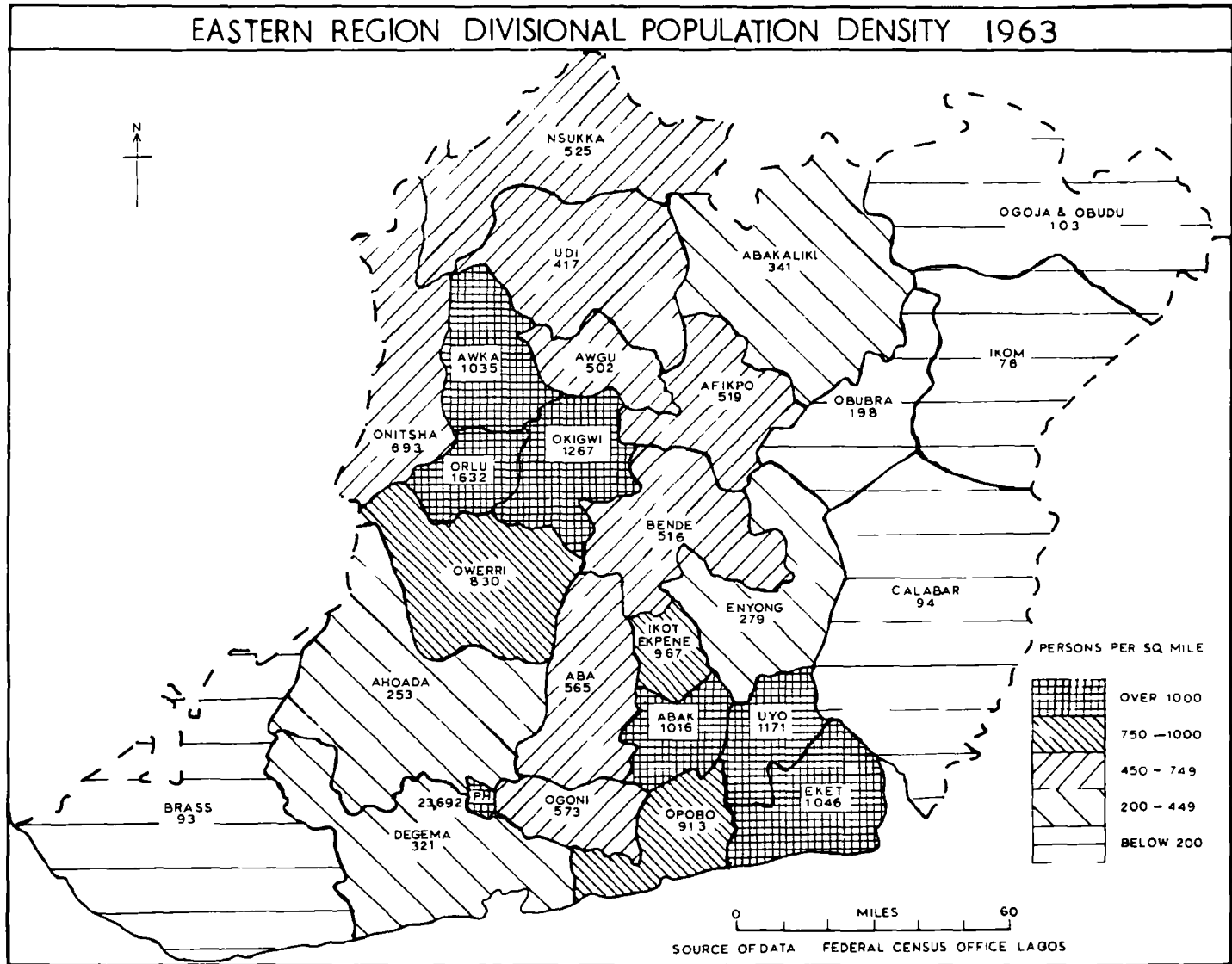


FIG. 42

The only other major product of the Region is cocoa. Its cultivation is restricted to the east of the Region. Production is small 3350 tons in 1960 and 3941 in 1961. Most of the manufacturing industries of the Region produce household utensils or products such as beer, cigarettes and gramophone records, but there is a textile mill at Aba and a cement factory at Nkalagu. The petroleum refinery at Port Harcourt refines local crude petroleum for sale in Nigeria.

POPULATION

Many parts of the Region have more than the average density of population of 420 psm mentioned above. In 1963, the average density of population in six Divisions was over 1,000 psm. Orlu Division, 1,623; Okigwi, 1,267; Uyo, 1,171, Eket, 1,048; Awka, 1,035, and Abak, 1,016, (Fig 42) All these should be regarded as rural population densities because there are no large towns in any of the Divisions. These high rural population densities mean that there is great pressure on land.

But there are also areas with low population densities and these lie in the east of the Region and in the Niger delta where some Divisions have only about 100 psm, e.g. Ogoja, 103, Calabar, 94; Brass, 93, and Ikom, 76. The relatively

EASTERN REGION ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DIVISIONAL POPULATION 1953

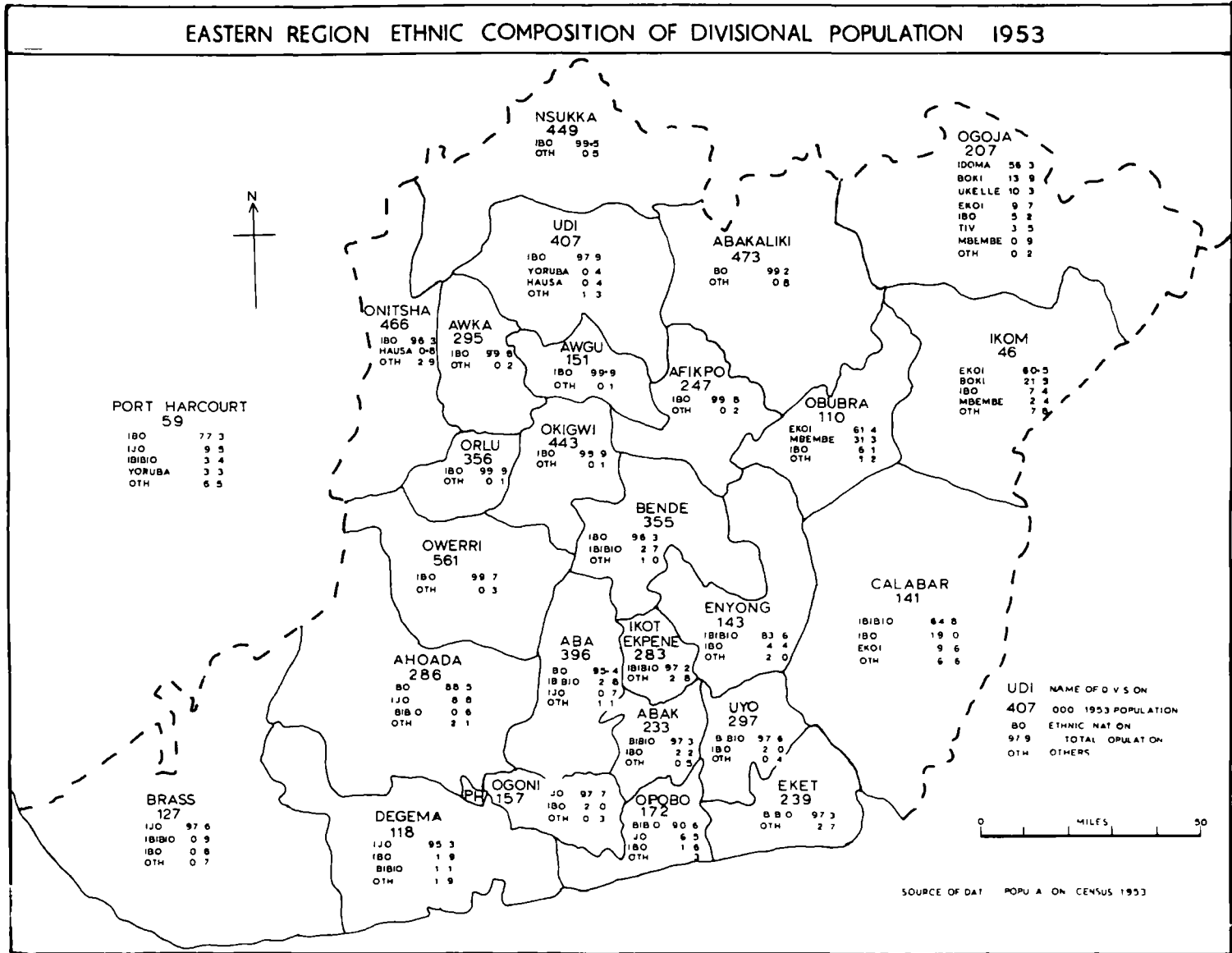


FIG. 43

sparsely populated parts of Calabar and Ogoja Provinces lie in the zone of crystalline rocks where the soils are not as sandy and easily-worked as in the western and central parts of the Region. Brass Division lies in the Niger delta where the soil is swampy and farming is difficult.

The population of the Eastern Region is made up of many different ethnic nations. The most important of these in 1953 are shown separately in table VII.

TABLE VII
ETHNIC NATIONS OF EASTERN REGION

Nation*	1953 Population	% Regional Population
Ibo	4,916,736	68.14
Ibibio	1,426,453	19.76
Ijo	437,798	6.07
Ekoi	149,516	2.07
Boki	29,037	0.41
Others	<u>255,711</u>	<u>3.55</u>
TOTAL	<u>7,215,251</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Notable among the smaller ethnic nations not named separately are the Ukelle and sections of the Idoma and Tiv in

*. Based on grouping in Chapter III. pp.

EASTERN REGION MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1966

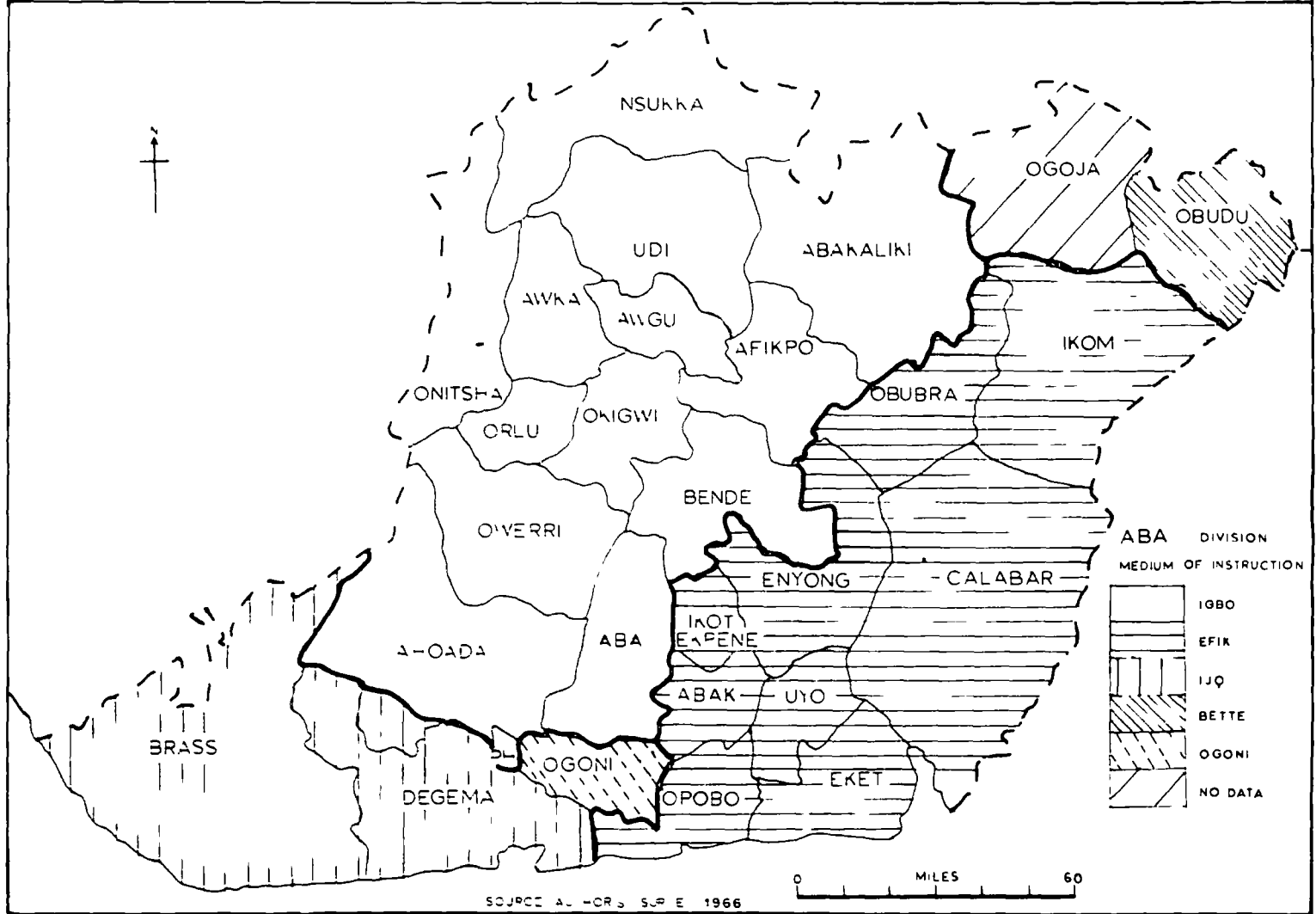


FIG. 44

Ogoja Province and a small section of the Igala in the northern part of Onitsha Division. The distribution of the various groups in the Divisions is shown on the map (Fig. 43).

The Ekoi have adopted Efik, the literary language of the Ibibio. Efik is used as the medium of instruction in their schools and it would appear that they have adopted many Ibibio customs (Fig. 44). For a long time before the British Occupation they traded with the Ibibio, using the Cross River as a means of communications. It may therefore be that these two ethnic nations have a better understanding of one another than any other two in the Region. For this reason they may be regarded as one unit in matters affecting the Region. However, it must be stressed that their association is not like that of the Hausa-Fulani in the Northern Region. This is because the Ekoi and the Ibibio occupy distinct territories, and if need be, can be separated from one another. But it is most probable that the Ekoi will prefer association with the Ibibio than with any other ethnic nation.

The Boki probably have more in common with the Ekoi than with any other ethnic nation in the Region. The other peoples of Ogoja Province have some contact with the Idoma and the Tiv of the Northern Region. In view of their

small numbers they are probably more sympathetic with the feelings and ideas of the Eko₁ and the Boki than those of the larger nations in the Eastern Region.

Therefore, the Region may be divided into three major cultural zones: the Ibo, Ibibio (and others) and the Ijo. The Ibo and Ibibio zones would coincide effectively with their homelands as shown on (Fig. 8 p. 32). The Ibibio zone would also include the homelands of the Eko₁, and the Boki with associated peoples in Ogoja Province.

PRE-BRITISH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Two forms of indigenous political organization are recognised among the ethnic nations. Among the Ijo, the Ibibio and the Ibo of Onitsha Province there were recognized rulers in each settlement or community but elsewhere there were no recognized heads. The rulers could take decisions on behalf of the whole community but in communities without rulers the heads of families had to meet before decisions could be taken.

Whatever the political organization no large territories were controlled in the Region before the British Occupation. But during the nineteenth century the influence

of some of the coastal settlements and of their rulers spread beyond their own territories. Bonny, for example, had authority over the Andoni and the Kalabari Ijo.⁴ However, the area covered by such influence was usually small.

Among the Ibo there was no authority controlling large areas but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the priests of Chukwu Ibinokpaori, the Great Oracle of Arochukwu, wielded some influence in Iboland. The influence arose out of the widespread belief that the Arochukwu Oracle could punish wickedness and avenge the afflicted. As a result people came from all over Iboland and from the Niger delta and Ibibioland to consult the Oracle.

Arochukwu settlers in all parts of Iboland became important as they, no doubt, acted as advisers to those who went to consult the Oracle. In addition such Aro settlers were called upon to settle disputes, hence the sections or areas they occupied became "international courts where individuals and clans in conflict sought justice from the undisputed authority of the Oracle."⁵ Aro men in each area became the agents who informed the priests of the Oracle of events in the area.

4. Dike, K. O. Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta.
London. O.U.P. 1956 pp. 33 & 221-222

5. Dike, K. O. op. cit. pp. 37-41 & 45

The Arochukwu Oracle, therefore, acted as a unifying power to all Iboland and probably to most areas in the present Region. But the value of such power must not be overestimated because the Aro people did not wield any civil political or administrative authority. The settlements of Aro people in other parts of Iboland were probably established for trade rather than as administrative centres. The fact that the Aro were recognized as traders is evidence that their main concern was not administration. Nevertheless the Oracle was still widely respected when the British raided its shrines, and thereby broke its influence in 1900.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE REGION

The greatest difference, apart from culture and language, within the Region is that between the areas of low population density and high population density. This difference assumes great importance because the low and the high density areas respectively are inhabited by different ethnic nations. Thus the land is unevenly distributed among the different peoples of the Region. The homelands of the two largest national groups, Ibo and Ibibio, are both densely populated while those of the Ijọ and smaller nations of the east are much less crowded.

TABLE VIII
TERRITORIES OF THE MAJOR ETHNIC NATIONALITIES IN EASTERN REGION

ETHNIC NATIONALITY AND TERRITORY	AREA (SQUARE MILES)	POPULATION 1953		POPULATION 1963	
		NO.	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE	NO.	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE
I B O					
Abakaliki Division	1,839	472,366	257	627,589	341
Afikpo Division	725	246,796	340	376,139	519
Awgu Division	424	150,858	350	212,205	502
Awka Division	671	295,046	440	504,396	1,035
Nsukka Division	1,314	449,345	342	679,353	525
Onitsha Division	1,150	460,193	405	797,360	693
Udi Division	1,318	406,959	309	549,543	417
Aba Division	760	396,111	412	541,058	565
Bende Division	829	322,145	389	427,367	516
Okigwi Division	537	442,706	754	743,832	1,267
Orlu Division	408	356,256	373	605,005	1,632
Owerri Division	1,055	560,673	517	901,016	830
Port Harcourt Division	4	50,046	14,712	95,708	23,092
Ahoada Division ^M	2,000	268,225	143	506,577	253
TOTAL	13,314	4,911,031	369	7,829,904	588
I B I B I O					
Abak Division	350	233,301	607	355,724	1,016
Ekpet Division	730	238,748	327	705,162	1,048
Ikot Ekpene Division	475	282,736	521	440,032	967
Opobo Division	444	172,057	388	405,191	913
Uyo Division	443	290,609	670	518,938	1,171
Enong Division	973	175,849	181	271,373	279
TOTAL	3,395	1,399,360	412	2,756,770	812
E O T					
Calabar Division	2,350	140,731	49	207,014	94
Ikom Division	922	45,760	50	69,797	76
Obubra Division	1,222	109,870	90	241,700	198
Ogoja and Obudu Division	2,777	206,925	75	287,302	103
TOTAL	7,771	503,286	65	665,819	111
I J O					
Brass Division	3,350	126,954	38	309,716	93
Degema Division	1,250	117,903	94	400,740	321
Ogoni Division	404	156,717	388	231,513	573
TOTAL	5,004	401,574	80	941,969	188
EASTERN REGION	29,484	7,215,251	245	12,394,462	420

^M Ahoada Division includes the homelands of the Abuan and Ngenni sections of the Ijo, but the area is not shown. It is not likely that this will make much difference to the table.

The Divisions in which each of these ethnic nations forms the majority of the population are set out in table VIII. Although the national boundaries do not exactly coincide with the Divisional boundaries, the table clearly reflects land pressure in the homeland of each ethnic nation.

The Divisions in which the Ibo form a majority of the population represent 45 percent of the total Regional area, but the population of those Divisions represents between 63 and 68 percent of the Regional population. The average density in Iboland of 588 psm, in 1963, indicates very high pressure on the land because farming is the main occupation of the people. The pressure on the land is such that not everyone can be satisfied. As a result many Ibos emigrate to other parts of the Region where they may work as farmers or to other Regions of Nigeria where they work in various capacities, but especially as traders.

In Ibibioland the average density of 812 psm is even higher than that in Iboland and 22 percent of the population live on 11 percent of the land. The pressure on land is therefore more acute than in Iboland and emigration is likely to be greater.

The Eastern part of the Region is the least densely populated and about seven percent of the population live on about 26 percent of the area. The inhabitants of the

EASTERN REGION RELIGIOUS PATTERN BY DIVISIONS, 1953

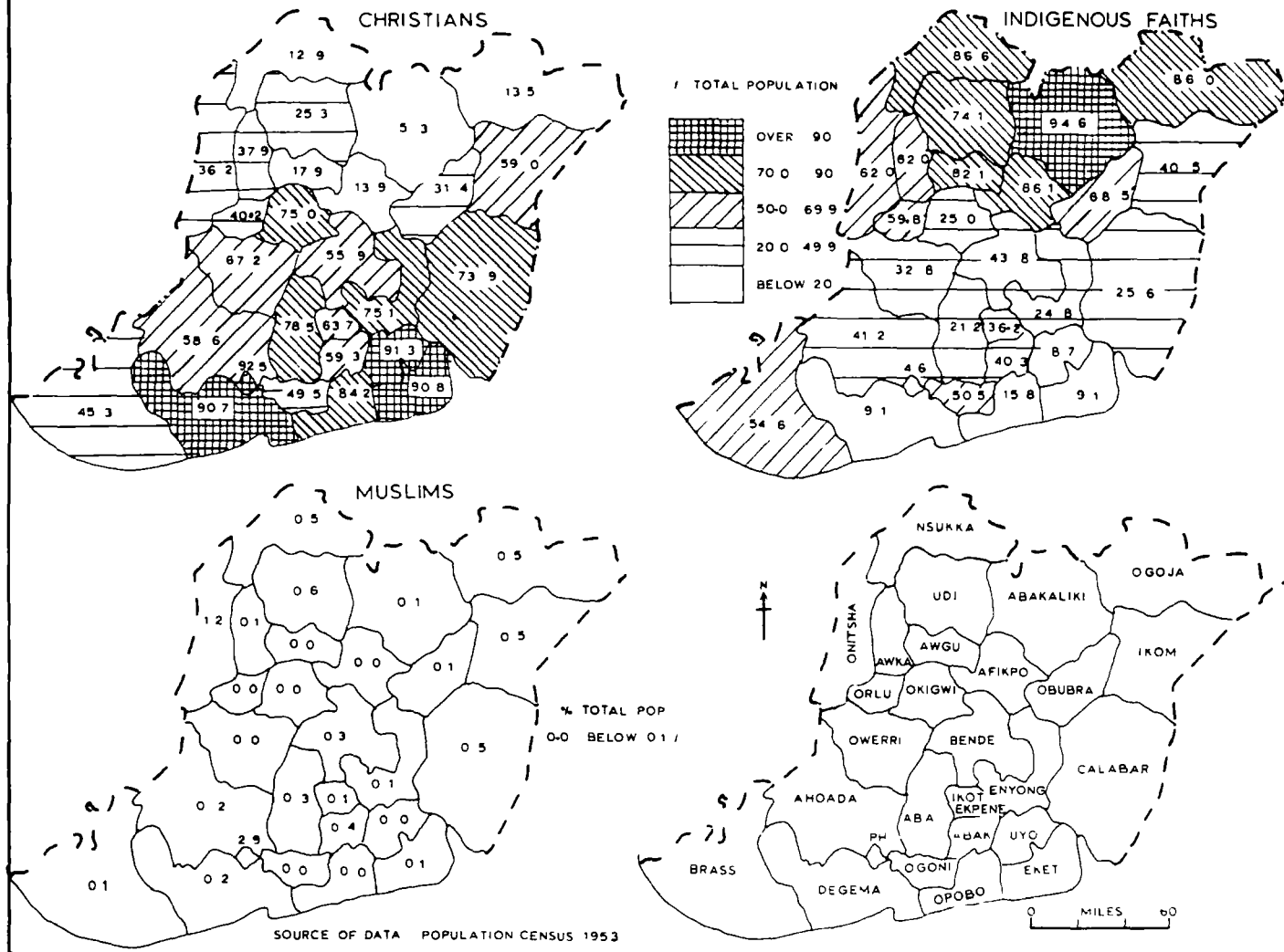


FIG. 45

area have much in common with the Ibibio, and part of Calabar Province is occupied by the Efik section of the Ibibio. It therefore seems likely that many Ibibio people will emigrate to the zone and be accepted by the people. Some parts of the area are hilly and are not agriculturally very productive. Nevertheless, it seems likely that more people can still be accommodated in the area.

The homeland of the Ijo lies in the coastal creeks and the Niger delta. The soil is waterlogged for most of the year hence fishing not farming is the main occupation of the people. The apparently low population density of the delta (93 psm) is calculated on the total area which includes the vast water surfaces. Actual densities will therefore be much higher although there is still space for expansion. As regards possible immigration the main problem is that farming in the delta would require methods unknown to the people in the high densities areas of the dryland parts of the Region.

Apart from differences in the distribution of, and pressure on, land there are differences in religion and standards of literacy between the various parts of the Region. The differences in religion arose from the

EASTERN REGION RATE OF LITERACY 1953

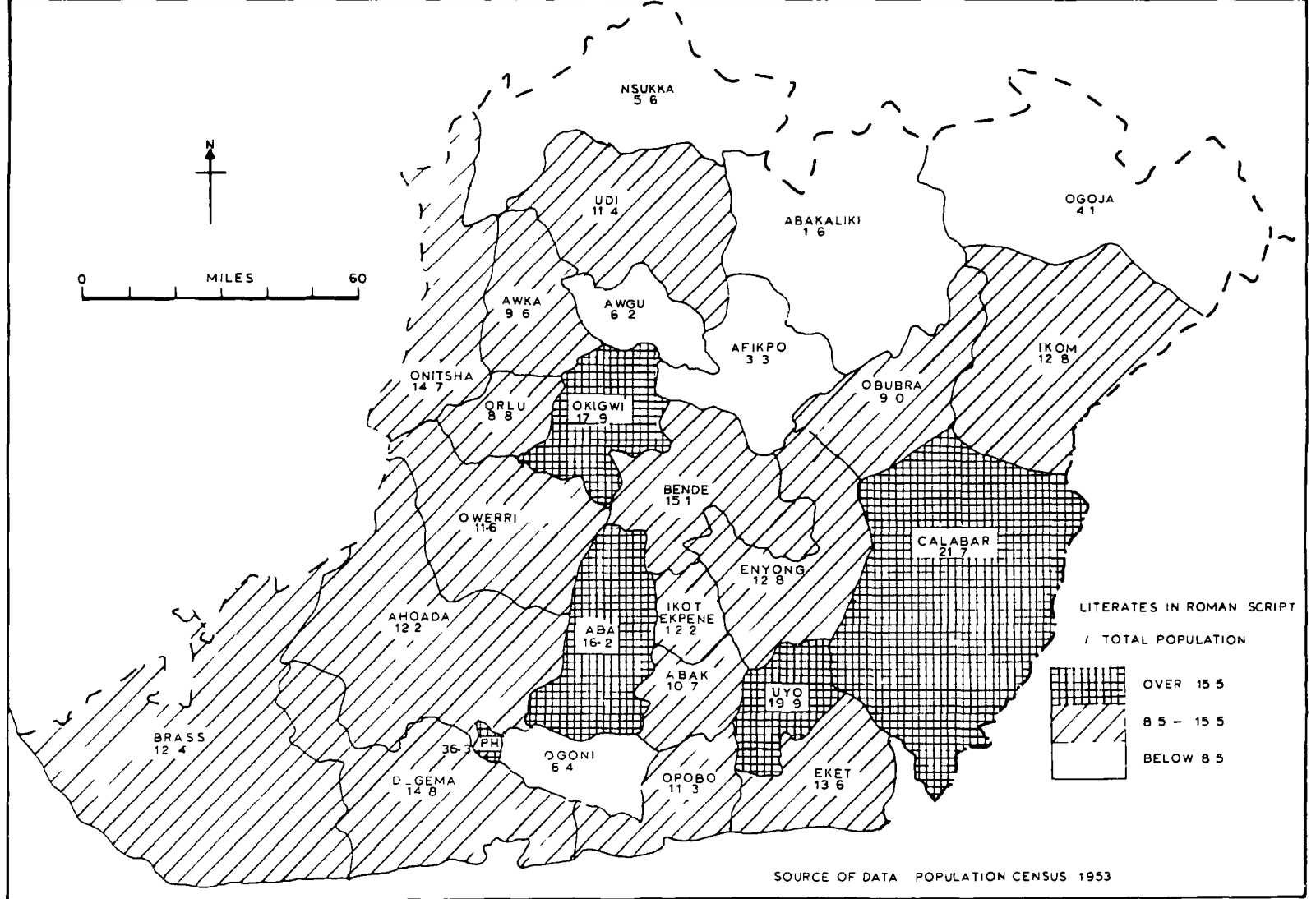


FIG. 46

introduction of Christianity to the area. Since its introduction it has been widely accepted in the southern part of the Region (Fig. 45). In some areas such as Degema, Eket, and Uyo Divisions over 90 percent of the population are Christians and in some other Divisions more than 70 percent of the population profess Christianity. By contrast only a small proportion of the population in the northern parts of the Region have accepted Christianity. In Abakaliki, Afikpo, Awgu, Nsukka and Ogoja Divisions less than 20 percent of the population were Christians according to the 1953 census. The areas with the lowest proportion of Christians have proved least receptive to new social ideas. Thus some communities in Abakaliki Division saw no need to wear cloths until the Regional Government legislated against nudity in the late 1950's.

The areas with high proportions of Christians also have high proportion of literates (Fig. 46). As with Christianity, Abakaliki Division had the lowest percentage of literates.

One of the main features of the differences in religion and education is that they cut across the national zones. Both the southern part of Iboland and most of Ibibioland had high percentages of Christians and

literate and this contrasts with the northern parts of Iboland and the rest of the Region. But the religious similarities and differences do not mean much to the people because Christianity, unlike Islam in the Northern Region, does not provide a common way of life. Moreover the indigenous religions which are common to many parts of an ethnic nation are still very important in the areas which have Christian majorities. Local festivals and many customary observances draw together Christians and non-Christians in any ethnic nation. Consequently Christianity does not draw people together in the same way that Islam does in the Northern Region, and languages do all over the country.

INTRA-REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Because of the strong attachments to the separate ethnic nations the main problems facing the Region, as an administrative unit, are created by the attitudes of the different national groups to the Regional Government and to one another. In this respect the understanding between the Ekoi and the Ibibio should be taken into account; and the Ekoi, with related peoples in the east of the Region should be regarded as part of the Ibibio.

If this is done three major cultural groupings may be recognized in the Region: Ibo, Ibibio, and Ijo, each of which considers itself as distinct from the others, and wishes to preserve its identity.

Preservation of identity has been made difficult by the inclusion of all three nations in the same political unit. This is because the Regional Government has to legislate for the economic and cultural development of all three at the same time. In doing so the Government has to take account of what will satisfy the majority of the population. In economic development the distribution of population has to be considered before the Government embarks on any project. In the location of industries investors and Government consider accessibility to the market, sources of labour and communications. In the distribution of scholarships or loans the number of people benefitting will depend on the population of each area.

As against this consideration of the Region as a single administrative unit by the Government, each of the smaller ethnic nations considers itself as an equal of other ethnic nations. The smaller ethnic nations expect that each one of them, irrespective of its population, should benefit as much as any other in the distribution of amenities and development projects.

EASTERN REGION PATTERN OF PARTY SUPPORT BY DIVISIONS COMBINED RESULTS OF THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS OF 1957 & 1961

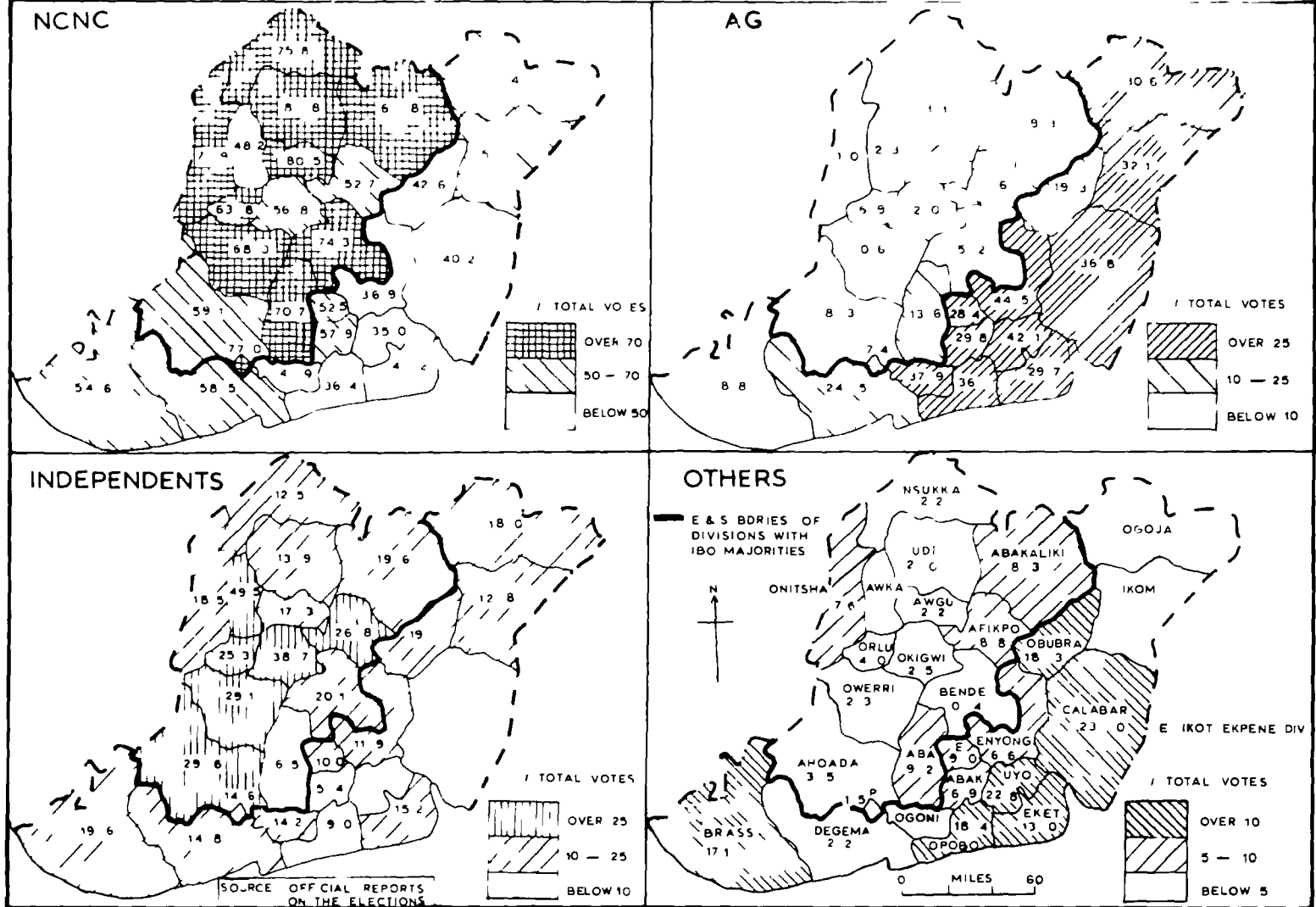


FIG. 47

Because the Ibo form between 68 percent and about 63 percent of the population they stand to gain from the "unitary" approach of the Regional Government. By virtue of their size the Ibo form the majority of the Legislature, of the 146 members in the Regional House of Assembly in 1965 101 represented Ibo area. It therefore follows that no decision can be taken without the support of Ibo members of the House. By contrast any idea supported by all Ibo members will be approved irrespective of the feelings of the other ethnic nations.

Much of this would be avoided if there were political parties in which members, irrespective of their ethnic allegiances, could influence policies. But there was no such party. Since the introduction of representative government, party support has been on ethnic lines (Fig. 47). The controlling party in the House of Assembly was the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.)⁶ which was founded, and led by an Ibo and hence received the

6. Until 1961 the party was called "National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons" but on the secession of Southern Cameroons it took the new name, thus retaining the well-known initials.

support of the Ibo. The Ibo do not support other political parties. Those who originally opposed the N.C.N.C., contested elections as "independents" but if they won they usually declared for the N.C.N.C. Consequently it has proved impossible for any other party to win elections. Even if the other ethnic nations supported the N.C.N.C., as they were tending to do by 1961, their influence would still be negligible and their opinions would not matter very much.

Because of the Ibo predominance the smaller ethnic nations identify the 'unitary' view of the Government with Ibo domination. They fear that the Regional Government would be led, 'in an attempt to alleviate land hunger' in the Ibo areas, to deprive the smaller ethnic nations of their land. They also allege that the Government discriminates against them in the granting of scholarships, loans, and allocation of public amenities.⁷

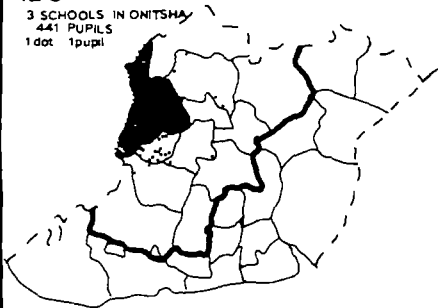
The fear about alienation of land arises from the possibility of legislation to carry out land reforms and redistribution throughout the Region so as to make all

7. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Minorities Commission's Sitting at Calabar, 9th January, 1958.
p. 9

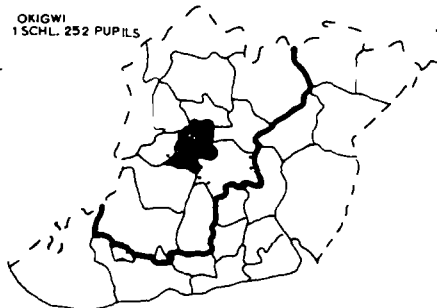
EASTERN REGION HOME DIVISIONS OF PUPILS IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN VARIOUS AREAS 1965-1966

IBO

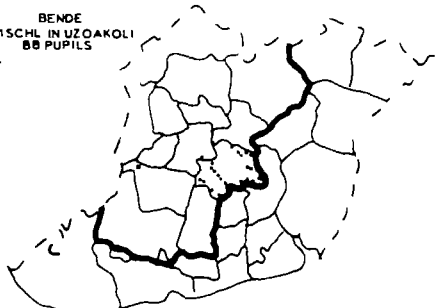
3 SCHOOLS IN ONITSHA
441 PUPILS
1 dot 1 pupil



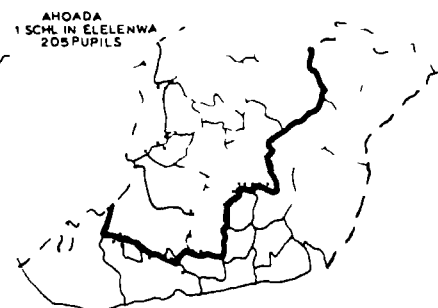
OKIGWI
1 SCHL. 252 PUPILS



BENDE
1 SCHL. IN UZQAKOLI
88 PUPILS

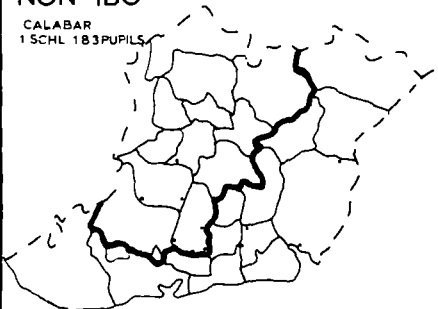


AHOADA
1 SCHL. IN ELELENWA
205 PUPILS

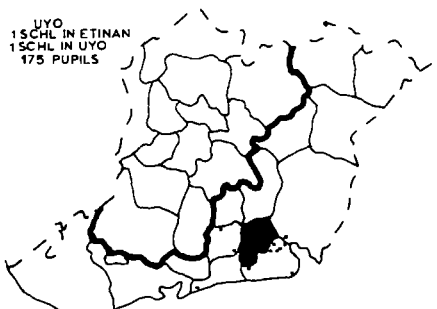


NON-IBO

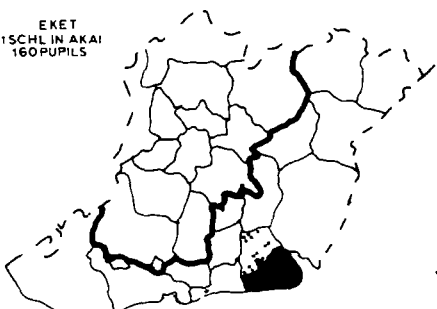
CALABAR
1 SCHL 183 PUPILS



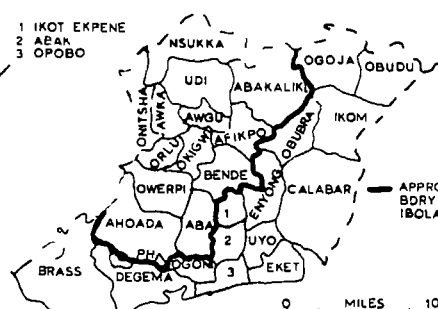
UYO
1 SCHL IN ETINAN
1 SCHL IN UYO
175 PUPILS



EKET
1 SCHL IN AKAI
160 PUPILS



1 IKOT EKPENE
2 ABAK
3 OPOBO



SOURCE: AUTHOR'S SURVEY

FIG. 48

the land more productive. Such legislation, if ever proposed, would most probably receive the support of all Ibo legislators who represent those who would gain from it, and it would be passed even if the representatives of the other areas opposed it. When the Region is considered as a single unit there is no reason why the Government, in future, should not propose such legislation. But the smaller ethnic nations do not cherish the idea of losing their land to the people in the more densely populated parts. Obviously they would prefer that each ethnic nation should keep to its own area. The Ibo do not share these views, rather they see the Region as a single unit. Thus they travel widely and send their children to schools in all areas (Fig. 48). As against this the Ibibio - the largest of the smaller ethnic nations - do not mix very much with the Ibo and fewer of their children go to schools in Ibo areas (Table IX).

TABLE IX
CHOICE OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN EASTERN REGION⁸

Division	No. of Schools	Total No. of Pupils	IBC		NON-IBC	
			No	%	No.	%
IBC AREAS						
Onitsha	3	469	450	96	19	4
Bende	1	89	84	94	5	6
Ukigwi	1	252	249	99	3	1
Ahoada	1	210	163	78	47	22
TOTAL	6	1,020	946	93	74	7
NON-IBC AREAS						
Calabar	1	187	112	61	75	39
Eket	1	161	10	6	151	94
Uyo	2	175	23	13	152	87
TOTAL	4	523	145	28	388	72

8. Compiled from replies to a Survey carried out by the author in Secondary Schools from October, 1965 to March, 1966.

EASTERN REGION REGIONAL SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS BY DIVISIONS 1958-1962

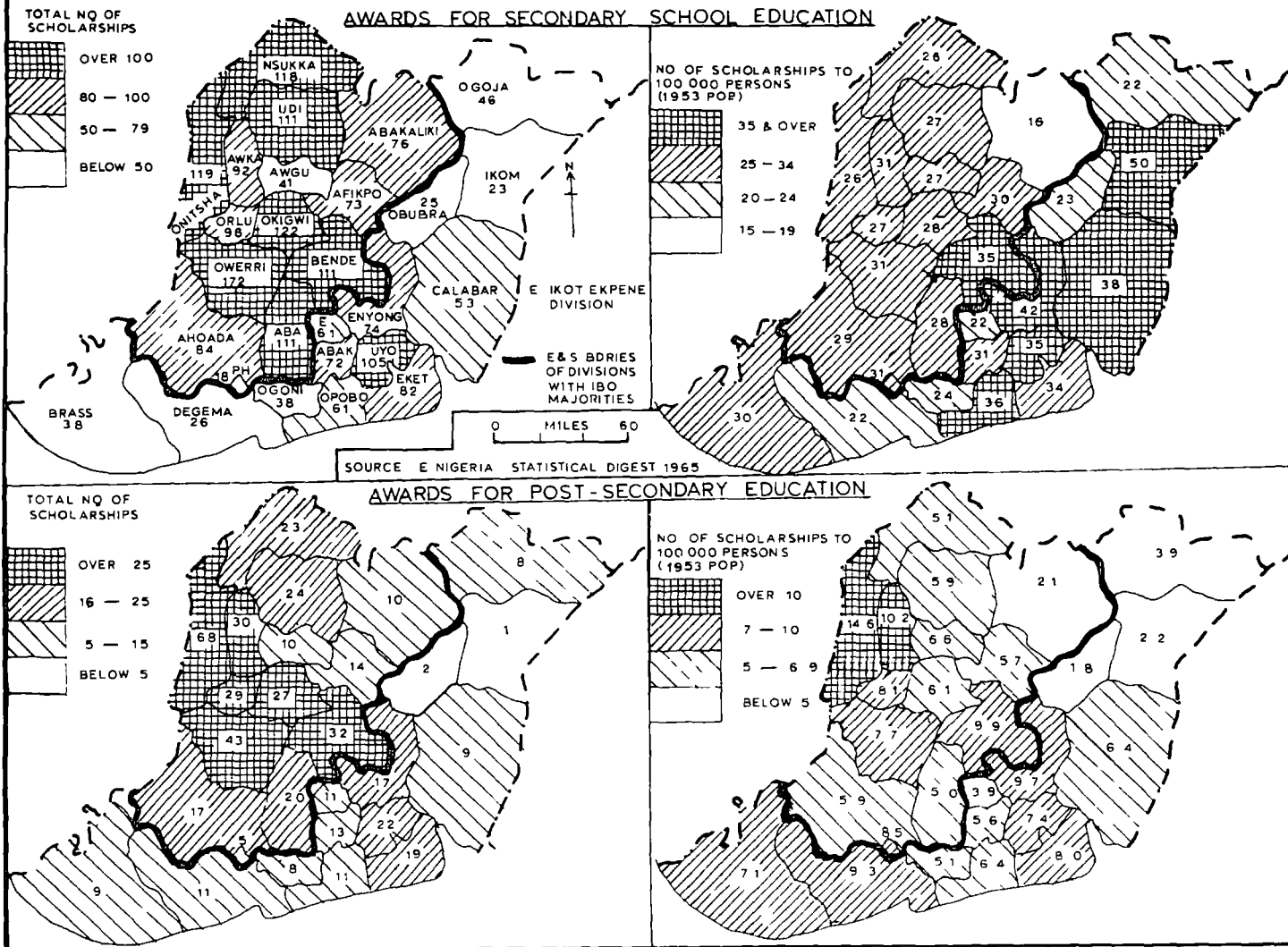


FIG. 49

The desire of every national group for equality with any others is shown in complaints about the distribution of scholarships. In reality the distribution of awards does not show any bias towards the Ibo, rather, on per capital bases the Ibibio have the highest number of secondary school scholarships while post-secondary awards show no great bias towards any one nation (Fig. 49). In both cases the areas with the lowest number of awards include the Ibo areas of Abakaliki and Afikpo Divisions where there are low proportions of literates. But since Ibos have 1,344 of 2,048 and 352 of 491 awards for secondary and post-secondary education respectively (in the five years, 1958 to 1961), the other areas consider that they are being unfairly treated. However, the Ibo awards represent 66 percent and 71 percent respectively as compared with 68 percent of the Region's population (in 1953) formed by Ibo.

Other complaints also ignore the fact that the Region is a single administrative territory but lay emphasis on the distribution of amenities by ethnic homelands. Road development is a good example. Every area wants its roads tarred because that ensures motorable conditions throughout the year. The Government does not have enough money to

EASTERN REGION PROPORTION OF TRUNK ROADS TARRED IN PROVINCES 1965

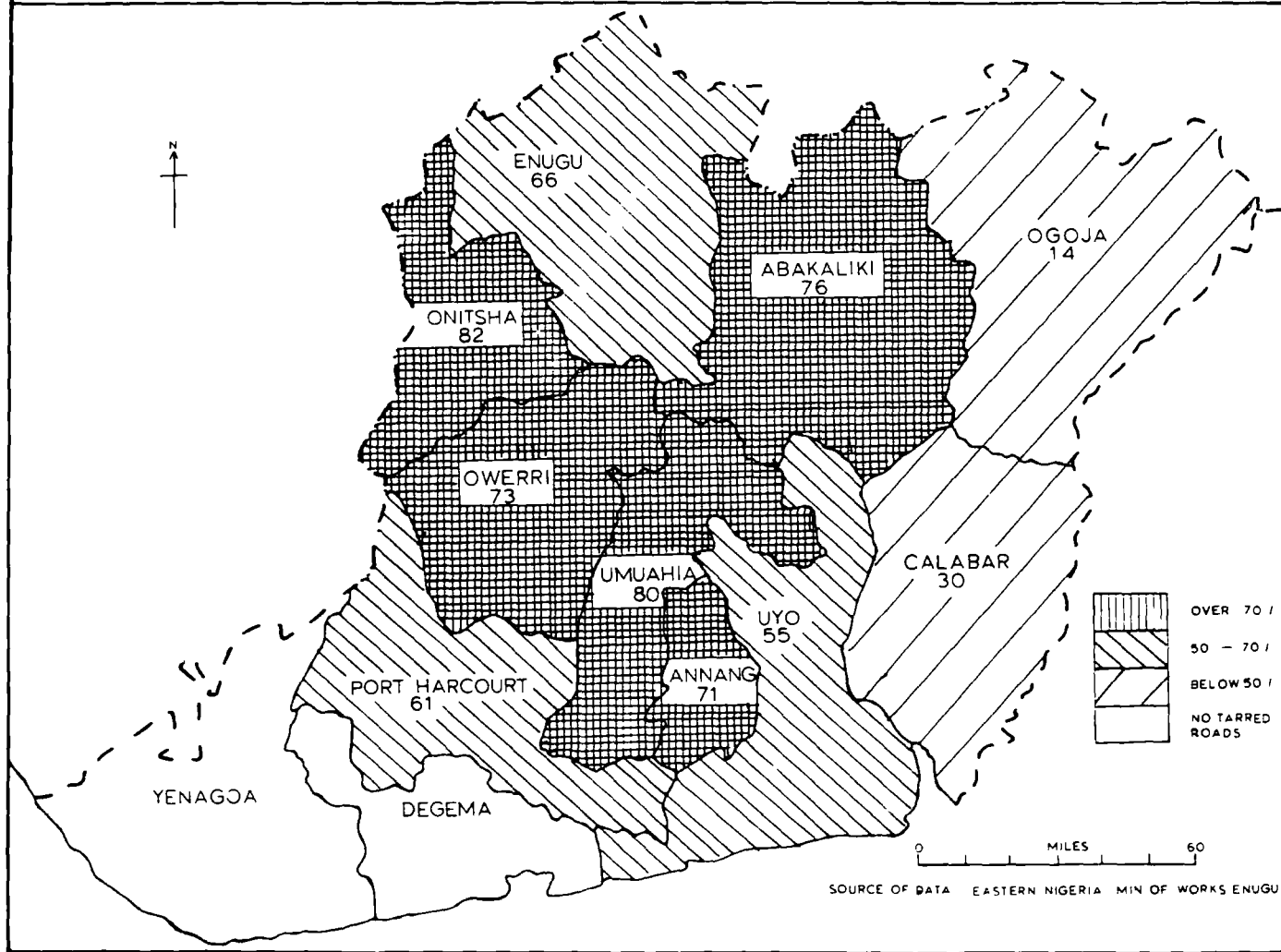


FIG. 50

tar all roads. Therefore it is to be expected that only the most frequently used roads will receive priority. This appears to be the case for as the map (Fig. 50) shows the areas with the greatest proportion of tarred roads are in the zone of high population density in Ibo and Ibibio areas, and the very sparsely populated parts of Ogoja and Calabar Provinces have low proportion of tarred roads. There are scarcely any roads in the Niger delta because of the physical conditions hence no roads are tarred.

In all the above cases, as with many other complaints, made by the smaller ethnic nations there is no great evidence that the Regional Government favours any particular section of the population. The Government keeps, often rigidly, to the population figures, those of 1955, at its disposal. In doing so it does not discriminate against any area. But since one of the three ethnic nations has more population than others it has most of the amenities. This displeases the other ethnic nations which contend that amenities should be shared equally among all the ethnic nations, regardless of population numbers.

THE IJO: This feeling is shown clearly in the case of the Ijo, who besides complaining of lack of development in their homeland, also desire special representation on Statutory Boards. If the demands were granted by the Regional Government it would most probably result in similar demands by the other ethnic nations, and it would also lead to requests that other appointments in the Region should be shared among the ethnic nations. Such demands are contrary to the general policy of the Government and the type of parliamentary practice followed in the Region. Hence the demands cannot be met.

The Ijo, in particular, complain about the lack of improvement of their waterways and also the lack of help towards the development of their fishing industry. These complaints indicate the special problems of the Ijo homeland. The Niger delta is different from the rest of the Region and until the discovery of petroleum there was no important produce from it. As a result there was no incentive for the Government to develop the waterways. Even now that petroleum is found in the area there is no great urge to develop the area because the crude petroleum is satisfactorily transported by pipelines to the oil terminal at Bonny or the refinery at Port Harcourt.

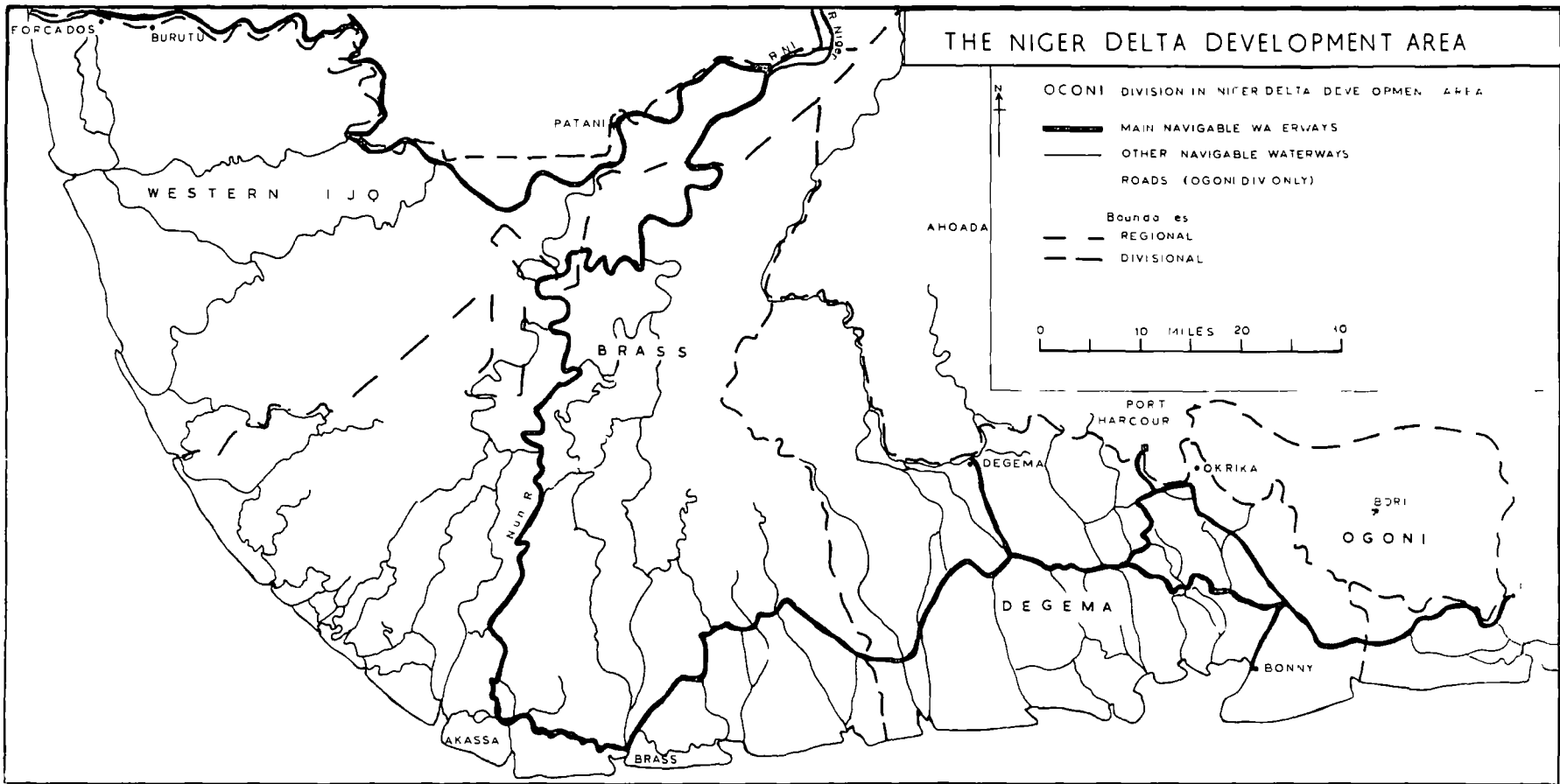


FIG. 51

Lack of incentives is not, of course, a good reason for neglecting the waterways because the low productivity of the delta might be due to lack of good communications. If the waterways were to be improved productivity might increase. Neglect of the area is probably due to lack of understanding, by the Regional Authorities, of the special problems of the delta. The Government consists of people who understand only the problems of the dryland areas and many of them have never visited the delta. Because of this they do not know how to help the inhabitants of the delta.

It was mainly because of this problem that the Federal and Regional Governments accepted the recommendations of the Minorities Commission of 1958 and established the Niger Delta Development Board in 1961. The sphere of activity of the Board consists of Ogoni, Degema and Brass Divisions of the Eastern Region and the Western Ijo Division of the Midwestern Region (Fig. 51), thus it includes nearly all areas occupied by the Ijo. The main purpose of the Board is to advise the Regional and Federal Governments on the physical development of the Niger delta. To that end the Board is empowered to carry

out surveys in the Niger delta in order to ascertain what measures are required to promote its physical development, and to prepare development schemes together with estimates of the costs of putting such schemes into effect.

Members of the Board are Ijo who understand the special problems of the delta area. It is expected that the investigations being carried out by the Board's technical staff will enlighten the various Governments about the problems of the Ijo homeland. It will therefore be possible to speed up the development of the area.

REGIONAL COHESION

The desire of each ethnic nation for independence adversely affects the cohesion of the Region. The Ibo support Government policy mainly because they do not lose anything by doing so. They see the Region as a single unit in Nigeria and developments in it in relation to developments in other parts of the Federation. As the people on whom it was mainly based the Ibo do not want to see the Eastern Region fail as a unit. They wish to preserve it as an entity in much the same way as do the Hausa-Fulani in the Northern Region and the Yoruba in the old Western Region.

The smaller ethnic nations consider that "administration in an Ibo-dominated state would be largely government by Ibos of Ibos for Ibos"⁹ hence they feel their cultural and economic interests would be neglected. They wish to separate from the Ibo, but there is no agreement among them. The Ibibio want all non-Ibo areas to form a separate Region. If such a Region were to be created the Ibibio would form the majority and the Ijo would still be a minority. Such a solution would therefore satisfy only the Ibibio.

For this reason the Ijo have refused to be included in a single Region with the Ibibio. They point out that inclusion in such a Region would not lead to the improvements of their communications and that, as a minority, they would receive no more sympathetic consideration from an Ibibio majority than they now receive from an Ibo majority. The Ijo therefore demand a separate Region of their own.

These different demands, if granted, will have an adverse effect on each of the units. Ibo emigration to the less populated areas to the east of the present Region might be restricted if those areas became part of

9. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Minorities Commission's Sitting at Enugu, 6th January, 1958.
p. 9

a separate Region. The delta, the homeland of the Ijò, was not greatly productive until the discovery and exploitation of petroleum. Indeed the only economic resource of an Ijò Region, if created, will be petroleum and natural gas; about 42 percent of Nigeria's petroleum comes from the area proposed for the new Region. It is doubtful whether the revenue from that source when shared with the Federal Government will be sufficient to carry out the vast developments needed in the Niger delta and also maintain the costly paraphernalia of a Regional Government. There is no doubt that the Ijò will argue that if they spend the petroleum revenue on developing only their own area rather than share it with other areas they would achieve more. If the Ijò have a separate administration the rest of the present Eastern Region will be poorer, in particular the Ibibio area which at present produces no petroleum and natural gas. The Ibo areas will also feel the loss. Though they produce more petroleum now (about 52 percent of the Regional production) the coastal areas which are potentially more productive are outside Iboland, and their own sources of petroleum might be

exhausted. If that happens the only source of revenue will be the oil palm; but increasing population might lead to the destruction of some palm groves.

These problems would be avoided if the area remains a single administrative Region. However, its doing so depends on developments in other parts of Nigeria. If new Regions are created in other areas, the smaller ethnic nations of the Eastern Region will grow more restless. The Ibibio will claim that they have as much right to be independent of the Ibo as the Edo of the Yoruba and the Tiv of the Hausa-Fulani. If the Ibibio have their own Region the Ijo will not rest until they too have a separate and independent administration. Attempts to hold the present Eastern Region together will be rendered difficult by such competing demands for separate administrations. This will make it difficult for the Region to become a cohesive unit.

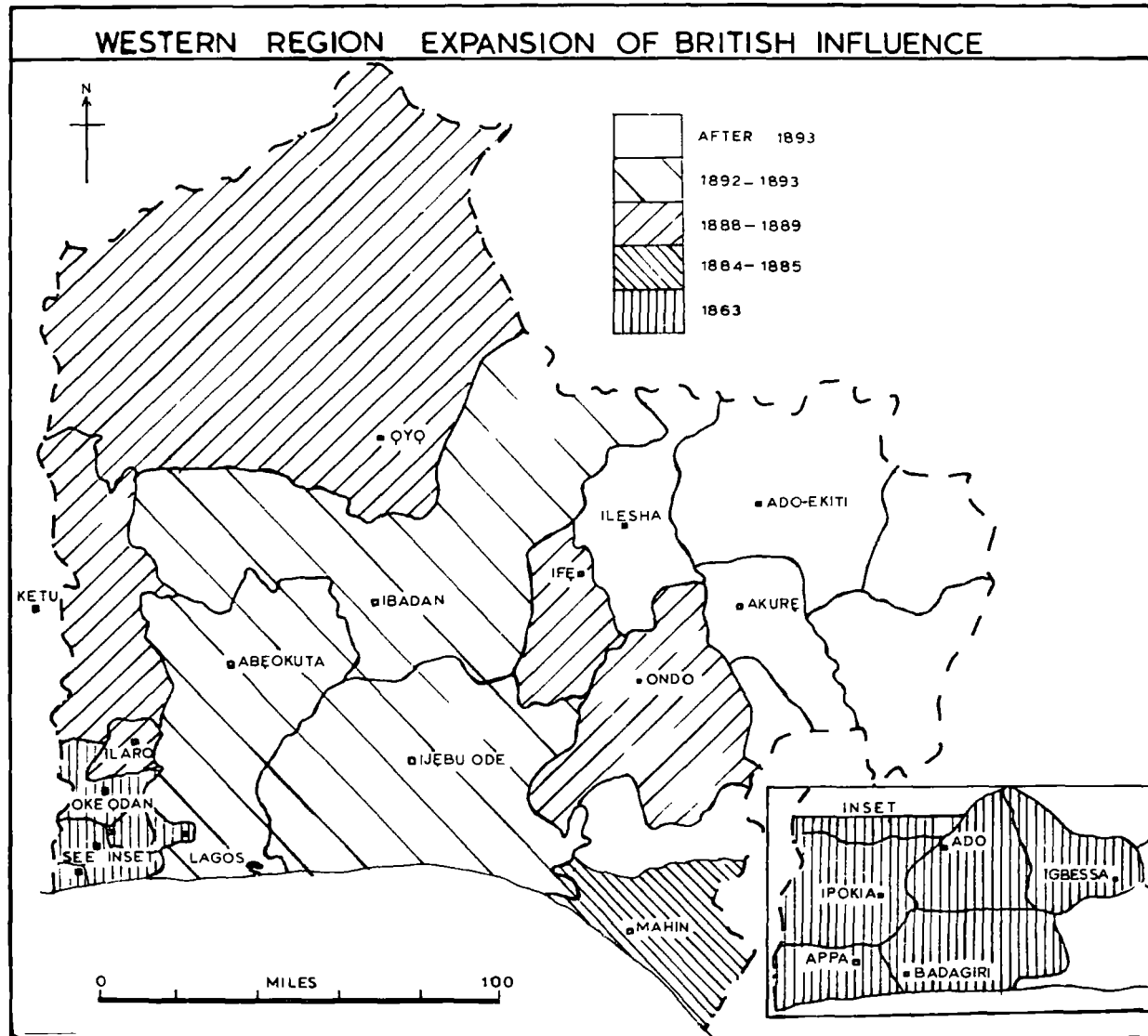


FIG. 52

CHAPTER VIII

THE WESTERN REGION

The Western Region has an area of 30,454 square miles which covers 8.5 percent of Nigeria's territory, its population, in 1963, of 10,265,846 persons represents 18.4 percent of the country's total population. Thus in area it is smaller than only The Northern Region while in population it is smaller than both the Northern and the Eastern Regions. However, its population density of 339 psm is second only to that of the Eastern Region.

The first parts of the Western Region to come under British influence were Addo, Ipokia, Okeodan and Badagiri which signed treaties of protection with the Governor of Lagos during 1863 (Fig 52). The rest of the Region, with the exception of Qwo Division, was brought under British influence through the activities of the Governor shortly before and during the Scramble for Africa.

After the occupation, the area was divided into two units. Colony and Protectorate. The former comprised areas around the coastal creeks near Lagos while the rest constituted the Protectorate. An Order of December 29, 1887, empowered the Governor to exercise British jurisdiction

in the Protectorate in the same way as in the Colony. Thus the area became known as the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos and was administered as such until May 1, 1906, when the Protectorate was amalgamated with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The old Lagos Protectorate became the Western Province of the new enlarged Protectorate and the Colony was administered separately.

After the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, the areas now in the Western Region were administered as part of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. When the Eastern Provinces were created on April 1, 1939, the remaining Southern Provinces became the Western Provinces of Nigeria, in 1947 they were renamed the Western Region with headquarters at Ibadan.

During the Constitutional Conference of 1950 it was decided that the whole of the Colony, which had been separately administered since 1906, should become part of the Western Region. However, at the Constitutional Conference of 1953 it was decided that the municipal area of Lagos should become Federal Territory.

In 1963 the areas now in the Midwest voted to secede from the Western Region and form a separate Region. With their separation the Western Region assumed its present shape and area.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Most of the areas now in the Region were not affected by the earth movements which sank the basement rocks in many other parts of Nigeria. As a result crystalline rocks are found over the greater part of the Region, while sedimentary rocks, mainly clayshales intermixed with sandstones, are found only in the southern margins of the Region. The zone of clayshales is widest in the west and narrows to the east. Sandy-clays are found in the extreme southeast of the Region while sandy and riverain deposits are found on the coastlands (Fig. 1 p. 1)

In the absence of great earth movements, there are no major uplands. Generally the land rises gently from the coast to an average height of about 1200 feet in the northeast. In the zone of crystalline rocks there are many isolated hills, the highest of which is Orosun Hill, 3,096 feet asl, in Ifanre, about 14 miles to the southwest of Akure. In the northwest, heights of over 2000 feet are reached near Igbetti.

WESTERN REGION PRODUCTION OF TIMBER AND PALM KERNELS

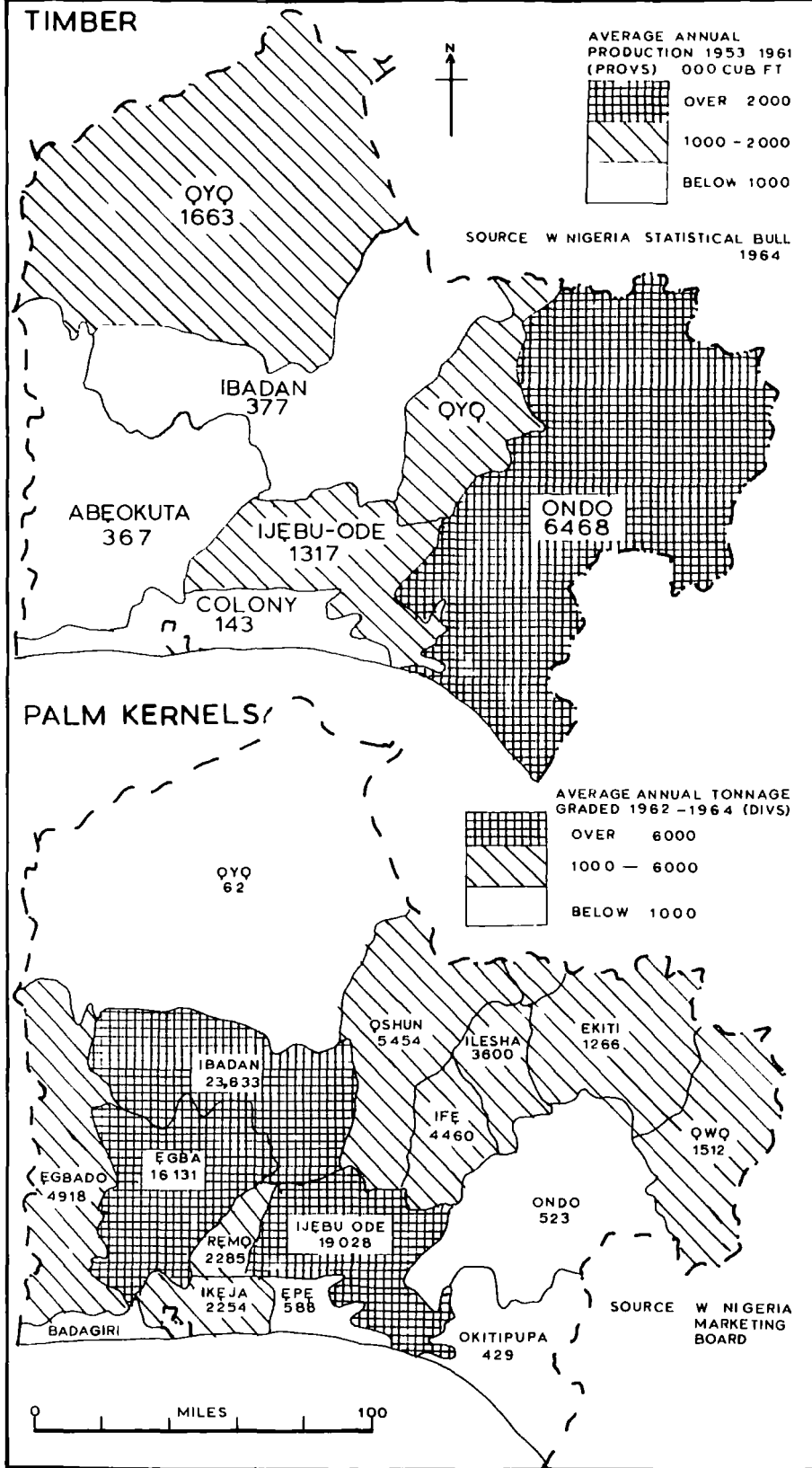


FIG. 53

In the absence of any major relief contrasts, the main variations are provided by rainfall and vegetation, for although the Region has no great latitudinal extent, it does experience a sharp rainfall gradient. In the coastlands there is substantial rain in every month of the year but in the northeast there is a dry season in which streams dry up and water is scarce. In the northwest there are some months in which no rain falls. These differences in rainfall regime are reflected in the total annual rainfall which varies from about 100 inches in the southeast to about 46 inches in the northeast. Similarly the natural vegetation varies from mangrove swamps in the wetter coastlands to rain forest in the centre, and to forest - savanna mosaic in the north (Fig. 3, p. 5).

RESOURCES

Natural Resources The Western Region is not rich in mineral resources, the only important minerals are gold, in Ife Division, limestone in Egbá Division and petroleum off the southeastern coast. However, only gold and limestones are being exploited. In 1961-62 and 1962-63 production of gold was 538 ounces and 360 ounces respectively, corresponding figures for limestone were 235,765

WESTERN REGION ESTIMATED PRODUCTION OF MAIN FOODSTUFFS BY PROVINCES 1958/59

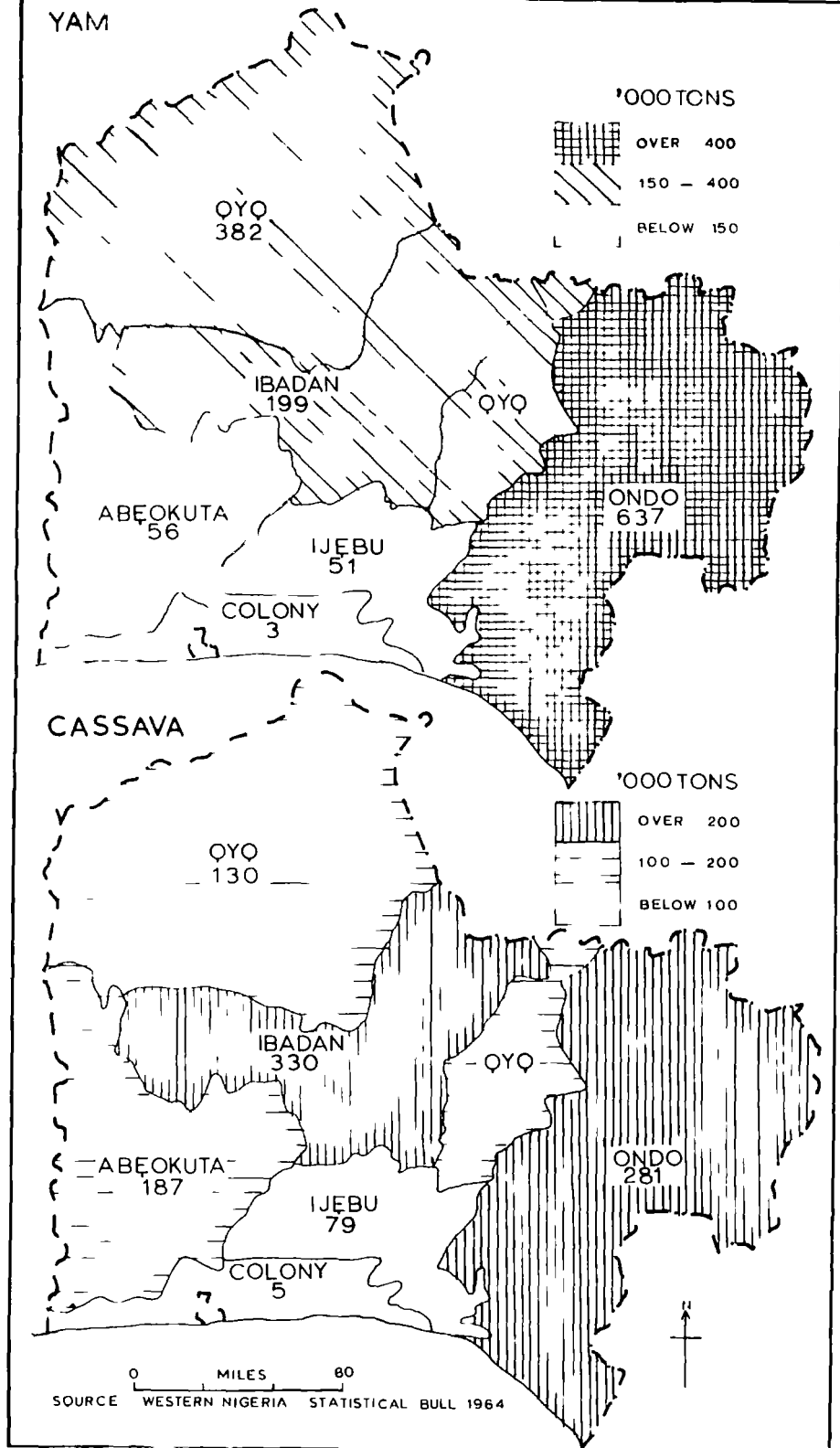


FIG. 54

and 284,665 long tons. The discovery of petroleum off the southeastern coast was announced in September, 1965, but as yet the quantity produced, if any, has not been published.

In the absence of substantial mineral resources, the natural wealth of the Region lies in its forests. The main forest products are timber and palm products. Timber is taken from forest reserves and other forests in the Region but most especially in Ondo and Ijebu Provinces as well as Ife and Ilesha Divisions. The average annual production of timber in the Region is over ten million cubic feet (Fig. 53). In 1959-60 the estimated revenue from timber is probably much more than that because timber used on the farms is not usually taken into account.

The most important forest resource of the Region is the palm tree. The people depend on it for very many things - wine, cooking oil and brooms to name but a few. Practically all the palm trees in the Region grow wild and farmers lay claim to those on their lands. Palm oil is produced in many places and sold locally for cooking. Palm kernels are also produced but these are usually sold to the Regional Marketing Board (Fig. 53). Apart from these two uses, palm wine is tapped from the palm tree and

WESTERN REGION MAJOR CASH CROPS

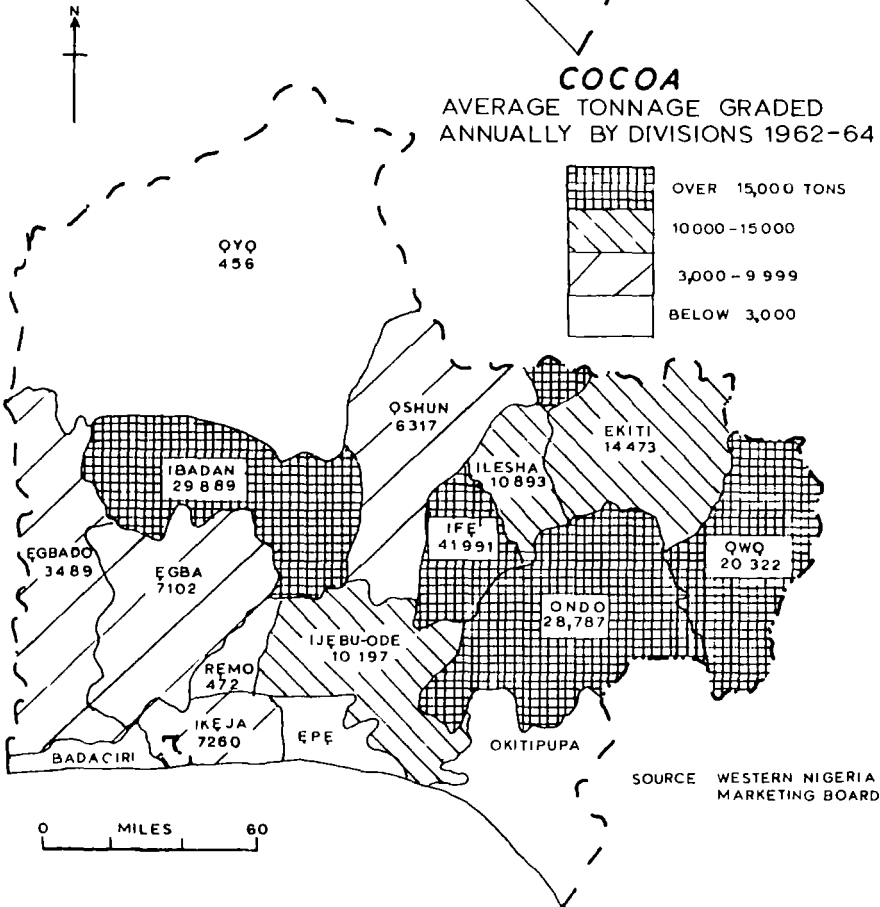
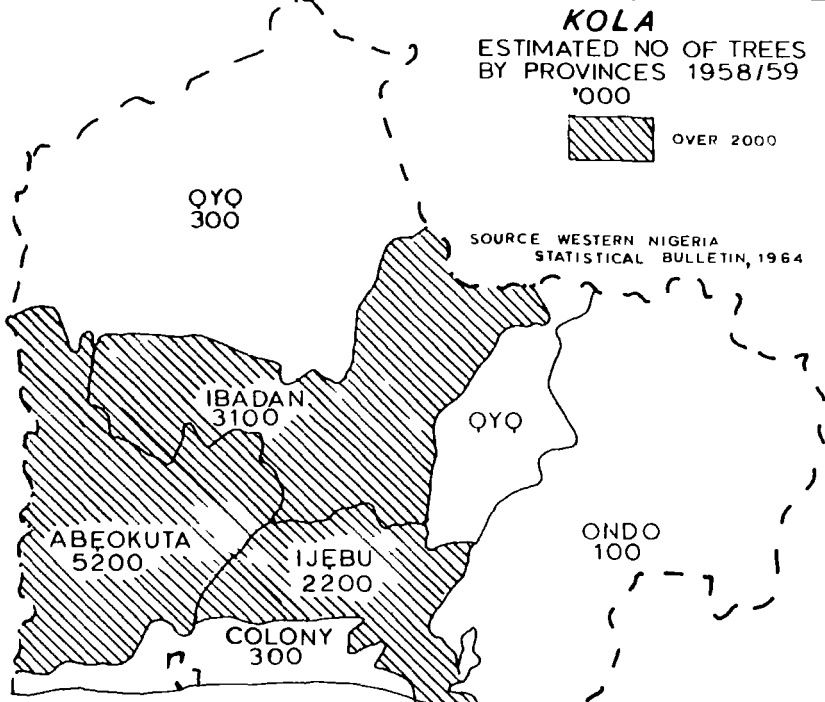


FIG. 55

consumed locally.

Food Resources: The main food resources are yam and cassava. These are produced all over the Region but the greatest production of both is in Ondo and Ibadan Provinces as well as Ife and Ilesha Divisions (Fig. 54). In 1958-59 the estimated total production in the whole Region was 1,328,000 tons of yam and 1,012,000 tons of cassava.

Besides yam and cassava the only other crops grown for food are maize and cocoyam. About 191,000 tons of maize and 119,000 tons of cocoyam are produced annually.

Cash Crops: The main cash crops of the Western Region are kola and cocoa. There are two types of kola, gbanja and abata - but only the former is of great commercial importance. Its cultivation is concentrated in the western part of the Region (Fig. 55). The quantity produced is not known but there are large sales to the Northern Region and locally.

The Western Region produces virtually all the cocoa sold in Nigeria. Its cultivation (Fig. 55) is concentrated on the Ilepa soils in the zone of crystalline rocks. Production has increased rapidly over the last few years, in 1950 it was 90,000 tons and in 1964 267,000 tons.

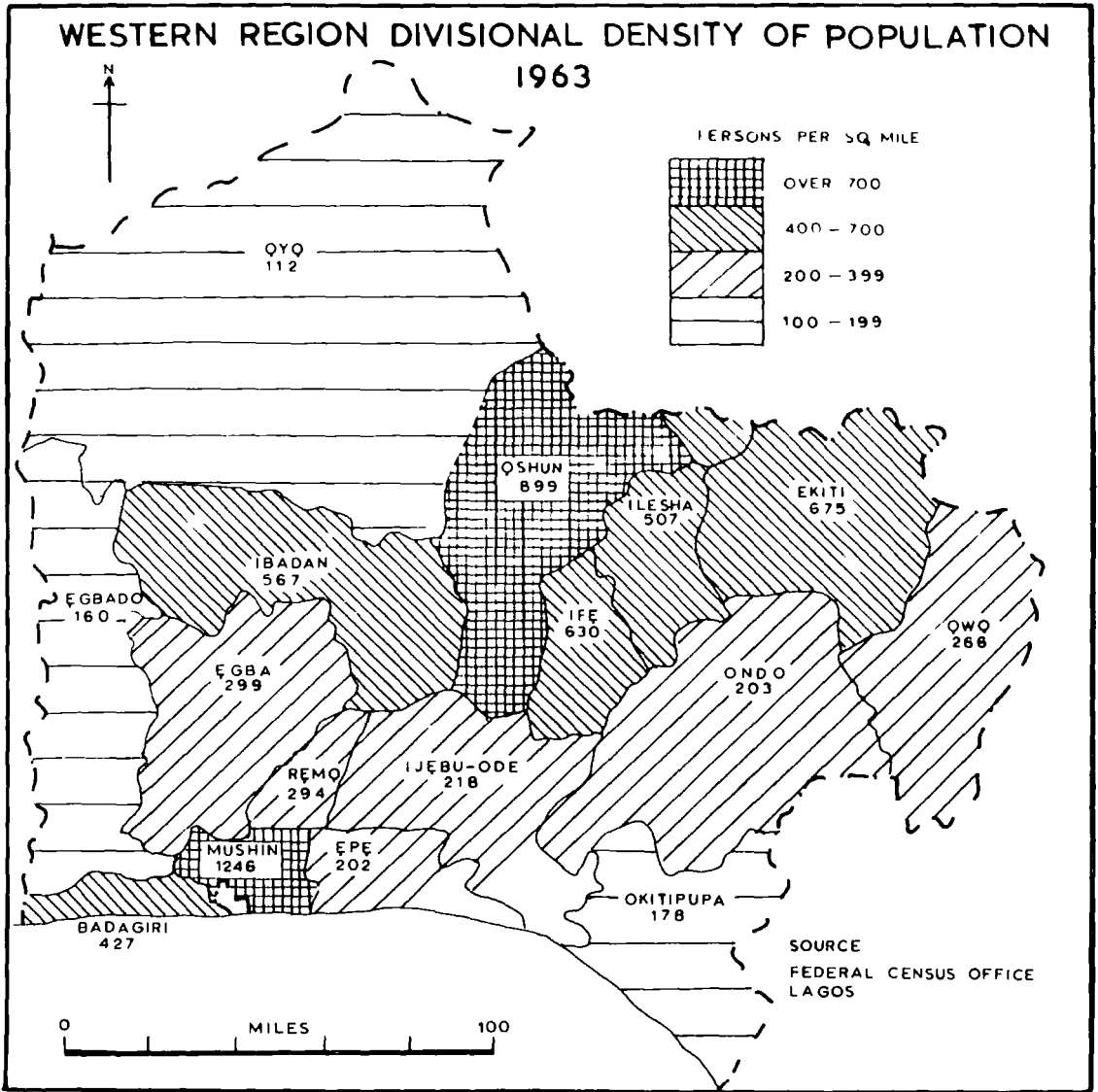


FIG. 56

Manufacturing: Most of the manufacturing industries in the Region are situated in Ikeja, Ibadan and Abeokuta. At Ikeja there are factories manufacturing construction materials such as metal windows and verandah screens, as well as textile and food-processing factories. At Ibadan there are plastic and food-processing factories while at Ewekoro, near Abeokuta, there is a cement factory with an annual output of about 200,000 tons.

POPULATION

As with the other Regions, there are no certain details of the population resources of the Western Region because the accuracy of the 1952 and 1963 censuses is greatly in doubt. According to the latter, the greatest densities are to be found in Ibadan Province and Ife, Ilesha, Ekiti and Ikeja Divisions (Fig. 56). The highest Divisional density was 1236 psm in Ikeja Division. This high density is due to the over-spilling of population from Lagos to Mushin and Ikeja areas. Apart from Ikeja the highest density was in Oshun Division with 899 psm. Some other areas, Ekiti, Ife, Ibadan and Ilesha Divisions, had densities of between 500 and 700 psm while all the others areas had less than 300 psm. The lowest Divisional population density is in Oyo Division; in 1963 it was 112 psm.

The indigenous population of the Region consists of two ethnic nations, Yoruba and Egun. The homeland of the Egun is Badagiri District and the adjacent areas of Egba and Egbado Divisions; in 1952 they formed 77 percent of the population of Badagiri District. The Egun are greatly Yorubanised and share many Yoruba customs and traditions. Because of this it may be better to regard them as a section of the Yoruba.

The Yoruba inhabit the rest of the Region and form more than 94 percent of the population in many Districts. In all areas the rest of the population consists of immigrants, mainly Urobo, Ibo and Ijo in the east and Hausa in the west. The proportion of the recorded Regional population formed by each nation, in 1952, is shown in table X (see also Fig. 57).

WESTERN REGION ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DIVISIONAL POPULATION 1952

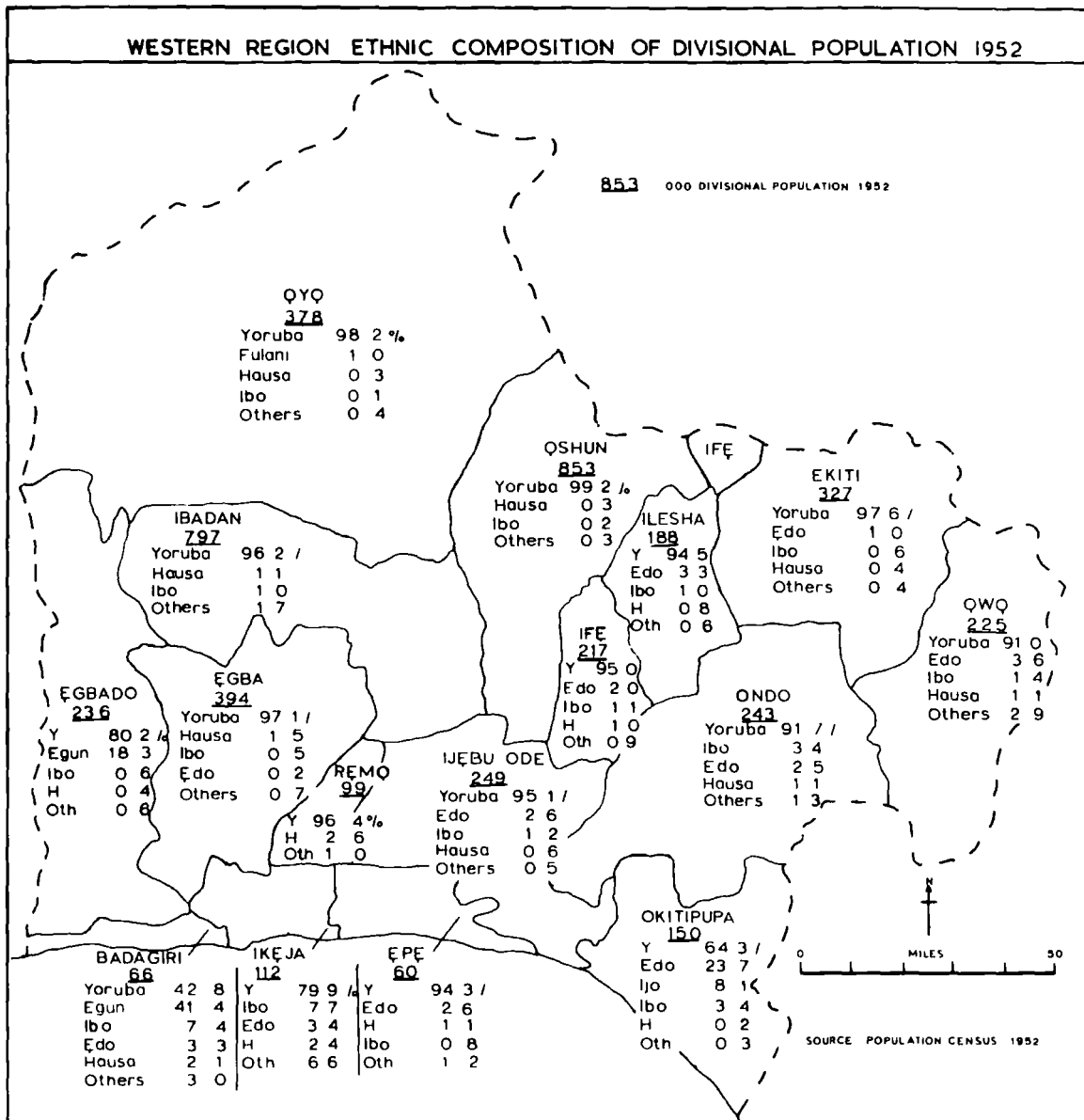


FIG. 57

TABLE X

WESTERN REGION

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION 1952¹

Nation	Population	% Regional Population
Yoruba	4,287,386	93.33
Egun	66,944	1.46
Edo-Urobo	84,325	1.83
Ibo	52,858	1.15
Hausa	38,155	0.83
Ijọ	16,153	0.35
Fulani	6,744	0.15
Others	<u>41,085</u>	<u>1.00</u>
TOTAL	<u>4,593,650</u>	<u>100</u>

The Egun and the Ijọ were probably more numerous than the table indicates because they were not mentioned separately outside their homeland, and those of them in other areas would therefore be classified as "Others" in the table.

1. Present Western Region only.

The homeland of the Edo-Urobo who formed the largest immigrant group was in the Western Region in 1952. Their largest concentration was then in Ondo Province, where they have various connections with the indigenous people: some villages in eastern Owo Division are inhabited by Edos while there are recognised Edo quarters in Akure and other settlements near it. The Urobo are found all over Ondo Province where they are engaged in producing palm oil and palm kernels, but their greatest concentration is in eastern Okitipupa Division where they form about one-third of the population of Epeodo District. The main concentration of the Ibo is also in Ondo Province. In 1952 the Ibo population there was 18,437 persons most of whom were engaged in the production of palm wine, lumbering and trading. Hausa immigrants are mostly concentrated in the western part of the Region, where they are engaged in the kola trade.

In all areas immigrants form a very small proportion of the population. Nearly all the indigenous population share the Yoruba language and culture. Thus the Western Region is more homogeneous than any other Region in Nigeria.

Because of the great numerical predominance of the Yoruba the affairs of the Western Region may rightly be considered principally in terms of the ethnic nation.

PRE-BRITISH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Before the British Occupation there were independent kingdoms in the area but all the kings claimed descent from Oduduwa who was supposed to be the first king (Ọba) of Ile-Ife, the legendary cradle of the Yoruba. Because of this, each king regards all other kings as brothers and the people regard themselves as the descendants of Oduduwa (Ọmọ Oduduwa).

The claim of a common ancestor by the kings and the people did not prevent rivalry and struggles for supremacy among the kingdoms. Thus in the 14th century Ọyo Kingdom started to conquer and bring other kingdoms under its control. By the 17th century most of the kingdoms were under the king of Ọyo. During the 18th century the Ọyo Empire expanded to the Fon country, now in Dahomey, as well as to the borders of the Benin Empire. The supremacy of Ọyo lasted until the early 19th century. In 1830 the Governor of Ilorin revolted against the authority of the king of Ọyo who had appointed him there. The revolt led to

the destruction of Katunga, the seat of the Oyo king and the flight of the king to the south. Eventually, the present Oyo was founded as a new capital of the kingdom.

The success of Ilorin prompted other areas to revolt and by the mid-19th century each Yoruba kingdom was independent of Oyo. But during the early 19th century the kingdoms to the east were subjected to attacks from the Benin Empire and most of the present Oyo Division and the Akure area paid tribute to Benin. The domination of Benin was shortlived in some parts because by the second half of the 19th century most of eastern Yorubaland was independent of Benin.

The fall of the Oyo Empire led to another struggle for supremacy among the various parts of the old Empire. The Dahomey kingdom attacked the Yoruba areas near it and ravaged the country as far as Egba Kingdom. In the latter part of the 19th century the Ibadan area of Oyo Kingdom gained strength and attempted to reconquer all areas in the old Empire. They were resisted by the others who formed alliances against Ibadan. In the south the Egba, centred on Abeokuta, and the Ijebu centred on Ijebu-Ode joined forces against the Ibadan; in the east the Ife, Ijesha, Akure, Ekiti, Igbomina and Ilorin joined forces to resist

WESTERN REGION MILITARY ALIGNMENTS 1879-1886

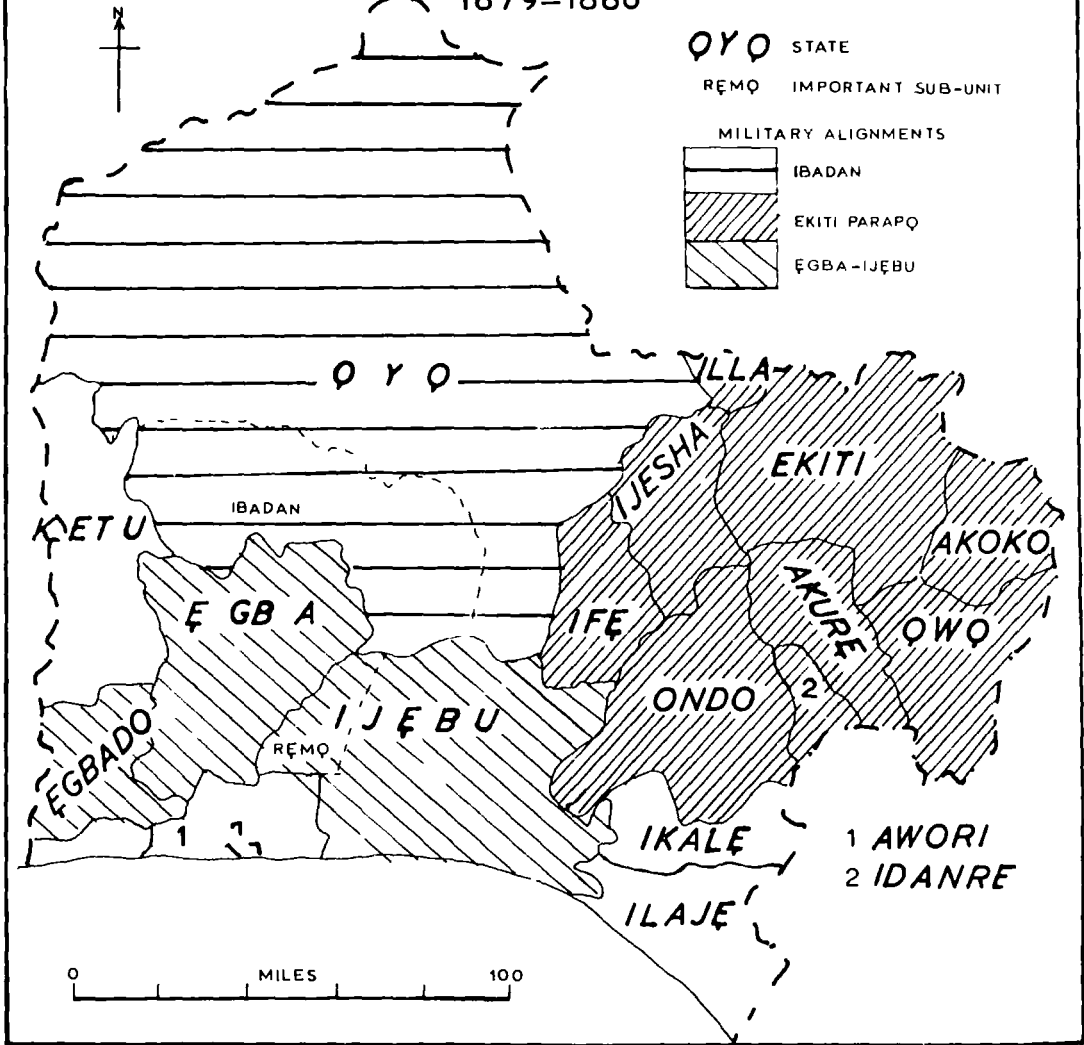


FIG. 58

Ibadan advances. Thus by 1884 the Yoruba were in three main groups: Oyo (including Ibadan), Egba - Ijebu and Ekiti Parapo of the east and northeast (Fig. 58). The latter two were opposed to Ibadan.

The struggle between the three groups prevented the development of trade with the British hence the British Governor of Lagos volunteered to arbitrate and his services were accepted. His success in settling the dispute made the people regard the British as friends. Treaties were signed between the kingdoms and Great Britain (Fig. 52), the main clause in such treaties being that the king and

his people "shall not make any cession of territory, or Agreement, to or with any foreign State or enter into negotiations with any foreign State without the full knowledge, understanding and consent of the Governor of Lagos."²

Because of such treaties other European Powers recognised the establishment of British influence in the area.

As a result of the Anglo-French agreement of 1889 the eastern and greater part of Yorubaland came under the British. Later, the areas which signed treaties with the

2. Hertslet Map of Africa by Treaty,
London, H. M. S. O. 1894. pp. 425-432

Governor of Lagos, to which Owo Division was added, were organised into the six Provinces which became the Western Region on August 9, 1963, when the Midwestern Region was established.

INTRA-REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Once the area came under a single administration the struggle for supremacy stopped. The larger kingdoms were constituted into Divisions while the smaller ones were grouped together on the basis of their dialects. The present Divisional boundaries coincide almost exactly with the boundaries of the various kingdoms and dialectal groups.

There are still many attachments to these kingdoms and dialectal groups. This is most evident among those who have left their areas to work or settle in other parts. Thus in the larger towns such as Lagos there are associations of people from each dialectal group. Student associations are also based on the dialectal groups. In all cases the associations take the names of the dialectal group or its chief town: Egbẹ̀ Omọ̀ Egbẹ̀ (the Association of Egbẹ̀ Citizens) or "Akurẹ̀ Students Union."

These associations enable migrants to keep in contact with affairs in their home areas. Students' unions act

WESTERN REGION PATTERN OF RELIGIONS 1952

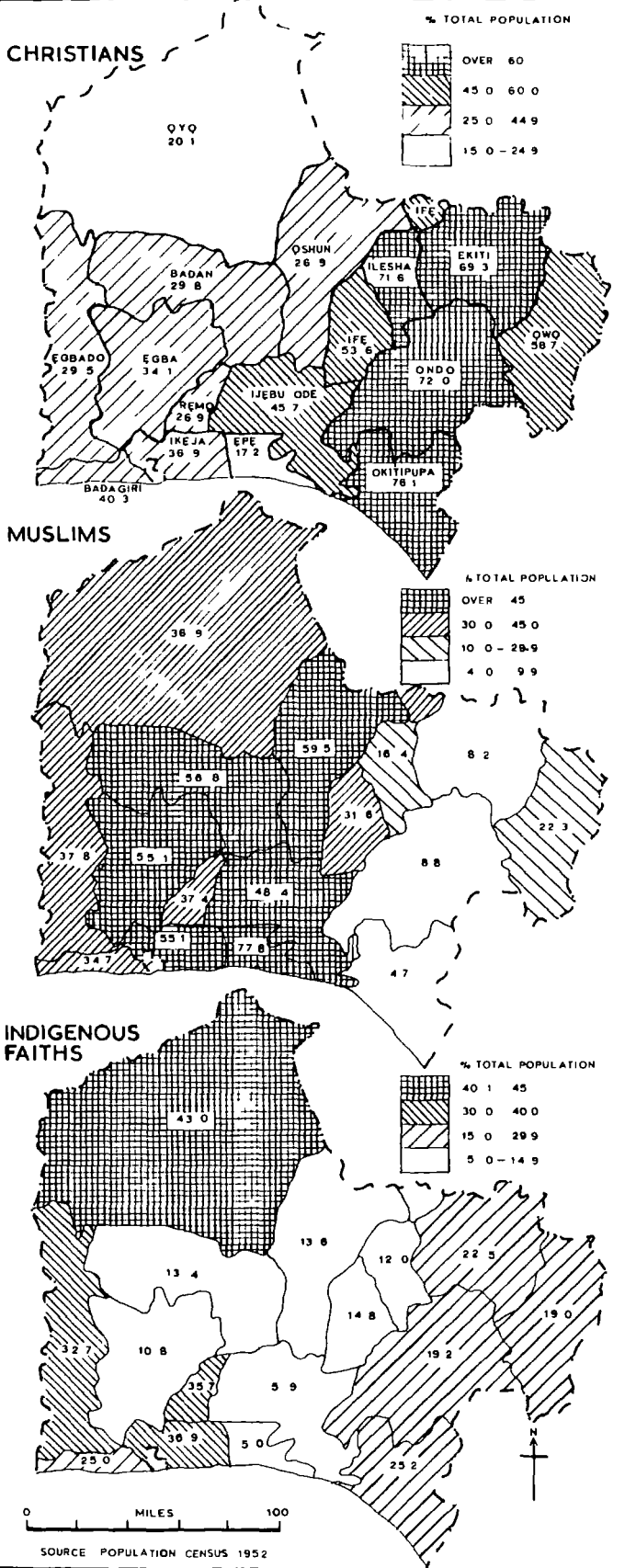


FIG. 59

as pressure groups in Local Councils and the Regional Government which they hold responsible for the development of their areas. Some associations grant scholarships to people from their areas while others contribute to development projects. In these various ways people from each dialectal group consider themselves as a single unit in the Region, and so differentiate themselves from the other parts.

Apart from this the only major factor of differentiation is religion. There are three religious groups. indigenous, Islam and Christianity (Fig. 59). The indigenous religions share a common belief in Ifa, Ogun, Şango and the worship of ancestral spirits. Ifa priests are found in all parts of the Region; Ogun is more widely worshipped in the eastern part while Şango is more widely worshipped in the western part. Apart from these, the Oşooni Society has branches in all areas and its influence is great among those who profess the indigenous faiths.

Islam has adherents in all areas but it receives the greatest support in the western part, particularly in Ibadan, Abęokuta and Colony Provinces and Oyo Division. In all these areas more than half the population are muslims. The Muslims in the Region are not as dogmatic as

WESTERN REGION RATE OF LITERACY 1952

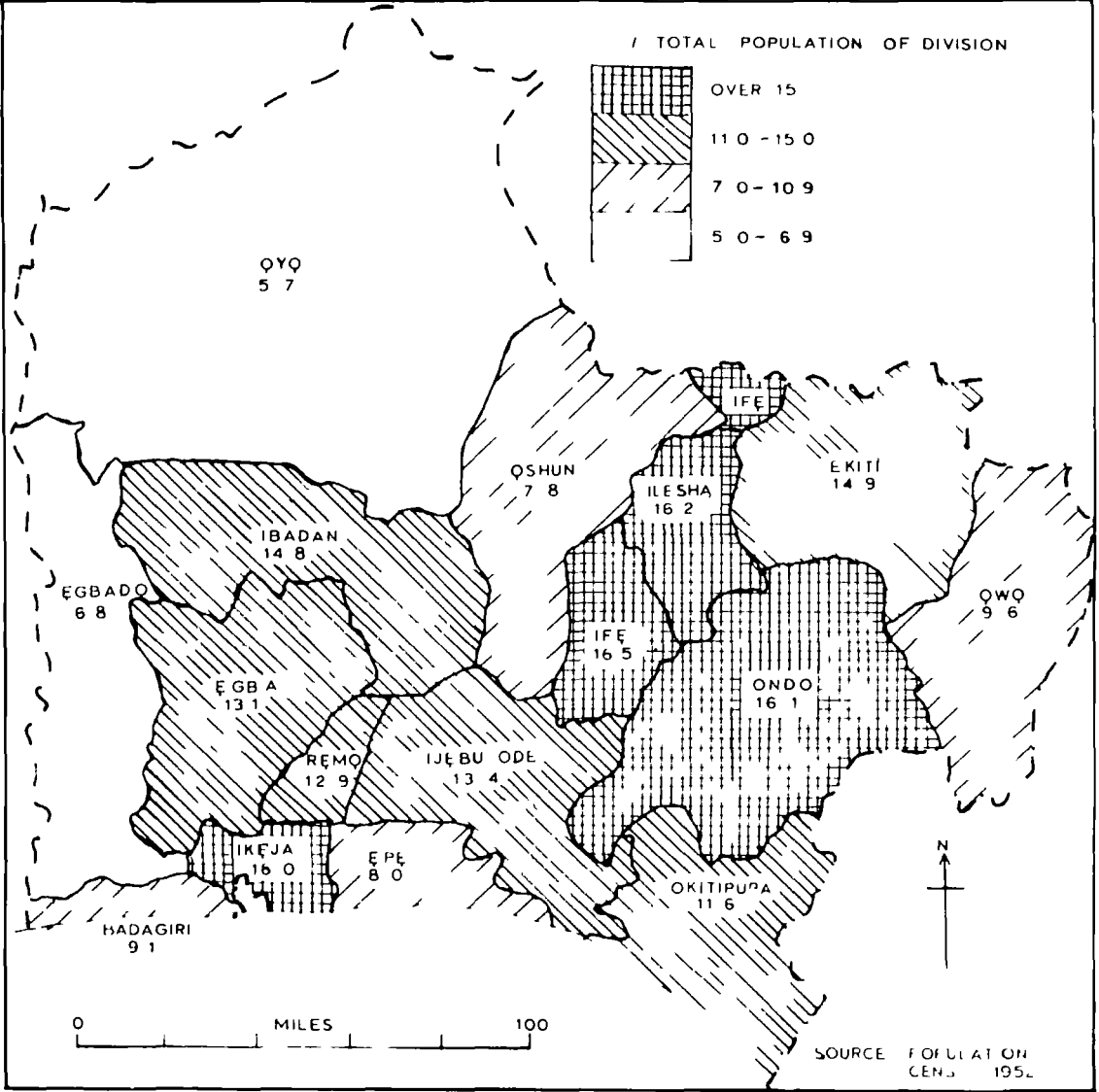


FIG. 60

those in the Northern Region and they maintain good relationships with non-Muslims. Even in areas where there are Muslim majorities everyone expects the indigenous practices and customs to prevail.

There are Christians all over the Region but they form the majority of the population in only the eastern part. The influence of Christians is felt most in the field of education. This is because until 1955, when Free Primary Education was introduced, Christian Denominations controlled most of the schools in the Region. Even today most of the educational institutions are still nominally under the Christian Denominations. Because of this educational influence most of the present leading people in the Region are Christians. The Christian influence is also reflected in the proportion of the population who were literate in 1952 (Fig. 60). The highest proportions of literacy coincide with the areas with most Christians while the predominantly Muslim areas have much lower levels of literacy.

Religious differences in the Region do not mean much to the inhabitants. This is because indigenous practices and customs generally prevail. Both Christians and Muslims often join in many indigenous festivals and on

public occasions such as the installation of a new Oba traditional practices must be observed whatever the religion of the candidate. When the need arises leaders call on all religious groups to offer prayers and they themselves worship in churches and mosques. Because of this, there is no discrimination between different religious groups and each one joins in the festivals of the others.

Because of the cultural homogeneity and the harmony among the three religious groups there is no important factor for differentiating one part of the Region from the others. However, two major dialectal groupings may be recognised. It is difficult to find suitable names for the groups but for convenience they will be called the Oyo Group and the Ekiti Group. The Oyo Group lies in the western part of the Region and includes Oyo Division and Inidan, Ijebu, Abeokuta and Colony Provinces. The Ekiti Group includes Ondo Provinces and Ife and Ussa Divisions.

The Oyo Group represent 67 percent of the area of Region and 64 percent of the 1963 population. Oyo, Egba and Ijebu people claim that they understand each other's dialect more easily than they do those of the Ekiti Group.

This is not very surprising in that they comprised historically the main areas in the Oyo Empire and were probably in earlier contact. They represent the main body of the Oduduwa invasion which established the present dynasty in Oyo and from which other Yoruba Obas claim descent.

Culturally the Oyo Group is differentiated by the worship of Šango, its cloth-clad egungun and its gangan drums. Today there are more Muslims than Christians among them but Muslim traditions do not dominate their lives.

The Ekiti Group inhabit about 33 percent of the Region and form 36 percent of the population in 1963. As a group they have no common factor except that they probably understand each other's dialects more easily than do those of the Oyo Group. It is also likely that they represent the main bulk of the pre-Oduduwa inhabitants of the Region. Their contacts with the Oyo Group were limited, but in this respect Ife is an exception. It is even likely that some people would prefer to include Ife in the Oyo Group; but while the transitional position of Ife is acknowledged, its religions and dialect make it preferable to include it in the Ekiti Group.

Culturally the Ekiti group is characterised by greater emphasis placed on the worship of Ogun and its egungun which wears palm fronds over the clothes. In

WESTERN REGION ATTENDANCE AT GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN VARIOUS DIVISIONS 1966

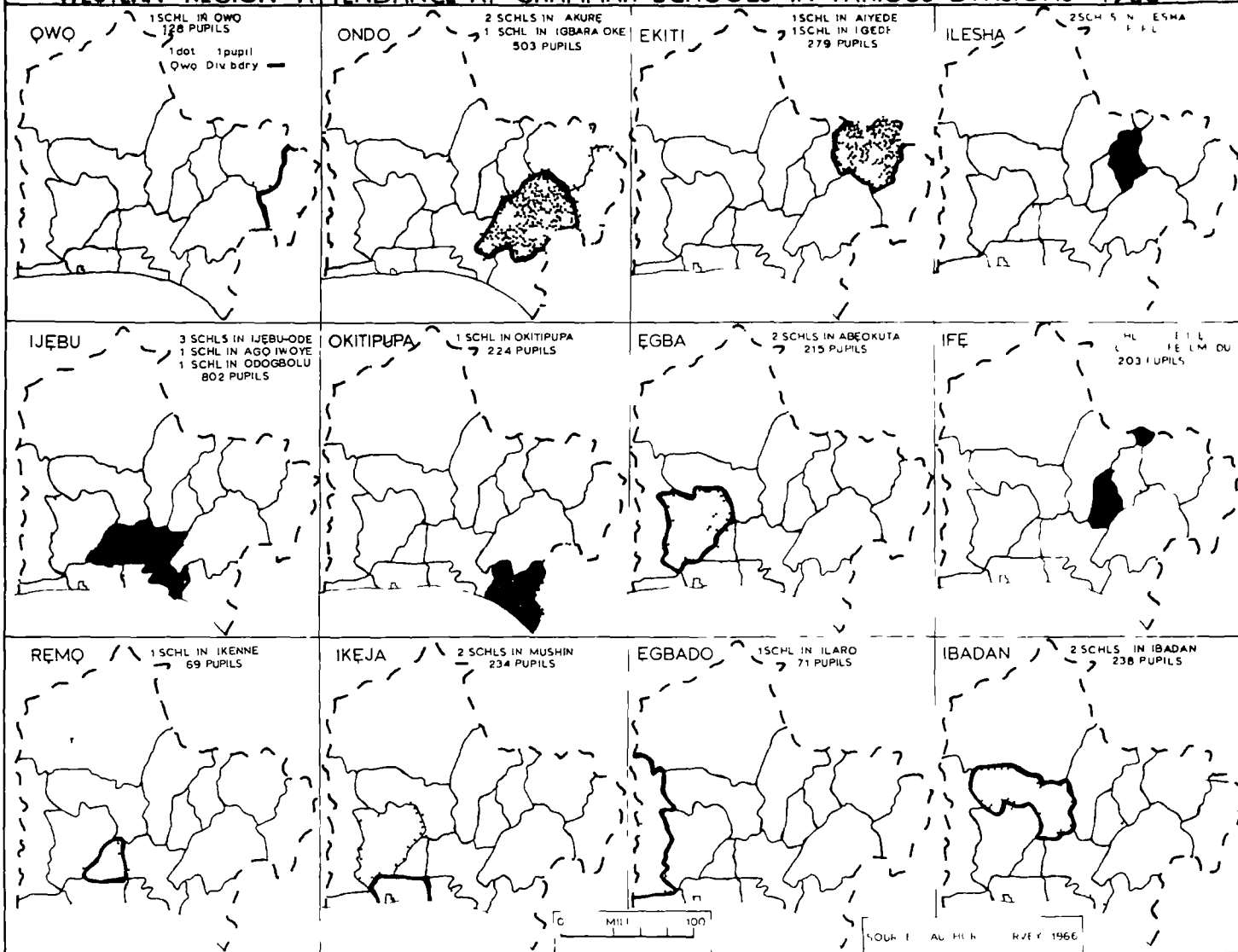


FIG. 67

recent times Christianity has been well established in the area and there are now more Christians than Muslims.

INTRA-REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

During the course of the study an attempt was made to check the extent to which local and supra-local differentiation affects the relationships of areas within the Region. This was done by a survey of the choice of secondary schools by pupils all over the Region.

Questionnaires were sent to 127 Secondary Grammar Schools which were recognised for West African School Certificate examination purposes but only 24 of these replied. The distribution of the home areas of pupils in the schools in each Division is shown on Fig. 61.

If allowance is made for the fact that pupils normally choose a nearby school, then it is clear that the differentiation mentioned above does not affect the movement of people in the Region. Selection of a schools in another area may have been made because the parents reside near the school, or because the student preferred to attend a Grammar School away from home. In either case the choice gives a general idea of the community of interest of the student and his parents. The distributions show, therefore,

WESTERN REGION PATTERN OF PARTY SUPPORT BY DIVISIONS COMBINED RESULTS OF REG ELECTIONS 1956 & 1960

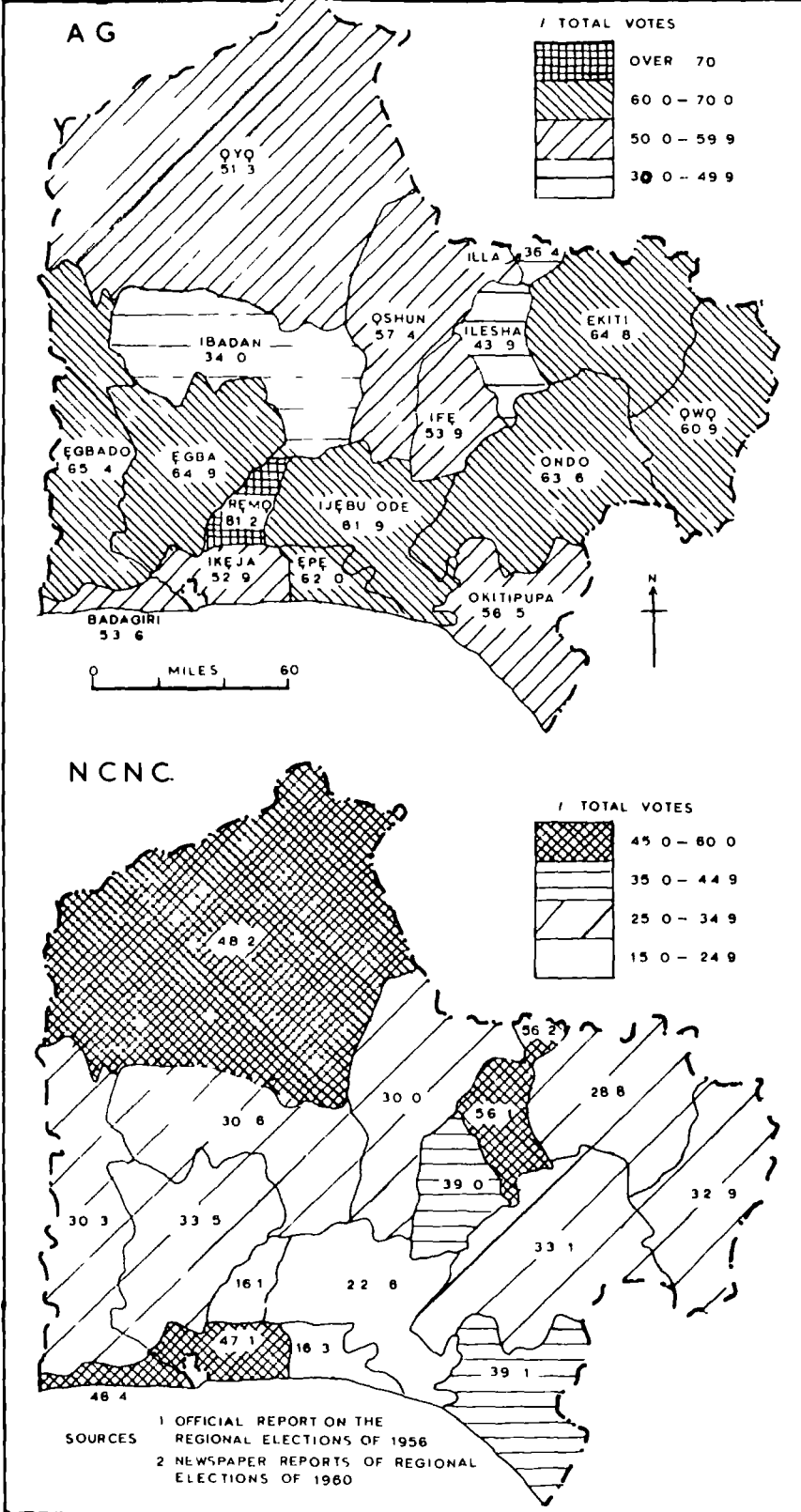


FIG. 62

that every part of the Region regards all other parts as lying within its sphere of contact and community of interest.

In spite of this evidence of migration, there is no complaint that any one part is dominating, or is being dominated by others. This, no doubt, is due to the common culture and language of the people and general acceptance between the various areas. It shows that the Yoruba regard themselves as one nation. A similar case of course, could be made for the other nations in Nigeria e.g. Ibo and Hausa.

In other ways the people have shown that local and supra-local differentiations do not affect their attitudes to their fellow nationals. This is shown by their voting behaviour at the Regional elections of 1956 and 1960. In those two elections voters in all areas cast their votes for the Action Group which was led by a fellow Yoruba, and over most of the Region the proportion of the votes cast for that Party was almost the same (Fig. 62). This widespread support for the Action Group contrasts with equally widespread rejection of its chief opponent, the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens which was led by an Ibo. It is not doubted, of course, that most of the support for the Action Group was given because of its past record.

Since the whole Region shares a common culture, legislation and Government action has not contradicted the traditions or practices of any particular area. Moreover, the cultivation of cocoa in most parts of the Region means that Government attempts to improve the crop has benefitted all parts. Therefore no complaints have arisen of areas neglected by the Regional Government.

REGIONAL COHESION

The economic, cultural and linguistic uniformity of the Western Region means that no area considers itself outside the scope of interest of the Regional Government. Consequently there is a general acceptance by all areas that the Regional Government will not neglect their interests. There is also a general realisation that all areas lie within a single community of interest.

Because of this no part of the Region wants to breakaway from the others, and it seems certain that, whatever the internal political differences, all the areas will prefer to remain together. It is also clear that, whatever reorganizations may be made in the country as a whole the language and cultural affinities of the people in the Region will continue to bind them together as a distinct unit within the Federation.

Since the State of Michigan shares a common heritage,

legislation, the Government section has not considered the

legislation in order to provide for the Michigan

the Government efforts to improve the general

will state the efforts to be made in order to

negotiated by the Michigan Government.

LEGISLATION

The economic, political and legislative

the Western Region means that no area considers itself

outside the scope of the Michigan Government

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The realisation that whatever their political differences the Yoruba will probably unite against other ethnic nation led to the demand of the non-Yoruba areas in southwestern Nigeria for separation and their secession to form the Midwestern Region in 1963. As a unit in the Federation the Yoruba in the Western Region have demanded union with the Western Region of their co-nationals under different administrations in the Federal Territory of Lagos and the Northern Region. Whether this demand is met or not there can be no doubt that language and cultural ties will bind all parts of the Western Region together and make them co-operate to build a cohesive Region.

CHAPTER IX

THE MIDWESTERN REGION

The Midwestern Region covers an area of 14,922 square miles and so represents 4.2 percent of the total area of Nigeria. Its recorded population of 1,491,415 persons in 1952 was 4.9 percent of the total for the whole country and the declared population of 2,535,839 in 1963 represented 4.6 percent of the reported population of Nigeria. The Region is therefore the smallest of the four Regions in both area and population.

The parts of the Region along the Niger were among the earliest areas to sign treaties with the British, Asaba signed a treaty with the National Africa Company (later Royal Niger Company) on August 28, 1884, and Abokh followed on October 2, 1884. However, the greater part of the Region did not come under the British until 1892 when the Benin Empire signed a treaty with the Vice Consul of the Oil Rivers Protectorate, and British authority was not established until the attack and conquest of Benin in 1897.

From then on the area was administered as part of the Oil Rivers Protectorate but after the amalgamation of the latter with Lagos in 1906 the areas now in the Midwestern

Region formed part of the Central Province with headquarters at Warri. In 1914 the Central Province was divided into smaller Provinces and after the re-organization of Southern Nigeria in 1939 the two Provinces of Delta and Benin which now constitute the Midwest formed part of the Western Provinces. The latter arrangement did not please the people of the area particularly after the establishment of representative government. They pointed out that they differed from the Yoruba by whom they were greatly outnumbered. They therefore demanded a separate Region of their own.

THE CREATION OF THE MIDWESTERN REGION

The complaint about the predominance of the Yoruba in Southwestern Nigeria¹ arose because of the social and economic differences between the Midwest and Yorubaland. The social differences were both ethnic and historical. Ethnically the peoples of the Midwest are different from the Yoruba (table XII).

1. For clarity of discussion in this and subsequent chapters the old Western Region will be described as Southwestern Nigeria and its two parts as Midwest and Yorubaland.

TABLE XI
SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC NATIONS² 1952

Nation	Total Regional Population	MIDWEST		YORUBALAND	
		No.	% Total	No.	% Total
Eao	1,033,368	949,043	91.84	84,325	8.16
Ibo	451,006	398,148	88.28	52,858	11.72
Ijo	81,178	65,025	80.10	16,153	19.90
Yoruba	4,334,457	47,071	1.09	4,287,386	98.91
Others	186,056	32,128	17.27	153,928	82.73
Total	6,085,065	1,491,415	24.51	4,593,650	75.49

Each of these ethnic nations wishes to preserve its identity and control its own affairs, but their inclusion together in southwestern Nigeria made this impossible. In fact the predominance of the Yoruba meant that they were the only people who could achieve the aim. This made the

2. Based on groupings in Chapter III.

others feel that if Southwestern Nigeria were to remain a single political unit, they "shall be forced ... to be perpetually under the domination of the Yoruba."³

The desire to separate from Yorubaland received further impetus from the historical distinctiveness of the Midwest. For most of the areas were in the Benin Empire whose influence once extended to Ouidj'ala in the east and the Akure and Ekiti areas of Yorubaland in the west. Although the political authority of Benin over many parts had ceased by the nineteenth century, most of the areas now in the Midwest acknowledged the spiritual leadership of that city. There was therefore a desire to reinstate the independence of the Benin Kingdom and so preserve its identity. The people considered that this could not be achieved unless they had a separate Region of their own.

The social differences were accentuated by the differences in the economies of the two areas. These differences are due to the geology and soil of the two areas. Most parts of the Midwest are underlain by sandstones and clay shales or riverain sediments in the Niger delta. The delta deposits are swampy and waterlogged for most of the

3. Traditional Ward 'L', Benin City: A Memorandum of Evidence for Midwest Creation submitted before Minorities Commission 1958.

year and farming is practically impossible for the Ijò who are the main inhabitants. The problems are therefore greatly different from those of the dryland communities in the rest of Southwestern Nigeria. The sandstones and clay shales over most of the rest of the Midwest have weathered to form sandy soils. Conditions are good for the cultivation of rubber and oil palm but not cocoa which is grown in most parts of Yorubaland. The differences in the agricultural productions of the two areas is shown in table XI.

TABLE XII

SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

PRODUCTION OF MAJOR CASH CROPS 1964-65 (Tons)

Crop	Midwest ⁴	Yorubaland ⁵
Cocoa	9,481	267,000
Rubber ⁶	133,555	
Palm Kernel	74,339	148

4. Data Supplied by Min. of Trade and Min. of Agric. Midwestern Region, 1965.

5. Ministry of Agric. Western Region, 1965.

6. Total in Western Nigeria was less than 500 tons.

Thus there was no common feature between the Yoruba and the Midwest. Their initial inclusion in a single Region was based on the similarities in the political and administrative organization of the indigenous political units⁷ and the historical connections of the Benin ruling family with Ile-Ife,⁸ the ancestral home of Yoruba kings. But the similarities in political system do not provide a unifying force because of social and economic differences. Moreover, the desire to preserve the national identity of the Edo is much stronger than any ties which bind the Oba of Benin to Yorubaland. Because of these the demand for a separate Region continued to be made⁹ until the Federal Parliament passed the motion for its creation¹⁰ and the Region was formally established on August 9, 1963, with its headquarters in Benin City.

-
7. Nigeria: Reorganisation of the Southern Provinces
Sessional Paper No. 46 of 1937. G. P 1937.
(2pp).
8. For another viewpoint on the relationships see:
R. C. Ryder "A Reconsideration of the Ife-Benin
Relationship."
Jnl. of Afr. History Vol. VI, 1965
pp. 25-37
9. The main development started in 1948 but it was not till the formation of the Benin-Delta Peoples Party on Sept. 18, 1953 that the Midwest Movement was inaugurated as the main organisation for a separate Region.
10. See also Abernethy, D. B. "Nigeria Creates a New
Region"
Africa Report Vol. IX, 1964. pp. 8-10

PHYSICAL FEATURES

As mentioned above sedimentary rocks underlie the greater part of the Region. The rest of the Region - its northern part - is underlain by crystalline rocks. The boundary between the two geological zones lies in the southern part of Afenmai Division and the northwestern part of Benin Division.

The highest areas in the Region are in the zone of crystalline rocks where heights of 2,000 feet are reached. From there the land descends rather gently to the south and the coast where the main features are the distributaries of River Niger and the coastal creeks (Fig. 2 p. 3).

The major climatic difference in the Region is in the rainfall. In the northern part the rain is concentrated into a few months and there is a marked dry season in which rainfall is almost negligible. In the southern part there is appreciable rainfall in even the driest month, at Forcados the driest month, December, has an average rainfall of 2.2 inches. Total annual rainfall varies from about 109 inches in Warri to 78 inches in Benin City and about 50 inches in the northern parts of the Region (Fig. 3 p. 5)

MIDWESTERN REGION NATURAL RESOURCES

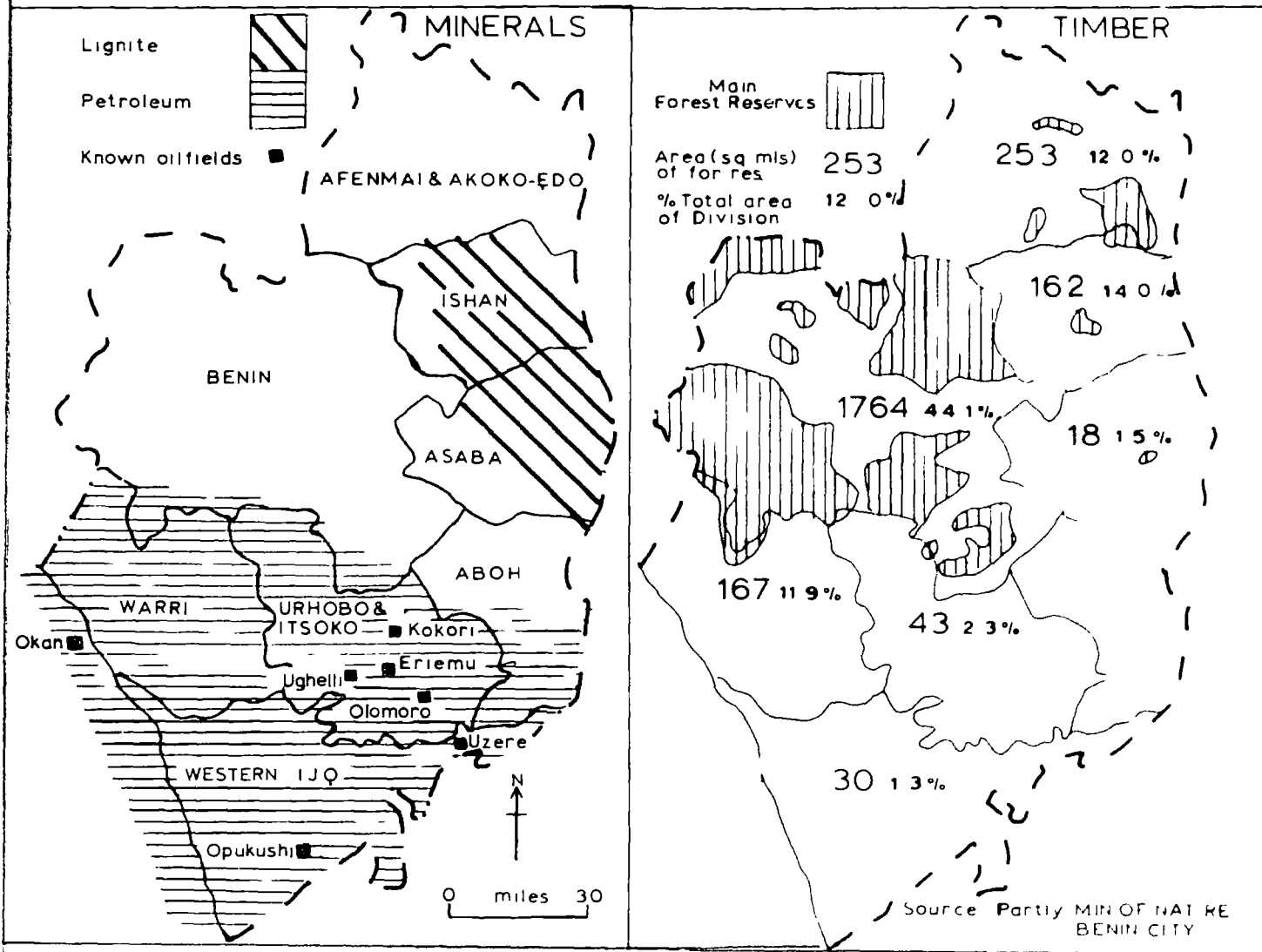


FIG. 63

Vegetation varies from mangrove swamps in the coastal creeks to rain forest in the central and greater part of the Region. There is a belt of forest - savanna mosaic in the northern part.

RESOURCES

Minerals. The main mineral resources of the Region are petroleum, natural gas, and lignite. Petroleum and natural gas are found in the south. At present extraction is carried on only on the Uzere field in Western Ijò Division, the Olomoro field in Isoko Division and the Okan field off the coasts of Warri Division (Fig. 63). Total production in 1965-66 was 30,800,583 barrels of crude petroleum and 15,776 million cubic feet of natural gas.

Lignite is found in the Asaba area. The thickness of the deposits varies from about eight feet in the upper seam to over 17 feet in the lower seam. The lignites are considered to be "of good quality and that they can be used for ordinary steam-raising purposes including the generation of electricity." ¹¹

11. De Swardt, A. M. J. and Piper, H. "The Lignites of Asaba Division."
Rec. of the Geol. Sur. of Nigeria, 1957
 Lagos Fed. Govt. Printer, 1960.
 pp. 5-15

Forest: Large areas of the Region are still under forest from which timber can be extracted and the Government has declared some of these as forest reserves. The reserves whose total area in each Division is shown on the map (Fig. 63) are the main sources of the timber produced in the Region. In 1962-63 the reserves accounted for 7,927,806 cubic feet (61.8 percent) out of a Regional total of 11,464,527 cubic feet of timber. Revenue from timber to the Regional and Local Governments averaged £268,977 per annum in the four years 1959-60 to 1962-63.

Foodstuffs. Like the rest of the southern part of Nigeria the main food resources of the Region are yams, cassava, cocoyam and maize. The estimated quantity produced in each Province in 1958-59 is shown in table XIII.

TABLE XIII

MIDWESTERN REGION

ESTIMATED PRODUCTION OF MAJOR FOODSTUFFS 1958/59¹²

Crop Crop	Benin Province '000 Tons	Delta Province '000 Tons	Total Production '000 Tons
Yams	321	189	510
Cassava	208	183	391
Cocoyams	15	12	27
Maize	24	5	29

12. Federal Office of Statistics: Agricultural Sample Survey of Western Nigeria, 1958/59

MIDWESTERN REGION DIVISIONAL SALE OF PALM PRODUCTS AND COCOA
TO THE REGIONAL MARKETING BOARD 1964/65

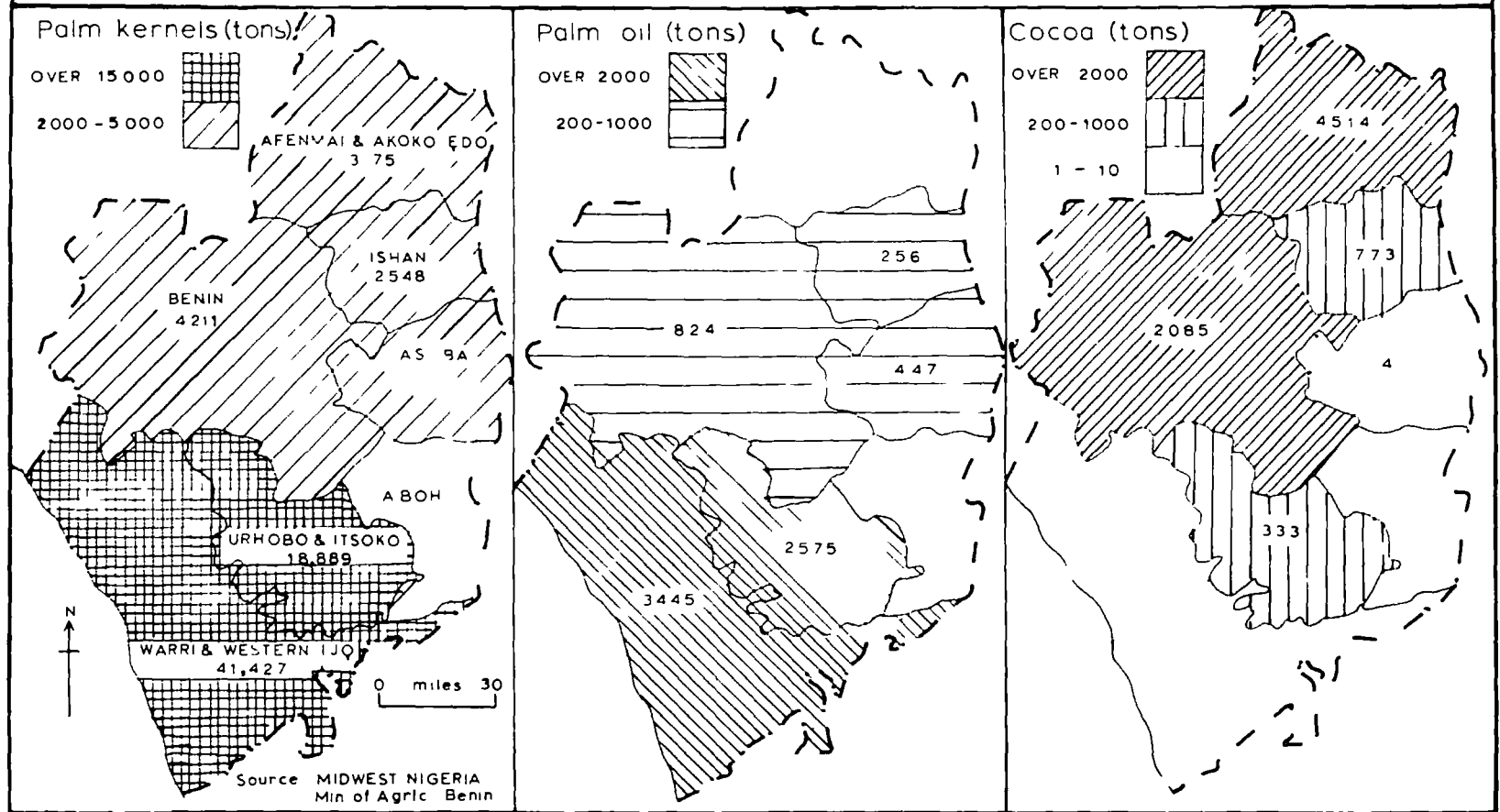


FIG. 64

Cash Crops: The main cash crops in the Region are rubber, oil palm and cocoa. The main areas of rubber cultivation are Benin, Ishan, Urhobo and Asaba Divisions but the quantity produced in each area is not known. Total Regional production in 1964-65 was 134,055 tons. As with cocoa in Yorubaland, rubber is produced by individual farmers.

Oil palm grows wildy in all areas but it is also extensively cultivated. Both palm oil and palm kernels are produced, but much of the palm oil is sold locally hence the actual quantity of palm oil produced is not known. Unlike palm oil, most of the palm kernel is sold. The quantity sold through the Regional Marketing Board for industrial use is shown on the map (Fig. 64), but it should be realised that the high sales in the coastal areas are probably due to the fact that people from other areas bring their produce to the ports.

The production of cocoa is important only in Afenmai Division but it is also cultivated on a minor scale in Ishan and Benin Divisions. Total Regional Production in 1964-65 was 9,481 tons.

MIDWESTERN REGION DIVISIONAL POPULATION DENSITY 1963

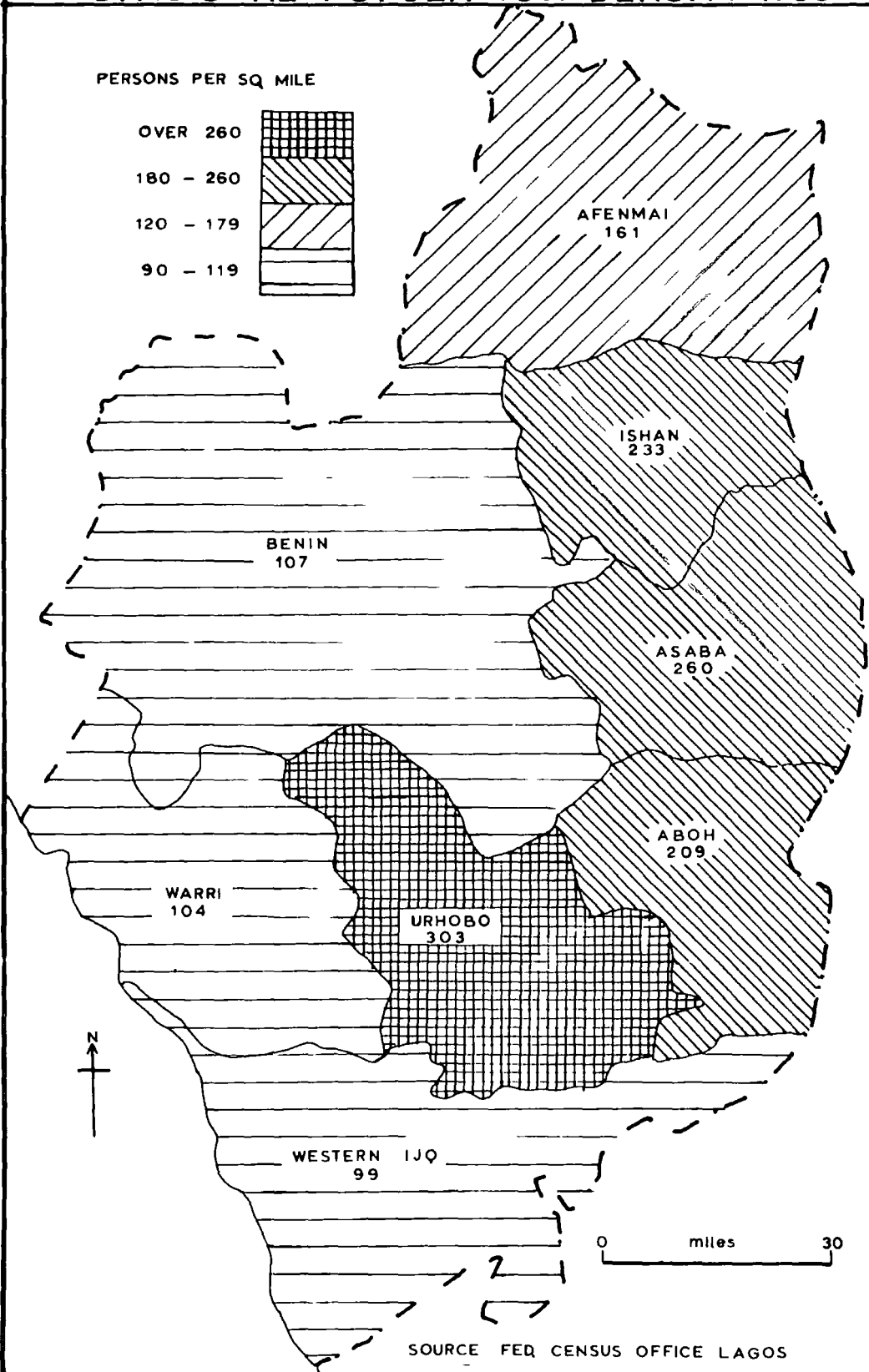
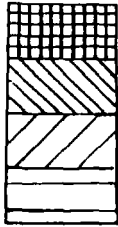
PERSONS PER SQ MILE

OVER 260

180 - 260

120 - 179

90 - 119



SOURCE FED CENSUS OFFICE LAGOS

FIG. 65

POPULATION

In common with the rest of the country there are no reliable data of the population of the Region. However, the 1963 census indicates that the greatest densities of population are in the eastern Divisions of Urhobo, 308 psm, Asaba, 260 psm, Ishan, 233 psm, Aboh, 209 psm (Fig. 65). The high densities, mean great pressures on the land particularly in Urhobo Division where there are swampy areas which are unsuitable for farming. Because of the high pressure there is emigration to other areas; thus there are large numbers of Urhobo and Ibo in Benin Division and Yorubaland.

The comparatively low density of the coastlands is due to the swampy and difficult terrain. Western Ijo Division, which has the lowest density in the Region, 99 psm in 1963, lies on the western section of the Niger delta and Warri Division lies on the creeks of the coastlands. In either case the land is waterlogged for most of the year and farming is very difficult.

A substantial proportion of the population is literate. In 1952 literates formed between eight and 23 per cent of

MIDWESTERN REGION RATE OF LITERACY 1952

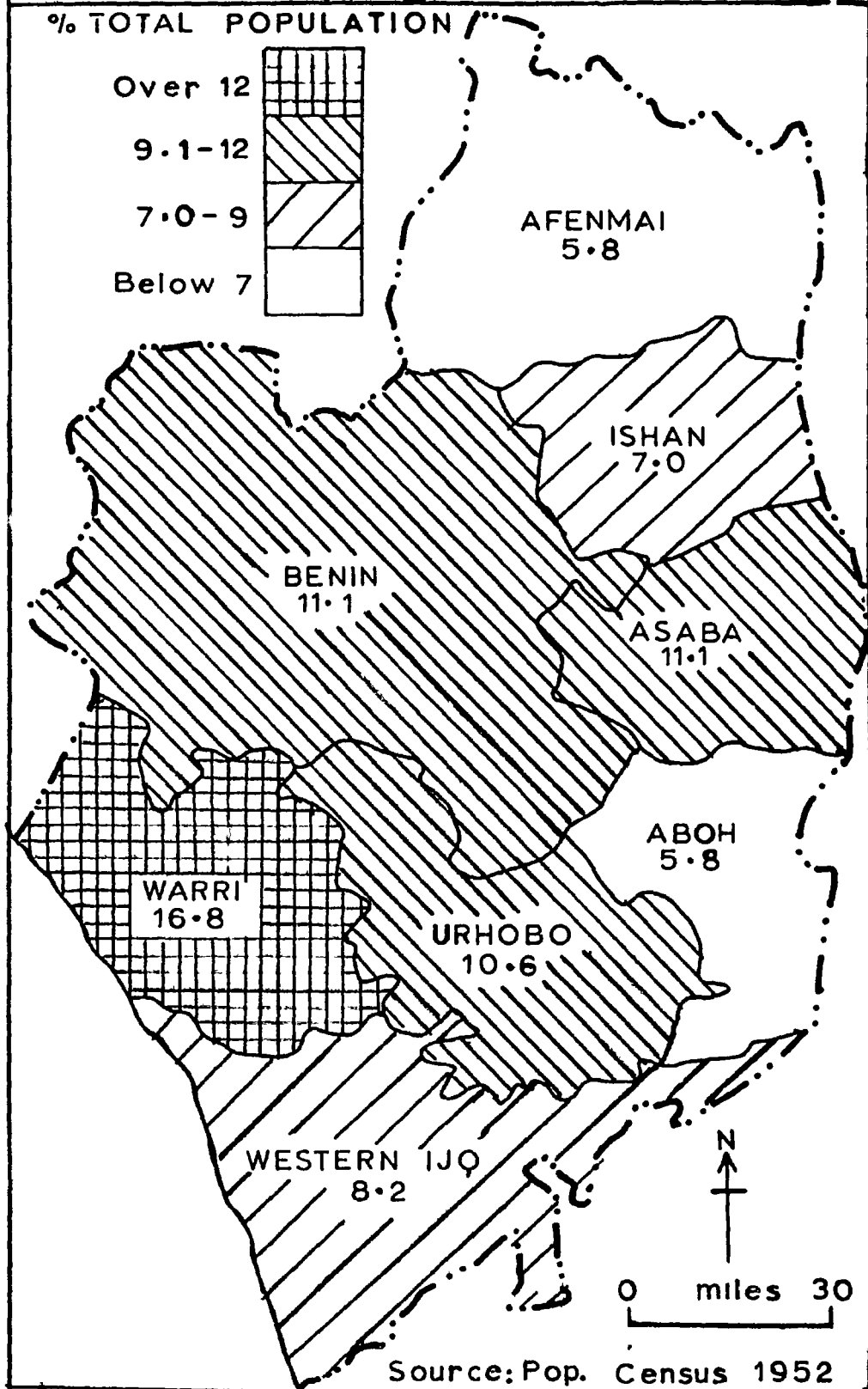
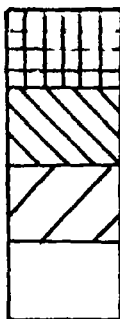
% TOTAL POPULATION

Over 12

9.1-12

7.0-9

Below 7



the population of the various Divisions (Fig. 66). Most parents took advantage of the Free Primary Education scheme introduced throughout the Southwestern Nigeria in 1955 so it is likely that the literates now form a higher proportion of the population.

Most of the literates, like most of those in the other Regions, do not go beyond the primary school level. Therefore, in common with the other parts of the country, the Midwestern Region does not have sufficient skilled manpower for its needs.

There are four main indigenous nations in the Region Edo, Ibo, Ijò, and Yoruba. In 1952 the proportion of the total population formed by each of these was as in table XIV

Table XIV
MIDWESTERN REGION
ETHNIC NATIONS 1952

<u>Nation</u>	<u>1952 Pop. in M. W. R.</u>	<u>% Total Reg. Pop.</u>
Edo	949,043	63.6
Ibo	398,148	26.7
Ijò	65,025	4.3
Yoruba	47,071	3.2
Others	<u>32,128</u>	<u>2.2</u>
Total	<u>1,491,415</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Of the four indigenous nations only the Edo has its main population in the Region. The Ibo are the western section of the nation whose main home is in the Eastern Region where they form the majority of the population. The Ijo are also the western section of the nation whose greater part is in the Eastern Region where they also form a small minority.

The Yoruba are sections of the people of the Western Region. Moreover the Yoruba are in two separate areas - Warri Division in the south and the Akoko-Edo Division in the north. Those in Warri Division are Isekiri and though they sometimes like to be regarded as a distinct language unit their dialect is not greatly different from those of the Ilaje, Ikalẹ and Ijebu sections of the Yoruba. Those in Akoko-Edo are part of the Akoko section of the Yoruba who inhabit the northern part of Owo Division in Ondo Province. Hence although they belong to the same nation the Yoruba in the Region speak different dialects and because the physical conditions in their homeland are markedly different from each other their ways of life and attitude to affairs may not be the same.

Since three of the ethnic nations are sections of larger ones it is difficult to distinguish between

indigenous and immigrant peoples in the Region. This is because the population of the three ethnic nations include members of their races from the other areas. The 398,148 Ibo and the 65,025 Ijo in the Region in 1952 included immigrants from the Eastern Region while the 47,071 Yoruba also included some from the Western and Northern Regions. This situation poses a problem in that people from the other Regions claim Midwestern origin when applying for jobs or benefit under a government scheme and so may occupy positions intended for citizens of the Region.

CULTURAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The situation described above did not attract attention before the creation of the Region because of the emphasis on the historical associations of most parts of the Region and the cultural similarities which developed as a result of those associations. The latter are based on the fact that most of the Region was in the Benin Empire in which there was a common pattern of administration and political organisation.¹³ For example most areas adopted the Benin practice of succession by the eldest son. As part of his training the heir apparent was sent to Benin

13. Bradbury, R. E. The Benin Kingdom
 London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1957. p. 15
 and Forde, D. and Jones, G. I. The Ibo and
 Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria.
 London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1950. pp. 49 & 51

MIDWESTERN REGION. PATTERN OF RELIGIONS 1952

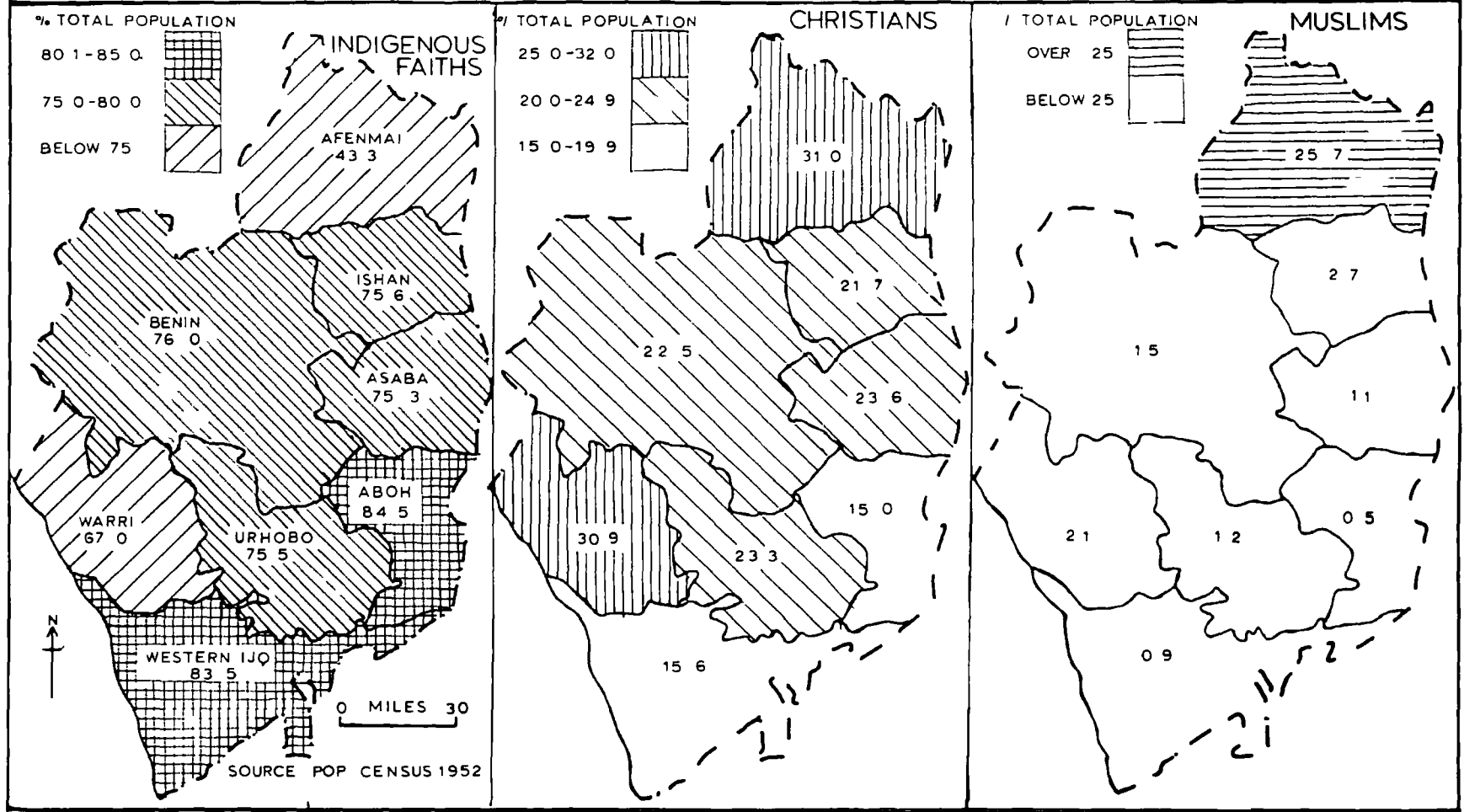


FIG. 67

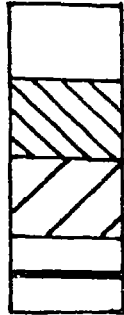
MIDWESTERN REGION MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIM SCHLS

ĘDO

YORUBA

IBO

IJQ



AKOKO
ĘDO

AFENMAI

ISHAN

BENIN

ASABA

WARRI

ABOH

URHOBO

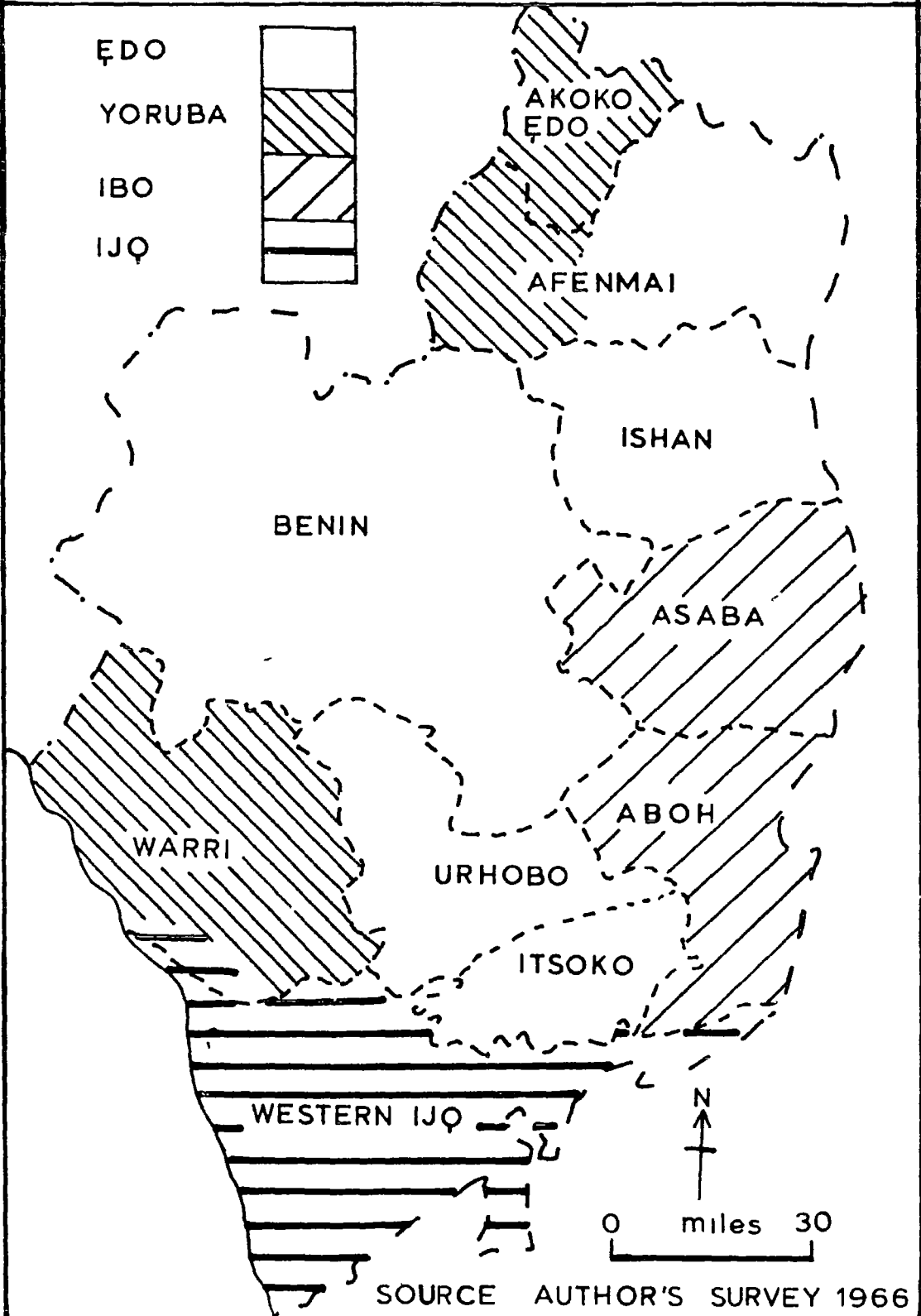
ITSOKO

WESTERN IJQ

N

0 miles 30

SOURCE AUTHOR'S SURVEY 1966



to learn the customs and traditions of the court.¹⁴
 In that way rulers in various parts knew and adopted the practices of Benin and the same pattern of administration was established in the Empire.

The invasion and conquest of the northern parts of the Region by the Nupe during the nineteenth century did not make much difference to the political and administrative system of those areas but it led to the introduction of new elements into the cultural scene of the area. The most important of these was the introduction of Islam to Etsako District¹⁵ and other parts of Afenmai Division. As a result of this a substantial proportion (25.7 percent in 1952) of the population in those areas is now Muslim. Thus the areas are different from the other parts of the Region where there are very few Muslims (Fig. 67).

Partly because of their location on the Edo-Yoruba borderland and partly because of the Yoruba raids of the nineteenth century the Edo in the northwestern part of the Region have adopted the Yoruba language and use it

14. Bradbury, R. E. op. cit. p. 146

15. Ibid p. 101

as a medium of instruction in their primary schools. Ordinarily, this would attract no interest since the other parts of the Region do not use the same language (Fig 68). But since one of the reasons for the separation from Yorubaland was the fear of Yoruba cultural and political domination there may be objections to the use of the Yoruba language by a section of the Edo. If the north-west Edo do not drop Yoruba the other parts may doubt their allegiance to the Region. If that happens the northwestern areas may feel alienated from the rest.

However, it seems unlikely that there will be any attempt to make the northwest Edo change their way of life. For Yoruba is understood by many people in other parts of Edo land and since the Edo language is not used on Radio Nigeria it is likely that the Edo will prefer to learn Yoruba rather than any of the other two (Hausa and Ibo) languages which are recognised all over Nigeria. Similarly the Muslim areas are not likely to feel alienated in that no other religious group will dominate them. This is because the two other religious groups do not form blocks. For although the indigenous religions (Fig. 67) have some common features they do not form a block. Christianity which receives the widest support in the Region does not form a block and in any case Christians form a minority and cannot easily

impose their views on any section. Hence the different religious groups in all parts of the Region are likely to continue existing relationships.

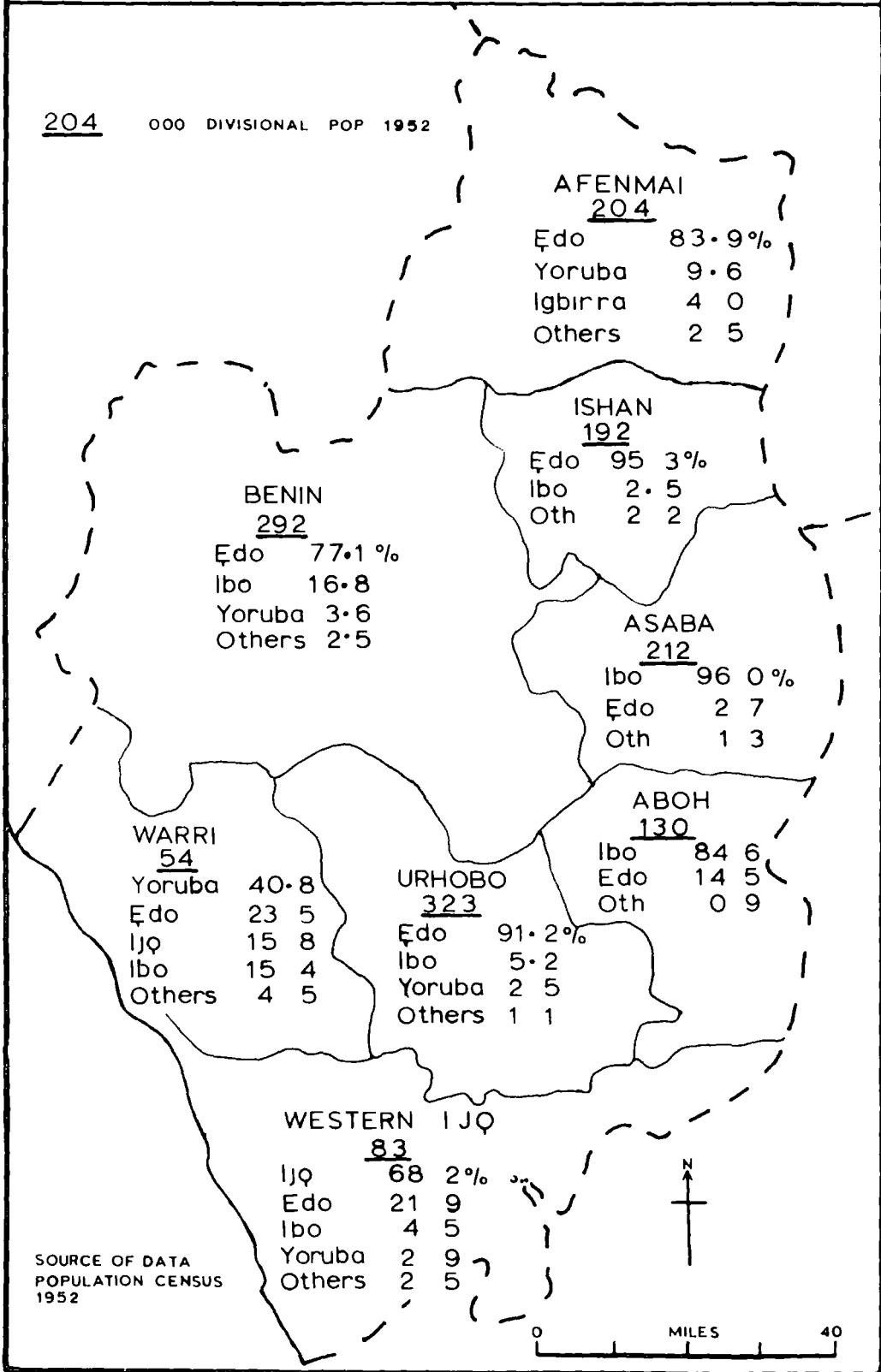
At the same time, the similarities in indigenous political and administrative organizations should not be exaggerated. For one thing, only a small section of the population, the ruling class was greatly affected by the cultural influence of Benin and the power of these traditional rulers has been greatly reduced since the introduction of representative government. Another reason is that most of the Ibo and Yoruba areas were independent of Benin before the British Occupation, therefore their attachment to Benin and its customs is not great and they now consider that they have little in common with the Edo.

INTRA-REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The claim of each ethnic nation as a distinct unit makes it necessary to consider relationships in the Region in terms of the attitude of each nation to the Region and to the other ethnic nations. In this respect

MIDWESTERN REGION. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DIVISIONAL POPULATION 1952

204 000 DIVISIONAL POP 1952



SOURCE OF DATA
POPULATION CENSUS
1952

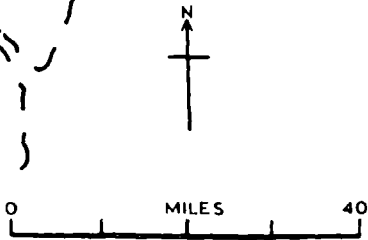


FIG. 69

the separation of the Yoruba makes it advisable to consider the Iṣẹkírí and the Akoko separately. So five major units may be recognised: Edo, Ibo, Ijọ, Iṣẹkírí and Akoko. The distribution of these in the Divisions is shown on the map (Fig. 69).

The Edo who form 63.6 per cent of the Region's population inhabit Itsoko, Urhobo, Benin, Ishan and Afenmai Divisions. Nearly all of them were in the Benin Empire hence they are the most anxious to restore the glories of Benin. Their large size gives them a predominant position in the Region and they expect to dominate its affairs. However, their unity should not be over-emphasized because each of the dialectal groups of the Edo claims separate existence and this makes it difficult for them to form a very united block against other ethnic nations. Nevertheless there is no doubt that in the event of outside pressure all Edo dialectal groups will co-operate to protect their interests.

The Ibo homeland Asaba and Aboh Divisions, had a population of 342,503 in 1952 and 494,152 in 1963. These represented 23 per cent and 19.4 per cent of the Regional population and since Ibo form about 27 per cent

of the Regional population indicate that there are many Ibo in the other parts of the Region. It is likely that most of those outside the Ibo areas are from outside the Region.

Although they were in the Benin Empire the support given by the Ibo in the Region to the creation of the Midwestern Region was not because of a desire to restore the glories of Benin but because of their opposition to the preponderance of the Yoruba in South-Western Nigeria. This is shown by their plan to join the Eastern Region, if the Midwestern Region were not^t created.¹⁶ By supporting the creation of the Midwestern Region the Ibo gained for themselves an important role in its affairs. Instead of forming only 7.4 percent of the Regional population they became the second largest nation forming over a quarter of the population.

The Ijo inhabit Western Ijo Division and the Gbaramatu and Ogbe-Ijo Districts of Warri Division. The population of those areas was 87,802 in 1953 and 243,488 in 1963. These areas were not greatly affected by Benin influence and have very little in common with the

16. D. C. Osadebay revealed this in his evidence to the Minorities Commission at its sitting in Benin City 10th December, 1957. See Minutes for the day. p. 8

rest of the Region. The area is swampy and agriculture is practically impossible, hence the people's main occupation is fishing. Like the Ijò of the Eastern Region they complain that the dryland communities do not understand their problems and would like to join the Eastern Ijò in forming a new Region. Though they supported the creation of the Midwestern Region their preference is still for a separate Ijò Region in the Niger Delta.

The Işekiri inhabit the greater part of Warri Division and at one time did not want to join the other area in separating from Yorubaland. Later they gave their support and are now in the Region where the population of their homeland, 49,291 in 1952 and 133,318 in 1963 represented only 3.3 percent and 5.2 percent of the Regional population. They are, therefore, a very small minority in the Region. But their former connections with Benin and their location on the coast will probably enable them receive more attention. Warri, one of the main ports of the Region, is their main town and petroleum has been discovered off their coast.

The Akoko homeland was constituted into an administrative Division, Akoko Edo, in 1964. Though, culturally and linguistically, the Akoko are a section of the Yoruba there is no doubt that they have been greatly influenced by Benin culture. Even then they did not want to join Midwestern Region and would appear to have given their support only at the last moment.

The claims for separate identity by these five groups create problems in the Region. These problems are made more difficult by the outside connections of three of the nations. The Ibo are now linked to their co-nationals in the Eastern Region by the Niger bridge. This brings them closer to Onitsha than to Benin, and so emphasizes their dual role as Ibo and Midwesterners. As Midwesterners, they are a Regional minority. As Ibo, they are part of the second largest ethnic nation in all Nigeria.

Though some of the problems of the Ijo are being solved through the Niger Delta Development Board¹⁷ they are not happy about their position. This is partly because the implementation of schemes proposed by the Board depends on the Governments which consist essentially

17. See Chapter VII. p. 150

MIDWESTERN REGION PATTERN OF PARTY SUPPORT IN REGIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

WEST 1956 & 1960 COMBINED

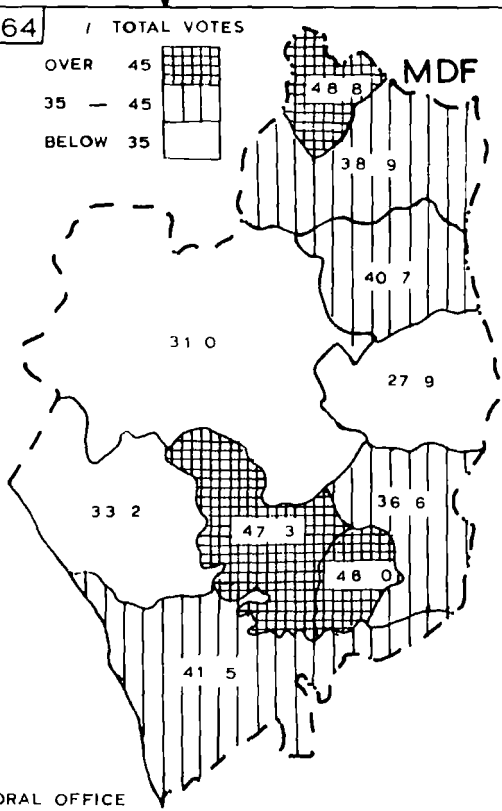
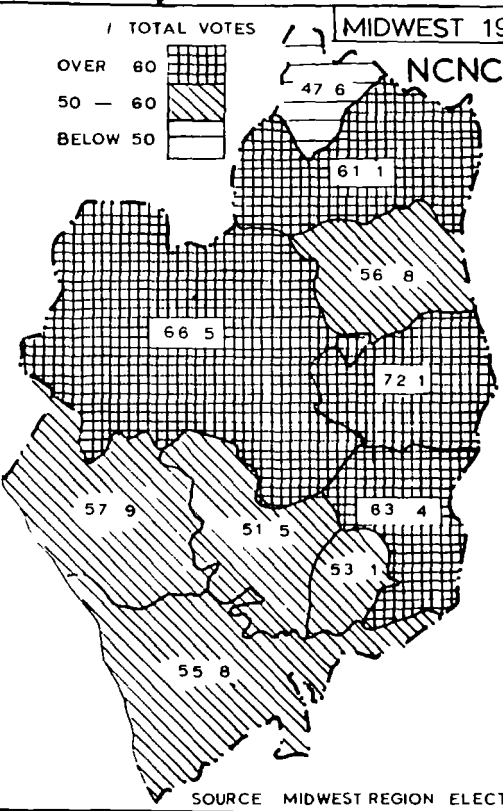
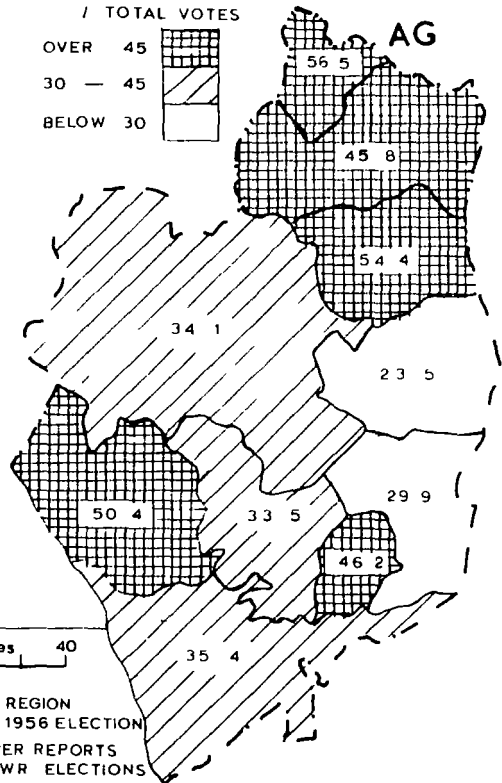
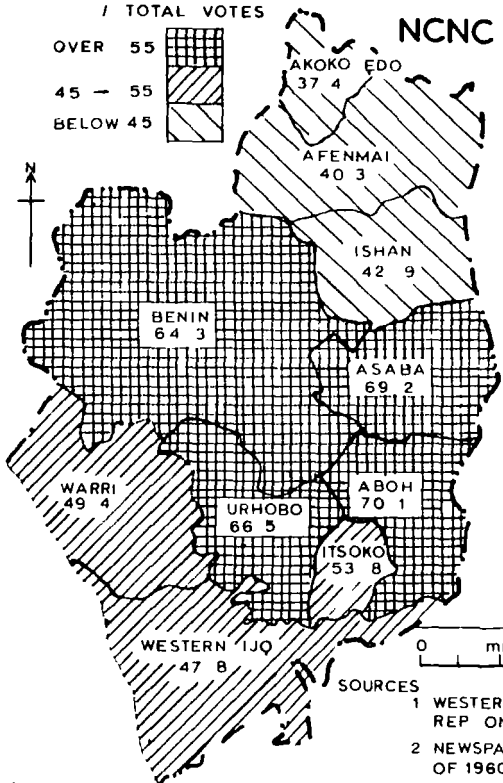


FIG. 70

of dryland peoples and partly because the Ijò have no decisive voice in the affairs of their Regions. Hence they would continue to press for their Ijò Region.

In the event of a clash between the Èdo and the Ibo or the Ijò, the Yoruba would probably associate themselves with the Èdo. But, if they feel neglected, they would easily renew their demand for union with the rest of Yorubaland.

The Èdo who are the dominant people in the Region also have their own problems. As the largest nation they expect to lead the Region but then their leadership is challenged by the Ibo. In particular they have not taken kindly to the fact that the first premier of the Region was an Ibo. They see this as a challenge to their authority and allege that it amounts to Ibo domination.

But the choice of the premier was dependent on party support and on the leadership of the party with the majority of members. Since the beginning of parliamentary representation the Èdo have supported (Fig. 70) the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.) whose leader in the Midwestern Region was an Ibo. In the first elections to the Regional House of Assembly in 1964 (Fig. 70) that party won 53 of the 65 seats and so its leader became the first premier. But since the leader

belonged to one of the smaller nations in the Region the predominant people complained.

As may be expected the complaints have led to bad relationships among the peoples concerned. There were reports of plans to overthrow the premier and replace him with some other person. This led to an inquiry which found that the leaders of the Edo had such plans. There are also allegations of domination and importation of non-Midwestern Ibo to hold important posts which should have been held by people of Midwestern Region.

REGIONAL COHESION

These complaints and accusations have not helped the development of the Region as a cohesive unit. There is no doubt that if the others continue to complain of the Ibo, relationships will worsen further. On the other hand, if the Regional leader does not come from the dominant nation the majority of the people will be unhappy.

These problems highlight the difficulties that lie in the creation of new Regions in Nigeria. More still they appear to illustrate the point that unity to attain a

common goal does not necessarily lead to agreement and united action after the task has been completed. Above all the problems of the Midwestern Region teach a lesson that if new Regions are to be cohesive then they should not include unassimilable sections of the larger nations in the country. The future of any Region depends on confidence between its various parts, but the situation in the Midwestern Region makes it difficult for the various parts to trust one another, and so its development as a cohesive Region is delayed.

CHAPTER X

LAGOS. THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY

The Federal Territory of Lagos lies on the coast of Yorubaland and all its mainland boundaries are shared with the Western Region. It had a population of 271,800 persons in 1952 and 665,246 persons in 1963. Its area of 27 square miles falls into four main parts - Lagos Island, Iddo Island, Victoria Beach and Western Mainland the areas of which are shown in table XV (See also Fig. 71).

TABLE XV

CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE FEDERAL TERRITORY

Part	Area ¹ (Sq. Mls.)
Lagos Island	5.30
Iddo Island	0.43
Victoria Beach	4.00
Western Mainland	<u>17.53</u>
Total	<u><u>27.26</u></u>

Lagos Island was the first area in the Lower Niger Region to come under British influence. On August 6, 1861, the King of Lagos signed with Britain a treaty which allowed

1. Based on data supplied by City Engineer's Department, Lagos City Council.

the latter full authority on the port and island of Lagos and required Britain to pay the King of Lagos a pension of £1030 a year, "as equal to his net revenue."² Lagos was administered as a separate unit until February 19, 1866 when it became part of the British West African Settlements under a Governor-in-Chief stationed in Freetown, Sierra Leone. On July 24, 1874, Lagos and the British sphere of influence on the Gold Coast were constituted a separate administrative unit under a Governor independent of the one in Freetown, but on January 13, 1886, Lagos was separated from the Gold Coast and constituted a separate administrative unit.

Because of the part played by the Governor of Lagos in establishing British influence in Yorubaland he was empowered, by an Order of December 29, 1887, to administer British jurisdiction in the areas adjacent to Lagos. Subsequently those areas became known as the Lagos Protectorate.

2. For full contents of the treaty see: Hertslet, E.
 Map of Africa by Treaty (3rd ed.) Vol. 1 p. 94
 London, H.M.S.O. 1909.
 and for value of pension see:
 Crowder, M. The Story of Nigeria.
 London, Faber and Faber 1962 p. 152

When the administrations of the Protectorates of Lagos and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1906, Lagos was chosen as the capital of the enlarged Protectorate and as headquarters of both the Western Province and the Colony which had its own separate administration. All these led to a faster development of Lagos than of any other town, and a concentration of banking and commercial activities in it. By 1914 when the administrations of the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated Lagos had become the most important commercial and banking centre in the Lower Niger. Because of these facilities it was decided that it should become the administrative capital of the newly amalgamated country.³ In addition it remained as headquarters of both the Southern Provinces and the Colony. However, on April 1, 1929, the headquarters of the Southern Provinces were moved to Enugu.

In 1950 it was decided that Lagos and the Colony should become part of the western Region. But because of the demands of the Northern and Eastern Regions at the 1953 Constitutional Conference, the British Colonial Secretary decided that the Municipal Area of Lagos should become

3. Lugard, F.D. Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria Administrations 1912-1919. London. F.H.S.O. 1920. p. 27.

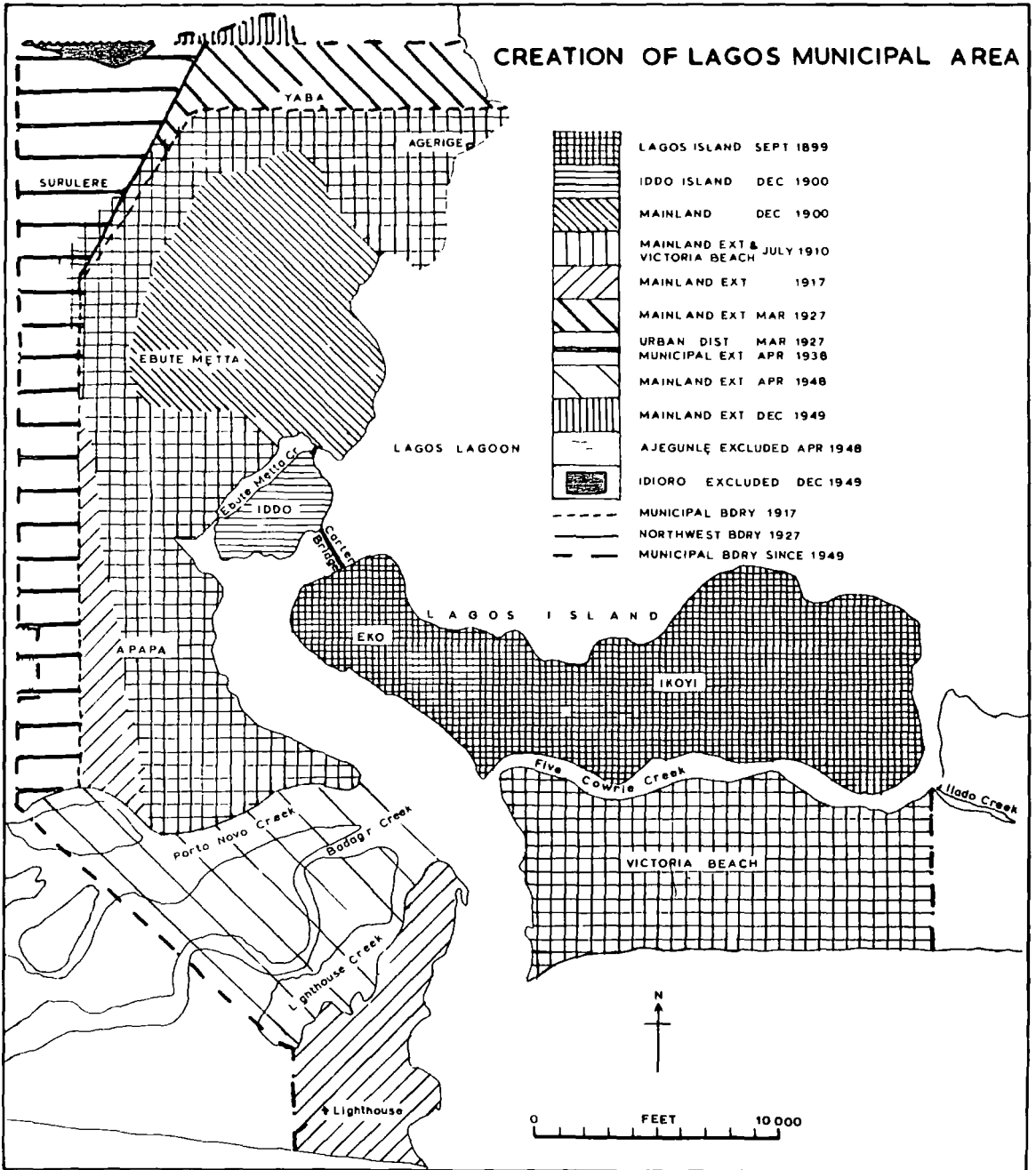


FIG. 71

Federal Territory and should be directly under the Federal Government.⁴ Consequently when the Federal Constitution came into operation on October 1, 1954, the municipal area of Lagos became the Capital of the Federation and also a Federal Territory.

CREATION OF THE LAGOS MUNICIPAL AREA

Although Lagos was not declared a Township until 1917 the creation of a special area around Lagos started on September 16, 1899, when, under the Health Ordinance, the island of Lagos was constituted the Sanitary District of Lagos.⁵ The powers of the Governor, under the Ordinance, to extend the boundaries of the Sanitary District were first exercised on December 29, 1900, when, by proclamation Iddo Island and part of the mainland at Ebute Metta were added to the Sanitary District⁶ (Fig. 71). The powers were exercised again in 1910 when more areas were added in the west and Victoria Beach was declared part of the Sanitary District.⁷

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4. Report by the Conference on the Nigerian Constitution. London. H.M.S.O. 1953. p. 20-22
 5. Public Health Ordinance. 1899
Government Gazette. September, 16, 1899. p. 393.
 6. Proclamation. 29th December, 1900.
Govt. Gazette. Colony of Lagos. No. 58 of 1900.
 7. Proclamation. 20th July, 1910.
Govt. Gazette. No. 62 of 1910. p. 11/2.

when Lagos was declared a First Class Township in 1917 there were small additions to the Sanitary District in the west and to the southwest of Lighthouse Creek (Fig. 71) The Township area as then defined was:

"The islands of Lagos and Iddo

"That part of the mainland on the east of the harbour of Lagos, bounded on the north by Five Cowrie Creek, on the east by a straight line running due south from the mouth of Igbosere creek⁸ to the sea, on the south by the sea, on the west by the Lagos Lagoon.

"That part of the mainland starting at a point $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of Agerige village and bounded on the north by a straight line running due west to the railway, on the northwest by a straight line southwestly to a concrete beacon marked 233P near Abebe village, on the west by a line due south to the Badagry Lagoon⁹ and on the south by that Lagoon and on the east by the Lagos Lagoon to the point of commencement

"That part of the mainland west of the harbour of Lagos, bounded on the east by the Lagos Lagoon, on the south by the sea, on the west by a straight line due north and south $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of the lighthouse, and on the northwest by Lighthouse Creek. 10

-
8. After a survey in 1927 it was discovered that there was no creek called 'Igbosere Creek', the right name is Ilado Creek which has been used in all definitions of the boundary since September, 1927.
9. In the earlier definitions of the boundary Porto Novo Creek was described as Badagry Lagoon. This was later corrected.
10. Laws of Nigeria 1925. Vol. III p. 368.

After 1917 the main developments in the creation of the Lagos Municipal area were affected by two considerations, namely, the inclusion of the Yaba Acquisition area and the application of the Town Council's building bye-laws. The Yaba acquisition area was intended for Government use and at one time it was suggested that the capital of the Southern Provinces should be built there.¹¹ While the latter idea was eventually dropped, the area remained Government territory on the northern edge of the overcrowded Township. So in October, 1924, the Town Council requested that the Yaba Acquisition be included in the Township and in September, 1926, this was authorized by the Administrator of the Colony.¹² On August 27, 1926, the Council also considered the application of its building bye-laws and observed that some people would escape the building regulations by building outside the Township. It was therefore decided to request the Governor to declare "an area half a mile wide, running parallel to the West and North boundary line of the Township area an Urban District." It was also decided that the Council should

11. Lugard op. cit. p. 26

12. This and the following details on the creation of the present Municipal area are contained in the files of the Lagos City Council to which the Clerk kindly gave access to the writer in January, 1966.

have power to apply its building bye-laws in the Urban District. By this proposal the Council, no doubt hoped to make it impossible for unregulated builders to enjoy the benefits of the Township.

These two proposals were granted and on March 31, 1927, the Yaba Acquisition was added to the Township and an Urban District declared. The Urban District (Fig. 71) was defined as.

"That part of the mainland bounded as follows:

"On the East and Southeast. By the western and northwestern boundaries ... of the Township of Lagos ...

"On the North By a straight line commencing at the western extremity of the northern boundary of the township of Lagos ... running approximately due west for an approximate distance of 7,550 feet.

"On the West: By a straight line running from the western extremity of the northern boundary approximately due south for an approximate distance of 30,000 feet to the Badagri Lagoon.

"On the South. By the Badagri Lagoon."¹³

Because the Indirect Rule System was to be established in the parts of the Colony outside Lagos from April 1, 1938,

13. Order No. 9 31st March, 1927.

Supplement to the Laws of Nigeria 1953. p. 739.

it became necessary to determine the future of the Lagos Urban District. It was decided that since the area would be required for the development of the Apapa section of the Township it should become part of the Township. This was formally announced on April 29, 1938.¹⁴

The present Municipal area differs only slightly from that defined after the addition of the Urban District in 1938. These differences have arisen partly because of Government action and partly because the 1938 boundary cuts across villages and houses.

In 1941 the Acting Director of Medical Services complained that there was the danger of people on board ships contacting malaria and yellow fever because of mosquito from the "numerous fishing villages" near Apapa port. He therefore recommended that "all settlements be removed from an area bounded as follows

"to the North by the Badagri Creek

"to the West by a line joining up the two separate portions of the western boundary of the township across the Badagri 'middle' and Lighthouse Creeks

"to the South by Lighthouse Creek

"to the East by the harbour."

14. Order No. 6 of 1938. 29th April, 1938.

In 1947 it was reported that the 1938 boundary ran through Ajegunle and Araromi and that "approximately two-thirds of the built-up areas of each village lie in the Awori area of Badagry Division, and the other one-third lies within the Lagos Township area." The inhabitants claimed that Government officers had misinformed them as to the location of the boundary with the consequence that buildings had been erected on land which they supposed to be outside the Township. It was considered inadvisable to order the destruction of houses which had been built within the township area. So it was decided that the township boundary be altered to exclude such houses.

Consequently the boundary was altered in April, 1948, to exclude the built-up areas of Araromi and Ajegunle and to include the area recommended by the Acting Director of Medical Services. These alterations affected only the southwestern sections of the boundary (Fig. 71) which was then defined as follows. "On the west Bounded by straight lines, the first running approximately due north at an approximate distance of $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of the Lighthouse to a concrete beacon marked PBL 7175 near High Water Mark in the south shore of the Lighthouse Creek, thence on an

BOUNDARY OF LAGOS IN AJEGUNLE AND AIYETORO

BOUNDARY

BUILT UP AREAS

BUILDINGS SPLIT BY THE BOUNDARY



0 FEET 1000

BASED ON MAP OF LAGOS AND ENVIRONS BY FED. SURVEYS

LAGOS FED TERRITORY

A I Y E I T O R O

A J E G U N L E

WESTERN REGION

FIG. 72

approximate bearing of $311^{\circ} 20'$ from true north ... to a concrete beacon marked FBL 7351 thence approximately due east ... to a concrete beacon marked PBL 7328 thence ... due west ... to a concrete beacon marked 7329 thence ... due north ...".

In June, 1948 the Lagos Town Council asked Ikeja Town Planning Authority to submit suggestions on an amended boundary line dividing the Ikeja area from the Township. Accordingly the Ikeja Town Planning Authority suggested that the northern boundary be altered to "exclude from the township a small portion of land at Idi-oro and to take in a fairly large area northwest of the Yaba Estate ...". The Council accepted the suggestion and so the present northern boundary was created. The amended boundaries were given official recognition in 1949¹⁵.

NA URL OF THE BOUNDARY

Although complaints by the public were taken into consideration when minor adjustments were made to the Lagos boundary, the main problem today is that created by the total disregard of indigenous boundaries, villages, streets and social units when the Township was mainly created. As a

15. Order No.9. of 1949.

Government Gazette 15th December, 1949.

NORTHWESTERN SECTION OF LAGOS BOUNDARY

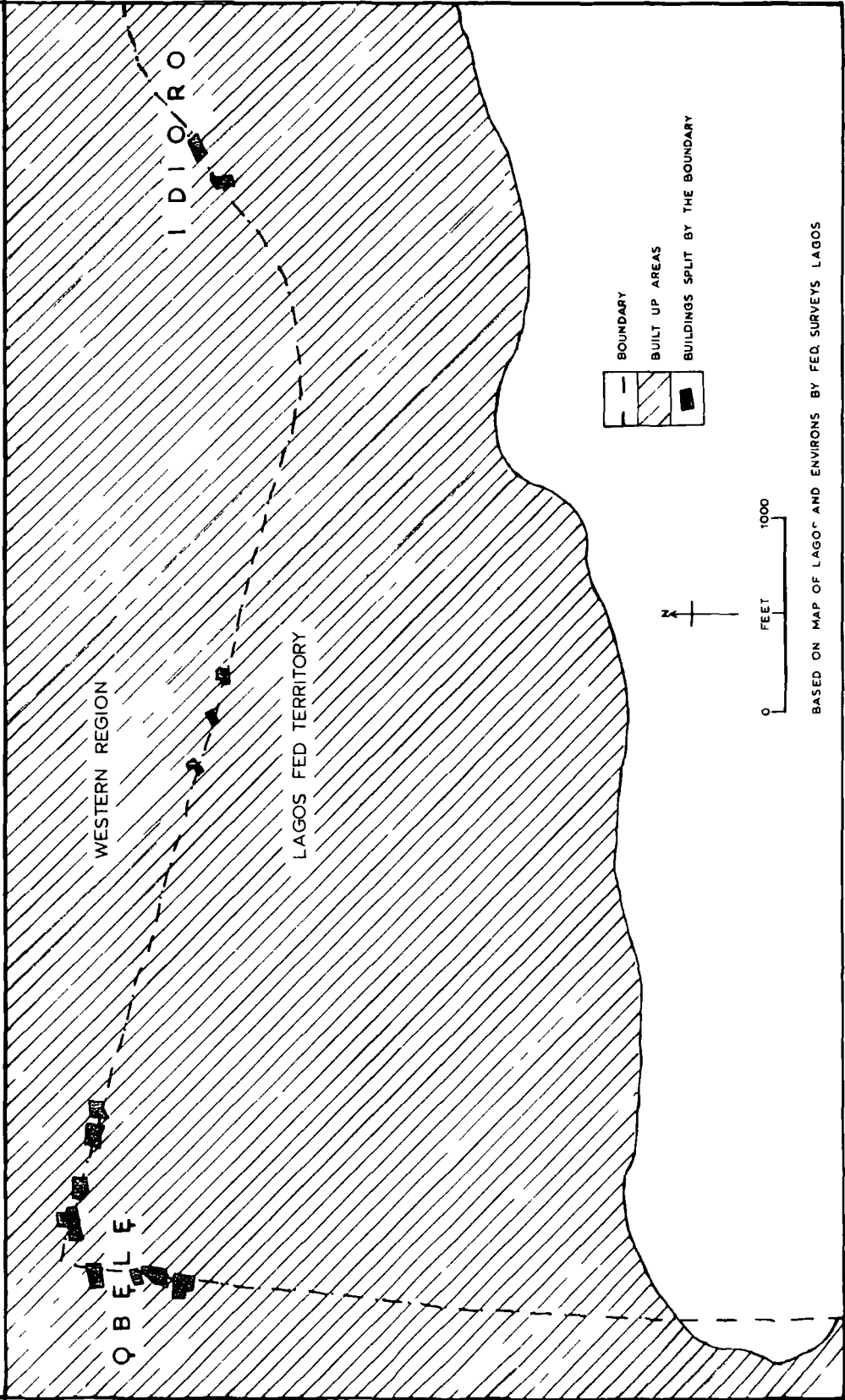


FIG. 73

result of this villages are now split between Lagos and adjacent areas of the Western Region, houses are divided by the boundary and it is difficult to determine where some people should pay taxes or rates.

In Ajegunle and Araromi (Fig. 72) which were excluded from the Township in 1948 the boundary is not yet decided. In 1964 a representative group of the Lagos City Council, the Ikeja District Council and the local inhabitants of Ajegunle found that certain areas within the Municipal area have been encroached upon by the other side and that residents of the affected areas have been paying taxes to the Western Region, and in some cases people had to pay taxes to both Governments. They also discovered that some houses lie partly in the Federal Territory and partly in the Western Region.

In Idi-oro and Abebe (Fig. 73) the boundary also passes through houses (plate II). In these areas, as in the rest of the boundary areas the authority to collect rates and taxes is determined by the Councils on the basis of the proportion of the building lying in each area: the Council with 50 percent or more of the building collects the taxes and rates.



PLATE II. LAGOS - WEST BOUNDARY AT IDI-ORO
The boundary passes through the big house on the right.

The declaration of Lagos as a Federal Territory makes it difficult to envisage the alteration of the boundary either to include or to exclude houses. The Western Region, with which Lagos shares its boundaries, is opposed to Lagos being constituted as a Federal Territory and maintains that it should be an integral part of the Western Region. Hence that Region is not likely to agree to any alteration of the boundary to the benefit of Lagos. On the other hand Lagos is short of land and cannot concede any area to the Western Region. Even if there is agreement on the alteration of the boundary it will be difficult to find a boundary near the present one which does not split settlements or cut across what is now a social unit. This is especially true of Idi-oro and Yaba where areas adjacent to the boundary are now closely built-up.

It therefore appears that so long as the areas are under different Governments it will be difficult to adjust the boundary satisfactorily. The declaration of Lagos as a Federal Territory separated from the Western Region has therefore created a problem which cannot be easily solved so long as that arrangement remains.

IMPORTANCE OF LAGOS

Lagos was declared a Federal Territory because it was to remain the capital of Nigeria when the federal system was introduced. Its choice as capital is due partly to harbour facilities and partly to developments which have taken place since British influence was established there. Its importance as a port is due to the fact that it is the best of the places on the Nigerian coast where ocean-going vessels can anchor.¹⁶ Even then the entrance to the harbour is prone to blockage by sand and moles have had to be constructed to keep clear the entrance to the harbour. These improvements have made Lagos the most important port in Nigeria and most of the country's foreign trade passes through it.

The establishment of British influence in Yorubaland led to increased trade through Lagos, consequently the British started a number of projects to facilitate trade. The most important of these was the construction of a railway to link Lagos and the interior. The construction of the Jebba bridge and the extension of the railway to

16. See: Udo, R. K. and Ogundana, B.
 "Factors Influencing the fortunes of Ports in the
 Niger Delta."
 Scot. Geog. Mag. Vol. 83, 1966. pp. 169-183

Kano increased the importance of Lagos to the whole of Nigeria. Because of these transport links Lagos became an important commercial centre and more amenities were provided such as banking, water supply and electricity.

These facilities were among the reasons for its choice as the capital of Southern Nigeria in 1906 and of the whole of Nigeria in 1914. It was observed that removal of the capital to any other place would entail the provision of facilities at great cost. Moreover, it was realised that with its harbour facilities Lagos would remain an important commercial centre. Since the British administrators considered that "the commercial and banking centre, the terminal of the railway and the chief port, must necessarily be the capital"¹⁷ Lagos was chosen as the capital of the whole of Nigeria.

After 1914 the development of Lagos continued at a high rate. Its harbour was further improved and many Government buildings were constructed.

When a Federal Constitution was being formulated in 1953 it was agreed that, like other Federations, Nigeria should have a capital independent of the Regions.

17. Lugard, F. D. up. cit. p. 27

But it was also noted that the construction of a new capital would be too costly. Hence the British Colonial Secretary decided that Lagos should remain the Federal capital and therefore that it should be a Federal territory.

Since 1954 there had been further developments. Many Federal buildings have been built, notably the ministerial quarters at Ikoyi, the National Hall, the Central bank and Federal Government offices. Many foreign countries have opened embassies and more commercial houses have made Lagos their headquarters. All these have made Lagos the most important centre in Nigeria and the most attractive city to people from all parts of Nigeria.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The attraction of Lagos to people from all parts of Nigeria has affected the composition of its population. The indigenous inhabitants are Yoruba but although they are still in the majority their proportion in the population has been falling. In 1931 they formed 85 percent of the declared population but in 1952 they formed 72 percent. The details of the 1963 census, when published, will probably show a further decline. The main elements in the rest of the population are Ibo, Hausa, Edo, Ijo and Ibibio,

but all ethnic nations in Nigeria are represented. The proportion of the population formed by the larger nations in 1952 is shown in table XVI.

TABLE XVI
FEDERAL TERRITORY OF LAGOS
NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

<u>Nation</u>	<u>1952 Population</u> ¹⁸	<u>% Total</u>
Yoruba	195,979	72.10
Ibo	31,887	11.73
Edo	9,262	3.41
Ijo	3,925	1.45
Hausa	3,847	1.42
Ibibio	1,921	0.71
Tiv	805	0.30
Nupe	444	0.16
Fulani	285	0.10
Kanuri	148	0.05
Other Nigerian	10,086	3.71
Foreigners	13,211	4.86
TOTAL	<u>271,800</u>	<u>100.00</u>

18. Based on Population Census of Western Nigeria 1952.

The attraction of Lagos has led to a great concentration of population in the Municipal area. In 1963 the average density of population was 24,639 persons to the square mile. The great concentration of population and the demand for land for other purposes have made it difficult for all who work in the Federal Territory to find accommodations and land is scarce for all who want to build there for living quarters, commercial houses and shops, government and private offices, schools as well as foreign embassies. The indigenous town on Lagos Island, Eko, is rapidly becoming a business district for firms, shops, banks and offices.

The difficulty of finding accommodation means that many who work in the Federal Territory have to reside in adjacent parts of the Western Region. This has led to a rise in the proportion of the commuting workers from about 12 percent in 1952 to just under 40 percent in 1962.¹⁹ It has been observed that within a few years commuters will exceed those who live and work in the Federal Territory.²⁰ This development is also to be found in other

19. Abrams, C. et alia Metropolitan Lagos
 Report prepared for the Ministry
 of Lagos Affairs under the
 U.N. Programme of Technical
 Assistance. April, 1963.

20. Abrams op. cit.

major cities such as London or New York so the problem of Lagos is not unique in any way, except for its being a Federal Territory.

Many landlords have taken advantage of the situation to charge high rents. This has led to complaints by commuters and a demand that the Government should control rents. But Federal Government legislation on rents is not applicable in the Western Region so that the Government cannot help its workers. Since the people do not work for the Western Region the Government of that Region will probably, not take action to control rents in the area around Lagos particularly when it maintains that Lagos should be part of the Western Region. Continued resentment at high rents may lead to disorders which the Federal Government cannot control and which the Western Region may ascribe to people from other parts of the country. If that happens there may be reluctance to rent accommodation to those from the home areas of the alleged trouble makers. In that event the effective functioning of Lagos as a centre for all Nigerians will be greatly jeopardised.

ADMINISTRATION

Before the British Occupation the Yoruba had a town, called Eko, on Lagos island. Eko, like other towns in Yorubaland was administered by an Oba and his chiefs. The treaty with Britain in 1861 allowed the Oba to retain his right "to decide disputes between natives of Lagos with their consent."²¹

Attempts to establish representative local government started with the establishment of the Sanitary Board in 1899. However, a Town Council was not established until after the creation of Lagos as a First Class Township in 1917. The Council comprised one representative from each of the three wards in the Municipal area and from three to nine others nominated by the Governor. Since the beginning of representative government all members of the Council have been elected from the various parts of the Municipal area.

When Lagos became a Federal Territory a separate Ministry of Lagos Affairs was established by the Federal Government. That Ministry is responsible for senior appointments to the Council and for large-scale development

21. Hertslet op. cit. p. 94

plans. The Ministry is also responsible to the Federal Parliament for actions taken by the City Council.²²

Since the Yoruba are the indigenous inhabitants and the largest ethnic nation in Lagos they dominate the City Council. Similarly they dominate parliamentary representation, all the parliamentary representatives since 1954 have been Yoruba.

LAGOS AS FEDERAL TERRITORY

The domination of the population and administration of Lagos by the Yoruba, of course, raised no problems before Lagos became a Federal Territory. But its declaration as a Federal Territory implied that it was to be a city where all Nigerians, irrespective of their nationality were to enjoy equal rights. Thus no one ethnic nation ought to dominate its affairs, its culture or its administration. It would therefore reflect pan-Nigerian aspirations for a co-operative multi-national state.

The above ideas conflict with Lagos as a Yoruba town, with Yoruba culture where all land is owned by the Yoruba.

22. Since October, 1963 the official title of the Council has been changed to Lagos City Council.

Everyone, including the Federal Government is dependent on Yoruba landowners. As a Yoruba town, Lagos is greatly affected and influenced by developments in the Western Region, as was shown by their reactions to the political strife in that Region from 1962 to 1965, and their close co-operation with the Region in the Constitutional discussions in September and October, 1966.

For these reasons the main problem facing Lagos as a Federal Territory is how to reconcile its dual role as a Yoruba town and as a neutral centre in a multi-national Federation. The problem is that any solution would probably lead to the sacrifice of one of the two principles involved. If it is left to develop as a Yoruba town, it will lose all claim to being a common centre for all Nigerians. Such a development would defeat the reasons for its being declared as a Federal Territory, and the greater part of Nigeria would consequently lose confidence in it.

If, on the other hand, Lagos were to be developed as a true Federal centre where no culture, tradition or people could take precedence over others, or dominate its administration, the right of the indigenous people of Lagos to local self government would be sacrificed.

Even if the Federal Government were planning to do this, they would find it impossible under existing conditions. Indeed all the indications are that the Government does not want to do so. During 1966, when it was decided that military forces should go to their Regions of origin, steps were taken to recruit more citizens of Lagos to form the basis of its own military personnel. If the army were to be Regionalised, it seems likely that the Federal Government would not oppose the idea that only people of Lagos origin (i.e. Yoruba) should stay in Lagos barracks. This would ultimately make the security of the Federal Territory dependent on a force comprising only one of the many ethnic nations in the country.

The difficulty of reconciling these two principles has created problems already. The Northern Region sees Lagos as part of the "South" and does not regard it as a neutral centre. Most of the people from the Eastern Region like to consider Lagos as a pan-Nigerian town but are disappointed by their inability to participate fully in its administration or influence its affairs. The lack of confidence was shown by the mass exodus of Ibo from Lagos during the crisis of August-October, 1966.

The Yoruba continue to see Lagos as the most developed of their towns and do not understand the claim of any non-Yoruba for participation in its administration.

THE FUTURE OF LAGOS

At present there are three main lines of thought on the problems and anomalous position of Lagos: firstly that it should remain Federal capital and Federal Territory, secondly that it should remain Federal capital but instead of being a Federal Territory it should become headquarters of a new Lagos Region comprising the Old Colony Province, and thirdly that it should be reunited with the Western Region and may or may not remain the Federal Capital.

The first line of thought is based on the principle that the capital of a multi-national Federation like Nigeria should be independent of any of the Regions. Those who hold this view cite the examples of Australia and the United States of America. The principle is an admirable one but, as shown above, its application to Lagos has not produced the desired results.

In all the Federations with which Nigeria may be compared the Federal capitals were built ab initio. Washington (U.S.A.) Brasilia (Brazil), Canberra (Australia),

and Islamabad (Pakistan), are examples of such capitals. In all these cases the capitals were built on new locations away from existing towns. They are therefore truly independent of any parts of the Federation.

But in Lagos there was an existing town with its own political and social structure. Lagos is inside Yorubaland whereas in the other countries the capitals were built near the centre of the country or the cultural boundary. In the other Federations the capitals were sited so that no one area can dominate them. Lagos was chosen a capital and declared a Federal territory with the full knowledge and realisation that the Yoruba will always dominate there. All these have made it difficult for Lagos to function like other Federal capitals. Retention of the present situation will not lead to an improvement in the anomalous position of Lagos.

The indigenous citizens of Lagos who are dissatisfied with Lagos being a Federal Territory have demanded the creation of a separate Lagos Region comprising the old Colony Province with Lagos as its headquarters as well as the Federal Capital (See Fig. 18 p.107 for Colony Province). While the suggestion, if adopted, may make it easier to solve the problem of land scarcity in

the Lagos Municipal area (because its boundary could be easily extended) it is difficult to see the justification for a separate Lagos Region. The proposed area is inhabited by Yoruba, its boundary is arbitrary²¹ and hence unsuitable for any major administrative purposes. The only possible explanation of the suggestion is the struggle for political posts by its advocates.

Even if all social and ethnic connections between the old Colony and the Western Region are disregarded, and a Lagos Region is created, the anomalous position of Lagos as capital of a multi-national Federation would not be solved. Lagos City would cease to be a Federal Territory but that would only increase the distrust of the other parts of Nigeria. Such a solution would increase Yoruba control and remove any influence now exercised by the others. Such a solution is not good for the capital of a Federation like that of Nigeria.

The third view on the future of Lagos differs from the second in that it advocates union of Lagos with the Western Region and allows for Lagos not being the capital

21 See for example: J. D. Thomson "Notes on the Colony - Protectorate Boundary" 1932 attached as appendix 'C' to. Cuiwen, R. J. M. "A Report on the Re-organisation of Badagri District 1937.

of Nigeria. As mentioned above Lagos, is part of Yorubaland and the Yoruba consider it the most advanced of their towns.

Lack of agreement on the status and control of Lagos will continue to hinder its development as a Federal capital. The indigenous people ought not to be denied the right of governing their territories, particularly since they constitute the majority of the population. On the other hand, the Federal capital should be neutral and no one culture ought to dominate it. Very clearly these two principles cannot be achieved at the same time in Lagos.

There is not much hope that the present position can be maintained for long. People from other parts of the Federation are dissatisfied with their exclusion from the administration of the Federal Territory and capital. Moreover, as shown above, the Municipal area has many problems which make it dependent on the Western Region and affect its role as a Federal capital.

The co-operation of the Western Region will be needed if these problems are to be solved. But so long as Lagos is separate, that Region will probably not co-operate. As the price for its co-operation the Western Region wants the merger of Lagos with itself. This is not a very good prospect for the capital of a multi-national Federation.

CHAPTER XI

THE BASES OF THE FEDERATION

It could be argued that instead of developing into a Federation Nigeria could have developed as a unitary State or into three or more separate independent states. That it did not develop as a unitary state was due to the social differences among the various ethnic nations, nevertheless it did not develop into three or more states because of the policy of the British administration that Nigeria should be one political unit; and the growing inter-dependence of all areas in the country.

SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

The division of Nigeria into Regions was made necessary by the different social conditions in the various parts of the country. Such differences were among the reasons for the sub-division of the Southern Provinces¹ in 1939; and were considered by some Nigerians who suggested that a Federal Constitution was the best for Nigeria.²

1. See p. 292

2. See for example: Awolowo, Obafemi: Path to Nigerian Freedom
 London, Faber and Faber, 1947. pp. 47-55
 and Nigeria: Review of the Constitution, Regional Recommendations.
 Lagos, Government Printer, 1949.

Most important of these social differences are the diversities of language and culture within the country. While some of the ethnic nations are small, others are very large. The proportionate size of the largest nations in 1952-53 is shown in table XVII.

TABLE XVII

NIGERIA

POPULATION OF MAJOR ETHNIC NATIONS 1952-53

Nation	Population ³ 1952-53 '000	% Total Nigerian Population
Hausa	5,594	18.29
Fulani	3,030	9.91
Ibo	5,564	18.19
Yoruba	5,077	16.60
Ibibio	1,438	4.70
Kanuri	1,300	4.25
Edo	1,055	3.45
Tiv	778	2.54
Ijo	523	1.71
Nupe	353	1.15
Others	<u>5,873</u>	<u>19.21</u>
TOTAL	<u><u>30,585</u></u>	<u><u>100.00</u></u>

-
3. Population Census Northern and Western Regions, 1952
Eastern Region 1953
Total is 'Africans' only.

Except for the Hausa and the Fulani who inhabit the same areas, each of the ethnic nations occupies a distinct territory which it claims as its own. Each has its own language and its own distinct culture. The Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Kanuri, Edo and Nupe had well organised political systems before the British Occupation. The Hausa-Fulani were organised into Emirates all of which owed allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto. The Kanuri who have some cultural similarities with the Hausa-Fulani did not owe allegiance to Sokoto. The Yoruba states were, by the late nineteenth century, independent of each other and had nothing in common with the other nations. The Edo had their own system which differed from that of the Yoruba. So there was no common political system or associations before the peoples were brought together by the British.

Most of the other ethnic nations were not organized into large political units, hence their concept of political authority was different. The Tiv, for example, did not believe in individuals possessing higher authority and they always insist on the principle of equality⁴. The Ibo say that they have no kings.

4. Wallace, J. G. "The Tiv System of Election."
Jnl. of African Administration
 Vol. 10 1958. pp. 62-70

These differences made it difficult for the British to adopt the same administrative policy throughout the whole country. For example there were difficulties in the application of the Indirect Rule System among peoples with no large political units. Among the Ibo the British chose "warrant chiefs" to run the local courts and implement the Indirect Rule principle. This caused annoyance and there were disorders.⁵ Similarly among the Tiv there were difficulties in the application of the principle,⁶ and it was not firmly established until 1948.

Each of these nations wanted to preserve its culture, language and traditions.

Religion. The differences among the various nations was accentuated by religion. The Hausa-Fulani as well as the Kanuri are mainly Muslims and they have incorporated many Islamic practices into their traditions. They administer Islamic law among themselves, keep married women in purdah, and maintain that women should not engage in public activity.

Although a large section of the Yoruba are Muslims (Fig.74.) no Islamic traditions have been incorporated into local customs and Islamic law is not administered among them.

5. Ezera, K. Constitutional Developments in Nigeria
London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960 p.35

6. Wallace, J. G. op. cit.

NIGERIA TYPE AND RATE OF LITERACY 1952/53

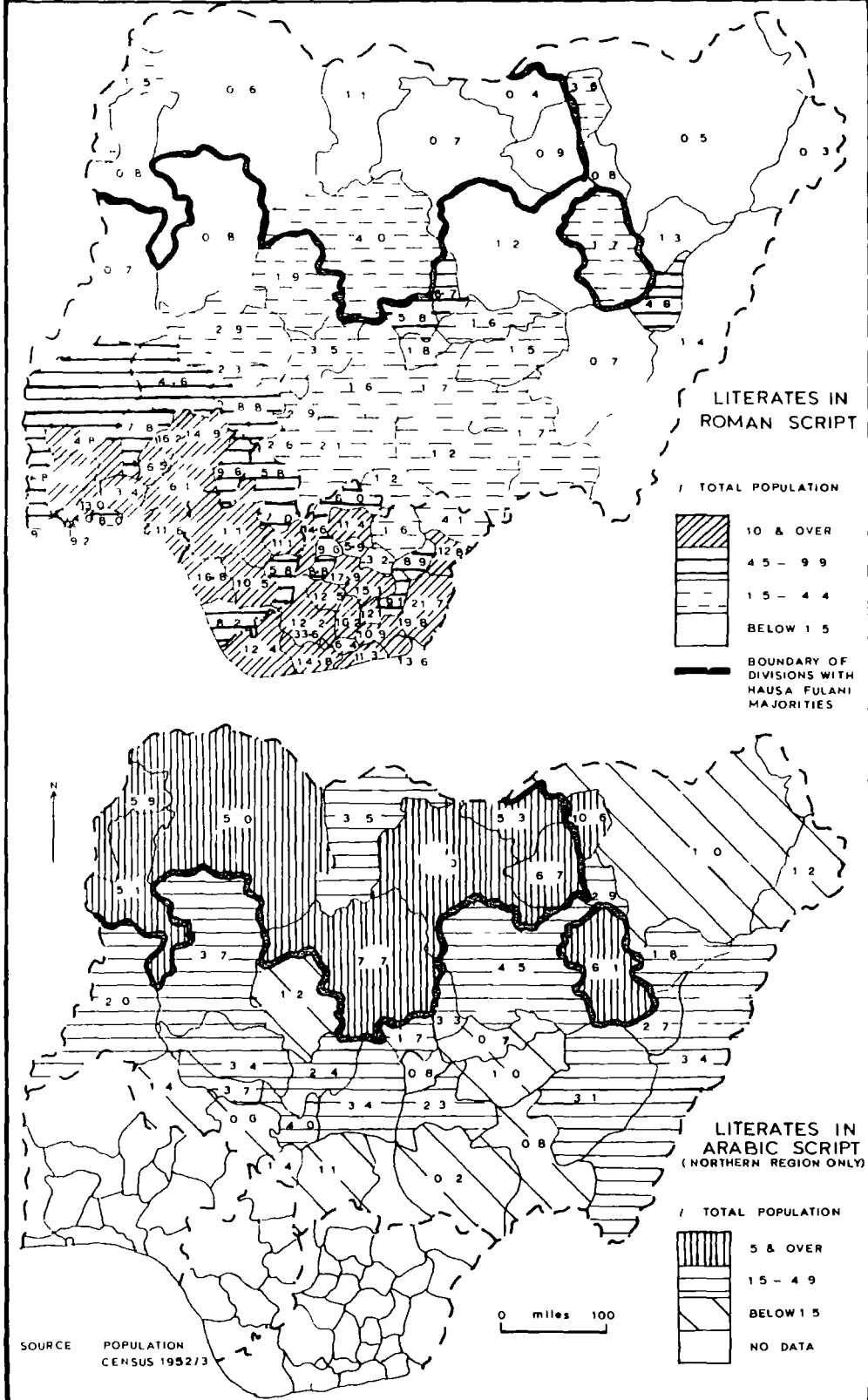


FIG. 75

Christianity has been widely accepted by a substantial proportion of the Yoruba and more than half of the population in eastern Yorubaland profess the Christian faith.

While Christianity has been well established in parts of the Eastern Region, Islam has no great following there.

One of the main effects of religion is in the relationship of the Hausa-Iulani and the Kanuri with the rest of the country. The former do not want Christianity to be established among them and at one time Christian Missionaries were forbidden to preach in their land.⁷ They want to preserve their religious practices and fear that they would not be able to do so if there were a unitary system of government after independence.

Education. Education, as a by-product of religion, is also a factor of differentiation. For a long time before the British occupation the predominately Muslim areas had literates in the Arabic script. This practice was continued after the British occupation and a substantial proportion of them are still literate in that script (Fig. 75.)

7. Awolowo, Obafemi. op. cit. p. 51.

Since the British occupation, Christian Missions have established schools in many areas and they teach the Roman script. Not surprisingly such schools are more numerous in the areas where Missionaries are welcomed, and consequently there are more literates in the Roman script in such areas (Fig. 75). Since the predominantly Muslim areas did not welcome Christian Missionaries there are few schools and relatively few literates in the Roman script. Hence two broad cultural features developed in Nigeria: the southern and the northern. The first was that of people who went to Christian Mission schools and were literate in the Roman script. The second was that of people who were literate in the Arabic script and were not enthusiastic about European ideas such as Christianity and higher education. Neither wished to change its way of life and neither wished to be dominated by the other.

Because of these various differences, each nation or culture-group desires to have its own government. At one time the predominantly Muslim areas expressed the view that they did not want to interfere in the affairs of the south, and that they expected the South not to interfere in the

affairs of the North.⁸ Similarly some people in the South suggested that each ethnic nation should mind its own business.⁹

BRITISH POLICY

While each area wishes to manage its own affairs, the British administration desired that Nigeria should remain as one political unit. This was because Nigeria was politically their creation and although they divided it into three groups of Provinces, later renamed Regions, they did not intend to create three independent states. Instead they insisted on keeping the parts together. Thus

in 1939 the Governor wrote: "On the assumption that international frontiers will remain unaltered Nigeria must unquestionably remain an economic and political unit, but the fact that it is such a unit must not blind us to the lack of homogeneity, nor lead us blithely to apply in one part of the country a policy that has succeeded in another."¹⁰ In order to achieve this it was proposed that the Northern Provinces should be represented on the Legislative Council.

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8. Bourdillon, B. Further Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria. Lagos, Government Printer, 1942, p. 3
9. cf. Awolowo op. cit. p. 53
10. Bourdillon, B. Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria. Lagos, Government Printer, 1939. pp. 5-6

When the proposals were submitted for approval in 1944 the then Governor remarked that: "In forming my proposals I have kept three objects before me; to promote the unity of Nigeria; to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country; and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussions of their own affairs. At present no unity exists, nor does the constitution encourage its growth."¹¹

The proposals led to the establishment of Regional Houses of Assembly and the creation of the regional concept. The growth of regionalism was encouraged because it was believed that it was the best way to develop unity. The policy was "to encourage the Regions to develop each along its characteristic lines [and] by that very process the unity of Nigeria will be strengthened."¹²

INTER-DEPENDENCE

The British policy of keeping the parts together was accepted by Nigerians because of the growing inter-dependence of all parts of the country. Such inter-dependence

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11. Richards, A. F. Political and Constitutional Future of Nigeria. Governor's Despatch to the Secretary of State. 6th Dec., 1944 Lagos, Government Printer 1945. p. 2
12. British Colonial Secretary Despatch to Governor of Nigeria, 15th July, 1950. quoted by Ezera, K. op. cit. p. 74

NIGERIA: MAIN PORTS AND MAJOR LINES OF COMMUNICATION

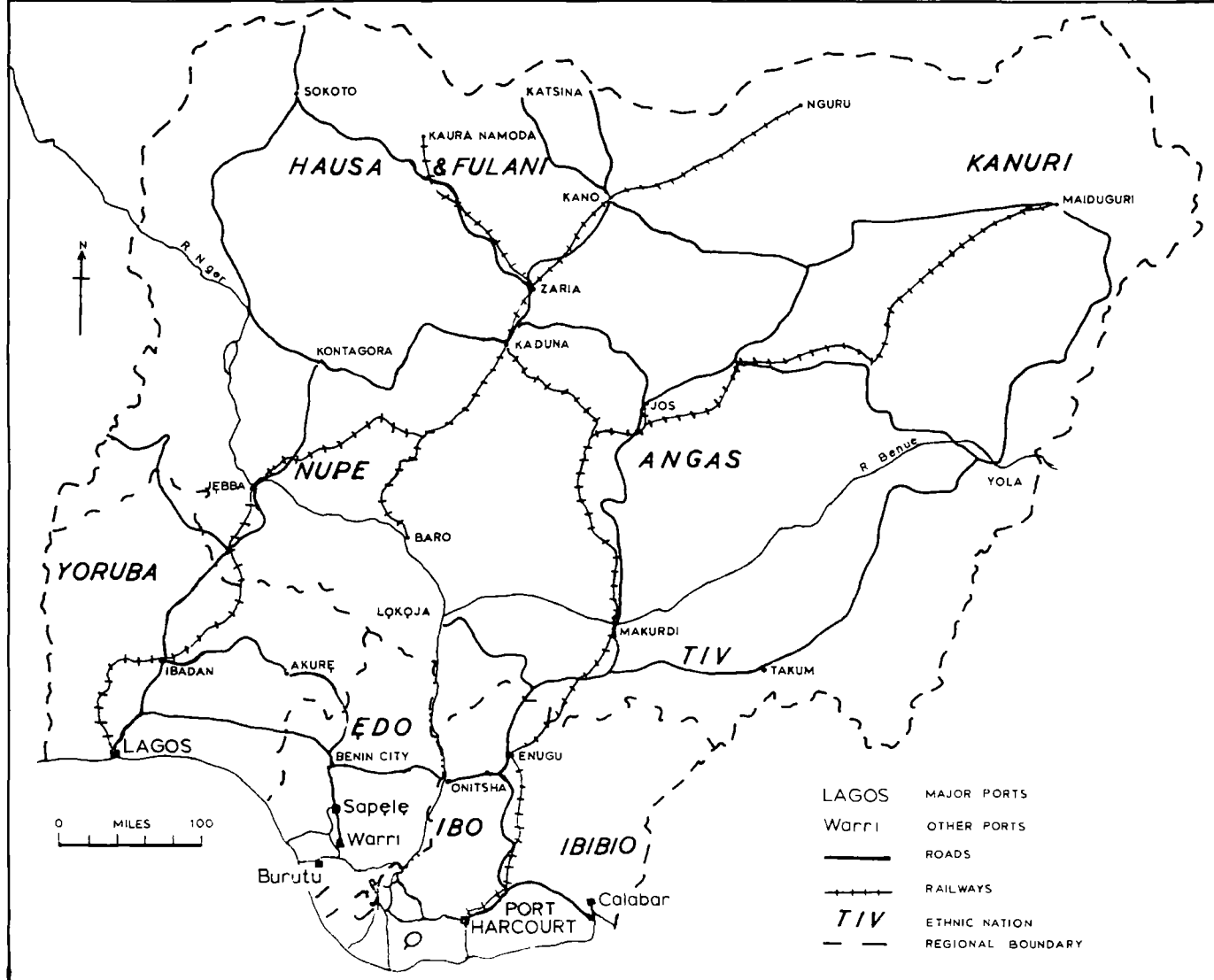


FIG. 76

was of particular importance in the case of access to ports for the purpose of external trade, and in the field of interal migration.

Harbour Facilities. In common with most of the other parts of Africa there are very few natural harbours on the Nigerian coast. Thus shipping facilities are restricted to only a few places: Lagos, Sapele, Warri, Burutu, and Calabar. After the creation of Nigeria, Lagos was improved and a new harbour was constructed in Port Harcourt. Though the other ports have also been improved, only Lagos and Port Harcourt can take large ocean-going vessels. Consequently most of the exports and imports of the country pass through those two ports. Railways link the ports with the northern part of the country (Fig. 76). This link makes them the most convenient ports for all parts of Nigeria.

But even if there were many ports, not all the ethnic nations have a coastline. The Hausa-Fulani, the Kanuri, the Tiv the Nupe and to lesser extent the Edo and the Ibo are among the ethnic nations with no coastline. Only the Yoruba, the Ijo and the Ibibio have coastlines. Hence entry to ports and use of them depend on co-operation between the coastal and the interior nations.

The need for ports arises because of the development of foreign trade. The Hausa-Fulani, the Kanuri and other nations of the north cultivate groundnuts and cotton and export large quantities. They also export hides and skins. The Tiv grow soya beans and beniseed for export while the Ibo produce and export large quantities of palm products. The Edo produce palm oil and kernels as well as rubber and timber for export. The development of each area depends on the export of these primary products and on the import of manufactured goods, none of which is possible without access to ports. The best way of ensuring this is through co-operation with the coastal nations.

Internal Migration: Since the creation of Nigeria people have moved easily from one part to another. For most areas, such internal migration is not of any great importance but for densely populated areas out-migration is a great relief. Such movement lessens the pressure on land and enables many, who would otherwise suffer, to live a decent life.

This is particularly true of the Ibo whose homeland has some of the highest population densities in the country,

and where there is no room for expansion. The continuation of Nigeria as a single political unit is essential if their out-migration is to continue.

It is realised that if each nation goes its own way, movement between parts would become difficult. Hence there is readiness to co-operate and compromise. It has been observed that, during the constitutional discussions, Ibo leaders were influenced by "a recognition of the fact that, in a sense, the continuance of the union [of Nigeria] was essential to the security of many easterners, particularly Ibos, scattered all over the country, who already were regarded by the peoples of the two other Regions as 'foreigners'."¹³

To some extent the same population problems applied to the Hausa, but, at the time of the discussions, most of the Hausa outside their homeland lived in the Northern Region which their leaders regarded as a single unit.

OTHER FACTORS

Many other factors contributed to the acceptance of a Federal system in Nigeria. The most important of these was the realisation that only through such acceptance

13. See Ezeru, K. op cit. p. 123

would independence from Britain be readily achieved. Furthermore, it was recognised that as a large country Nigeria would enjoy great prestige. These considerations probably induced the Yoruba to accept union with the other ethnic nations.

The size of Nigeria and its potentialities as a market as well as the problem of inter-Regional boundaries were mentioned by Prescott in 1958.¹⁴ He also discussed the complementary nature of the economy.

There is no apparent evidence that considerations of the balance of payments influenced any section. In any case such considerations would be meaningless since each Region was to have financial autonomy and would therefore suffer if there were sharp falls in the prices of its own produce. This is shown by the adverse effects of the decline of cocoa prices on the economy of the Western Region in 1964-66.

There is no doubt that Nigeria has great potentialities as a market. But this consideration did not influence the acceptance of a Federal system because it was realised

14. Prescott, J. R. V. "Geographical basis of the Nigerian Federation."
Nig. Geog. Jnl. Vol. II, 1958.
 pp. 1-13

that internal trade would continue even if each area had its own independent government. This is because internal trade is in commodities which are not easily produced in the buying area: kola from the west to the north, palm oil from east to north and livestock from the north to the other parts. If, for any reason, trade in these products were to stop, both producing and buying areas would suffer, but the effect on the economy would not be too great.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which considerations of boundary alterations influenced any section in accepting participation in the Federation. For one thing there were demands for boundary changes and it must have been hoped that such changes would be easier if Nigeria remained one. But when particular cases are considered there is no evidence that the prospect of boundary changes influenced any section. For example the boundary problem which arouse most discussion at the time of the constitutional talks is that between the Northern and Western Regions. But the Western Region which campaigned for, and still desires the merger of the Yoruba in the Northern Region with itself also suggested that a secession clause should be written into the Constitution. In view of this it could be said that although boundary changes were important to some

sections the prospect of such alteration was not an important factor in the decision by any area to accept association with other parts of Nigeria.

The Federation is at present supported because it enables the interior ethnic nations to have unrestricted access to the limited number of coastal ports and because it permits widespread internal migration. As long as all parts of the Federation depend on oceanic trade internal areas will need to seek co-operation with the coastal nations, and as long as there is primary dependence upon agriculture, densely populated areas will seek to retain migration outlets, both for farming and trade. Secession of the south from the north would cause chaos in the north. Secession of the densely populated areas such as Iboland would lead to the repatriation of nationals and consequently greater land pressure in such overpopulated areas,. Obviously, there is a limit to the amount of help any government can give its repatriated citizens. Therefore any large-scale repatriation would cause unemployment and acute distress. Realisation of the consequences of secession makes each area reluctant to secede and so enables the Federation to continue.

CHAPTER XII

INTER-REGIONAL BOUNDARY PROBLEMS

Since the attainment of independence in 1960 the various Regional Governments have been kept busy by the task of holding together the divergent elements in each Region, and no attention has been paid to inter-Regional boundaries. As a result no major problem has arisen on account of the inter-Regional boundaries, but it is certain that sooner or later the question of Regional boundaries will come up for discussion. It is therefore necessary to indicate and describe the areas where problems may arise.

The boundary problems are of two types: firstly, those created by the splitting of some ethnic nations between two or more Regions; secondly, those arising from imprecise definition of boundary lines.¹ The second type is mainly technical and usually involve only small territories. There is no doubt that such problems can be easily solved. In any case if each of the ethnic nations now split between Regions is united in only one Region many of the ill-defined boundaries will cease to be

1. See for example Prescott, J. R. V. "Nigeria's Regional Boundary Problems" Geog. Rev. Vol. 49, 1959 pp. 485-505

inter-Regional boundaries. Because of this problems of ill-defined boundaries have not been considered and attention has been focussed solely on ethnic nations divided by the Regional boundaries.

A detailed study of such problems would involve extensive field work, but such work has not been possible because of the generally unsettled situation in Nigeria during the course of this study. Nevertheless it is hoped that the outlines given below will serve two main purposes: first as a guide for future detailed studies of inter-Regional boundary problems and secondly, as a guide to possible inter-Regional disputes in the Federation. Table XVIII lists those ethnic nations which are split by Regional boundaries. Their locations are shown on Fig. 77

ETHNIC PROBLEMS ON THE REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

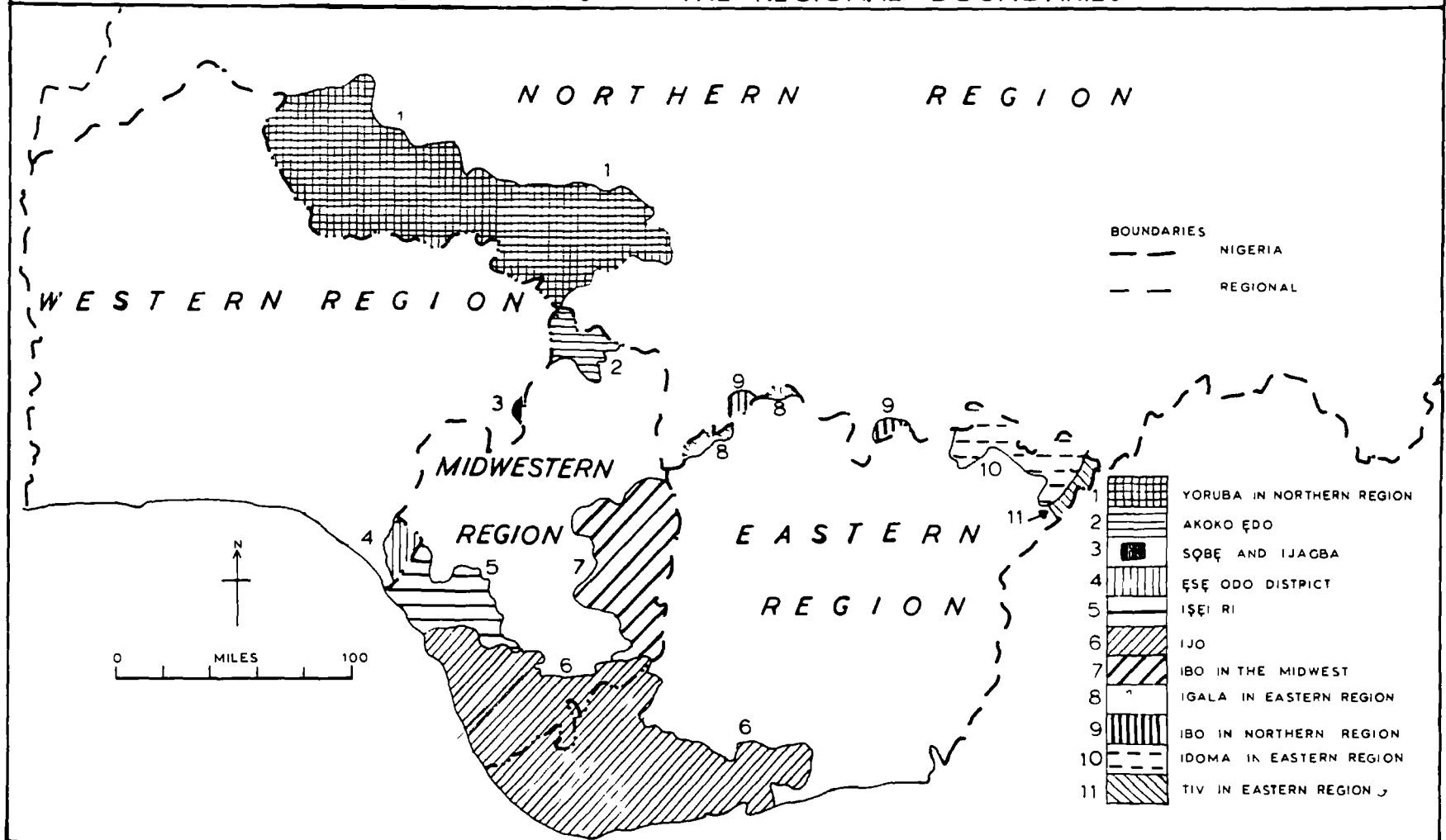


FIG. 77

TABLE XVIII
 FEDERATION OF NIGERIA
 ETHNIC NATIONS DIVIDED BY INTER-REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

Nation	Main Location		Other Locations	
	Region	Divisions	Region	Divisions
Yoruba	Western	All	Northern	Ilorin and Kabba
			Midwestern	Akoko Edo and Warri
Igbirra	Northern	Igbirra	Midwestern	Akoko Edo
Edo	Midwestern	Various	Western	Owo
Ijo	Eastern and Midwestern	Various	Western	Okitipupa
Ibo	Eastern	Various	Midwestern	Aboh and Asaba
			Northern	Igala and Idoma
Igala	Northern	Igala	Eastern	Onitsha and Nsukka
Idoma	Northern	Idoma	Eastern	Ogoja and Obudu
Tiv	Northern	Tiv	Eastern	Ogoja and Obudu

1. YORUBA IN THE NORTHERN REGION

The most important of the demands already made for the unification of an ethnic nation within a single Region is that of the Yoruba who desire an extension of the Western Region so as to include the Yoruba at present in the Northern Region. The areas affected are the administrative Divisions of Ilorin and Kabba where, in 1952, the Yoruba formed 91 percent and 97 percent of the population, respectively.

Until 1825 Ilorin was part of the Oyo Empire but in that year its Governor revolted against the authority of Oyo and with the help of Hausa and Fulani mercenaries succeeded in establishing independence of Oyo. The Governor later brought other Yoruba areas near Ilorin under his control. Subsequently the Fulani mercenaries revolted against their employer and assumed power in Ilorin.

The antagonism between Oyo and the rulers of Ilorin continued throughout the rest of the 19th century. In 1878 the armies of Ilorin joined forces with the Ekiti-Parapo² to oppose the Oyo forces under Ibadan, but when hostility between the Ekiti-Parapo and Ibadan forces stopped in 1886 the Ilorin forces refused to make

? 2. See p

peace with Ibadan. However, in 1893, the two sides accepted an offer of mediation by the British Governor of Lagos and consequently "the Awere stream was appointed as boundary between the two sides."³ It was also agreed that those areas already paying tribute to Ilorin should continue to do so. On August 9, 1890, the Royal Niger Company signed a treaty with Ilorin and so the area under Ilorin came within the sphere of influence of the Company, rather than that of the Governor of Lagos.

The rest of the Yoruba in the Northern Region were also affected by the disturbances of the 19th century. From about 1860 onwards the rulers of Nupe, who at that time were Fulani, started to expand into Yorubaland. Consequently the Kabba area, parts of Akoko, and northern Edo were brought under the influence of the Nupe ruler (now known as the Emir of Bida).⁴ On December 26, 1889, the Royal Niger Company signed a treaty with Nupe hence the areas under Nupe came to be administered by the Company. After the revocation of the Company's charter, the area

- 3 Johnson, S. History of the Yorubas.
Lagos. C. M. S. Bookshop, 1921. p. 628
4. Nadel, S. F. A Black Byzantium
London. Oxford Univ. Press, 1942
p. 82
- also Bradbury The Benin Kingdom
London. Int. Afr. Inst., 1957.
pp. 86, 101 & 112

formed part of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria which subsequently became the Northern Region. Although some of the areas which were under the ruler of the Nupe have since been transferred to Benin and Ondo Provinces most of the areas which were under the Emirs of Bida and Ilorin are still in the Northern Region.

Connections with the Far North: The Fulani who led the revolts against the indigenous rulers of Ilorin and the Nupe were appointed rulers of their respective areas by the Sultan of Sokoto. Thus the areas formed part of the Fulani Empire and were grouped into the Gwandu Province of that Empire. As part of that Empire they accepted the spiritual leadership of Sokoto and paid tributes to their Provincial headquarters at Gwandu.

The connection between Ilorin and Nupe and the Far North was largely limited to activities of the Fulani rulers. The people themselves continued to be linked with their ethnic nation by language, religious practices and customary law.

Merger with the Western Region: Since it was decided in the early 1940's that the Regions were to have wide administrative powers there have been suggestions that some or all the Yoruba in the Northern Region should be

merged with the Western Region.⁵ The necessary alteration to the boundary was not made before the establishment of the Federation in 1954 and since then any proposed alteration has been opposed by the Northern Regional Government.

The opposition of the Northern Regional Government is based on the fact that the Emir of Ilorin has connections with the Fulani in the Far North and he is opposed to the merger of his Emirate with the Western Region.⁶ But the demand for the merger is based on cultural and language connections of the great majority of the population with the Western Region. Fulani authority has not affected the Yoruba culture and relationships of the indigenous people with the other Yoruba in the Western Region.⁷ The similarities with the Western Region, and contrasts with Hausaland, where the Fulani are mainly concentrated are clearly shown in table XIX.

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5. Bourdillon, B. A Further Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria.
Lagos, G. P., 1942 p. 6
also Awolowo, Obafemi Path to Nigerian Freedom.
London, Faber and Faber, 1947.
pp. 53-54
6. Northern Region: Memorandum to the Minorities Commission from the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria.
Kaduna, Government Printer, 1958.
pp. 52-61
7. This view is opposed to that of J. R. V. Prescott (1959).
op. cit.

TABLE XIX
 YORUBA IN THE NORTHERN REGION
 COMPARISON OF THEIR CULTURE WITH SELECTED AREAS
 IN HAUSA-FULANI AND YORUBA HOMELANDS

Area	RELIGION 1952			EDUCATION	
	Muslims	Christians	Others	Literacy in Roman script	Language of instruction in Primary Schools
NORTHERN REGION					
I. YORUBA					
Ilorin	64.2	7.8	28.0	4.63	Yoruba
Kabba	12.4	61.8	25.8	8.78	Yoruba
II. HAUSA-FULANI					
Sokoto	96.3	0.5	3.2	0.64	Hausa
Katsina	95.2	0.3	4.5	1.14	Hausa
WESTERN REGION					
Oşun	59.5	26.9	13.6	7.8	Yoruba
Ekiti	8.2	69.3	22.5	14.94	Yoruba

The Yoruba argue that the interests of the majority of the people should prevail and that if the Yoruba in the Northern Region remain there they would be subject to

discrimination and would form too negligible minority to influence the Government. If they join the Western Region there would be no grounds for discrimination against them. They would be able to enjoy the Free Primary Education scheme in the Western Region and would receive special consideration granted to other areas with low proportions of post-primary education. It is also argued that the proposed merger would not put any section of the community at disadvantage. the Emir would still receive a good salary and, like all other people, he would be free to practise his religion.

But according to the Northern Regional Government, the interests and wishes of the Emir should prevail. The Emir still has wide administrative powers, whereas in Yorubaland the Qbas, although well paid, do not wield executive power. If the area were to be transferred to the Western Region, the Emir would lose his executive powers.

Recent developments in the Northern Region tend to confirm the fears of the Yoruba. Two of these have particular relevance: firstly, the move to make knowledge of Hausa language compulsory for all Government employees, and secondly, the regulation that Yoruba civil servants should give conclusive proof within twelve months of their appointments that they actually originate from the Northern Region. In March, 1966, Yoruba students in Ahmadu Bello

University petitioned the Northern Regional Government to reconsider the regulations about the Hausa language, and in January, 1966, students at the same University expressed their concern at the inherent dangers in having to prove that they are genuine 'Northerners'. One person holding an important post told the writer of his surprise when he received a letter telling him that an anonymous informant had alleged that he was not a genuine Northerner and requesting him to prove that he was not from the Western Region.

All this shows the difficulties facing a minority such as the Yoruba in the Northern Region: they cannot be absorbed, they want special consideration and if they do not receive it their co-nationals in other areas will complain. In the end neither the Government which wants to keep them, nor the people themselves, benefit from the association. It is therefore better to allow such minorities to join the areas with which they share most qualities.

2. THE AKOKO-EDO PROBLEM

One of the most complicated inter-Regional boundary problems in the Federation is that of the Akoko-Edo in the northwestern part of the Midwestern Region. The whole area is claimed by the Yoruba, the Igbirra claim part or

the whole of 25 settlements, and yet most of the people are reported to be Edo. The areas claimed to be Edo and Igbirra are shown on Fig. 75.

At the 1952 census the composition of the area's population was as in table XX.

TABLE XX
AKOKO-EDO AREA
COMPOSITION OF POPULATION 1952

<u>Nation</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Total</u>
Edo	33,025	55.91
Yoruba: Akoko	17,788	30.12
Others	616	1.04
Igbirra	8,066	13.66
Ibo	430	0.73
Others	<u>149</u>	<u>0.25</u>
TOTAL	<u><u>59,062</u></u>	<u><u>100.00</u></u>

In his study of the Edo-speaking peoples Bradbury states that 28 of the villages in the area are inhabited by Edo-speaking peoples. He quoted the total population of these villages, in 1952, as 45,592 persons which was 77.19 percent of the population of the District.

He also recognized Igarra as an Igbirra-speaking town and three other settlements as belonging to non-Edo peoples.⁸

However, the Igbirra in the Northern Region, through the Regional Government, have claimed that they are the main inhabitants of not one but seven settlements. They also claim that in 18 other villages they form about 50 percent of the population, the rest of which is made up by Akoko-Yoruba, whose main concentration is in the Owo Division of the Western Region.⁹

A comparison of the villages listed by both Bradbury and the Northern Regional Government shows that there is basic disagreement as to the ethnic affiliation of most of the villages (Table XXI).

8. Bradbury, R. E, The Benin Kingdom and the Edo Speaking Peoples. London, Int. Afr. Inst , 1957. pp. 110-111

9. Northern Region Memorandum op. cit. p. 135

AKOKO-ĘDO DIV THE AFFILIATION PROBLEM

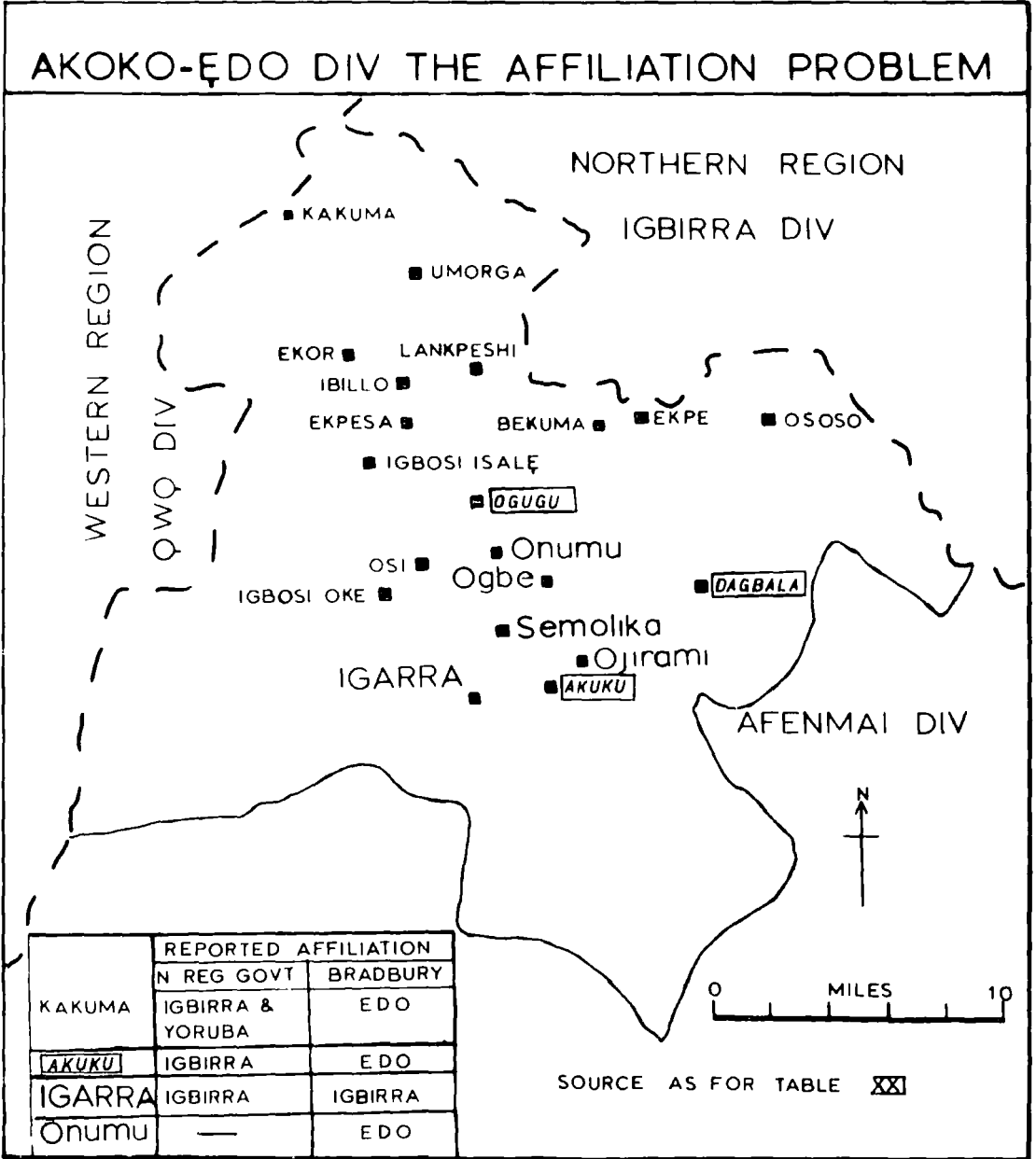


FIG. 78

TABLE XXI

AKOKO-EDO AREA

ETHNIC AFFILIATION OF SOME SETTLEMENTS

AS STATED BY DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

SETTLEMENT	ETHNIC AFFILIATION	
	NORTHERN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT ¹⁰ 1958	BRADBURY ¹¹ 1957
Igarra	Igbirra	Igbirra
Ogugu	Igbirra	Edo
Akuku	Igbirra	"
Dagbala (Odagbola)	Igbirra	"
Igbosi	Igbirra and Yoruba	"
Osi (Usi)	"	"
Ikira	"	"
Ibillo	"	"
Ekor (Eko)	"	"
Ekpese (Ekpessa)	"	"
Umoga (Umorga)	"	"
Lankpese	"	"
Bekuma (Ibiekuma)	"	"
Isasaro (Sasaro)	"	"
Makeke	"	"
Ososo	"	"
Ekpe	"	"
Ekakumo (Kakama)	"	"

10. Northern Region op. cit. p. 135

11. Bradbury op. cit. p. 110

The differences revealed by the table and the Yoruba claim of the whole area show that the Akoko-Edo District is a frontier zone between Yoruba, Edo and Igbirra.

The Western Regional Government has always maintained that the Akoko-Edo area is inhabited by a section of the Yoruba. Because of this the area was excluded from the Midwest Minority Area¹² created in 1960. For the same reason it was suggested that the area should not be included in the Midwestern Region.¹³ In spite of this, the area was included in the Midwestern Region when it was created in 1963. Thus the Akoko-Edo area is now a bone of contention among three Regions: Northern, Western and Midwestern.

Since the Midwestern Region was created, the inhabitants of the Akoko-Edo District have claimed that they speak a Yoruba dialect and have asked the Regional Government to separate their homeland from the Edo-speaking Districts (Etsako and Ivbiosakon) of Afenmai Division. The Government accepted this argument and created the area a separate administrative Division in 1964.¹⁴

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12. Western Nigeria Proposals for the Declaration of a Minority Area for the Midwest Area of the Western Region.
Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1960. p. 2
13. See for example the debate on the creation of the Midwestern Region in the Western House of Chiefs on 13th April, 1962 particularly the speeches of Olujuwa of Omadino and Ataoja of Oshogbo. The speeches are reported on W. Nigeria, Midwest State. Ibadan, 1960 p. 23
14. Assistant Secretary. Premier's Office, Benin City December, 1965.

These different claims make it difficult to determine ethnic and other affiliations of the District. They also make it difficult to arrive at any satisfactory solution of the inter-Regional boundary problem. The settlements which are said to be inhabited solely by the Igbirra, to which the Northern Region lays claims are separated from the rest of Igbirra by areas in which the Igbirra (even according to the Northern Region) formed less than 50 percent of the population. In order to merge the allegedly predominantly Igbirra settlements with Igbirra Division, the intervening settlements in which Igbirra form a minority will have to be transferred also. But most of the people in such settlements do not want to join Igbirra Division. Hence the Igbirra exclaves cannot be transferred to Igbirra Division.

Even if the Igbirra of the Northern Region drop their claim, the Akoko-Edo area will still be claimed by the Western Region with whose peoples the inhabitants claim language and cultural affinities. The titles of the traditional rulers are identical with those of other Yoruba areas (e.g. Olososo, Olope, Onijaja) and the egungun cult,

which is prevalent in eastern Yorubaland, is also found among them.¹⁵ Many of the place names indicate that the people are Yoruba, for example Ikiran Ile, Igbosi Oke, Igbosi Isale are in every way Yoruba places names. The people also bear Yoruba personal names such as Ojo, Alabi, Ogunubi, Durojaiye and Qlatunji.¹⁶

Since the area is adjacent to Yorubaland its merger with the Western Region will not involve the same problems as the merger of Igarra with Igbirra Division. If the Western Region decides to renew its claims for the area it will possibly argue that since the Edo seceded from the Region because of fears of Yoruba domination no Yoruba ought to be dominated by the Edo.

Against this must be set the fact that the people of Akoko-Edo voted to join the Midwestern Region. Since joining that Region they have not demanded union with the Western Region. It therefore appears that they are satisfied, at least for the present, with their membership of the Midwestern Region. It can therefore be argued that the District should continue to be in the Midwestern Region.

15. See Bradbury op. cit. pp. 115-119

16. All the personal names cited are quoted from the list of candidates for the 1964 Regional Elections in Akoko-Edo supplied by Electoral Office, Benin City. December, 1965.

The main point in the argument is that the choice of the Akoko-Edo people should be respected. But it should be remembered that they may, in future, demand separation from the Midwest and union with the rest of Yorubaland. So it should be realised that the above argument implies that if such a demand is ever made the Akoko-Edo will be allowed to join the rest of Yorubaland.

3. SOBE AND IJAGBA

The villages of Sobe and Ijagba in Owo Division in the Western Region (Fig. 77) have always demanded unification with Benin Province¹⁷ now in the Midwestern Region. The two villages are inhabited by Edo-speaking peoples but are separated from the rest of the Edo by the Osse river which was adopted as the boundary between Ondo and Benin Provinces. Their demands were not met by the British administration because "it would involve modifying an ideal natural boundary in the shape of the Osse River between Ondo and Benin Provinces."¹⁸ In 1958 the people renewed their demand for merger with Benin Province and

17. Beeley, J. H. An Intelligence Report on the Owo and Ifon Districts of the Owo Division, 1935.

18. Beeley, J. H. op. cit.

supported the creation of a Midwestern Region.¹⁹ But the boundary was not altered at the time of the creation of the Midwestern Region. It has therefore become an inter-Regional boundary problem.

Only two villages would be affected by the proposed alteration of the inter-Regional boundary in the area. The desire to retain the Ọsše River as a boundary is not a sufficient reason to deny the people the right to join their fellow nationals. Since the Western Region has accepted the fact of separation of the Ẹao to form another Region, by the same token it should allow the villages of Sobe and Ijagba to join the Midwestern Region.

4. IJO AND UROBO OF OKITIPUPA DIVISION

Although the Ẹse-Odo District in Okitipupa Division, Western Region is part of the territory of the Ikalẹ Yoruba, the Ijo and Urobo peoples whose main concentrations are in the Midwestern Region form the majority of its population (Table XXII).

19. Sobe Community "Memorandum submitted to the Minorities and Delimitation Commission on the subject of integrating Sobe and Ijagba with the Benin-Delta state and inclusion of Sobe and Ijagba in the Benin Voting Area." 1957.

TABLE XXII
ESE-ODO DISTRICT
COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, 1952

<u>Nation</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Total</u>
Urobo	10,703	32.97
Ijo	9,561	29.76
Yoruba	9,579	29.51
Edo	1,593	4.91
Ibo	592	1.82
Others	<u>336</u>	<u>1.03</u>
TOTAL	<u>32,464</u>	<u>100.00</u>

The Urobo produce palm oil and palm kernels and they pay annual rents to the Ikale, landlords.²⁰ The Ijo are engaged in fishing in the creeks, and are also found on other parts of the Western Region coast.

The large proportion (62.73%) of the population formed by the Urobo and the Ijo may tempt the Midwestern Region to claim the District because the homeland of the Urobo is in the Midwest which also has a large section of the Ijo. The District is conveniently adjacent to the inter-Regional

20. Gavin, C. I. Intelligence Report on the Ikale Area of the Okitipupa Division, 1934.

boundary and would therefore present no special unification difficulties. Such a demand is more likely because petroleum may be found in the area. The geological formations are similar to those of areas where petroleum has already been found in the Midwest; and an oil-field has been located off-shore near the area.

However, the Urobo and the Ijo are immigrants who recognise that they do not own the territory. Moreover the Ijo have been demanding separation from the Midwest. If the Ijo secede from the Midwest the Urobo will be the only Midwest people in the area and they will be in the minority. The Ijo Region will be separated from the area by the Işekiri homeland and in any case the Ijo will also be in the minority in the District. Since both peoples are immigrants they cannot jointly or separately claim the area. Hence it is probably better to leave the area in the Western Region.

5. THE 'IŞEKIRI

The fourth boundary problem between the Western and Midwestern Regions is that of the Işekiri of Warri Division. They are Yoruba and like the Akoko-Edo were excluded from the Midwest Minority Area created by the Western Regional

Government in 1960. They claim the whole of Warri Division as their territory but two of its Districts, Gbaramatu and Ogbe Ijo, are inhabited by Ijo.

Before 1963 the exclusion of the Işekiri from the Midwest was accepted, in principle, by the leaders of the Mid-West State Movement. For example in 1953 it was stated that the Movement "would have no objection to the Ijo and the Işekiri being excluded from the geographical area of the Mid-West State if the boundaries could be suitably drawn."²¹ The opposition to their inclusion in the Region continued till the last moment. During the debate in the Western House of Assembly on the creation of the Midwest one of the leaders of the Işekiri said "If the Midwest State is created we will fight tooth and nail to the last drop of blood to see that we [the Işekiri] are not included in the State."²²

In spite of that opposition, the area was included in the Midwestern Region when it was created in 1963. Since then the question of union with the Western Region has not

21 D. C. Osadebay Minutes of the sitting of the Minorities Commission's sitting at Benin City. 10th December, 1957. p. 8

22. Olujuwa of Omadino See W. Nigeria Midwest State. op. cit. p. 23

been raised. At the same time the economic importance of the area has increased because petroleum has been found off its coast. Thus with revenue at stake the interests of both Regions has increased and the area has become a potential inter-Regional boundary problem.

The Isekiri themselves are not happy about their separation from the Western Region. Many of them would prefer to see the revival of the old Western Region. But such a solution would not be acceptable to the great majority of Midwesterners. If the old Western Region is not revived the Isekiri think they would be better off in the Midwestern Region where they are likely to receive preferential treatment because of their status as a minority.

If the Işekiri are satisfied with the treatment they receive in the Midwest they will give up their desire to join the other Yoruba in the Western Region. But if they feel neglected, they will renew their demand for a merger with the West. It is therefore left to the rest of the Midwestern Region to show that they want the Işekiri to stay with them.

6. THE IJO PROBLEM

The Ijo people who live in the Niger delta are divided between the Midwestern and Eastern Regions. In the former they are found in Western Ijo Division and Gbaramatu and Ogbe-Ijo Districts of Warri Division while in the Eastern Region they are found in Brass, Degema and Ogoni Divisions and adjacent areas of Ahoadia Division (See map at end)

Their separation dates back to the establishment of British influence in the area. In 1884 and 1885 the British National African Company (later Royal Niger Company) signed treaties with most of those now in Western Ijo Division, while the British Consul at Calabar signed treaties with those in the Eastern Region. The boundary between the two spheres of influence was defined in 1891. Although the Company's sphere was merged with that of the Consul in 1900 the boundary in the Niger delta was revived as the boundary between the Central and Eastern Provinces of the enlarged Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906. The boundary was retained and the division of the Ijo continued when smaller Provinces were created after the amalgamation of 1914. Although there have been some adjustments since then, the adjustments are never more

than 20 miles from the 1891 boundary.²³ After 1914 Western Ijò Division was grouped with the Işekirí, Urobo and some Ibo in the Delta Province and the Eastern Ijò were grouped, until 1956, with some Ibo in the Rivers Province.

Although the Ijò had no central political organization before the British occupation and although they have been separated since that occupation they now consider themselves a distinct nation whose riverain homeland and fishing occupation as well as language and culture are different from those of any others. They consider that no dryland community can understand their problems.²⁴ Consequently they demand separation from the Eastern and Midwestern Regions in which they are now included and the constitution of their homeland as a separate Region.²⁵

23. Prescott, J. R. V. The Evolution of Nigeria's Political Boundaries.
Unpub. Ph.D. Thesis.
London Univ., 1961. p. 186
24. Dappa - Biriye, H. J. R. The leader of the Niger Delta Congress was interviewed by the writer in Port Harcourt on 25th December, 1965. But see also Minutes of the Proceedings of the Minorities Commission's Sittings at Ibadan 30th November, 1957 and at Warri 20th December, 1957.
25. See Minorities Commission's Minutes op. cit. and Port Harcourt 18th January, 1958. This view is slightly different from that reported by J. R. V. Prescott (1959) op. cit.

In the past each of the sections of the Ijò was not particularly important to any of the Regions in which it was included. But petroleum has been discovered in their homeland and as table XXIII shows substantial proportions of the petroleum productions in each Region come from the Ijò homeland.

TABLE XXIII
IJO HOMELAND
PETROLEUM PRODUCTION (Barrels) 1965/66²⁶

REGION	IJO HOMELAND		OTHER AREAS	
	Quantity	% Total	Quantity	% Total
EASTERN	38,457,410	49.09	39,886,758	50.91
MIDWESTERN	7,525,170	25.41	22,975,413	74.59
NIGERIA	46,232,580	42.41	62,862,171	57.59

The discovery and exploitation of petroleum has made the Ijò areas highly important to the Regions in which they are included. Consequently the Regional Governments do not

26. Source: Nigeria Federal Ministry of Mines and Power
Monthly Petroleum Information.
April, 1965-March, 1966.

want the Ijò to separate and form another Region. With the present Constitutional and financial arrangements in the Federation, and the lack of any other important resources in those parts of the Eastern and Midwestern Regions outside the delta, neither of the Regions will allow its Ijò area to break. It therefore appears that the present economic potentialities of the Ijò homeland will make a merger difficult. It seems likely that the Ijò will remain divided between the two Regions unless there is a general reorganization of Regions throughout the whole country.

7. IBO IN THE MIDWESTERN REGION

To the north of the Ijò homeland, the boundary between the Eastern and Midwestern Regions follows the river Niger. But the Ibo are found on either side of the river and so are divided between the two Regions, the majority being in the Eastern Region.

The Ibo to the west of the Niger were conquered by the Edo and they have adopted many aspects of Edo culture, particularly in political and administrative organization. In this they are different from most of the Ibo in the Eastern Region and this difference was one of the reasons given for separating them from the Eastern Region in 1939.

"It is true that the Ibo have crossed the Niger and penetrated to some extent westward but they have in such areas adopted the Yoruba [and Benin] organization. It can accordingly be said that to the west of the Niger the same organization exists throughout. For the above reasons it is proposed to divide the Southern Provinces into two parts east and west of the Niger ..."²⁷

But the differences in political organization have not prevented the Ibo from coming together and regarding themselves as one. Hence there have been suggestions that they should all be united in one Region²⁸ and that Ibo of the Midwestern Region should join those of the Eastern Region. Ibo in the Midwest, however, were not very eager about such a merger because they thought they would receive better treatment in the Midwest.

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27. Nigeria Reorganisation of the Southern Provinces.
Sessional Paper No. 46 of 1947. Paragraphs
3 and 4.
28. Minorities Commission. Minutes of Proceedings
Benin City.
10th and 16th December, 1957.
- See also Ezera, K. Constitutional Developments in
Nigeria.
London, Camb. Univ. Press, 1960.
p. 91

But since the Midwest was created in 1963 relations between the Ibo and other peoples of the Region have not been very good. This has led to an Ibo demand for union with the Eastern Region²⁹ to which they are now linked by the Niger bridge. It is likely that such a demand will receive increased support in the future. It may therefore be better to adjust the boundary so that the Ibo areas of Aboh and Asaba Divisions can join the Eastern Region.

8. IGALA IN THE EASTERN REGION

The boundary between the Northern and Eastern Regions, like the other inter-Regional boundaries discussed above, does not coincide with ethnic boundaries. Some Igala, Idoma and Tiv whose main concentrations are in the Northern Region are found in the East while some Ibo areas lie in the Northern Region.

The Igala in the Eastern Region are found in scattered areas in Onitsha and Nsukka Divisions. In Onitsha Division they are found in the Nzam area, and in Nsukka Division in the Eteh area and in the villages of Ogurugu,

29. See, for example, news item in West Africa 3rd December, 1966. p. 1406

Asaba, Ojo, Umeje and Igga. There is no agreement on the ethnic affiliations of all areas so it will be better to consider each area separately.

Igala in Onitsha Division The inhabitants of the eleven villages in the Nzam area, between the river Oda and the river Niger, in the northern part of Onitsha Division have been described as Igala by one authority³⁰ and as Ibo by others.³¹ The first authority wrote: "Although by tradition the different villages claim origin from Igala and some from Ibo stock, the inhabitants are more Igala than Ibo in habits and appearance. Igala is their mother tongue though most adults also understand Ibo." While the latter authorities agreed with the mixed origin of the people and noted that some, if not all, the villages speak Igala they grouped the area as part of Iboland. An Ibo administrative officer told the present writer that the people in the area do not speak Ibo.

30. Milne, W. R. T. Intelligence Report on the Eleven Villages Constituting the present Native Court Area of Nzam. EP 12208A. (Italics by present writer)

31. Forde D. and Jones, G. I. The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking peoples. London, Int. Afr. Inst., 1950. pp. 49 and 50

Igala in Nsukka Division The Igala are also concentrated in two areas of Nsukka Division, in the northwest where they inhabit the villages of Ogurugu, Asaba, Umuje, Ojo and Igga and in the Eteh area in the northern part of the Division. Those in the northwestern part of the Division were classified as Ibo by Forde and Jones ³² but according to Meek they are Igala³³ and he regretted that with those in the Eteh area they were not grouped with the Northern Region.

As with the areas in Onitsha Division it should not be difficult to agree on an adjustment of the boundary so that the Igala can join their co-nationals in Igala Division.

9. IBO IN THE NORTHERN REGION

The Ibo are found in the Ulayi District and the Isieke area of Ijigbam District in the Idoma Division of the Northern Region. According to Armstrong³⁴ the Ulayi District consists of five Ibo villages and six Effium

32. Idem. op. cit. pp. 33 and 34

33. Meek, C. K. An Ethnographical Report on the Peoples of the Nsukka Division.

Lagos, Govt. Printer, 1931.

See also Clarke, H. J. S. Intelligence Report on Ete Clan, Nsukka Division. EP 9262A.

34. Armstrong, R. G. "The Idoma-Speaking Peoples" in Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence. ed. Forde D. London, Int. Afr. Inst., 1955 p. 124

(Orri) villages. He also notes that the main body of the Orri live in Utonkon District in Idoma Division. According to him, the Ibo and the Orri owed allegiance to the chief of Ulayi who originally allowed them to settle there.

Although the population of the District in 1935 was estimated as 2,113 Ibo and 1,289 Orri the 1952 census showed that the population of 3,333 comprised 7,984 Ibo (95.8 percent) and 347 Idoma (4.2 percent). No mention was made of the Orri. This makes the District part of Iboland.

Ijigbam District consists of three subclans - Isleke, Ekele and Ijigbam. The latter two are sections of the Idoma and in 1952 the population of the whole District, 13,266 persons, comprised 11,044 Ibo and 2,222 Idoma. Since the Ibo are concentrated in one area their homeland may be regarded as part of Iboland.

Apart from the above-mentioned areas, Ibo immigrants formed, in 1952, large proportions of the population of some Idoma and Igala Districts adjacent to their homeland, viz Adoru (Igala Division), Agala and Igumale (Idoma Division) Districts.

TABLE XXIV

IBO CONCENTRATIONS IN IGALA AND IDOMA DIVISIONS³⁵

Area	Total Population	IBO		IDOMA		IGALA	
		No	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>IDOMA DIV.</u>							
Ulayi Dist.	8,333	7,984	95.82	347	4.16	-	-
Ijigbam "	13,266	11,044	83.25	2,222	16.75	-	-
Agala "	15,016	7,344	48.91	7,672	51.09	-	-
Igumale "	7,144	3,576	50.06	3,524	49.33	-	-
<u>IGALA DIV.</u>							
Adoru Dist.	21,880	11,542	52.75	-	-	10,230	46.76

Ulayi District and the Isieke area of Ijigbam Districts can easily be merged with neighbouring Ibo areas in the Eastern Region. But there is no easy solution to the problem in the other areas where the Ibo have most probably increased their proportion of the total population. It is likely that since the Ibo form more than half the population, they will ask for unification with the Eastern Region. In doing so they will speak with one voice, so they may argue that their case is different from that of the Ijo and the Urobo of Eseodo District in Okitipupa Division described above.

35. Population Census, 1952.

Nevertheless, the merger of Agala, Igumale and Adoru Districts with Iboland would seem to be inadvisable. In the first place such a merger would result in the transfer of many non-Ibo people who do not want to join the Eastern Region. Secondly such merger would antagonise the rest of Igala and Idoma Divisions who would realise that they had lost part of their land because they welcomed Ibo settlers. This would make them unwilling to accept Ibo immigrants to their homeland. The resultant feelings would probably lead to disorders and certainly to distrust.

It is probable that the best solution, in this and other areas where such problems exist, is not the adjustment of the boundary but an undertaking on the part of the immigrants not to demand union with their homeland. It must be realised that the boundary between two ethnic nations in Nigeria is not just an administrative boundary but one between nations. The union of all the nations into a single state has facilitated movement between them.

Alteration of the boundary because large numbers of an ethnic nation have moved into adjacent territories would certainly cause bitterness and unrest. All sides will benefit more if they recognise and accept the rights of the landlords in any area to remain with their co-nationals.

10. IDOMA IN THE EASTERN REGION

The Yala and Egedde with related peoples in Ogoja and Obudu Divisions are sections of the Idoma. Their separation from the Idoma was probably due to the lack of knowledge of connections between them. At present there is no demand for a merger with the rest of the Idoma but such a demand may arise in the future.

It will therefore be better to group them with the rest of the Idoma. Opposition may come from the Eastern Regional Government which has established a cattle ranch on the Obudu hills. However, it should be remembered that any disturbances in the area will have an adverse effect on the running of the cattle ranch.

11. TIVE IN THE EASTERN REGION

The Tiv are found in various areas in the northern parts of Ogoja and Obudu Divisions but they predominate in only Utanga-Becheve District which is part of their territory³⁶ and where they formed 79.6 percent of the population in 1953. Apart from that area, their main concentrations were in Bekworra Clan, 822 (3.00%) and Bette Clan (0.95%). These figures do not justify the statement that the Tiv are exerting pressure on their neighbours.³⁷

36. Laura and Paul Bohannan The Tiv of Central Nigeria
London Int. Afr. Inst., 1952.
p. 10.

37. Prescott, J. R. V. "Africa's Major Boundary Problems"
The Australian Geographer.
Vol. IX, 1963.
pp. 3-12 particularly pp. 6-7

Whatever their impact on their neighbours, the boundary should not be altered because of that, and the Tiv immigrants like their Ibo counterparts should recognise the right of the indigenous people to determine their allegiance.

Even then there is still the problem of the acknowledged Tiv areas in Utanga-Becheve District. The District lies to the east of the Idoma area described above and no difficulty ought to be experienced in merging it with other Tiv areas.

CONCLUDING NOTE

It has been shown in the preceding Regional chapters that the most important territorial unit, and indeed the only one universally recognised, is determined by language and culture. This consciousness makes every nation feel concerned for the welfare of all its constituent parts. It makes each nation want to be in the same administrative unit whether Region, Province or Division, depending on its size. That being so, it is obvious that inter-Regional boundaries, above all, should not divide any ethnic nation.

It is therefore essential that steps be taken to unify ethnic nations split by the inter-Regional boundaries. The present situation does not encourage good inter-Regional

relationships as is shown by the disputes over the Yoruba in the Northern Region or the general suspicion of all Ibos in the Midwestern Region. Thus the boundary problems contribute to the ~~delay~~ in the development of mutual trust and confidence among the Regions of the Federation.

CHAPTER XIII

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE FEDERATION

While the internal autonomy of the Regions has given the dominant nation in each of them power over its own affairs, and the establishment of the Federation has been of benefit to all areas, the relationships among the various ethnic nations of Nigeria have not been cordial at all times. Consequently the continued existence of Nigeria as a single state is almost always threatened. The aim of this chapter is to attempt an explanation of these relationships.

PREVIOUS EXPLANATIONS

Various explanations¹ have been given for the lack of cordial relationships among the different parts of the Federation. Notable among these is the imbalance in the sizes of the Regions, with the Northern Region having 53.5 percent of the population and 79 percent of the area.

1 Various ideas and opinions were expressed in the Daily Times (a daily newspaper published in Lagos) during August, 1966. These do not differ markedly from others which may be more readily available outside Nigeria: "B. B." "What Constitution Now" West Africa. 13th August, 1966. p. 907 and 20th August, 1966. p. 939 also Dudley, B. J. "Federation and the Balance of Political Power in Nigeria." Jnl. of Commonwealth Pol. Studies. Vol. IV, 1966. pp. 16-29

This means that half the members of the House of Representatives (i.e. the Federal Parliament) come from the Northern Region. On the basis of the 1952-53 Census figures, the North had, in 1959, 174 out of 312 members and according to the 1963 Census was entitled to 167 members out of the same total ² Another reason which has been given is lack of development, leading to a struggle for scarce resources. Any area which does not receive a fair share feels neglected.

The first explanation, relating to inequalities of size is usually followed by suggestions that, in order to end conflict among the different parts of the Federation, the Northern Region should be split up into smaller Regions none of which will be able to dominate the whole country. However, any sub-division of the Northern Region does not mean that the Regions which will be formed will have less seats in aggregate in the Federal Parliament. Any such subdivision does not also mean that the people in any of the Regions will not co-operate with the rest of the present Northern Region. In support of this view one may cite the Midwestern Region. Its creation has not increased the influence of other Regions and neither has it decreased

2. Nigeria, Federal Republic Report of the Constituency Delimitation Commission 1964.

the total influence of all areas in Southwestern Nigeria. These areas still have the same number of seats in the Federal Parliament to which they are entitled by population. Similarly, as shown already, the separation of Lagos from the Western Region has not made it less of a Yoruba town, nor are its representatives in Parliament any different from those of other Yoruba areas. So if the complaint is that the areas which now form the Northern Region dominate the whole country, the solution normally urged will not in any way solve the problem.

The second explanation relating to competition for scarce resources for development is supported by the general complaint that the Northern Region benefits unfairly from Federal Government resources. One writer has cited the Regional distribution of Federal Government spending in the 1962-68 Development Project and remarked that most of it is concentrated in the Northern Region.³ If this were the main cause of conflict the suggested solutions such as the creation of more Regions mentioned above, or threats of secession by some Regions, would not solve the problem. For if more Regions were to be established the

3. Badley, B. J. *op. cit.*

employment opportunities thereby created would be restricted to the indigenous people of the new Region. At the Federal level, the citizens of the new Region would claim equal treatment with those from other Regions and so eventually increase competition at the Centre. Secession is no solution for it would lead to the loss of any benefits now gained from the Federation, and furthermore, since it would be followed by large scale repatriation of the citizens from other Regions, it would worsen the unemployment situation in the Region which has seceded. Another point is that the creation of more Regions does not mean that any particular area will receive more grants from the Federal Government. It is even likely that it may mean an actual reduction for the areas unaffected by the change since the Federal Government may have to give special aid to the new Regions.

Therefore, although these views are widely argued and supported they do not explain the basis of relationships within the Federation. The main reason for this is that those who express these views attempt to explain inter-Regional relationships in generalised terms. But it is not possible to make generalisations about inter-Regional relationships because the Regions are not in themselves cohesive units, and the component parts of each Region,

with the possible exception of the Western Region, have different relationships with other areas. In particular, the smaller ethnic nations such as the Ibibio, Eko1, and Ijọ in the Eastern Region, the peoples of the Middle Belt in the Northern Region, and the non-Yoruba peoples in the old Western Region, do not share the sentiments of the dominant nations of the Regions in which they are included. In fact many feel that they do not belong to the Region as such. Thus the non-Ibo would prefer not to be called "Easterners", and the Middle Belt people do not regard themselves as "Northerners". Indeed it is true to say that the Regions are associated only with the dominant nations in them, thus a 'Northerner' is Hausa-Fulani; an 'Easterner' is Ibo, and a 'Westerner' is Yoruba. Since August, 1963 the term Midwesterner has come into use, but, as with the other Regions, it means only the Edo-speaking peoples who are predominant in the Region. Hence inter-Regional relationships in the Federation are principally relationships between the dominant nations of the Regions.

Relationships in Nigeria have to be considered not in Regional terms but in terms of the ethnic nations. However, at the Federal level, the three largest nations, Hausa-Fulani, Ibo and Yoruba, dominate all others and tend to be associated with the Regions in which all or most of each nation is found.

Each ethnic nation has certain interests which it wants to protect and certain objectives which it wants to achieve. The minorities in each Region want to have their own separate Regions, the larger ethnic nations want to ensure that their vital interests are protected at the Federal level. For example the Hausa-Fulani want to retain the historical ties binding together the Fulani Emirates, the Ibo want to safeguard the interests of their members who emigrate to other parts of the Federation and the Yoruba want to incorporate Lagos and the Yoruba in the Northern Region with the Western Region.

Each nation realises that it cannot achieve its aims without the co-operation of other nations outside the Region in which all or most of them are now located and without the help and co-operation of the Federal Government. But none of the objectives can be attained without creating adverse effects elsewhere, hence the success or failure of any one nation in achieving its objectives will affect its relationships with other nations and hinder the development of unity. It is therefore necessary to examine the national objectives separately.

HAUSA-FULANI INTERESTS

The Hausa-Fulani want all the Fulani Emirates in Nigeria to be under a single government and, in addition they want to ensure that their civil service is run by themselves, and not by other nationals in Nigeria. They also want their people to hold a fair share of posts in the Federal civil service. In order to achieve the first objective they maintain that the Northern Region is united by history and by the Hausa language.⁴ For, as previously shown (p 69), since the Fulani revolt of the 19th century Fulani Emirates have been established in various parts of the present Northern Region (see Fig. 31 p. 129), and knowledge of the Hausa language has spread to many parts. The Fulani Emirs accept the spiritual leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto. Because of this they oppose any subdivision of the Northern Region into two or more Regions. Such a subdivision would result in the separation of some Fulani Emirates, for example Muri and Adamawa, from those in Hausaland, and it might also lead to the exclusion of Ilorin and the Nupe Emirates in the southwestern part of the Northern Region.

4. Northern Region Memorandum to the Minorities Commission.
Kaduna Government Printer, 1958.

The second main objective of the Hausa-Fulani is to see that they run their own administration and hold a fair share of posts in the Federal public service. However, they lack persons with the necessary qualifications. But instead of employing people from other parts of the Federation they engage non-Nigerians to do the work. At the same time Northerners are encouraged to seek employment in the Federal civil service. It is frequently alleged that some of those employed in the Federal civil service are less qualified than many other candidates who were not appointed.

IBO INTERESTS

Primarily the Ibo want to protect the interests of those of their nationals who have emigrated and settled in other parts of the Federation. Generally such emigrants are regarded as "foreigners" by the indigenous people of the areas in which they settle. With Regionalisation of the Civil Service, governments prefer to employ their own citizens and consequently Ibo emigrants are not able to find government employment outside their Regions. Also at the local level Ibo emigrants are not allowed to participate fully in local government affairs.

These restrictions clash with the Ibo view which holds that the British creation of Nigeria is justification for people mixing together and accepting themselves as one.

Under a Federal Government it was hoped that Nigerians would receive equal treatment in all areas irrespective of their ethnic nationality. The Ibo consider that there are only "slight local differences" in Nigeria.⁵

YORUBA INTERESTS

The Yoruba want unification with Yoruba nationals in Ilorin and Kabba Divisions and also reunion of the Lagos municipal area with the Western Region. They are particularly opposed to the separation of Lagos from the rest of the Region, the more so since Port Harcourt, the only other main port was not declared a Federal Territory. They do not accept the argument that Lagos was developed with revenue from all parts of Nigeria and they point out that Lagos existed before the British occupation.

The demand for the merger of Ilorin and Kabba Divisions with the Western Region springs from the desire to have all Yoruba in Nigeria under a single government. They resent the fact that those in the Northern Region are not encouraged to develop socially at the same rate as those in the Western Region, and they see the merger as a means of putting things right.

5. For example Mazi Mbonu Ojike at The General Conference on the revised Constitution January, 1950.

See Proceedings of the Conference.

Lagos. Govt. Printer, 1950. p. 40

NIGERIA NEW REGIONS PROPOSED BY THE MINORITIES IN 1957/58

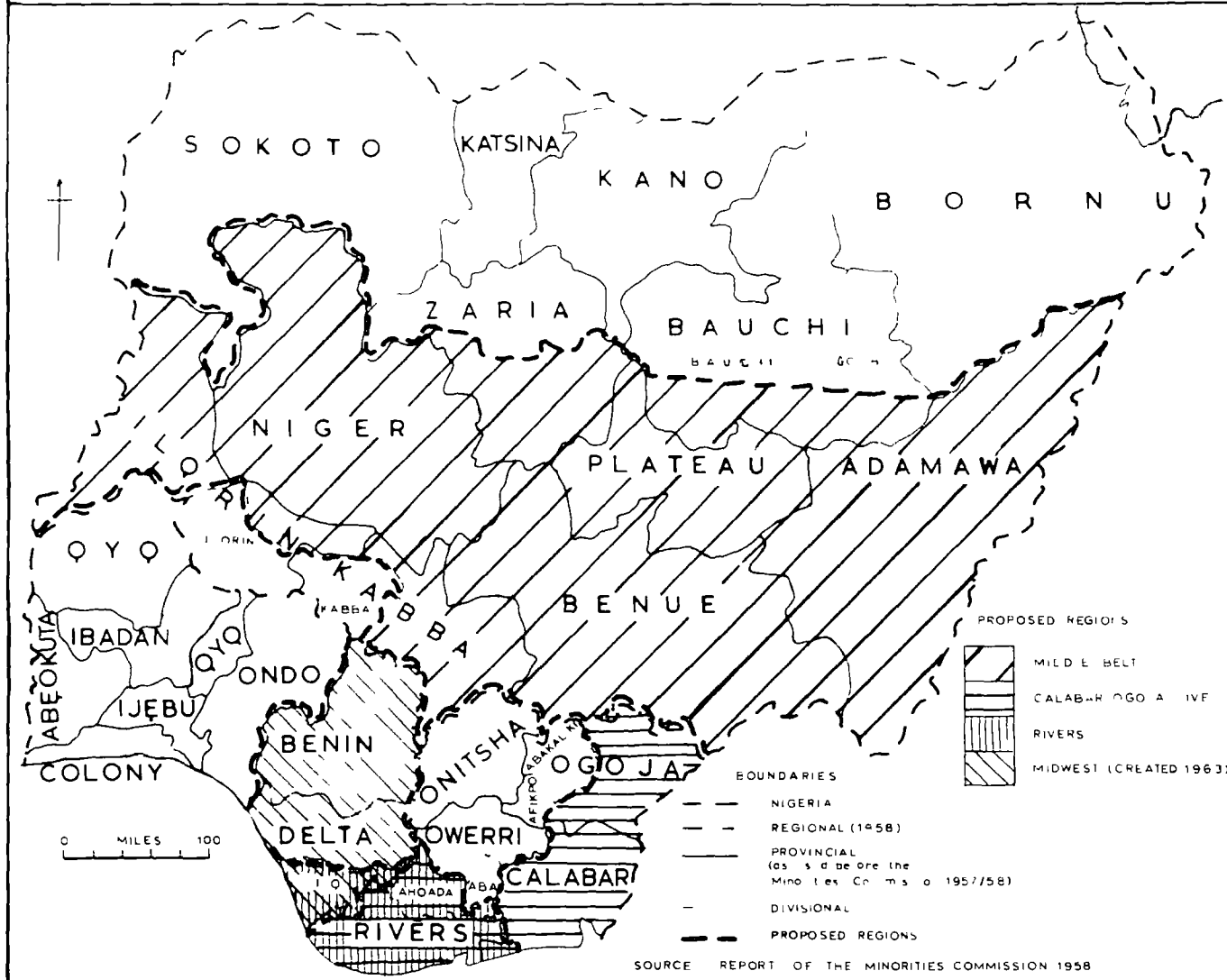


FIG. 79

THE MINORITIES

Compared with the three considered above, the other ethnic nations of Nigeria regard themselves and are generally regarded as 'minorities'. But the term is correct only within the framework of the Regions. In pan-Nigerian affairs no nation is big enough to control the others, and it is difficult to distinguish between 'dominant' and 'minority' peoples.

As already mentioned (pp. 177 to 225 *passim*) minorities do not necessarily associate themselves with the dominant nations in each Region. In the Northern Region the Tiv, Angas, Birom and the Katab are particularly opposed to the Hausa-Fulani and want all non-Muslim areas to form a Middle Belt Region. In the Eastern Region the Ibibio and the Ekoi-Mbembe want to separate and form another Region, the Ijò areas in the Midwestern and Eastern Regions want to join and form their own Region. In the old Western Region the Edo and other non-Yoruba peoples were opposed to Yoruba domination. The location of these proposed Regions is shown on Fig. 79.

These minorities realize that the dominant nations of the Regions in which they are located will not help them in achieving their aims. This is because the dominant nations either openly express opposition to such demands or

impose conditions which render their realisation impossible. The opposition of the Hausa-Fulani has already been mentioned, the Ibo maintain that there is no justification for the creation of separate Regions for the Ibibio and the Ijo and will not support their creation "unless the whole of Nigeria were split up into provinces with a strong central government which was quite out of the question in view of the attitude of the North."⁶ Although the Yoruba supported the creation of a Midwestern Region in 1955 they later changed their minds and complained that its creation amounted to victimisation of the Western Region.⁷

RESULTANT REACTIONS

The interests discussed above clash extensively. The interest of the Hausa-Fulani in maintaining the Northern Region as a single political unit is incompatible with the Yoruba desire to incorporate certain parts of the Region, and with the demand by minorities for a Middle belt Region. The preference of the Hausa-Fulani for non-Nigerian

6. Minutes of the Minorities Commission's sitting at Port Harcourt. 22nd January, 1958. p. 4

7. Western Nigeria Midwest State Unity of Nigeria at Stake.
Ibadan, 1962.

staff instead of employing qualified Nigerians clashes with the Ibo desire for preferential treatment for Nigerians throughout the country. The Yoruba demand for Lagos is opposed to the expressed views of the Ibo and the Hausa-Fulani,⁸ and other smaller nations who maintain that Lagos should be Federal Territory. The desire of the Regional minorities for separate Regions is in conflict with those of the dominant nations who want to retain the British-created Regions. These clashes have affected relationships among the peoples of the Federation.

The Yoruba are not happy about the refusal of the Hausa-Fulani to agree on boundary revision and regard it as an attempt to keep a section of the Yoruba under subjugation. On their part, the Hausa-Fulani regard the Yoruba claims as a calculated attempt to destroy the historical Fulani Empire. They claim that once a boundary adjustment has been made other areas would demand separation.

The Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba do not accept the Ibo idea that the differences in Nigeria are only "slight local ones." Instead they believe there are basic

8. See Ezera, K. Constitutional Development in Nigeria. London. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960. pp. 182-186

differences which ought to be recognized and that each area should mind its own business. They and others accuse the Ibo of attempting to dominate Nigeria and allege that Ibo emigrants engage in sharp practices in order to get rich quickly.

Nevertheless the Ibo and the Yoruba agree in their opposition to the Hausa-Fulani practice of engaging foreigners to posts which can be filled by Nigerians, usually Ibo or Yoruba. The Hausa-Fulani see this as an attempt by their rivals to dominate the Northern Region and make it impossible for their own people to get to the top. The Ibo and the Yoruba are also united in their opposition to the employment of Hausa-Fulani who have lower qualifications than those of other competitors for employment in the Federal Civil Service. It is alleged that such poorly qualified people are to be found in nearly all Federal ministries.

Other ethnic nations regard the Yoruba claims to Lagos as an attempt to dominate the chief port of the country. Further they fear that in the event of a crisis the Yoruba may not allow other areas to use the port, and that if Lagos is merged with the Western Region and remains the capital, people from other areas would not feel safe there.

NIGERIA ETHNIC AND DIVISIONAL PATTERNS OF SUPPORT FOR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AT THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS OF DEC. 1959

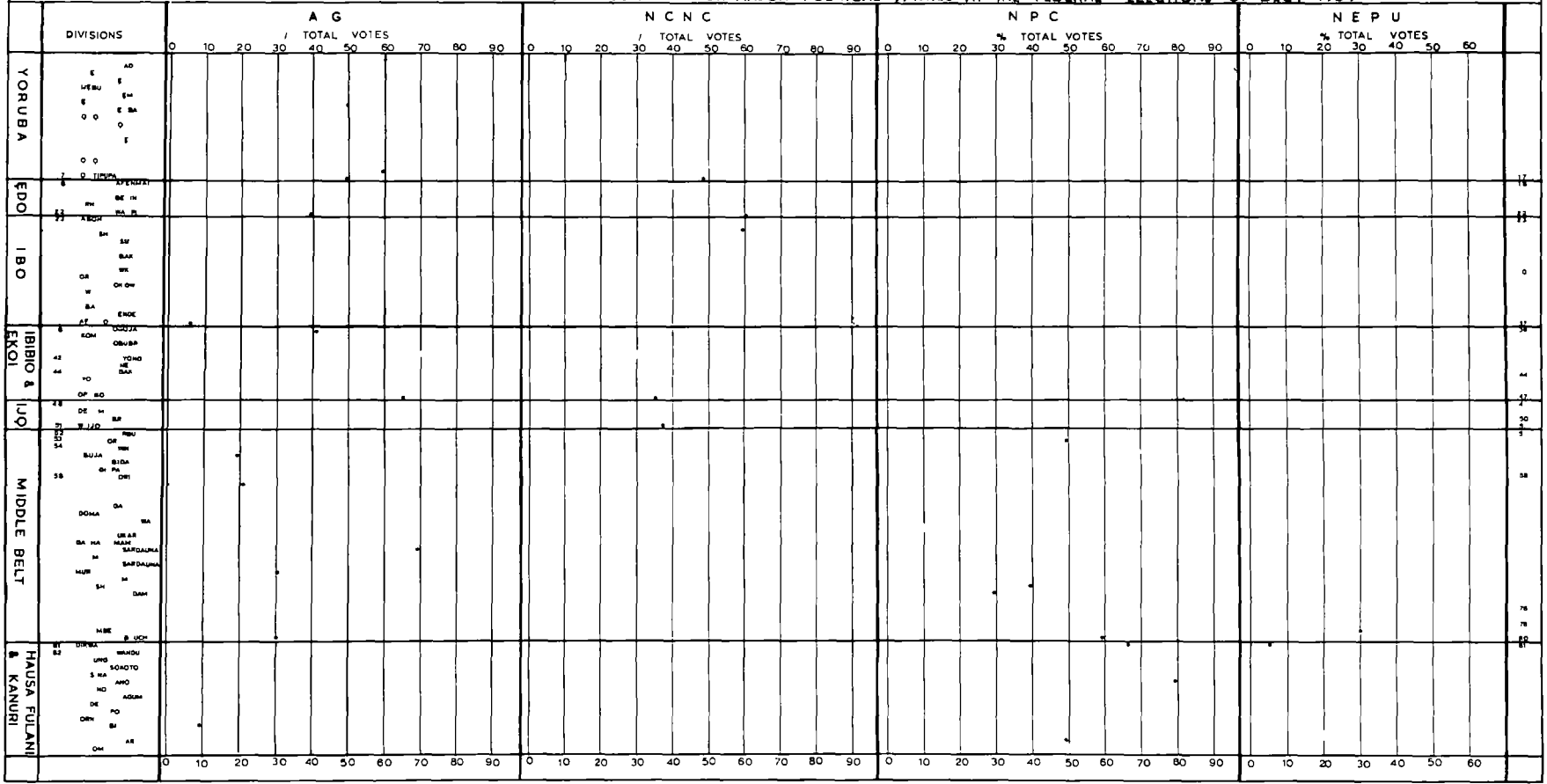


FIG. 80

Since the minorities cannot trust the dominant nations in the Regions in which they are located, they look to other areas for support for their demands. The non-Yoruba in the old Western Region (who included some Ibo) looked to the Ibo; the Ibibio of the Eastern Region and the Middle Belt peoples look to the Yoruba, while the Ijò look to the Hausa-Fulani for assistance in achieving their objectives. Thus the Midwest State Movement was aligned with the Ibo national movement in the form of the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.), the Middle Belt Movement (Middle Belt Congress) with the Action Group (the Yoruba national movement) and the Delta State Movement (Niger Delta Congress) with the Hausa-Fulani Movement (Northern Peoples Congress). These national movements⁹ were registered as political parties which had programmes for the whole country, but in all they do it is clear that their primary interests are the welfare and interests of their respective ethnic nations.

The various alignments were clearly shown by the results of the 1959 Federal elections (Fig. 80). At that time each of the major ethnic nations supported its own

9. For the origin of these movements (parties) see Ezeru, K. op. cit. pp. 91-96

movement although in the case of the Yoruba the support was not overwhelming. All the other ethnic nations supported the movement with which they were aligned, thus the Action Group was supported by the peoples in the Eastern Middle Belt and the Ibibio, while the N.C.N.C. was supported by the Midwest peoples. On the other hand the Hausa-Fulani movement (N.P.C.) received very little support in the eastern Middle Belt and its support in Ilorin was the lowest in the western part of the Middle Belt.

RESULTANT RELATIONSHIPS

It is evident that all areas cannot achieve their objectives because if one area achieves its own ends it becomes impossible for some others to do the same. However some areas have achieved their aims. In 1962 the Federal Parliament moved and passed a motion for the creation of the Midwestern Region to comprise all non-Yoruba areas in the British-created Western Region, thus the minorities in that Region achieved their objective. The Hausa-Fulani have also achieved their objective in that, apart from the Midwestern Region, the Federal Government refused to create any additional Regions; and although it was announced, in 1964, that non-Nigerians would not be allowed to come and take jobs for which there were qualified Nigerians,

the Northern Region still has many non-Nigerians in its employment. The Ibo desire to retain the British-created Eastern Region has also been achieved, and the Federal Government regulation on employment, although imperfectly applied, goes a long way towards meeting their desire that Nigerians should receive preferential treatment in employment.

The creation of the Midwestern Region was also an achievement for the Ibo. This is because they have always supported the demands for the Region and were the prime movers at the Federal level. But soon after its creation the dominant people, the Edo, started to complain of Ibo domination. This was opposed to the Ibo idea that Nigerians should accept themselves as one. But the Edo do not wish to exchange Yoruba domination for Ibo domination.

In effect the Hausa-Fulani are the only people who have achieved their objectives and have no complaints. The other nations think that the Hausa-Fulani have been successful because the Federal Government has failed to take measures which will help others achieve their particular aims. This failure is attributed to the fact that any such measures will clash with the interests of the Hausa-Fulani.

The unwillingness to do so is also attributed to the fact that the Hausa-Fulani dominate the Northern Region which has more than half the seats in the Federal House of Representatives. It is alleged that the Hausa-Fulani have used their dominant position in the Northern Region to force people to vote for the Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.)¹⁰, which is the Hausa-Fulani movement.

It is said that because of this influence, the N.P.C. wins most of the seats allocated to the Northern Region: 134 out of 174 seats in 1959 and 162 out of 167 seats in 1964. Consequently the N.P.C. will always be the party with the largest number of seats at the Centre, and other parties will be compelled to seek co-operation with it. Since the Hausa-Fulani dominate the N.P.C. they therefore dominate the Federal Government. It is alleged that this results in the Federal Government being unable to compel the Hausa-Fulani to employ Nigerians instead of non-Nigerians; and also to initiate measures for the creation of new Regions in the Northern Region and to merge Ilorin and Kabba with the Western Region.

10. See for example Dudley, B. J. op. cit.

To the extent that they are opposed to Hausa-Fulani policies, the other nations are united. But they disagree on other issues. The Yoruba accuse the Ibo of using their influence in the Federal Government (the N.C.N.C. and the N.P.C. formed a coalition Government from 1959 to 1964) to discriminate against Yoruba applicants for Federal Government posts. The N.C.N.C. support for the creation of the Midwestern Region was seen as an attempt to weaken Yoruba influence.¹¹ On their part, the Ibo are displeased with Yoruba support for the separation of the non-Ibo peoples from the Eastern Region. They also see the Yoruba claims to Lagos as an attempt to injure Ibo interests, for the Ibo are the largest immigrant nation in Lagos.

EFFECTS ON THE FEDERATION

These difficult relationships make the Federation unstable and indeed threaten its very existence. The nations which have failed to achieve their aims think that there is very little chance of doing so under existing arrangements, particularly after the 1963 Census figures showed that the Northern Region had more than half the population and was therefore still entitled to more than

11. Western Nigeria op. cit.

half the seats (167 out of 312) in the Federal Parliament. It was feared that this meant continued domination of the Federation by the Hausa-Fulani. Since no aims could be achieved without the initiative and co-operation of the Federal Government, it meant that none of the other nations could achieve its aims. Also that in the future, the Hausa-Fulani would entrench their position in the Northern Region while enjoying the full benefits of the Federation.

It was felt that under such conditions there was little hope of any of the other nations ever achieving its ends. Indeed the view is commonly expressed that if the Federation continued, the Hausa-Fulani would gradually take control of everything and subjugate all other interests to their own. Consequently there are threats of secession, particularly from the Ibo in whose Region petroleum is being produced. The Ibo consider that if they secede they will be able to use the petroleum revenue exclusively for the development of their Region.

However, the Ijọ and the Ibibio in the Eastern Region do not fully share the Ibo desire for secession. This is partly because they themselves complain of Ibo domination

(see p. 169) and partly because they look to other areas to help them in achieving their desires for separate Regions. The Yoruba, too, do not fully share the Ibo desire for secession because they realise it would not facilitate the union of Ilorin and Kabba with the Western Region.

Because of these reasons, and no doubt because of the desire of other friendly Governments to see Nigeria remain a single unit, the Federation continues. However, the failure of large sections of the population to realise their aims makes its future uncertain. For, unless each of the main ethnic nations feels that its interests are catered for by the Federal Government, there will be a strong reluctance to continue the association. Yet disintegration of the Federation will benefit no one nation. The Hausa-Fulani who now gain most by its existence, and the Ibo who are able to achieve some of their aims, particularly about the movement of population, have most to lose if Nigeria disintegrates. The establishment of customs posts and immigration restrictions will result in these two nations losing the greatest benefits which they now derive from the Federation.

Nigeria, like many other countries in Africa, was created by foreign powers. But its existence has benefitted, and will continue to benefit, the indigenous peoples. As a state, Nigeria has many defects but the solution of those defects does not lie in the separation into smaller states.

In any case if Nigeria is to disintegrate, the existing Regions will not become cohesive states. Their boundaries are unsatisfactory and there will be endless conflicts on boundaries between the states. More important still, the different elements within each Region would not want to continue to associate together. If one Region secedes, or the larger nations jointly agree on dissolution of the Federation, the minorities will still continue to press for independence. This will only lead to many tiny states which may not be economically viable.

However, it remains true that whatever the difficulties, no nation or area will continue an association in which it gains little or nothing and runs the risk of losing everything. Hence it is necessary to try and satisfy all sections, and, if that is not possible arrangements should be made to confer at least some benefits on all parts of the Federation. Any proposals should aim to do that. The future of the Federation of Nigeria depends upon such proposals being evolved.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF UNIFICATION

The problems of unifying Nigeria mean different things to different peoples and disciplines. But to a political geographer the problems are essentially those of making Nigeria a successful administrative unit or region. For as argued in the preface the interest of the political geographer in any political unit relates to its special qualities as a region. Accordingly he attempts to answer two questions. Firstly, what qualities distinguish the areas and peoples in this political unit from other areas and peoples? Secondly, how far do the different parts of the political unit hold together and act as a single region?

In the case of Nigeria the evidence in the preceding chapters supply the answers to these questions. Thus from chapters III, IV and V the answer to the first question would be a simple one, namely that the British occupation of all areas in Nigeria as against the French occupation of all neighbouring areas (with the exception of Western Cameroun) distinguishes Nigeria from neighbouring areas. From chapters VI to XIII the second question would, no doubt, be answered in the negative. The latter answer leads to another question: Should Nigeria be retained as

a single political unit? In the opinion of most Nigerians (including that of the writer) and in view of the fact that no part really wants to secede (see Chapter XIII p. 302) the answer would be in the affirmative. This answer raises yet another question: What may be done to help the different areas and peoples unite together in building a strong and viable state?

The answer to the last question is considered in this chapter. However, the question cannot be answered without considering the main problems which hinder the unification of the Federation and its Regions. These are therefore considered first.

CAUSES OF DISUNITY IN NIGERIA

Some of the causes of disunity in Nigeria are similar to those of many other African states: namely lack of pre-colonial contact between the various ethnic nationalities in the state; lack of common characteristics or interests apart from the fact that they were all governed by the same European power; the desire of each ethnic nation to preserve its individual culture; and the struggle by each ethnic nation to take part in the administration of the state. If these were the only problems it would be expected that Nigeria would not experience any special difficulties. But Nigeria has problems which are not found in many other states.

These special problems are caused by the differences discussed in earlier chapters. They may be summarised as follows:-

- (i) the presence of three very large ethnic nations and of many other fairly large ones;
- (ii) the domination of some ethnic nations by others and of the whole country by one;
- (iii) the differences in the form of literacy among the ethnic nations;
- (iv) differences in population density.

Large Ethnic Nations The large size of the ethnic nations has important effects on the unification of Nigeria. The most important of these is that by virtue of size each of the largest nations - Hausa-Fulani, Ibo and Yoruba - is large enough to form a separate viable state. Consequently when any one of them is dissatisfied it has threatened to secede from the Federation. The Hausa-Fulani for example threatened to withdraw support from the Federation when they were not satisfied with developments and demands for independence in 1953.¹ The Yoruba threatened secession when Lagos was declared a Federal Territory.² During the crises over the Census in 1964 and the elections in 1965,

1. Ezera, Kalu Constitutional Developments in Nigeria. London. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960. pp. 164-168

2. Ezera, K. op. cit. pp. 184-186

as well as the unrest in late 1966, the Ibo threatened to withdraw from the Federation.

Because of the size of these ethnic nations, and the social differences between them, the British based the administrative subdivisions of Nigeria on them. Thus the Northern Region was based on Hausa-Fulani, the East on Ibo and the West on Yoruba. When any of them has threatened to withdraw it has usually been implied that the other smaller ethnic nations in the same Region would also secede. Although this is not always accepted by the smaller ethnic nations, as shown by the threats of the Ibibio and the Ijọ to separate from the Ibo if the Eastern Region secedes from the Federation³ it has always meant a threefold division of the country.

Each of these nations expects to be represented in the Government of the Federation and each makes an elaborate analysis of the national affiliations of the senior members of the civil service, of the Federal cabinet and of the Public Corporations. The mutual distrust between these three nations creates tensions within the country and hinders unification.

3. West Africa 10th December, 1966. p. 1438

Apart from the three nations mentioned above there are four others which had, in 1952, populations of about one million people,⁴ and according to one source had, populations in 1963 of 1.5 million to 3.2 million.⁵ These nations and their reported 1963 populations are Ibibio (3.2 million), Kanuri (2.9 million), Tiv (1.5 million), and Edo (1.5 million). Like the three largest ones each of these nations has a common language and culture and each is opposed to domination by others. Apart from these, the Ijo who had a population of about half a million in 1953 and who were reported to have 900,000 in 1963, have campaigned strongly for a separate Region. In the last few months of 1966 and in January, 1967 they rioted because they feared their demands would not be met. The desire of these ethnic nations for independence in running their own affairs complicates the problems of unifying the whole country. The sizes of all of them, even at the 1952 level, make the absorption of one by the others impossible. It also makes it difficult for any of them to establish its influence all over the country.

4. The 1952 Population of the largest ethnic nations are shown on table - - (Chapter XI). The Census Office told the writer that details of ethnic populations in 1963 had not been prepared. The above figures for 1963 must therefore be taken as rough estimates.

5. Awolowo, Chief Obafemi Reported in West Africa
20th August, 1966. p. 935

Domination By Some Nations

The effect of the Regional groupings made by the British and discussed in previous chapters was that many ethnic nations and cultures were thrown together in the same Region. This has led to accusations of domination of the smaller by the largest cultures. For example the Middle Belt peoples who are predominantly non-Muslim complain about the ban on women participating in public activities in the Northern Region and the Edo complained about the spread of Yoruba influences among them.

As shown in the various chapters it is easy for the outsider to dismiss these allegations as unfounded, as many of them are, or to say that there is no evidence of pressure from the dominant nations. Nevertheless the allegations are taken seriously by those who make them and this affects their relationships with the others. It may be difficult to see what a Midwestern Government can do to stop the spread of Yoruba influences among its citizens now that they have their own Region. One may dismiss the complaints about the ban on women participating in public life because there are few women who want to do so. Even complaints about the ban on female suffrage may mean nothing to the outsider since female suffrage is not likely to make any difference to election results: most women will vote with

the male members of their households. However, what matters is not the feeling of the outsider about these complaints but what they mean to those who make them. Restrictions and bans mean oppression and people are offended. This creates bad feelings and delays unification.

Apart from those mentioned above there is general complaint all over the country about the fact that under the present set-up the Hausa-Fulani are able to dominate the Federal Government and their views and interests take precedence over all others. Attempts to change this led to the crisis over the 1963 Census and the worsening of relationships among the different parts and peoples. This reached a climax in 1966 when the possible disintegration of the Federation began to be discussed.

Differences in Education

Another cause of disaffection among the ethnic nations of Nigeria is the difference, between the Hausa-Fulani and most of the others, in the form of literacy. The Hausa-Fulani have more literates in the Arabic script than in the Roman script which is the main, and in many cases the only form, of literacy known in many areas. This difference is shown in table XXV.

TABLE XXV

FEDERATION OF NIGERIA⁶

FORM OF LITERACY IN SELECTED AREAS 1952/3

AREA	ALL LITERATES		S C R I P T S			
	No.	% Pop.	ROMAN		ARABIC	
			No.	% Pop.	No.	% Pop.
<u>HAUSA-FULANI</u>						
Argungu Div.	12,633	7.40	2,530	1.48	10,103	5.92
Sokoto "	114,886	5.68	12,966	0.64	101,920	5.12
Kano "	179,679	6.78	20,975	0.71	178,704	6.01
Katagum "	32,836	7.56	3,768	0.87	29,068	6.69
<u>MIDDLE BELT</u>						
Numan Div.	8,823	7.27	5,611	4.62	3,212	2.65
Pankshin	6,286	2.25	4,474	1.60	1,814	0.65
Abuja	6,046	5.97	3,586	3.54	2,460	2.43
Idoma	3,594	1.24	3,594	1.24	-	-
<u>YORUBA</u>						
Egba	51,476	12.91	51,476	12.91	-	-
Ekiti	48,916	14.94	48,916	14.94	-	-
<u>IBO</u>						
Onitsha	68,304	14.65	68,304	14.65	-	-
Bende	48,571	15.07	48,571	15.07	-	-

6. Based on Population Censuses 1952-53.

This difference has two effects: firstly it led to differences in outlook, and secondly it led to differences in opportunities for employment.

Literates in the Roman script read books written in Great Britain and the United States of America and the greatly influenced by the ideas of those areas. On the other hand those literate in the Arabic script read books written in Southwest Asia, moreover they read almost only religious (Islamic) books from those areas. Consequently their outlook on life is greatly influenced by the Islamic outlook. As practised by the Hausa-Fulani in Nigeria the Islamic outlook means the banning of women participating in public life to the extent of denying them the vote. This is in great contrast to the views of the other areas that women should be encouraged to take part in public life and no restriction should be placed on their political activities. This difference in outlook would not matter if it applied only to those nations which believe in such rules. But the imposition of the Hausa-Fulani views throughout the Northern Region means the subjugation of some people who share the opposite view. Demands that the Hausa-Fulani should change their views are regarded by the Hausa-Fulani as interference in internal affairs.

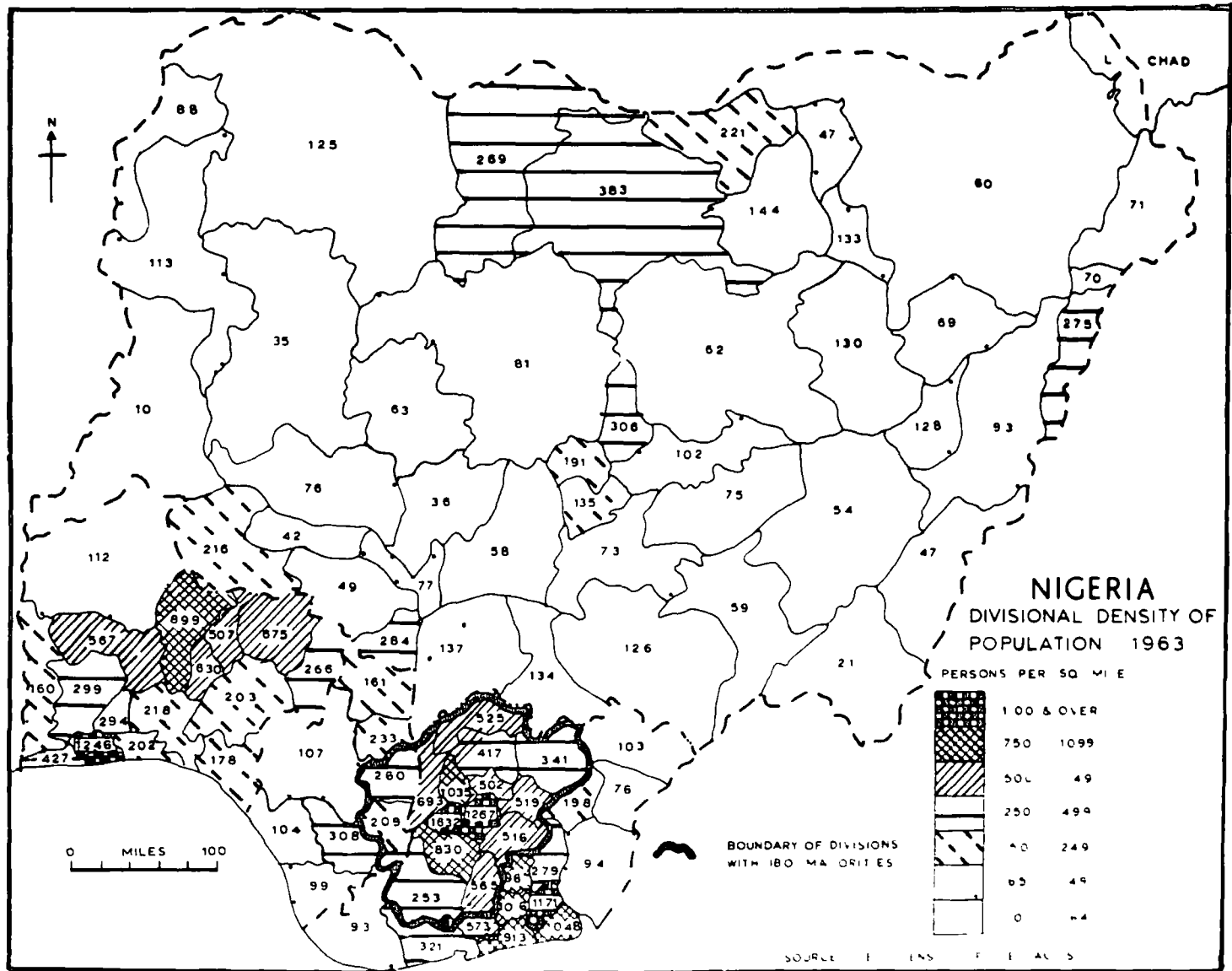


FIG. 81

The second effect of the difference arises out of the fact that only literates in the Roman script are accepted in the Government service. This means that there are fewer Hausa-Fulani than their rivals qualified for appointment in the Government service. Moreover only people with higher qualifications (such as university degrees) in the Roman script are appointed to the senior posts. The Hausa-Fulani do not have many such people. Consequently there are few Hausa-Fulani in senior posts in the Federal Civil Service. However, since the establishment of the Federation they have attempted to place more of their people in the Federal Service. Such attempts have been interpreted by the other ethnic nations as a device to fill Federal posts with less qualified people and relegate other areas to the background. These differences have therefore led to ill-feeling and distrust which have hindered the unification of the Federation and of its Regions.

Differences in Population Density

The differences in population density (Fig. 81) and opportunities for expansion also create problems among the different parts of the Federation, in particular between the Ibo and the other parts of the Federation. The high population density of Iboland, the lack of space for expansion there, and the lack of alternative means of

employment compels many Ibo to emigrate to other areas where they are engaged in various occupations. To some extent the same thing happens in parts of Hausaland, around Sokoto, Kano and Katsina, but the Hausa have more room for expansion in their own homeland or in the Emirates controlled by the kindred Fulani.

The Ibo are found all over the Federation and usually they are successful, particularly as traders. This success arouses feelings of jealousy in the indigenous people among whom they settle and the Ibo are often accused of unfair trading and sharp practices. On the other hand their success has been taken as evidence of Ibo pushfulness and ambition.

However, it is likely that the success of the Ibo emigrants in various parts of the Federation derives from the conditions under which they leave their homes. They leave home not because they wish to travel but because emigration is the only way open to them to improve themselves. Moreover only the resourceful and ambitious people emigrate, hence they can endure more hardships than others. By hard work and self denial they succeed in whatever they do. Such success is not due to unfair practice.

The indigenous peoples in most areas do not see the Ibo success in the way described above. Hence they are often hostile to Ibo immigrants and this attitude is often extended to the Ibo who have not even left home. Naturally, this hostility is not well received by the Ibo. Hence the Ibo are not on good terms with the areas where they are criticised. The extent of the areas of disaffection is shown by the widespread violence against Ibo traders during the crisis of 1966. At that time they were attacked in nearly all parts of the Northern Region; and before the crisis they have been severely criticised in the Western and Midwestern Regions. Within the Eastern Region itself Ibo immigrants to other areas are criticised.⁷

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

There have been various suggestions on the best way of solving these problems but such suggestions may be divided into two groups: constitutional and reorganizational. Although the former are not within the scope of this study they may be mentioned briefly because many people believe that the surest way of keeping Nigeria together lies in changes in the constitution.

7. See for example Udo, R. K. "The Migrant Tenant Farmer in Eastern Nigeria." Africa. Vol. XXXIV, 1964.

Constitutional Suggestions

The changes in the constitution which have been suggested for the solution of the problems in Nigeria may be listed as those which will establish

1. Equal representation for the present Regions in the Federal Parliament
2. A single party system
3. A unitary system of Government.

At present, members of the Federal Parliament represent as far as possible, an equal number of people; the agreements on this having been reached at the Constitutional Conferences of 1953 and 1957.⁸ But, as already shown, this gives the Northern Region more than half the seats and control of the Federation. This has led to the renewal in many quarters of a suggestion, first made in 1949 by the Lagos Colony Conference on the Nigerian Constitution,⁹ that each Region should be represented by an equal number of parliamentarians. Thus no Region will be able to dominate the Federation. A variant of this suggestion is that more constitutional power should be given to the

8. Nigeria (i) Report by the Conference on the Nigerian Constitution held in London in July and August, 1953. p. 5
and (ii) Idem held in London. May and June, 1957 p. 16

9. Nigeria, Review of the Constitution
Regional Recommendations.
Lagos Govt. Printer, 1949. p. 30

Senate in which each Region is represented by twelve members.

These suggestions attempt to reduce conflict among existing Regions and there is no doubt that adoption would satisfy the dominant nations in the Regions. But as shown already (pp. 302 ff) the problems of unifying Nigeria is not limited to only the dominant nations in each Region. The adoption of equal representation for Regions will not allay the mutual distrust among the dominant nations and neither will it allay the fears of the smaller nations. The help sought and received by the smaller ethnic nations in each Region from the dominant one in another Region contribute in no small measure to distrust among the dominant ones. Equal representation of each Region would probably not satisfy everyone and would make little or no difference to the unity of the country.

Some think that the adoption of a single party system is the best way to unify all parts of Nigeria.¹⁰ It is said that the system would eventually lead to the

10. Chief D. C. Osadebay was the most important of those who expressed this view; he did so before he became premier of the Midwestern Region in which he attempted to put it into practice - unsuccessfully.

elimination of political parties based on the ethnic nations. Two advantages are claimed for this system: firstly it eliminates party (and hence, in the case of Nigeria, ethnic) rivalry and the leader is able to appoint people from all areas, consequently no area is excluded because it does not support a political party. Secondly, it is supposed to eradicate sectional feelings and demands for separate Regions because the whole country in theory, looks to one leader and one source of power. It is said that these advantages would make unification easier.

The belief behind these arguments is that rival political parties are the main cause of trouble and hindrance to unification. But considering the fact that ethnic rivalries continue within each party in Nigeria it is extremely doubtful that the number of political parties has much influence on the lack of cohesion, and it is almost certain that the one-party system cannot work as its advocates expect. Nothing prevents the party leader from appointing most of his advisers from within his ethnic nation. If such were to happen there would be no reduction of discontent. More important is the assumption that there will be a leader acceptable to the whole country. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find such a leader in a country like Nigeria. If one section

challenges the authority of the leader disruption will follow. Thus it is highly improbable that a single party system would solve the problems of unifying Nigeria

The third suggestion relating to a unitary form of Government arises from the belief that the problems of unifying Nigeria are caused by deficiencies in the Federal setup and that ethnic consciousness was unknown when Nigeria was ruled as one by the British. It is difficult to say whether Nigeria was administered as a single country by the British because there was no uniform legislation and administrative policy particularly as between the Northern Provinces (now Northern Region) and the rest of the country. There were no indigenous representatives of the Northern Region in the Legislative Assembly until Regional Houses were established in 1947. This was pointed out by a speaker at the 1950 Constitutional Conference. "During all these years the Northern Provinces, the real North, and by that I mean the Northern people ... were not given the opportunity to express themselves. Very few of us knew what was going on during the time. We did not know how we fitted in the framework of the Nigerian constitution of the time."¹¹

11. Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in Nigeria: Proceedings of the General Conference on the Revision of the Constitution. January, 1950. Lagos Government Printer, 1950 p. 64

The point, of course, is that ethnic rivalry started at about the same time as the establishment of Regional Houses. However, it would appear that the reason for this development was not the establishment of Regional Houses but the development of political consciousness with the beginning of representative government. Prior to the establishment of the Regions the indigenous people had no voice in policy making and all Nigerians were treated alike by the British whose only distinction was between Europeans and Africans. The former were given preferences in appointments, in housing and in all spheres of Government activity. The Africans were relegated to the background. They disliked the treatment given to them and united to campaign for political power and independence. Up to that time it was usual for two Africans who live in the 'Reservations' to consider themselves as one against the Europeans, they were united by their colour and opposition to a common unwanted overlord.

When more indigenous people were promoted and Europeans became fewer it was possible to have people connected by ties stronger than the pigment of the skin. One of such ties was language. People speaking the same language and having the same cultures met to discuss their

problem and ideas. Any new arrival did not have to ask "How many Africans are here?" but "How many of 'my people' are here?" Hand in hand with these developments went the political developments. Old school mates, old playmates, and old friends, usually of the same ethnic nation, got together to form "parties" or movements for the protection of their national homeland. This led to ethnic consciousness which spread down to the village level, for the illiterate understands, and is understood by, one who speaks the same Nigerian language better than one who speaks through the medium of an interpreter.

That the present Federal system does not contribute to the problems of unification is shown by the fact that ethnic consciousness cuts across the present Regional boundaries. The Yoruba in Ilorin feels more at home with and prefers a fellow Yoruba from Akure to the Hausa from Katsina or the Birom from Jos, the Ibo from Abakaliki feels more kinship with and cares much more for a fellow Ibo from Asaba than an Ijo from Abonnema. The Ijo in the Eastern and Midwestern Regions prefer themselves to people from their respective Regions. The establishment of a

unitary system of government would not end ethnic consciousness. It may, in fact, aggravate ethnic rivalries, for under a unitary system there would be no restrictions on competition among the various ethnic nations.

Another reason why a unitary system would most probably fail to solve the problems is that each ethnic nation wishes to manage its own affairs. This is one of the main reasons why the Regional minorities demand separate Regions

It was also the main reason for the establishment of the Federal system in the first place, so that the largest ethnic nations and those supposed to be related to them would be able to manage their own affairs.

However, those who suggest a unitary system think that each ethnic nation, or sections of the same, can manage its own affairs by devolution of power to Provinces and other administrative units. The establishment of Provincial administration in the Eastern Region in January, 1967 was designed to achieve this end as were the earlier attempts in the Northern and Eastern Regions and proposals in the Mid-western Region. But devolution of power does not give each ethnic nation control over its affairs because the final legislative power rests with the Parliament in

which the minorities are still outnumbered, and for the whole country every ethnic nation will be outnumbered by all others put together. Thus Parliament can pass laws which go against the wishes of a particular ethnic nation. For example it could make suffrage compulsory for men and women throughout the country against the wishes of the Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri. Such an action would cause discontent and would delay unification. Furthermore a single government for the whole country would find it extremely difficult to plan effectively for the development of the different areal economies. This would result in some areas complaining that their own economies have been neglected in favour of others. Such complaint would not help the development of unity in the country.

Many people believe that all these objections can be overcome if the people accept themselves, and that, after initial difficulties, the different 'tribes' (as they regard the ethnic nations) can be united in much the same way as the French or German tribes were united.

Such belief is wrong and springs from a complete lack of knowledge and understanding of the problems to be solved. The problems are not those of uniting the different tribes of England or of France or of Germany. Rather the

problems are similar to those which would be encountered if the French, the Germans, the Dutch and the Italians were to be united politically under a single government. For the differences between the Ibo and the Ibibio, or between the Hausa and the Tiv, or the Edo and the Ijo are comparable to those between the French and the Germans or the Poles and the Russians or the English and the Swedes. Just as the English do not want to be dominated by the Germans, the French by the Italians or the Poles by the Russians so the Yoruba do not want to be dominated by the Ibo, the Ijo by the Ibibio or the Hausa by the Yoruba. Because of this it is extremely difficult for one area to sacrifice its interests for the others. Because of this each area wishes to manage those affairs which concern it alone. Because of this the different Regional conferences recommended in 1949 that the country should have a Federal constitution.¹²

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12. Nigeria: Review of the Constitution: Regional Recommendations.
Lagos. Government Printer, 1949.
See also Record of Proceedings of the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in July and August, 1953. Particularly The Joint Memorandum by NCNC and AG 4th August, 1953.

NIGERIA SUGGESTED SCHEMES OF REORGANIZATION 1911-42

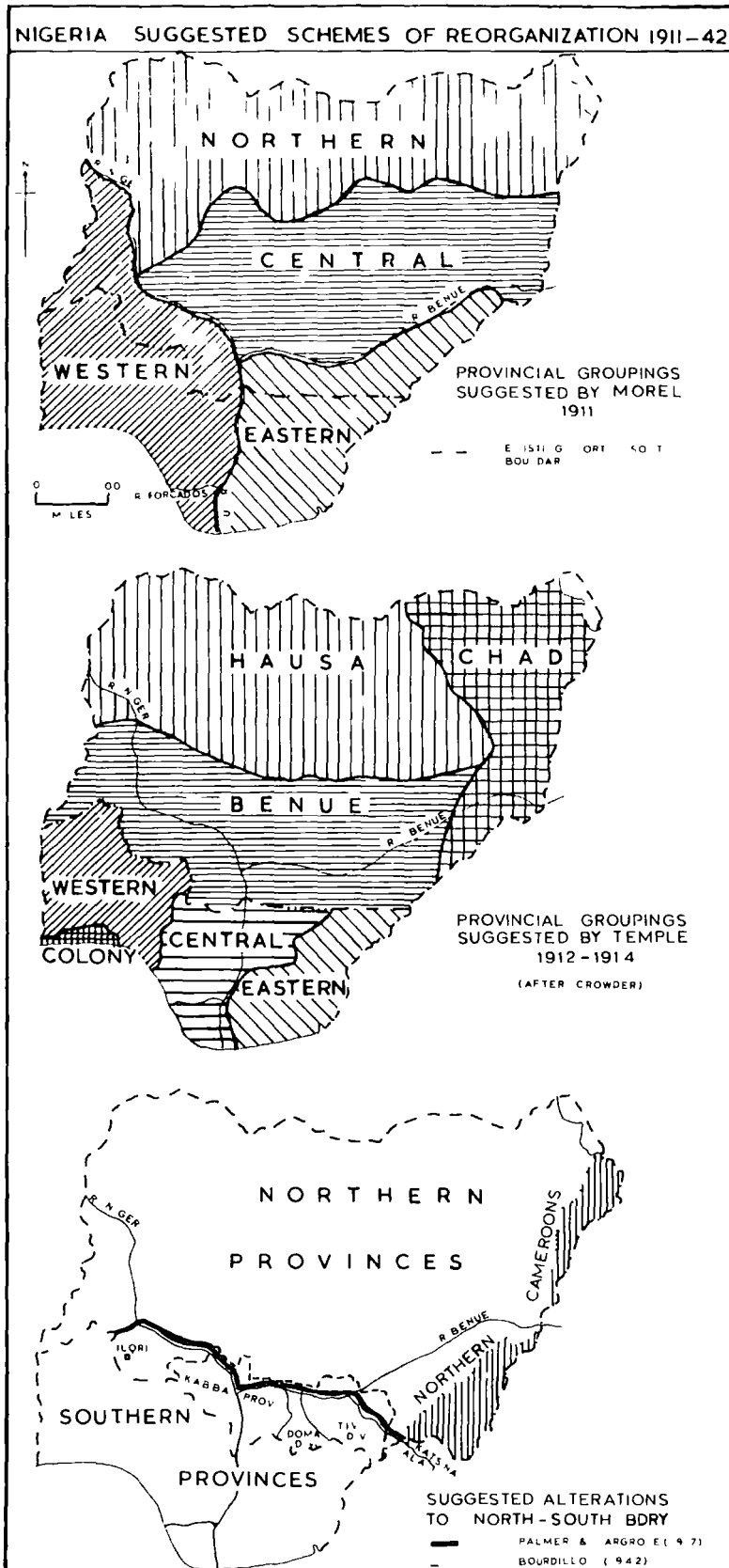


FIG. 82

Proposals for Reorganization

There is no doubt that a Federation with Regions more acceptable to the peoples is the solution to the problems of Nigeria. Such a solution would require large scale reorganization of the country. Apart from the reorganizations suggested by minorities and discussed on pp { various schemes of reorganization have been suggested from time to time since shortly before the amalgamation of 1914.

The first of such suggestions was that made by Morel in 1911. He suggested that Nigeria be divided into four Regions - Northern, Central, Western and Eastern.¹³ The first would comprise the predominantly Muslim areas and Kontagora Division. The Central Province would comprise all non-Muslim areas to the north of the Niger and the Benue rivers and the rest of the country would be divided into two along the Niger and Forcados rivers (but he chose the Inn River on his map Fig. 82.) Seen in the present context, the main defect of this suggestion is the choice of the Niger and Benue rivers as boundaries.

13. Morel, L. D. Nigeria: its Peoples and its problems. London. Smith Elder & Co. 1911. pp. 201-204

These rivers do not separate peoples: the Kambari, Nupe and Igbirra are found on both banks of the Niger and the Tiv and Idoma on both banks of the Benue. Farther south some Ibo and some Ijò are found to the west of the suggested boundary. Another criticism is that the resultant Regions would have the same major defects of the present ones.

A more detailed suggestion was made by Temple during the discussion of the scheme for the 1914 amalgamation.¹⁴ He suggested that the country be divided into seven Regions: Lagos Colony, the three Provinces of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and Benue, Chad and Hausa Provinces. The Benue Region would have included most of the non-Muslim areas of the Northern Region (the exception being Adamawa Emirate); Chad Province would have included Bornu Province and Adamawa Emirate and Hausaland would have formed a separate Province. Seen in the context of today the main defect of the suggestion is that some nations would have been split between different Regions. Benue Province would have included Kabba and Ilorin, the Central Province would

14. Cited by Crowder, M. The Story of Nigeria Faber and Faber, 1962. p. 214

(The present writer was unable to trace the original text of the suggestion).

have included a large section of the Ibo, and the Ijò would have been divided as at present. Further, there is no justification whatever for a separate Lagos Colony Region.

Another suggestion was that the Niger and Benue rivers from Jèbba to river Katsina Ala should form the boundary between the Northern Region and the rest of the country.¹⁵ This would probably have led to the extension of the East-West boundary to Lokoja. This suggestion has all the defects of that by Morel and in addition fails to provide for the non-Muslim areas which would have been left in the Northern Region.

Objections to these three proposals arise from the fact that the problems of Nigeria are caused by its ethnic composition. This is shown by the many demands for boundary changes or new Regions which are always based on ethnic or cultural factors. Consequently any solution of the problems must aim at avoiding conflicts arising from the domination of one culture by another, or of one ethnic

15. See Governor's Dispatch to Secretary of State for the Colonies.

2nd April, 1917. SNP 2700 Vol. I.

also a variant of it in Bourdillon, B. A further Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria.

Lagos. Government Printer, 1942. p. 6

ethnic nation by another. Such a solution cannot be achieved within the framework of the existing Regions, or by an adjustment of their boundaries. It follows that new Regions must be created.

SUGGESTED BASES FOR REORGANIZATION

If the various problems which have been examined in this study are to be solved, any new scheme of reorganization must satisfy the following conditions:

1. The new Regions should be such that no large ethnic nation is dominated by another. If any were included in a Region where it became a minority it would most probably demand separation in the future.
2. Every Region must be economically viable, otherwise poor Regions would not be able to maintain essential services and development.
3. If a Region is to include more than one ethnic nation, all those in the Region must have some common characteristics.
4. No ethnic nation should be grouped with others with which it does not want to stay.
5. No ethnic nation should be split between two Regions. Before the reorganization comes into effect arrangements should be made for all necessary boundary alterations.

6. Within every Region transport from one part to the others should not be difficult.
7. The constitution should be such that every Region will be able always to participate in the running of the Federal Government.

The fifth condition will possibly cause the greatest controversy for it will lead to the division of those existing major administrative units (Provinces, Divisions and Emirates) which have two or more ethnic nations which are to be grouped in different Regions. Of these, the Provinces and Divisions will not be greatly missed by anyone because there are no great attachments to them. Even then past suggestions for new Regions were based largely on the Provinces and Divisions, the Midwest, Middle Belt and Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers Provinces are all examples of this. Nevertheless it is certain that most of those who make the suggestions would accept boundary changes which would harmonise with ethnic distributions. This is shown by the attitude of the Midwest Movement to Warri and Western Ijò Divisions,¹⁶ of the Delta Region Movement

16. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Minorities Commission's Sitting at Benin City on 10th December, 1957. p. 8

over Ahoada Division¹⁷ and of the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers Movement over Abakaliki and Afikpo Divisions.¹⁸ In all cases the political Movement concerned was not opposed to the exclusion of the areas mentioned because the people in those areas belong to other ethnic nations

The attitudes to the splitting of the indigenous as opposed to British-created units would, however be quite different. For example, the Emirs are attached to the areas conquered by their ancestors and which they now rule and they may oppose any division of their Emirates. However, the majority of the Emirate populations would not regret separation. This is shown by the fact that the areas transferred to Sardauna Province from Adouawa Emirate have not regretted their separation from that Emirate¹⁹ In addition the Katab of the southern part of Zaria Emirate have demanded transference from the Emirate to the proposed Middle Belt Region. If such peoples are

17. Interview by writer with Chief Dappa-Biriye, leader of Niger Delta Congress - chief advocate of the Region 25th December, 1965.

18. Minorities Commission Minutes of Sitting at Calabar 9th January, 1958 p. 3

19. See for example Haughan, J. H. "Culture, History and Grass-roots Politics in a Northern Cameroons Kingdom." Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1965. pp. 1078-1095

separated from their co-nationals in other Regions they will demand reunion in the Region which contains the main body of their nation, and such demands will lead to inter-Regional conflict. It is therefore preferable that all parts of an ethnic nation should be grouped in the same Region.

Apart from the three discussed above, the only other sub-Regional administrative unit is the District. In most areas the District is usually very homogeneous. But there are a few exceptions, usually in areas where two ethnic nations meet: Birnin Gwari District (Zaria Division) is inhabited by Kamuku, Hausa and Gwari, Toto District (Nassarawa Division) by Gwari and Igbirra, and Akoko-Edo District by Yoruba, Igbirra and Edo. With the exception of Akoko-Edo District, each of the ethnic nations in each District live and own the land in a distinct part of the District. It is therefore easy to determine the limits of their territories. In cases where the population consists of a large proportion of immigrants from a neighbouring nation it would be preferable to give precedence to the landowners. With these considerations it should not be too difficult to arrive at boundaries between ethnic nations which could be used for administrative reorganization.

SUGGESTED POLITICAL REGIONS OF NIGERIA²⁰

Using the above criteria on the allocation of Districts, the territories of the ethnic nations described in Chapter III have been delimited as in Figure 83 and the Appendix.

Only six of the ethnic nations - Hausa-Fulani, Ibo, Yoruba, Ibibio, Kanuri and Edo are large enough to form economically viable Regions.

Middle Belt Apart from these, no ethnic nation has sufficient population to form, by itself, the basis of a separate Region. However, there have been persistent demands that a Middle Belt Region be created in the southern part of the present Northern Region. The idea has received the greatest support from the Tiv and the non-Muslim peoples to the southeast of the Northern Region. This is shown by their support for the chief advocates of the proposed Region, the Action Group and the United Middle Belt Congress, who promised that, if they won the Federal Elections of 1959, they would create the Middle Belt Region. At that election their share of the votes in the Middle Belt area was considerable (Table XXVI).

20. In order to follow this section the reader is advised to open out Fig. 83 (in socket).

TABLE XXVI

1959 FEDERAL ELECTIONS

SUPPORT FOR ADVOCATES OF MIDDLE BELT (AG/UMBC)

<u>Division</u>	<u>AG/UMBC</u> <u>Votes as % Total</u>
Tiv	83.90
Wukari	57.03
Chamba	68.54
Gashaka-Nambilla	65.43
Lafia	48.14
Shendam	56.88
Fankshin	56.32
Jema'a	48.71
Southern Zaria	49.88

This support indicates that a very high proportion of the people are willing to join together to form a new Region. The people concerned are Tiv, Chamba, Kento, Katab and Angus. They are mainly non-Muslim among whom there are no large concentrations of Hausa-Fulani.

It has recently been suggested that Benue and Plateau Provinces as well as the southern part of Zaria Province should join to form a Middle Belt Region.²¹ A Region so

21. By J. S. Tarka: See West Africa 3rd September, 1966.
p. 993

constituted would include most of the area mentioned above but leave out the Chamba. This suggestion is based solely on the support which the Middle Belt Movement has received so far. But it is not sufficient to judge on this alone because the political behaviour of an area may be influenced by other factors particularly pressure from the administrators of the Emirates. The Emirs do not want to sever their links with Sokoto and therefore attempt to discourage people from supporting the Middle Belt Movement. Other areas, such as Jos Division, have large numbers of immigrants whose votes make it impossible to ascertain the true wishes of the local people. It is likely that without these outside influences other areas would have shown greater support for the demand for a separate Middle Belt Region.

But more important is the objection to basing new Regions solely on the support given to political parties (so-called) at general elections where issues other than the creation of Regions were considered. The personality of candidates and of party leaders are among factors which influence voting behaviour. It is likely that the voting pattern would be different if personalities and personal prejudices were not considered. This is shown

by the areas now in the Midwestern Region. In 1959 the majority of the voters (55.9%) in Ishan Division and 44.4 percent of those in Afenmai Division voted for the Action Group which did not particularly support the creation of the Midwestern Region, in both cases the votes for the U.C.N.C. was less (36.47% in Ishan Division and 40.31% in Afenmai Division). In 1963 the people in those areas voted overwhelmingly for the creation of the Midwestern Region. When that Region was created they switched their support to the U.C.N.C. which was in power in the Region. If the Midwestern Region had been based solely on the 1959 Federal elections Afenmai and Ishan Divisions would have been excluded.

Nevertheless, it is realised that the voting in 1959 showed the core of the area which should be in a Middle Belt Region. The other areas should be those which share the characteristics of the peoples of the core area. In this respect the Birom, Gwari, Idoma, Jukun, Mumuye, Yungur and Tangale should be included in the same Region.

The Gwari and the Idoma are mainly non-Muslims and they have accepted the Roman script more than the greater part of the Northern Region. These two ethnic nations have never given much support to the Middle Belt Movement, but it is likely that they would prefer to be in that Region when it is created.

The Tangale have always supported the Movement for the Middle Belt Region. The Batta, Mumbye and Yangur of Adamawa, Muri and Numan Divisions have given support but it has not been as great as in other areas. All these peoples are non-Muslims and they do not share the Muslim traditions of the Hausa-Fulani or the Kanuri.

The ethnic nations named above could jointly form a viable Region. A smaller area of the Middle Belt would probably not constitute an economically viable Region. This is because the area is relatively poor and infertile. Apart from soya beans and benniseed, the people do not produce any cash crops. To establish a smaller Region would either result in heavier taxation on the people or an absence of development projects. Because of the low productivity of the area, heavier taxation would be a great burden and, of course, if taxes remain low development is impossible. Therefore, the new Region should be large enough to support a proper programme of economic development.

Consideration of the economic viability of the new Regions makes it inadvisable to create a separate Region in the western part of the Middle Belt. Such a Region would include the Nupe and neighbouring peoples

who inhabit what are probably the most agriculturally unproductive areas of the country. They would not be able to support the paraphernalia of Regional Government without great hardship. Moreover, the Kamuku, Dukawa and Kambari have important connections with the Hausa-Fulani to the north of them, and their social and cultural interests will be best served by their being associated with the Hausa-Fulani. To the south are the Bussa among whom live many Fulani. They too would probably be happier with the Hausa-Fulani.

The Nupe are difficult to place. They are fairly large (353,000 in 1952) and they have their own literature. They are Muslims but they have also accepted European ideas much more than the Muslims of the Far North but not as much as those of the Southwest. They have never supported the creation of a Middle Belt Region and they have never demanded separation from the Hausa-Fulani. Historically they have links with the Igala but their present rulers are Fulani.

Their fairly large size makes it unlikely that they will accept absorption by any of their larger neighbours who are Yoruba to the south and Hausa-Fulani to the north. Although they do not demand separation from the present Northern Region they would possibly feel isolated when

other areas separate to form new Regions and they would probably then ask for a separate Region. The result would be the same if they were amalgamated with the Yoruba. They are different from the areas proposed for the Middle Belt Region for, unlike them, they are Muslim and they possessed an elaborate political organization before the Fulani conquest in the 19th century. To group them with peoples without those qualities could lead to discontent. Yet they are not large enough to form a separate viable Region.

In view of these difficulties it would probably be better to treat the Nupe as a special case and declare their homeland a Federal District to be governed in the same way as Federal Districts in India, Canada and Australia. In this way they would enjoy the benefits of separate existence without incurring the expenses. They would be able to manage their own affairs and they would also be able to participate in the running of the Federation.

Far North Most Nigerians regard the Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri as one because they are both predominantly Muslims. The two nations have given credence to this idea in that they have united to oppose the non-Muslims

from the other parts of the country. However, their unity is not likely to survive if more Regions are created because they would then be rivals in one Region. They would most probably split along ethnic lines and the Kanuri, who are fewer, would be at a disadvantage. It is possible that many people would prefer to discount the possibility of such a split, but it should be remembered that unity in the face of a common opposition does not necessarily last when circumstances change, as they would. This is borne out by the experience of Pakistan where the eastern section is now demanding greater freedom and autonomy from the west, even though they were both resolutely opposed to Hindu domination. Similarly in Malaysia, soon after the ending of Indonesian 'confrontation' in 1966, disagreements between Sarawak and the Federal Government came into the open. The 'unity' of African leaders and peoples to the 'Colonial' rulers did not last long after independence and there is no reason to think that the peoples under discussion would behave differently. It would be better, therefore, if the Kanuri were separated from the Hausa-Fulani to form a separate Region. This would enable them to maintain the present good relationships with the Hausa-Fulani.

The Karekare have more in common with the Kanuri than with the Hausa-Fulani so they should be included in the same Region as the Kanuri. The Marghi have been in contact with the Kanuri for a long time, and it would be better to group them with the Kanuri.

The South The Ibibio have demanded a separate Region, and they are apparently capable of maintaining such a Region. The Ekoi have long been in contact with the Ibibio and Efik is the lingua franca among them. It would therefore be better to group them with the Ibibio. To the northeast of the Ekoi are the Boki who have close relationships with the Ekoi, so they too should be grouped with the Ibibio.

The main problem of the Ibibio Region might be lines of communication between the various parts. At present (April, 1967) there are no good roads between Calabar, which will possibly be the capital, and Ikom Division where most of the Ekoi are found. However, contracts have been signed for a new road between Ikom and Calabar which should ease the transport problems of the proposed Region.

The Ukelle in eastern Ogoja Division are very small in number and available information is not clear on their cultural connections with other areas, but it would

appear there are many Ibo people among them. Hence it appears that it would be better if they remain with the Ibo.

The Ijo of the Niger Delta are in a class by themselves. They are fairly large (516,000 in 1953) so it would be difficult for any other nation to absorb them. They have demanded a separate Region which would comprise the areas inhabited by the Ijo in both the Eastern and Midwestern Regions. But it is unlikely that they would be able to support an adequate Regional Government and maintain a development programme for the Niger Delta. This would still be true even if they were to collect and use all the revenue from the petroleum produced in their homeland. The reason for this is that the Delta is a very difficult Region. Agriculture is impossible and the people are engaged mainly in fishing. Thus private income is low. Because of the swampy terrain transport facilities are poor and road construction is, and will always remain, extremely difficult. Consequently movement from one part to another is much impeded.

Nevertheless it is certain that only those who live in the Ijo homeland can fully understand and solve their particular swampland problems, and that if they are grouped

with dryland peoples the latter may neglect them. It is therefore advisable that they should be able to control their own affairs. But since they would find it difficult to maintain a separate Regional Government it would be better for their homeland to be declared a Federal District governed on the same lines as the Nupe homeland. In that way they would be able to plan their own social and economic development without incurring the full expenses of a Regional Government.

Since, as has been argued, no ethnic nations should be split between two Regions, the Ibo in the Midwestern Region should unite with the rest of the Ibo to form a separate Region.

The Edo as well as the Akoko and Işekiri sections of the Yoruba have shown that they do not wish to be associated with the rest of the Yoruba in the same Region. This means they too should form a separate Region.

The Igala and the Igbirra do not fit into any of the Regions already discussed. Although they have been in the Northern Region they have not supported the Middle Belt Movement. Culturally they are distinct from the ethnic nations of the Middle Belt because they have a system of indigenous political organization not very

dissimilar from that of the Edo. Like the Edo there is a great deal of Yoruba influence among them. It is therefore likely that they would have no great difficulty in adapting themselves to the Edo. Hence it is preferable to group them with the Edo. In this way they would enjoy the best atmosphere for developing their culture and they would have greater influence in a Region where they would form a higher proportion of the population than they would in the Middle Belt.

The Bariba of southern Borgu Division have historical and cultural ties with Oyo. It has been reported that many of them speak and understand Yoruba, and their place names confirm this. Their interests would be best served if they join the Yoruba to form a Region.

These suggestions would result in a Federation composed as in Table XXVII.

THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

Federations like that suggested for Nigeria usually have capitals which are independent of the Regions. The main reason for this is the need to have a capital which is not dominated by one of the Regions of the Federation or by any special interests within the country.

Lagos, the present capital of Nigeria, does not meet these conditions. It is dominated by the Yoruba who form 72 percent of the population, own the land and determine the role of the Federal capital in the Federation. As shown above (pp. 245-6) the declaration of Lagos as a Federal Territory has not solved any of these problems.

The principle of locating a capital in neutral Federal Territory is an admirable one, but in other Federations such as the United States, Australia, Brazil and Pakistan, the capitals were built ab initio on unoccupied land declared as Federal Territory. Such capitals are truly independent of the constituent units of the Federation. If Nigeria is to have a truly independent capital it must follow the examples of those Federations. A new capital should be built on unoccupied land declared as Federal Territory.

The choice of a site ought to be governed by the following considerations.

1. It should not be in the homeland of any of the three largest ethnic nations: Hausa-Fulani, Ibo or Yoruba. These three nations dominate the affairs of Nigeria and vie to lead the country. None of them should be able to control the capital of the whole country.
2. The site should be within easy reach of all the Regions. This is necessary because if it is too far from any Region that Region might feel isolated from the capital.
3. As much as possible the new site should not be near any existing town and steps should be taken to prevent the displacement of very many people.

These conditions can be met only in the Middle Belt. That part of the country is not controlled by any of the largest nations. In the Middle Belt itself only the western part can satisfy the suggested conditions, the eastern part of the area is too distant from other Regional centres. Hence the area for a new capital should be in the western section of the Middle Belt.

In that area the Plateau area is the most central for the whole country. But the capital cannot be built on the plateau itself because it is too near the Hausa-Fulani, and it is not easily accessible from the south. Moreover parts of it are densely populated, Jos Division had a population density of 306 psm. in 1963.

West of the Plateau is sparsely populated. In the homeland of the Gwari and the Nupe, in Bida, Abuja and Minna Divisions, respectively, the average densities of population were 76 psm, 36 psm and 63 psm in 1963. These areas are also outside the influence of the largest ethnic nations. In addition they are not far from the Kainji dam which is to supply electricity to the areas around.

If, as suggested earlier, the Nupe homeland is declared a Federal District, it will be preferable to have the Federal capital in Nupeland. If suitable land could be acquired there it should be declared a Federal Territory, and a new Federal capital built there. But if no suitable land is to be found in Nupeland such land should be found in the western part of the Gwari homeland in the proposed Middle Belt Region. Somewhere between Abuja and Minna would appear to be suitable. A Federal capital in a Federal Territory situated in that part of the country would be neutral, easily accessible to all parts, and recognizably pan-Nigerian.

The suggestion may be opposed on the grounds that the removal would be too costly, or that Lagos as the chief port, ought to be the capital, or that Lagos has already been developed as a capital with revenue derived

from all parts of the country. Taking the last objection first: many towns have been developed with revenue derived from all parts of the country. Port Harcourt, Enugu and Kaduna were actually built from scratch with central funds. It is not therefore an acceptable argument to refuse to build a more suitable capital because Lagos would go to the Western Region. Since other Regions can rightly claim ownership of the towns named above it is not improper for the Western Region to claim Lagos.

The second objection relating to Lagos as the chief port is not a good reason for making a move that would benefit the country as a whole. In any case many other countries do not have their capitals in their chief port. Washington (U.S.A.), Brasilia (Brazil), Canberra (Australia), New Delhi (India), Islamabad (Pakistan) are all examples of Federal capitals not located at the chief ports. In fact Brazil, Australia and Pakistan moved their capitals from chief ports to the interior, there is no reason why Nigeria should not do the same.

Objections on the grounds of cost are more fundamental, but cost alone should not prevent the Federation from having a suitable capital. In any case the capital will not be built in a single year, and even when the site is

chosen removal may be spread over a number of years. The choice of a neutral site would mean that no new Federal buildings would be erected in Lagos, as all development would be diverted to the new site. Above all, the cost of a new Federal capital would not be money wasted: the capital would be there for future generations to see.

CONCLUSION

The suggestions made above would lead to the creation of more homogeneous Regions none of which would be capable of dominating all the others. Moreover in all the proposed new Regions no ethnic nation would be able to dominate the others. In the Midwestern and Middle Belt Regions there would be many ethnic nations, but none would be predominant. The Tiv, who would be the largest nation in the Middle Belt, would form only about 20 percent of that Region's population. The Edo could not dominate all the other peoples in the Midwestern Region, moreover the claims for independent status by the different sections of the Edo would not enable them to unite against other ethnic nations.

Another effect of the proposals is that many causes of antagonism between Regions will be minimized. For example, there would be little or no demand for boundary adjustments, and there would be no cause to demand the splitting of any Region. The choice of a new capital and the merger of Lagos with the Western Region should remove any likely cause of distrust and discontent by any Region.

The establishment of the suggested Regions would also reduce rivalry and make it possible for citizens to move to and work in any part of the Federation. At the Federal level the seventh condition stated above (p. 343) concerning participation in Federal affairs should help to lessen tension. In this respect it would be preferable to appoint only an agreed quota of senior Federal personnel from each Region. This would lessen competition and permit people from all parts to work together.

It is hoped that the acceptance of the above suggestions will lead to mutual respect and acceptance among the peoples and thus make it possible for all the different nations and cultures to join together in building a strong and viable Federation of Nigeria.

APPENDIX I

NIGERIA: TERRITORIES OF THE ETHNIC NATIONS

ETHNIC NATION	TERRITORY				
	Division	District			
		Name	Total Population 1952/53	Nation's Population [■]	
				No	% District Total
A	B	C	D	E	F
K. GURI	Bornu	All Except Marghi	936,874	742,022	79.2
	Dikwa	All	189,381	167,420	88.4
	Northern (Kano)	Guri	19,501	12,390	63.2
			1,145,846	921,832	80.4
KAREKARE	Bedde	All	45,064	22,034	48.9
	Potiskum	All	114,632	73,458	64.1
	Katagum	Jalam	5,342	5,096	95.4
		Dagauda	11,154	8,403	75.3
		176,192	103,991	61.9	
MARGHI	Biu	All	104,621	106,388	81.6
	Bornu	Marghi	68,901	41,068	59.6
	Dikwa	Gwoza	75,821	64,060	84.5
	Adamawa	Kilba	44,029	39,443	89.6
		Uba	36,665	30,058	82.0
		faiba	13,228	10,611	80.2
		Madagali	55,007	50,591	92.0
		Cubunawa	66,782	62,260	93.2
		Mubi	83,955	69,858	83.2
			609,009	474,337	77.9

■ In some parts of the country, particularly the Middle Belt area, the names of the various ethnic nations are not specified and they are grouped as "Other Nigerians" in Census records. In compiling this table the people grouped as "Other Nigerian" in each District have been regarded as belonging to the ethnic nation of that District. This has been done because the immigrants whose ethnic nations are not separately indicated are not likely to be many. It is certain that if there were a complete breakdown of the population into the various ethnic nations, the end result will not be much different from that indicated in sections E and F of the table.

A	B	C	D	E	F		
NUSA-FULANI	Argungu	All	170,603	168,471	98 8		
	Sokoto	All	2,020,340	1,964,973	97 3		
	Katsina	All	1,483,400	1,319,279	89 0		
	Kano Province	All Except Guri	3,376,759	3,121,450	92 4		
	Gwandu Emirate	All Except I'lo	403,078	373,431	92 6		
	Zaria	Soba		41,931	39,133	94 0	
		Giwa		40,024	37,742	94 3	
		Igabi		38,426	35,309	91 9	
		Ikara		52,846	50,411	95 5	
		Kauuna		50,635	25,382	51 3	
		Kubau		49,518	46,738	93 8	
		Makarfi		59,231	56,011	94 6	
		Zaria		93,208	73,435	78 8	
		Bauchi	Bauchi Town		13,440	8,222	61 2
			Darazo		63,340	44,956	71 0
	Firfi			26,087	19,021	73 0	
	Gombe	Gombe Emirate		353,330	250,487	69 9	
	Katagum	All Except Jalam and Dagauda		417,890	336,421	80 5	
				8,759,386	7,970,900	91 0	
	JARAWA	Bauchi	Jarawa	24,150	13,585	77 0	
Bula			28,648	16,392	57 2		
Duguri			9,800	7,494	70 5		
Fali			30,707	7,025	22 9		
Galambi			18,527	8,218	44 4		
Zungur			45,884	19,366	42 2		
Dass			19,198	10,340	85 1		
Jama'a			30,158	11,239	37 2		
Lame			50,218	22,155	44 1		
Ganjuwa			36,709	22,831	62 2		
				293,999	149,645	50 9	
NINGAWA	Bauchi	Burra	13,709	7,003	51 1		
		Ningi	23,020	9,075	39 4		
		Jarji	24,178	15,334	63 4		
				60,907	31,412	51 6	

A	B	C	D	E	F
JUKA	Kontagora	Rijau	52,369	23,110	43 7
		Dabai	34,802	30,367	87 3
		Doko	12,915	2,143	94 0
		Fakai	32,595	20,517	50 7
		Sakaba	14,135	7,158	50 6
		Asagu	21,928	9,757	44 5
				169,244	109,058
FAFI	Kontagora	Kontagora	11,661	5,686	43 8
		Kumbashi	13,058	9,862	75 5
		Ibelu	7,839	6,912	88 2
		Auna	15,408	12,451	80 8
	Gwandu	Yauri Emirate	72,319	41,022	56 7
	Borgu	Agwarra	23,101	19,763	35 5
			143,386	95,696	66 7
BUGJILA	Borgu	Bussa	4,871	1,151	23 6
		Babana	9,168	4,919	53 7
		Nawa	4,804	1,677	34 9
		Kaiama	5,665	3,803	67 1
	Gwardu	Ilo	13,501	4,287	31 8
			38,009	15,337	41 7
KALUKU	Minna	Kamuku	23,777	19,462	81 9
	Kontagora	Kotonkoro	12,362	8,300	67 1
		Mashegu	4,604	2,942	63 9
				40,743	30,704
GWARI	Minna	Gwari Fed	117,817	89,144	75 7
	Abuja	Abuja Emirate	67,919	58,006	86 7
	Zaria	Cikum	13,539	13,967	75 3
		Kagarko	36,590	29,543	80 7
	Nasarawa	Gadabuke	18,311	15,694	85 7
		Keffi	34,228	23,854	69 7
		Karshi	8,306	7,678	92 4
		Nasarawa	13,423	6,455	48 1
		Karu	9,148	8,320	91 0
		Gitata	15,889	15,377	96 8
		Keffi Town	6,367		
				346,537	268,938

■ There are some Gwari in Birnin Gwari District of Zaria Division but the population of their homeland there is not published separately from those of the Hausa and the Kamuku who are the other inhabitants of the District

A	B	C	D	E	F
13	Te a'a Zaria	All districts	34,246	49, 7	75 4
		Kuru	15,711	15,789	61 4
		Kajuru	22,911	19,427	4 3
		Kachua	30,323	30,366	64 8
		Zahon Katab	98,610	85,177	86 4
		Lere	65,301	31,710	48 6
		Kagore	10,301	15,051	92 0
		oro-	14,347	12,909	90 0
		Jaba	25,547	24,293	95 1
			370,122	284,209	76 8
BIRNI	Jos	All	246,400	126,707	55 5
03	Bauchi	Lere	64,406	53,061	32 4
	Pankshin	All	179,003	251,313	92 1
	Akwanga	All	93,152	90,717	92 3
	Sendam	All	194,194	179,130	92 2
	Lafia	Issako	51,040	46,606	91 3
			636,795	620,333	90 4
TANGALE	Gombe	Tangale-Jala	112,714	114,099	95 5
	Muri	Murkun	41,585	33,244	92 0
			160,099	152,343	95 2
LONGUDA	Numan	Longuda	28,975	26,609	91 8
		Shellen	24,524	13,137	53 6
	Adamawa	Yungur	20,370	23,376	100 0
		Ga'anda	60,821	56,639	93 1
			142,696	124,761	87 4
BATTA	Adamawa	Sorau	10,369	7,571	73 0
		Belel	3,943	2,086	75 8
		Gurin	9,745	2,666	29 4
		Ribadu	18,724	4,193	22 4
		Malabu	13,073	8,054	61 6
		Zummo	20,160	15,273	75 3
		Song	15,550	13,341	85 8
		Girei	14,656	6,832	46 6
		Yola	26,337	6,050	23 0
		Mbula	10,153	9,465	93 2
		Batta	22,008	18,282	83 1
		Bachama	35,417	31,732	89 6
			200,140	125,745	62 8

A	B	C	D	E	F
MURUVE	Muri	Lau	34,636	23,429	07 3
		Jalingo	34,808	25,981	74 6
		Muruve	52,262	49,873	25 4
		Zinna	36,257	35,037	96 3
		Kwoiji	10,680	10,285	96 3
		Vere	29,350	16,401	55 9
		Mayo Be-wa	30,928	16,829	54 4
		Nassacawo-Jereng	22,021	1,033	82 4
			251,742	196,518	78 1
C AMBA	Ad-mawa	Mambilla	36,769	22,023	50 9
		Gashaka	10,682	9,555	39 5
		Toungo	14,362	12,126	44 4
		Binveri	15,557	14,328	74 0
		Cramba Area	97,584	74,943	76 8
		Wafango	10,722	5,476	51 1
	Muri	Duka	7,002	6,779	96 8
		Baundi	10,973	8,768	79 9
	Wukari	Ndoro	3,804	3,725	97 0
		Ichen	3,382	3,239	95 2
		Tigon	5,611	5,511	98 2
		Suntai and Dutse	13,392	12,874	96 1
			229,340	179,652	78 2
JUKUN [■]	Muri	Gossol	9,196	1,820	19 8
		Mutum Biyu	13,807	2,483	18 0
		Muri	1,574	5,106	57 5
			31, 37	0,409	29 5
TIV	Tiv	All Districts	718,019	580,343	94 7
		Wukari	44,907	33,291	85 3
		Wukari	57,771	31,556	54 6
		S-itire-Checheni	7,707	7,110	92 3
	Lafia	Awe	16,583	7,616	45 9
		Keana	10,464	6,194	59 2
	Obudu	Utang-Recneve	4,241	3,353	79 6
Ogoja	Gabu	1,488			
			362,380	775,463	90 1

■ Fulani formed the following proportions of the population of Jukun Districts Gossol, 3,315 (36 1%), Muri 2,324 (26 3%) and Mutum Biyu 5,809 (42 1%)

A	B	C	D	E	F
IDOMA	Iasarawa	Afo	11,482	9,003	78 4
		Loko	3,581	3,929	45 8
	Lafia	Dora	17,045	11,215	65 8
		Lafia	36,424	15,565	42 7
	Idoma	All Except Iji,ban and Ulayi	297,222	260,212	89 6
	Ogofa	Yala	23,882	22,526	94 3
		Yachi	9,964	9,808	93 4
		Otu'kwang	12,040	11,797	93 0
		Bekworra	27,437	20,292	95 8
		Bette-Bendi	20,700	19,149	92 5
		Aferike	3,462	3,441	99 4
		Obudu	57,602	40,774	83 1
		Obanliku	15,388	14,812	96 3
			541,229	454,523	84 0
IGALA	Igala	All Except Mozum and Bassa Komo	334,267	280,432	85 7
	Onitsha	Igala Villages			
	Nsukka	Igala Villages			
			334,267	286,432	85 7
IGBIRRA	Igala	Bassa Komo	23,975	17,748	77 0
		Mozum	2,877	2,143	74 5
	Igbirra	All	156,755	133,673	85 3
	Kwara	Koton Karifi	19,219	10,139	84 0
	Iasarawa	Toto	17,335	13,556	78 2
		Umaisha	19,233	15,686	81 6
			239,304	198,945	83 1
AKKO EDO	Afenmai	Akoko-Edo	59,062		
EDO	Afenmai	Etsoko	94,969	90,381	95 7
		Ivbiosakoi	50,198	47,331	94 3
	Ishan	All	192,220	183,149	95 3
	Benin	All	292,248	203,182	69 5
	Urhobo	All	323,539	290,428	89 8
	Aboh	Edo (Itsoko) Villages			
				953,174	814,971
ISEKIRI	Warri	Ode Isekiri and Warri	27,679	6,801	24 6
		Blume	1,382	1,283	92 8
		Koko	2,836	1,985	70 0
		Benin River	11,247	0,930	21 7
		Gborodo	3,246	3,002	92 5
		Varefi-Vare_i	2,701	650	22 4
				49,291	20,657

A	B	C	D	E	F
YORUBA	Ilorin	All	398,569	362,057	90 9
	Kabba	All	110,281	106,672	96 7
	Kwara	Kakanda	1,629	1,302	79 9
	Oyo Province	All	782,202	754,533	96 4
	Ibadan Province	All	1,649,926	1,612,583	97 7
	Ondo Province	All	945,440	843,225	89 2
	Abeokuta Province	All	629,830	571,698	90 8
	Colon Province	All	237,928	172,120	72 3
	Ijebu Province	All	343,024	332,227	95 5
	Lagos	Municipal Area	267,307	195,179	72 1
				5,371,136	4,952,708
BARIBA	Borgu	Yashikera	8,256	4,380	53 1
		Gwanara	5,204	3,158	60 7
		Ilesha	3,217	2,091	65 0
		Okuta	11,454	7,076	61 8
				28,131	16,705
NUPE	Kwara	Eggan	1,354	1,310	96 8
		Kupa	4,153	3,894	93 8
	Lafiagi-Pategi	All	55,580	53,115	95 6
	Bida	All	221,456	197,378	89 1
	Abuja	Lapai	33,489	23,987	71 6
	Kontagora	Zugurma	5,192	4,817	92 8
		wushishi	11,343	5,783	51 0
			332,567	290,304	87 3
IJO	Warri	Gbaramatu	2,550	1,969	77 2
		Ogbe-Ijo	2,443	2,316	94 8
	Western Ijo	All	82,358	56,469	68 2
	Brass	All	126,954	119,233	93 9
	Degema	All	117,903	111,001	94 2
	Ogoni	All	156,717	151,493	90 7
	Ahoada	Abua	19,379	16,502	85 5
		Ngenni	6,920	5,306	76 7
			515,724	464,289	90 0

A	B	C	D	E	F	
IBO	Ahoada	Dkwerre-Etche	159,305	164,094	90 9	
		Ogba-Egbema	50,904	43,864	96 0	
		Ekoeve	39,717	38,502	90 9	
	Port Harcourt		58,846	45,503	77 3	
	Old Owerri Province	All	2,110,424	2,040,334	07 0	
	Old Onitsha Province	All Except Igala Villages	1,708,413	1,739,343	4	
	Aboh	All Except Itsoko (Edo) Villages	130,127	110,059	84 6	
	Asaba	All	212,437	203,824	96 0	
	Idoma	Ulayi	8,333	7,984	95 8	
		Ijigbam	13,206	11,044	83 3	
	Abakaliki	All	472,860	468,964	99 2	
	Afikpo	All	246,796	233,292	94 5	
	Enyong	Aro-Iho	32,533	29,857	91 8	
			5,313,961	5,148,164	06 9	
UKELLE	Ogoja	Northern Ukelle	21,947	16,595	75 6	
		Southern Ukelle	9,734	9,036	93 3	
			31,681	25,681	81 1	
BOKI	Ogoja	Osokum	7,995	7,618	95 3	
		Irruan	4,968	4,849	97 6	
		Mbube	11,264	10,900	97 6	
		East Boki	4,533	4,408	97 2	
	Ikom	Abo	4,402	4,182	95 0	
		Boje	4,280	4,174	97 8	
		37,442	36,221	96 7		
EKOI	Ogoja	Ekajuk	10,402	7,906	76 0	
		Nkum	11,090	6,040	54 5	
		Nkum	5,690	5,469	96 1	
	Ikom	All Except Abo and Boje	37,708	28,736	77 5	
	Obubra	All	109,870	101,875	92 7	
	Calabar	Calabar North	15,743	10,123	64 3	
				189,873	160,149	84 3
IBIBIO	Abak	All	233,361	226,982	97 3	
	Eket	All	238,784	232,297	97 3	
	Enyong	All	143,316	119,787	83 6	
	Ikot Ekpene	All	282,736	274,842	97 2	
	Onobo	All	172,057	119,652	69 5	
	Uyo	All	296,609	289,540	97 6	
	Calabar	Calabar C C		35,609	30,240	34 9
		Calabar U D C		46,705	24,101	51 6
		Calabar W D C		27,464	24,479	89 1
		Odukoani Rd		15,011	7,945	52 9
			1,491,616	1,349,865	90 5	

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TABLE XXVII

NIGERIA

COMPOSITION OF SUGGESTED REGIONS

REGION	COMPONENT ETHNIC NATIONALITIES		
	Name	African Population of Territory 1952/53	
BORNU	Kanuri	1,145,846	
	Karekare Marghi	176,192 609,009	
		1,931,047	6.3%
NORTHERN	Hausa-Fulani	8,759,386	
	Jarawa	293,999	
	Ningawa	60,007	
	Dukawa	169,244	
	Kambari	143,386	
	Bussawa	38,004	
	Kamuku	40,743	
		9,505,674	31.2%
MIDDLE BELT	Gwari	346,537	
	Katab	370,122	
	Birni	246,406	
	Angas	686,795	
	Tangale	160,099	
	Longuda	142,696	
	Batta	200,140	
	Mumuye	251,742	
	Chamba	229,340	
	Jukun	31,857	
	Tiv	362,380	
	Idoma	541,229	
		4,069,873	13.4%
WESTERN	Yoruba	5,371,136	
	Bariba	28,131	
		5,399,267	17.7%
	Edo	953,174	
	Igala	334,267	
	Igbirra	239,394	
	Akoko-Edo	59,062	
	Isekiri	49,291	
		1,635,188	5.4%
EASTERN	Ibo	5,313,961	
	Ukelle	31,681	
		5,345,642	17.6%
SOUTH-EASTERN	Ibibio	1,491,616	
	Ekoi	189,873	
	Bokri	37,442	
		1,718,931	5.6%
FEDERAL DISTRICTS	Nupe	332,567	1.17%
	Ijo	515,724	1.7%
		30,453,913	100.0%



NIGERIA: SUGGESTED REORGANISATION

- BOUNDARIES**
- NIGERIA
 - - - EXISTING REGION
 - - - DIVISION
 - - - DISTRICT
 - ETHNIC
 - SUGGESTED REGION

- NAMES**
- MURI DIVISION
 - Akare DISTRICT
 - EDO ETHNIC
 - BORNU SUGGESTED REGION

