



--- SCRAMBLE FOR ---
Nigeria

Began
yesterday

COMPILED BY:

MD.LADAN & DD DIRIJO



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PEOPLE OF WEST AFRICA: THE MIDDLE BELT PEOPLE

Like any other West Africa tribes, trample about the trace of their origin. Many origins of the Negroes root continue in finding to discover the real homes of the Negroes races. These has been says; been it pure Negroes; mixed Negroes, Generally, the people of West Africa are still developing facts about their roots since one single tribe can dominates the whole land.

The Middle Belt may likewise not be in assertion. Whose history still not written, due to many problems we cannot write down their History and state when each tribe come from, but the warrior did. Having different fact about their origins and their existences un-recorded, despites many books written about the Middle Belt tribes, it is just facts about half section of the people of the Middle Belt region.

Though, history had prove that the negro races are found around Africa and across the athletic to the red sea; based on climates between latitude 4 and 18 degree north, and they are large in numbers, so also in west Africa.

History identified that the Greeks and Romans knew this part of the world as the Negro land, before the Barbas move to North Africa, and believed that this area was purely were the Negroes lives. Dr Spacer Wells, an America scientist wrote;” ***Astonishing resend, indicates that our trees can be trace back to just one man who lived as much as 60,000 years ago. And he was a coffee coloured Africa male medium height;***” Thou it was not clear accord to history where this man came from, the white traced their root to Africa and Africans tracing their roots to where they were take for slavery. These are where many predictions and others common believes also wonders their trees of root. Some says, they came from Middle East (ASIA) at different time fall short of historical roots approve.

Can just because your father traveled to Kenyan, when he returned to Kenya, will it be right to say he is Native of Kenya? Natives are made

by birth not by immigration. Nevertheless, if people immigrated in numbers and remained there or some of you stayed back then you have connection to claims that also depends on the law of the nation. That is the most cases with the Blacks tracing their roots to lost colonies.

K C. Onwubiko, January 1982. Commended on the root traces of blacks west Africa's, that *“They must have come at different times, in different group; hence the multiplicity of many people speaking different languages”*.

He therefore, explained that these groups already traced or claimed their origins from East Asia. While the one planet in the continent that you can find a black man is Africa, how could he come from somewhere else? He explained that; the Yoruba's of Nigeria, for instance trace their origins to Arabia, the Hausas to Baghdad, and the Ibos to the Egyptians Jews.” This seems to take its fact from the Bible story of the tower of Babel, than the say root from the slave trade they are counting on.

For example, if you are having the knowledge of the old tales of the Hausas from the Bayajida and the Daura kusugu well. It is cleared that, Bayanjida met a well organized kingdom with a queen. It was for his skilled that put away a notorious spiritual snake that won him the hand of the queen in marriage. Then how could it be that the Hausas traced their roots to Iraq- Baghdad just because their queen married a Baghdad prince? Therefore, if you historically connect the movements and events, one will understand that the fulanis –fulfulde comes from Senegal-Gabia and the Yoruba, the Igbo and the Scramble people of Middle Belters have much to consider when it comes to their roots and the roots of their warriors settlers.

Nevertheless, all this are undisputable facts to many people, however, researchers are still digging up facts and throwing away mere claims on mere circumstance that some travelers claimed heritage and lineages. Some clarity to their facts is maneuvered by interest. Because we already learnt that, the Romans and Arabs had discovered Africa as the land of Negroes long ago, when the Romans Empire conquered Asia. It is also clear to say that, the returning slaves to Africa as the new Roman government set the Arabs away from their homeland some moved to

Africa and some black slaves free returned and are still claiming Arab and other ethnic's nationalities in Asia. These facts worth taking note, that King Solomon golds and coppers were all gotten from Africa and could be a link for few Africans used as slaves during the excavations.

These can be where the negroes of Africa fall into two groups; the pure negroes and the mixed negro races of the Mediterranean or those living north of the forest region are also called the Africa negroes, while they are the hermitic (Berber) the Semitic (Arabs and Jews people from Asia. K.C.'s wrote that, pure Negroes chiefly live in the forest region of West Africa. Moreover, their tropical attitudes remains preserved from any invaders except the Hausas. Therefore, I strongly put forward that the black Africa were just enslaved by the Asia in the early century and there is no any prove that blacks Came from Asia to Africa, but from Africa to Asia.

The Negroes people of West Africa, are the pure Negro in characteristics and they are as follows; “the Monde, or Mandingos, inhabit most of the region between the Atlantic and upper Niger. They are divided into several trines speaking slightly different languages the chief tribes are the Manlike in the fourth, the Soninke in the north and the Barbara. They are mostly Muslims. They are; Wolof, and Tukolo, who occupy most of the territory between the Senegal and Gambia rivers they are mainly Muslims, it is clearly believed that Fulani immigrated to Nigeria from Senegal and Gambia in large numbers;

To the south in the forest belt live the people of Liberia and ivory coast, the Akan and Ga of modern Ghana, the Ewe of Togo land, the Fon of Codevoir, the Yoruba of south western Nigeria and the Ibo of south-eastern Nigeria. These are pagans or Christians. The northern part of the country, we have the Fulani and Hausa. Many minority tribes denied their language for Hausa, not the Kanuri whom where warriors. The Fulani came into this region and met the Hausas ruling other minor tribes. Believed are originated citizens of the northern part of Nigeria.

Today many some clans among some small groups of clans also in the north are coming out of language and religion oppression. History could

not break them up in details of their smallest groups of dialects within the belt of the region. Whose chiefly exist and preserved their main culture and tradition. Moreover, at the sometime, they dwell entirely with different lifestyle in culture. The people of middle Belt region in Nigeria, in finding the historical root or tracing the origin of these people, as earlier said, it's not necessary to follow up from the three major languages in this Nation or Nigeria.”

To defend this points by saying;” because, my parent did not tell us of any similar tribes or language that exist within their entity meaning your clan or tribe lacked root.” He said Middle Belt people are like any other language in the Nation, just that they are fewer in number, they live and Move ahead to reach the top in diversity both disunited from the traced of their roots. The ultimate ethnic units and subs-tribes, we are talking about settlement based here. Nobody will write your history for you. Imagine what G.P. Murdock, Africa (New York: macharaw-hill, 1959, classifies this under the ethnic pattern through the ethnic units. We therefore, preferred to and base on the middle belt facts, which he called; “scatter belt” of diverse people who are usually called the plateau people. They have retained this clustering; thou we recognized its inadequacy. The Tiv are at least a million in inhabitants. Murdock sub-divided these middle belt people into three groups, but this division does not seen to have based on culture clustering which today form the middle Belt region.

Information is not lacking to allow a more rigorous and meaningfully classification at this time, but the other reasons. This is a task for the plateaus clustering, I mean; the plateau clusters to have a valuable defender that contained all the tribes and their settlement to enable them count their settlements. They are Viz,

Tivs,

Nupe

Akem

Gwari (Gbagi)

Mumuye

Mada

Nedeai

Mama (kwara

Hggi, kipski

Bura

Chamba

Kaje

Jari

Jaddas

Eggons

Kabchi

Angas

Birom

Eagan

Pangu

Koro

Bassa

Bokoro

Bankal

Komo

Afunu

Ankwai

ones.

Rukuba

Burmawa

Nlai

Gude

Bogum

Bugi

Amu

Miago

Rukuba

Jarawa

Nareguta

Jubu

Tigon

Nizom

Mara

Egalla

Ebirra

Idoma

Alago

Afu

Akueya

Egede,

Gede

Ron and so many others little

Komma vomni

Ndorawa

Gwadara

Scramble for Middle Belt

When you look at the present predicament facing middle Belts People, you will understand deeply what happened during the Scramble for Africa. The issue here is that many continents were struggled to own Africa, today's case is that one single ethnic group are scramble for Nigeria. It's this story that we will like you to use your initiation to link the events and the upcoming ones around you today. This is actually scrambled for Nigeria. The work of Donald R. Wright on Scramble for African is essentially to our fundamental example and we shall study his work to understand what happened and what is happening although we cannot do anything and will do nothing. These are people without warriors and without ouch for sacrifices'. According to Donald R. Wright;

Scramble for Africa, phrase used to describe the sometimes frenzied claiming of African territory by half a dozen European countries that resulted in nearly all of Africa becoming part of Europe's colonial empires. The Scramble began slowly in the 1870s, reached its peak in the late 1880s and 1890s, and tapered off over the first decade of the 20th century. Between 1885 and 1900, European powers were, at times, racing each other to stake claims in Africa. Most Africans resisted being taken over and ruled by foreigners. Thus, much of the latter part of the Scramble involved European armies using modern weapons to crush opposition and install authority over the continent's inhabitants.

By the mid-19th century Europeans had only claimed selected areas of Africa, mainly along the coasts. High death rates from malaria and yellow fever kept Europeans from bringing armies and conquering large areas of Africa; nor were they inclined to do so in this period. Aware of

the cost of maintaining colonies, the most powerful European nations preferred either to keep trade open to all, relying on their commercial advantage, or to reserve small, productive areas for the trade of their own citizens. Britain possessed its Cape Colony, strategically located at the southern tip of Africa. It also protected a few West African commercial enclaves and held a colony of Sierra Leone, which was populated by descendants of slaves rescued from the Atlantic slave trade. France had annexed Algeria in 1834 and protected trade along the Sénégal River and at two ports east of the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). It also held an outpost at Gabon in west central Africa. Portugal claimed territory in Angola and Mozambique. The foreign power with the largest African territory was the weakening Ottoman Empire, which clung to lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea from Tunisia through Egypt, up the Nile, and down the west coast of the Red Sea.

Still, through the 1870s Africans controlled 90 percent of the continent. The largest African states were Muslim—the growing Mahdist state of the Sudan, the Mandinka state of Samory Touré and the Tukulor Empire along the upper Niger River, and the Sokoto caliphate east of the middle Niger. East Africa was dominated by the slave and ivory trade, with the Swahili-Arab sultanate of Zanzibar competing with African warlords well into the interior. Beyond British-controlled areas in southern Africa were several African states and two republics of the Afrikaners (descendants of 17th-century Dutch settlers).

The work of Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone played a significant role in bringing about the Scramble for Africa. In the mid-19th century Livingstone traveled extensively in southern and central Africa, witnessing the injustices Africans suffered due to the ongoing slave trade. His call for Europeans to end the slave trade and bring Christianity and commerce to Africans helped spur European exploration, settlement, and eventually military control in Africa.

Hulton Deutsch

On the eve of the Scramble, Western Europe was a century into the Industrial Revolution and clearly the most powerful and technologically advanced portion of the globe. Firearm, transportation, and communications technologies were developing at an astonishing pace, and national pride was growing in each European country. Furthermore, advances in medicine enabled Europeans to spend longer periods in the tropics free of illness. Industrial production was reaching such high levels that Europeans worried about over-production and finding consumers for all the goods that European industries were turning out. An economic downturn in the early 1870s brought some Europeans to look toward the nonindustrial world. They viewed these countries as both markets for their products and as suppliers of natural resources to fuel the industries. In addition, the strongest European countries began fearing what would happen to the balance of power if their rivals acquired colonies in Africa. National pride was at stake. So was Christianity: famous Scottish missionary/explorer David Livingstone had whet the public appetite for a Christian “civilizing” mission in this continent full of non-Christians and torn by slave trading. Livingstone's death in the wilds of Africa in 1873 called attention again to the cause.

All of this resulted in the Scramble for Africa. It began with slow territorial acquisition through the early 1880s, followed by a competitive rush to claim African lands after the Berlin West Africa Conference (1884-1885). The final stage of the Scramble was characterized by slower occupation of territories and overcoming of African resistance through the first decade of the 20th century. By 1912 all of Africa was in European hands except Liberia and Ethiopia. The period of colonial rule that followed brought social, political, and economic change across the continent. The African colonies would only slowly gain their independence, most doing so between 1955 and 1965. Some did not achieve self-rule or majority rule until the 1980s or 1990s.^{II}

FIRST STEPS (1876-1884)

Anglo-American explorer Sir Henry Morton Stanley was a key figure in the Scramble for Africa. His late 19th-century exploration and development of the lower Congo River in the name of Belgian king Leopold II led to the creation of the huge Congo Free State as Leopold's personal property.

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

European competition over African territory in the 1870s heightened once Belgian king Leopold II got involved. Merchants under French government protection had been advancing up the Sénégal River with an eye toward connecting that river with the Niger by rail. This connection would open a vast market in West Africa's interior. At the same time, British palm oil merchants were pushing up the Niger River by steamer, and Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley was journeying down the Congo River. In his journeys, Stanley had discovered that the river's upper reaches were open to trade. However, it took Leopold to raise the stakes. For 20 years the wealthy ruler had dreamt of creating a Belgian colonial empire. In 1876 he established the International African Association, an organization that had stated scientific and humanitarian goals but was truly a front to further Leopold's imperial design. Then, in 1879, when Britain ignored Stanley's offer to open Central Africa and funnel its trade to the mouth of the Congo, Leopold employed Stanley to do just that. By 1880 the explorer was back in the lower Congo, building road and river access to connect the Atlantic Ocean with Stanley Falls, located about 2300 km (about 1400 mi) upstream. Across the river in the early 1880s, French explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza was exploring and negotiating treaties for France, forcing Stanley to obtain treaties for Leopold. Their claims appeared to overlap near the mouth of the Congo, a land area claimed by Portugal as well.

Events in North Africa raised tensions further. In 1881, France occupied Tunisia to prevent Italy from gaining land on Algeria's border. A year later Britain occupied the bankrupt Ottoman possession of Egypt to

guarantee repayment of its huge foreign debt. France, which also had a significant financial stake in Egypt and had shared “dual control” of Egypt's finances with Britain since the mid-1870s, was left without influence. Neither France nor Germany approved of Britain taking over Egypt, but each expressed approval to gain British support for its own colonial actions. It was fast becoming a game of European diplomatic wrangling with African territories as pawns.^{III}

THE SCRAMBLING BEGINS (1884-1891)

German chancellor Otto von Bismarck helped spur on the Scramble for Africa by declaring German protectorates over several African territories in 1884 and 1885. He hosted the Berlin West Africa Conference between late 1884 and early 1885 with the goal of settling rival European claims to African territory.

Hulton Deutsch

While Britain, France, and Leopold were advancing their aims in Africa, Europe's fastest-rising military and industrial power, Germany, was biding its time. Its leader, Otto von Bismarck, appeared content to allow the others to expend diplomatic energy on African initiatives while Germany concerned itself with domestic issues. However, as pressures mounted from German merchants wanting a share of any potential African market, Bismarck realized German interests might best be served by his taking control of the diplomatic struggles involving Africa. Thus, in the summer of 1884 Bismarck declared German protectorates over three African territories—Togoland (comprising present-day Togo and eastern Ghana), Cameroon, and South-West Africa (present-day Namibia). Then, he joined France in calling for a conference of colonial powers in Berlin. The stated goals of the conference were to be the settling of Congo claims between Britain, France, and Portugal, and of Anglo-French rivalries along the Niger River. In addition, however, European powers recognized that rules and rationalizations were needed for the seizing of African territories, especially for seizures that held

potential for European conflict.

The Berlin West Africa Conference (November 1884-February 1885) involved representatives of 14 European countries and the United States. The Ottoman Empire, facing the loss of territory on all sides, was not represented at the conference. Much of the conference work took place outside Berlin, as envoys moved between London, Paris, and Brussels negotiating which European power could rightfully claim lands inhabited by Africans. By the time the conference ended, Leopold had secured ownership of the Congo Free State, a state 50 times the size of Belgium; France saw acceptance of its claims to French Congo; Portugal lost most of its Congo claims; and European powers recognized Germany's new protectorates. (The day following the conference, Bismarck declared another protectorate in East Africa.) The European nations declared free trade along the Congo and free navigation on the Niger, stated lofty goals as their mission in African colonies, and set out rules for additional territorial grabs. The most significant of these rules stated that colonial powers were obligated to notify each other when they claimed African territory. Further, subsequent “effective occupation” of the claimed area was necessary for the claim to remain valid. Through it all, as Europeans negotiated their rights to African territory, not a single African was present. Once the conference was over, it was clear that a European Scramble for African territories was underway.

Southern Africa became a much more important element in the Scramble a year after the Berlin Conference. At that time, word spread of the world's largest known deposits of gold in the Afrikaner-controlled South African Republic (or Transvaal). Western miners and industrialists flocked into southern Africa to profit. Among those involved in finance and operation of the mines was British magnate Cecil Rhodes, a leader of diamond mining in the Cape Colony. Rhodes was a believer in the “civilizing” mission of British colonialism—he dreamed of a British African empire stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, Egypt.

Thus, hoping to find still more gold north of Transvaal in 1890, he led a “pioneer column” of settlers north. These prospectors overcame African opposition and carved out the new British colonies of Southern and Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia).

Most European powers were not content to let a chance at claiming further territory slip. France may have had the grandest territorial desires of any nation. Its major advances were eastward from the Sénégal River and down the Niger from its headwaters. French armies slowly overcame opposition from the powerful Tukolor Empire and advanced on the ancient city of Tombouctou (Timbuktu). Italy, too, laid claim to Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and then announced a protectorate over a large portion of Somaliland along the Indian Ocean.

IV FINAL STAGES (1891-1912) The early years of the Scramble were accomplished with minimal bloodshed, but that would not be the case in the 1890s and afterward. Some of the most powerful African states put up strong resistance, requiring Europeans to send in well-armed forces. Massed African armies with outdated weapons defeated European forces on occasion, but more frequently modern weaponry won out, producing some of the most one-sided battles in the history of warfare.

France and Britain speeded their conquests in West Africa. France united footholds on the coast with vast holdings of interior grasslands and desert by the century's end. The major delay for the French was caused by the Mandinka hero Samory Touré. Touré united peoples around the headwaters of the Niger and Volta rivers and fought a guerrilla war until he was captured and exiled in 1898. The British overcame the Ashanti Kingdom in the Gold Coast by 1896 and established protectorates in western and eastern Nigeria. They also allowed the chartered Royal Niger Company to administer northern Nigeria until the company's

forces encountered the advancing French on the middle Niger and came into conflict with the powerful northern Sokoto caliphate. In 1900 the British government took over the control of the territory of Nigeria from the company. By 1903, Britain had conquered the Sokoto caliphate also. ***This many still cannot say it out, it was Africans enslaving Africans. Up till tomorrow the middle belt region or the minorities' tribes remains outcast in their towns and cities.***

Across the rest of the Sudan and into East Africa, resistance was greater and tensions higher. French forces occupied the rest of the central Sudan. These forces met resistance in present-day Chad from Muslim forces of Rabih al-Zubayr until Rabih was killed in 1900. Britain had its hands full taking the upper Nile because of the large Sudanese state created by the Muslim holy leader, Muhammad Ahmad, known as the Mahdi. In 1885 the Mahdi's forces had taken Khartoum and killed British general Charles George Gordon. By the 1890s the Mahdist state was among the strongest in Africa. The British sent in troops under General Horatio Herbert Kitchener, and in 1898 they met the Mahdist forces at Omdurman, near Khartoum. Kitchener won a decisive victory, killing almost 11,000 Africans and wounding 16,000 while the British forces suffered only 430 casualties. In the battle's wake, Kitchener learned of a French force at Fashoda, about 600 km (about 400 mi) south of Khartoum, which was claiming French possession of the Upper Nile. The Upper Nile was nominally Egyptian territory, and since Britain occupied Egypt, it had been considered British. However, France claimed that Britain had failed to achieve “effective occupation” in the Upper Nile as required by the Berlin Conference. Kitchener and a contingent of British troops immediately traveled down the Nile for a standoff that brought the countries to the brink of war. However, the French government, struggling with internal political problems, backed down rather than start a war, and Britain took control of the entire Sudan. In the meantime, the Sultanate of Zanzibar, a former slave and ivory

trading power, saw much of its mainland territory seized by Britain and Germany. In 1890 the sultanate submitted to a British protectorate over Zanzibar. The British declared a protectorate over Uganda in 1894, over Kenya in 1895, and completed a railroad from the Indian Ocean coast to Lake Victoria in 1901. The only resistance to European takeover that was successful over the long run occurred in Ethiopia. Here the forces of Emperor Menelik II soundly defeated an invading Italian army at the Battle of Ādwa in 1896.

Two events in the early 1900s served to stifle enthusiasm for colonial takeover in Africa. One was the exposure of atrocities in Leopold's Congo Free State. Here, colonial agents and private companies were forcing Africans to gather raw rubber without payment and killing or maiming those who failed to meet quotas. In the end, international pressure forced Leopold to cede his private colony to Belgium, and in 1908 the Congo Free State became the Belgian Congo. The other event was the Boer War (1899-1902) in southern Africa, which pitted whites against whites. Discovery of gold in the Transvaal in the mid-1880s had brought wealth to the Afrikaner republics in southern Africa. When Afrikaner governments taxed foreigners heavily and stifled foreign profit-taking, British imperialists sought to take over the region. Cecil Rhodes's 1895 plot to stage a revolt in the Transvaal failed. Tensions between the mighty British government and the small, white-ruled republics escalated until war broke out in 1899. Following early Afrikaner success, the war settled into a brutal guerrilla struggle, putting off ultimate British victory until 1902. In 1910 the various British colonies at Africa's southern tip were joined into the Union of South Africa, a dominion of Britain.

North Africa was the scene of the Scramble's final events. After years of rivalry that sometimes verged on open hostilities, Britain and France signed the Entente Cordiale in 1904. This "friendly agreement" quietly

gave France a free hand to take Morocco while it officially removed the obsolete Egyptian “dual control” system and left Egypt to Britain. France, Spain, and Germany quarreled over Morocco until 1912, when France and Spain divided the territory. The same year, Italy seized what is now Libya, the last vestige of Ottoman territory in Africa. (The Italians were opposed by Muslim groups in the interior until 1931.)

EFFECTS OF THE SCRAMBLE*Africa on the eve of World War I (1914-1918)* was nothing like the Africa of 40 years earlier. What had been a largely independent continent with some foreign control of its coasts was now almost entirely in European hands. Britain and France held the lion's share. The British had almost fulfilled Cecil Rhodes's dream of an unbroken line of colonies from the Cape to Cairo. Their colonies held promising economic potential, with gold in South Africa and cash crops in East and West Africa. The French controlled huge amounts of territory in North and West Africa, but much was desert and only a few colonies were productive. Germany would lose its African colonies in losing World War I, as would Italy in World War II (1939-1945). Britain and France would give up most of their colonies in the 1950s and 1960s. Spain would remain longer but be a less-significant participant in the colonial picture. Portugal would entrench itself and become, in the mid-1970s, the last European power to begin to relinquish its claims.

The Scramble and its aftermath held great irony. While the conquest was going on, events in Africa were of the greatest importance throughout Europe. European competition for African territory dominated headlines, brought down governments, and nearly drove nations to war. But once the conquest was complete, Africa was largely forgotten and not considered again until the movement for African independence of the 1950s and 1960s. Effects of the European takeover on Africans were considerable. In the short term, the Scramble obviously led to Africans'

loss of control of their own affairs. But it also brought enormous hardship to most Africans. In addition to the deaths caused by the conquest itself, many Africans died as a result of disrupted lifestyles and movement of people and animals among different disease environments. Africa's population did not begin to recover from the devastation caused by the Scramble and its aftermath until well into the 20th century. In the long term, the Scramble was part of a larger process of bringing non-Western peoples into the world economy—in most cases as exporters of agricultural products or minerals and importers of manufactured or processed goods. Colonial governments taxed their African subjects and used the revenues to improve the colony's infrastructure: building roads, bridges, and ports that connected distant locales to the outside world. Meanwhile, institutions to improve people's lives, such as hospitals and schools, appeared more slowly. Colonial rule also brought elements of Western culture—from the French and English languages and Western political models to Coca-Cola and automobiles. It was in reaction to European rule that Africans developed a sense of nationalism that would help them gain independence in the second half of the 20th century.

For Europeans, the Scramble for Africa helped set the stage for World War I. Competition for African territory raised nationalist feelings and kept relations tense and combative. It also gave Europeans a sense that war was good for “national character” and not so taxing on budgets and manpower. World War II would soon destroy these illusions. Why scramble for Nigeria? Is it's a leadership methodological strategies and domination strategy?

Last state of the Hausas

The question here is that, when shall it finally arrive when my town shall be lead by a conqueror who will have right over my people, my land.

The Hausa cultures, which as early as the 7th century AD were smelting iron ore, arose in what is today northwestern and north central Nigeria, to Bornu's west. The origin of these cultures, however, is a mystery. Legend holds that Bayajidda, a traveler from the Middle East, married the queen of Daura, from who came seven sons. Each son is reputed to have founded one of the seven Hausa kingdoms: Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Kebbi, and Auyo. Various Nigerian groups explain their origins in similar legends involving migrations southward across the Sahara or from the east or west through the savannas, followed by intermarriage and acculturation. These legends serve to highlight the importance of such interchanges in the cultural, economic, and political development of many Nigerian societies.

However founded, the seven city-states developed as strong trading centers, typically surrounded by a wall and with an economy based on intensive farming, cattle rising, craft making, and later slave trading. In each Hausa state, a monarch, probably elected, ruled over a network of feudal lords, most of whom had embraced Islam by the 14th century. The states maintained persistent rivalries, which at times made them easy prey to the expansion of Bornu and other kingdoms.

A perhaps greater, if more subtle, threat to the Hausa kingdoms was the immigration of Fulani pastoralists, who came from the west to make a home in the Nigerian savanna and who permeated large areas of Hausaland over several centuries. In 1804 a Fulani scholar, Usuman dan Fodio, declared a *jihad* (holy war) against the Hausa states, whose rulers he condemned for allowing Islamic practices to deteriorate. Local Fulani leaders, motivated by both spiritual and local political concerns, received Usuman's blessing to overthrow the Hausa rulers. With their superior cavalry and cohesion, the Fulani overthrew the Hausa rulers and also conquered areas beyond Hausaland, including Adamawa to the east and Nupe and Ilorin to the south.

After the war, a loose federation of 30 emirates emerged, each recognizing the supremacy of the sultan of Sokoto, located in what is now far northwestern Nigeria. The first sultan of Sokoto was Usuman. After Usuman died in 1817, he was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Bello. Militarily and commercially powerful, the Sokoto caliphate dominated the region throughout the 19th and 21th century.

The northern region's first well-documented state was the kingdom of Kanem, which emerged east of Lake Chad in what is now southwestern Chad by the 9th century AD. Kanem profited from trade ties with North Africa and the Nile Valley, from which it also received Islam. The Saifawas, Kanem's ruling dynasty, periodically enlarged their holdings by conquest and marriage into the ruling families of vassal states. The empire, however, failed to sustain a lasting peace. During one conflict-ridden period sometime between the 12th and 14th centuries, the Saifawas were forced to move across Lake Chad into Bornu, in what is now far northeastern Nigeria. There, the Kanem intermarried with the native peoples, and the new group became known as the Kanuri. The Kanuri state centered first in Kanem and then in Bornu, is known as the Kanem-Bornu Empire, hereafter referred to as Bornu.

The Kanuri eventually returned to Chad and conquered the empire lost by the Saifawas. Its dominance thus assured, Bornu became a flourishing center of Islamic culture that rivaled Mali to the far west. The kingdom also grew rich in trade, which focused on salt from the Sahara and locally produced textiles. In the late 16th century, the Bornu king Idris Alooma expanded the kingdom again, and although the full extent of the expansion is not clear, Bornu exerted considerable political influence over Hausaland to the west. In the mid- and late 18th century, severe droughts and famines weakened the kingdom, but in the early 19th century Bornu enjoyed a brief revival under al-Kanemi, a shrewd military leader who resisted a Fulani revolution that swept over much of Nigeria. Al-Kanemi's descendants continue as traditional rulers within Borno State. The Kanem-Bornu Empire ceased to exist in 1846 when it was absorbed into the Wadai sultanate to the east.

There the Borno shehu caliphate stops and still hovering in the control of the Fulfulde sultanate is that the contention, since its no more about the Hausas state and land. a long for gotten story.

The minorities' commission that change nothing and implement nothing after all, a lesson never learned and a commission that never taught scratch to its generations.

*The Noman Proceedings
Minorities' Commission
of 1958*

**Minorities' commission
Minutes of the proceeding
of the minorities Commission
sitting at Numan
On 22nd February. 1958.**

Present;
The commission

Sir Henry Willink, Bt., P.C., M.C , O.C. (Chairman)
Sir Gordon Hadow, C .M .G, O. B. E.
Mr. Philip Mason, C.I.E., O.B. E
Mr. J.B. Shearer, C. M. G. C.I.E., O.B.E.
Mr. K.J Hilton (secretary)
Appreciation for Mr. K.H. Burns the government
of the northern region.

Counsel:

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mr. I. M Lewis | Solicitor General |
| Mallam Abdul Razaq | N.P.C. And Allied Parties. |
| Mr. O.N.Rewane | Action Group /UMBC. Alliance. |

Special representative of the northern regional government

Hon. Alhaji Ahman Patagi, Minister of health.
Mr.D.J. Muffett

Persons who gave evidence

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Hon. Jonah Assadugu M.H.R. | Sarki Bagale |
| Hon. Edmond Mamiso M.H.R. | Mr. Yerima Bala |
| Mr. Akila Todi. | Mr SaliLu Mubi |
| Mr. Joktan Mbama. | M. Hassan., Turakin Adamawa |
| M. Baba Binauto. | M. Idirisu, Tafidan Adamawa |
| Mr. Manasa Daniel. | Detiwa Ardo |
| Mr.M.A Derinima. | Ardo Hayatu Kubu |
| Mr. Joel Mbula . | Jauro Buba Joda |
| Mr. A. Yongo. | Enoch Swade |
| Mr. Sylvanus Gwomo. | Sarkin Shellen |
| Mr. Akila Jin. | Uduna Numan |
| Mr. Daniel Zinna. | Mr. Abubakar N.Jalingo |
| Mr. Bala Zinna. | M. Sani. Kano |
| Mr. Philip Maken | Mr. N. Morrison. |
| Mr. Bitrus Bamaku. | |

Numan. 22. 2. 1958

Proceedings

In addition to the northern regional government representative, Mallam Abdul Razaq for N.P.C. and Mr. O.N. Rewane for the action group/U.M.B.C. Alliance, the following announced that they wished to give evidence:-

1. Mr. Yerima Bala for kibumarga State Union.
2. Mallam Ibrahim Babadije for N.E.P.U.
3. Abubakar N. Jalingo for the jammiyan talakawa, muri
4. Mallam sani Kano for the Kwararrafa State Union.

Mr. O.N. Rewane, addressing the commission, said that disorients were claiming the whole of Adamawa province with an areas of 31,000 square miles, as part of the middle belt state.

Evidence should be obtain not only with regards to be existing fears and wishes of the people but also with regard to future tendencies. Even if comparatively few people were now asking for a middle belt state they represented a growing tendency; it was in fact a part of a general tendency towards self-determination which existed all over the world. The demand for new state was a natural one. If they were not created now they will be created in the future, but the best time was now. It was presumed that the British wished to leave a democratization form of government and did not intend to transfer power to one ethnic group to rule over others. A language could be used either for intercommunication or for assimilation. English had been used only as a means of communication but Hausa had been deliberately used for the purpose of assimilation non-Muslim group into the Hausa culture. The French the French had tried to assimilate West Africa into the French culture but they had failed, although they had power than the Fulani's. It might have rational to have Latin as a universal language but the growth of nationalism in Europe had prevented it.

His clients wanted the middle belt state so that the smaller groups should have their rights when independence came. If the local staff were not sufficient to run the new state they would make special arrangements to retain expatriate officers. The solicitor-general said that the northern regional government had understood that the purposed middle belt state included only the part of Adamawa province, namely the numan division

and the Muri and Wurkum districts of the Muri division. The government had no notice of any change in the demand and the objected to its being changed at this stage.

Mr. Rewane pointed out that in the memorandum submitted to the commission by the action group/U.M.B.C. alliance the middle belt state had been defined as including the six province of Benue, Kabba (less the Yoruba area), Ilorin (less the Yoruba area), plateau, Adamawa and Nigeria, and also been stated in Mr. fani-kayode's opening address at minna. The chairman said that the commission world consider the olain as state in the memorandum.

Mr. Rewane then called the hon. Jonah assiduious, member of the House of Representatives for Numan division, who said that he had been elected to the House of Representatives in 1954. He belongs to the Bachama tribe. He was a member of the Numan native authority council and an executive member of the U.M.B.C., which had been founded in 1950 under the name of the Nigerian he had stood as a U.M.B.C. candidate supporting the creation of a middle belt state. At the time the U.M.B.C. was in alliance with election he had got 84 votes out of 121. In spite of the alliance the N.P.C. had put up two candidates against him, and as a result of their contesting sears against the U.M.B.C. the alliance had broken down.

1. He and his people had fears about Muslim domination. In the Adamawa division Christiana were not allowed to preach without a permit. In the native authority schools in his own division Muslim children were very few but provision was made for a Muslim teacher to instruct them in their religion, were as there was no arrangement for Christian education although pagans and Christians were in the majority. Recently four pastors of the Sudan united mission had been arrested at Hong in northern Adamawa because a preacher had been invited to come and preach there. Three of them had been found not guilty but the one who had preached had been fined E20. Christian was not

allowed to build churches unless authorized by the native authority council. The witness produce a page of a letter, dated the 22nd July, 1957, addresses to the Adamawa native Authority reminding them of applications which had been made for permission to open classes for Christian instruction in schools (Exhibit Numan1). There were about 40 such applications made between 1954 and 1957 to which no replies had been received. His people feared that after independence the Christian religion would be completely suppressed by the N.P.C. government. The declaration of the N.P.C. government that they stood for religious freedom was not sincere.

2. He and his people had fears about Muslim domination. In the Adamawa Division christens were not allowed to preach without a permit. In the Native Authority school in his own Division Muslim children were very few but provision was made for a Muslim teacher to instruct them in their religion, whereas there was no arrangement for Christian education although pagans and christens were in the majority. Recently four pastors of the Sudan United Mission had been invited to come and preach there. Three of them had been found not guilty but the one who had preached had been fined e20. Christians were not allowed to build churches unless authorized by the Native Authority council. The witness produced a page of a letter, dated the 22nd July, 1957, addressed to the Adamawa Native permission reminding them of applications which had been made for permission to open classes for Christian instruction in schools (Exhibit Numan 1) there were about 40 such applications made between 1954 and 1957 to which no replies had been received. His people feared that after independence the Christian religion would be completely suppressed by the N.P.C. Government the declaration of the N.P.C. Government that they stood for

religious freedom was not sincere.

3. His people also feared that they might lose their identity. The languages of the Adamawa province were disappearing because only Hausa was taught in the Native Authority schools. Their chiefs were required to wear turbans like the Fulanis when they were enthroned. He would prefer to have English would not destroy the tribal influence as Hausa was doing, Religious instruction could be given in the tribal languages. The necessary books were available in both Chamba and Bachama languages.
4. Their women wanted to have the vote. They took an active parting education and other occupations. During the London conference, however, the Leader of the N.P.C. had made it clear that so long as they were in power they would never allow women to have the vote.

If the British left Nigeria and power was transferred to the N.P.C. his people would suffer grievously. They wanted the British to remain until a middle Belt state was created. Otherwise they were not in favour of the granting of self-government in 1959.

5. They also feared that after independence the N.P.C. Would become associated with the Arab bloc. The premier was there now. (The minister of Health pointed out that he had been sent by the federal Government). If the Muslims were in power they would dominate the other tribes, there had happened in the Sudan. In Pakistan, another Muslim country, there had been no elections for eleven years. The N.P.C. would probably act in the same way. The U.M.B.C, on the other hand, believed in parliamentary democracy.

The official language of the Middle Belt state should be English, and British expatriate officers should stay until the people themselves had learnt how the Government runs.

The solicitor- General said that English was now taught in all junior primary schools from class III. He also drew attention to Table 8 of the Census Report which showed that in Adamawa Division 24. 4% of the population were Muslims, 12.6% were christens and 63% pagan.

The witness said that English should be started be started earlier, and that christen missionaries had to submit to a great deal of Government supervision which did not apply to the Muslims.

Mr. Rewane called the Hon. Edmond Mamiso, who said that he had been the Member of the House of Assembly for Numan Division since 1956. He had heard the evidence of the previous witness and fully agreed with it. His constituency had a population of 120,000 and all of them supported the creation of a middle be it state. Although the Numan division was not in any emirate they feared that what was now happening in the emirates would happen to their division.

The N.P.C. government was not democratic; since it was found in 1950 it had never re-elected its leaders. This was t6he Fulani system, by which an emir once appointed remained in office until his death. In 1952 the government of the western region had offered 200 scholarships in its secondary schools for boys of the northern region, but the offer had not been accepted because the northern region government did not want their boys to be influenced by western education.

In Adamawa province although most of the people were non-Muslim imams were paid out of public funds. Most of the federal native authority councils were in the middle belt area and they had been a success. Hence there was no reason to suppose that the middle belt people could not work together.

Questioned by the chairman, the witness said that the 1956 election to the house of assembly had been a close one. He had been exposed by two N.P.C. candidates and two independence Candidates, the main issue had been the middle belt state.

Mr. Rounthaite, district officer, muri, (previously) and district been six candidates, two N.P.C. and four associated with the U.M.B.C. the result had been as follows:-

| | | |
|--|----|---------|
| U.M.B.C. (Mr. Ma, also, who stood as an independent) | 28 | voters. |
| N.P.C. Official candidate | 27 | " |
| U.M.B.C. Official candidate | 26 | " |
| U.M.B.C. Candidate | 19 | " |
| U.M.B.C. “ | 12 | “ |
| N.P.C. “ | 11 | “ |

Questioned by Mallam Razaq, the witness said that he was not aware that the N.P.C. had re-elected their leaders in 1955. He did not agree that there had been political strings attached to the offer of scholarships. The offer had been made by the western region government and not by the action group. He agreed that the imam of Numam was not paid out of public funds but said that imams in the Adamawa division were paid out of native authority funds.

Mr. Rewane called the following witnesses:-

1. Akila Tosi
2. Joktan Mbamo
3. Baba Binauto
4. Manasa Daniel
5. M. A. Dirinima
6. Joel Mbula
7. Antony Yongo

Five of the witnesses, who understood English, said that they had heard the evidence given by the last witness and agreed with it. The other two

were asked through an interpreter what they had come to say. Baba Binauto replied that his people (the Bachama) wanted to have their own administration and not to be the slaves of anyone else. Mr. Joel Mbula said that his people wanted a Middle Belt state. If they remained under the Fulani they would have a type of slavery which they had not suffered before.

Mr. Joktan Mbamo was then examined by Mr. Rwane. He said that he was Head of the Native Authority police for Numan Division. He belonged to the Mbule tribe, and was General President of the Mbule tribal Union for which he had received a mandate to support the Middle Belt State. A meeting had been held on the 16th February which he could not attend because he was ill, but he had received a letter with mandate, this was submitted to the commission (Exhibit Numan 2).

His people feared that Muslim law would be enforced throughout the Northern Region and that their tribal law and custom would be destroyed. They also feared that the existing restrictions on the purchase and sale of alcoholic drinks might be strictly enforced and might be extended to locally brewed drinks. They did not want self-government unless they could have the middle Belt state.

Questioned by Mallam Razaq, he said he was not himself a member of the U.M.B.C. but his union was affiliated to it.

Mr. Akila Todi said that he was a pastor of the Sudan united Mission and a member of the Numan Native Authority council. He had a lot of fear about the future of Christianity. The letter giving a list of applications (Exhibit Numan 1) had been prepared by him. No reply had been received. Usually when an answer did come from Native Authority it said that the local people were not in favour of accepting the application, but he knew that it was not the local people who objected. If self-

government were granted only the Muslim religion would flourish and the other religions would die. If a Christian wanted to build a place of worship he had to obtain permission from the Native Authority whereas Muslims could build mosques without obtaining permission, even in towns where there was not a Muslim majority. He wanted the middle belt state to be created before the British left Nigeria.

Mr. Rewane called the following witnesses from muri Division:-

1. Silvanus Gwomo
2. Akila Jin
3. Daniel Zinna
4. Bala Zinna

Mr. Gwomo said that he was president of the U.M.B.C. for muri Division. They had 41,000 members. Before the arrival of the Commission meetings had been held all over the Division, for which the permission of the Native Authority had been obtained. (The written permission was shown to the Commission) they had the support of the general public.

His people objected to forced labour and to the collection of taxes in kind, the Fulani administration was responsible for these practices. In the wurkum District the population was mainly pagan but a Fulani District Head had been imposed on them after a riot which had resulted in the imprisonment of 49 personas including himself. A magistrate from Jos had dealt with the case.

If a good-looking woman gave evidence in one of the local courts she was not given a chance to patch up her marriage but was taken as a wife by one of the members of the court. Unless a middle belt state was created they would suffer much worse after the departure of the British. He agreed that British officers should remain until the people of the middle Belt were able to run their own affairs.

The solicitor-General pointed out that there is a provision for forced labour in section 120 of the labour code.

Questioned by Mallam Razaq, the witness agreed that the N.P.C. had won the last election but said that this was because before the election the Emir had sent representatives to the various towns and villages with a message that if the N.P.C. candidate was not elected there would be trouble. The messengers had gone to the village heads and ward heads who had gathered the people together to tell them what the Emir had said. If the people disobeyed they would be billed, and who wanted to kill? He had himself been in prison at the time of the 1956 election but he had heard about it from the people who contested the election.

Mr. Akila Jin, Mr. Daniel Zinna and Mr. Bala Zinna said that they agreed with the evidence given by Mr. Gwomo. The commission adjourned at 11.5 a.m.

The commission resumed at 11.35 a.m

Mr. Rewane called Mr. Philip Maken., who said that he was president-General of the southern Adamawa Branch of the U.N.B.C. and also of the Charaba State Union. His area formed part of the Trust Territory. The Union had issued 3, Exco membership cards.

The solicitor-general asked whether the commission would consider evidence relating to the Trust Territory. The chairman said that the commission would hear the witness since he represented the chamber Tribe and a substantial part of teat tribe were resident in the Northern Region outside the Trustee Territory.

The witness, continuing his evidence, said that Chamba State union was supported by the general public and that he had been sent to represent by the general public and that had been sent to represent their case before the commission. They wished to be separated from those who regarded them as pagans and joined with other non-Muslim tribes in a middle Belt state.

Among for many years the Chambas had been administered as part of the Trust Territory. Later they were included in Adamawa Province and placed under the Adamawa Native Admonition. They had thought that they would be under the direction of the Resident of Adamawa Province

but they found that they were in fact under Fulani rule through the Native Administration. District Heads were imposed on them who did not have the support of the people and the Lamido had told them that in certain cases he had the absolute right to appoint District Heads. They wanted to be formed into a separate administrative unit in which they would be responsible for the appointment of their own District Heads. They were not allowed to use their own word for a District Head but had to use a Fulani word. The Fulanis even wanted to abolish the name “Chamba” and use another name for their territory. Mr. P. Crane, District officer, said that a chamba sub-ordinate Native Authority had been brought into force by instrument under the Native Authority law but that the instrument had since lapsed. There was however, an outer council for the Division on which there was an opportunity for the chambas to express their views through their representatives.

Further examined, the witness said that was aware that Nigeria was likely to obtain its independence in 1960. His fear was that after independence the name chamba would be abolished completely and the area would be administered by the Fulanis. If the British left to fight for their rights without establishing a middle Belt state the chambas, would be left to fight for their rights with the Fulani and the Hausa as they had done in the past. They had never been conquered by the Fulani. In a Middle Belt state they would be united with a number of other tribes and no single tribe would be in a position to dominate the rest. They wanted British administrative officers to remain.

In the Northern Region they had been neglected and had not been given good schools. That was why had to speak to the commission in House today none of their children had obtained places in the Yola senior primary school during the current year, and even those who obtained were discriminated against. A few of their children had been employed in the Native Authority Workshops but had recently been dismissed whereas any Fulani could obtain employment. The Fulanis and Hausas described the chamas as “mission children” and did not accept them as eligible for employment.

Previously the chambas had two districts of their own, namely Gurupaw and Yebbi, but the Native Authority had combined the districts and given them the Fulani name of Yelwa, when the witness himself had recently

sought permission to give a lecture in Gurupaw and Yabbi districts he had been told by the district scribe not to use those words. The sons of Gurmpaw now had to call the district by its Fulani name because the native authority was dominated by the Fulani.

His people belonged to a small tribe and if they could not be included in a middle belt state they would wish to be joined to the southern Cameroons.

Questioned by the chairman, the witness said that they spoke chamba at home but the Fulani's had forced them to learn Hausa in school. He was secretary-General of the Adamawa Branch of the UMBC. He had never been employed by the Native Authority. He was a school teacher and was employed in a mission school by the Sudan united mission.

The solicitor-General referred the commission to Table A of the 1952 census for Adamawa province. The Yebbi and Gurmpaw Districts, he said, had been combined to form the Yelwa District. The appointment of District Heads who received a salary of 390 or over required the confirmation of the Governor, so far as he was aware there was only one such District Head in the area; the others were therefore appointed by the Native Authority.

Questioned by the solicitor –General through the chairman, the witness agreed that the District Head of the Diakka District was a chamba and that the District Head of sugu and Yelwa were both chambas. He considered, however, that the District Head of Jada should also be a chamba; and he said that in the Nasarawa District there were 49,000 chamba against 282 Fulani but spite of this a Fulani was district head.

Bitrus Bamaku, the next witness, said that he was president of the U.M.B.C. in Adamawa Emirate. They had 500 members and were supported by all the Batta people in the emirate. A meeting had been held on the 24th January 1958 to discuss the matters which would be placed before the minorities commission and he was authorized to speak for the Adamawa Emirate branch of the U.M.B.C. he had heard the evidence of the previous witness and wished to tell the commission about the ways in which the Fulani were troubling the Batta people. Before the arrival of the Fulani they had eight District Heads of their own but now there was

none. No Batta men were paid more than a pound a month by the Native Authority as a village or repay it the Lamido's house. Farms had been taken from them the Batta people were divided among eight districts but no Batta man was a district head.

The Fulanis, were preventing them from practicing the Christian religion. There were not given permission to open mission classes or to hold prayer meeting. On one occasion they had held a prayer meeting and the lamp had been taken away from them. The village head had objected their holding meetings even in a house. He was a Batta but a Muslim.

The following persons supported the evidence given by Mr. Bitrus Bameku:-

Mallam B. Busari – U.M.B.C. Treasurer, Adamawa Emirate.

Shani Adamu, - U.M.B.C Auditor, ,, ,,

Sarkin Bagale - Village Head

Waziri Bagale) - Members of the UMBC

Ladan Bagale)

Lucas Bobbo - Secretary, U.M.B.C south Adamawa Division.

Sarkin Bagale, speaking in Fulani through an interpreter, said that he had fought the Fulani for seven months and seven days; they burnt his village and he hated them.

Mr. P. Crane, District officer, explained that when it was decided to combine the two districts mentioned by Mr. Maken the local people had been asked to suggest a name but they could not agree. The final decision had therefore been left to them, but they could not agree. The final decision had therefore been left to the Lamido and he had chosen the name “Yelwa”.

Replying to a question put to him by Mr. Rewane, Mr. Maken said that it would have been very difficult for anyone to object to the choice made by such an important person as the Lamido. The chairman then invited Mr. Yerima Bala to give his evidence. He said that he was president of the Kibumarga State Union which has been formed in 1951 with the object of obtaining a separate native Authority was dominated by the Fulani who wanted to make the whole of Adamawa Division their colony. His people had two representatives on the Adamawa Native Authority

appointed through the outer council, but they were not satisfied with this arrangement. They wanted direct election to a separate native Authority council. He had contested elections three times on the N.E.P.U. platform and had in each case been defeated, not because of lack of support from his own people but because the electorate was dominated by the District Heads at the time of the last regional election 95 voters had been shut up in their houses before the election. The Fulani District Head had then taken them out and told them how they must vote. The witness had reported the matter to the District officer who had said that he could not do anything.

The witness said he was a Muslim but he was afraid of discrimination even among Muslims. Certain people had collected money to build a mosque at Nsong but the Native Authority had refused permission. He wanted the northern Region to be divided into the following three states:-

1. Bornu, Bauchi and Adamawa provinces.
2. Ilorin, Kabba, Niger, Benue and Plateau provinces.
3. The remainder of the Northern Region, which would include the predominantly Hausa area.

Mr. Salihu MUBT said that he was vice-president of the Kibumaya State union. He advocated an improvement in the judicial system in the Northern region, particularly in the Alkali courts which, he said, were biased, consulted too much with District Heads and cheated the people. He had himself been placed under arrest by an Alkali acting under instructions from the District Head, when the district officer came he had found that there were no grounds for holding the witness and had ordered him to be released.

The alkalis habitually consulted district head about cases before hearing them. It was common for the U.M.B.C to arrange with district head and the alkali to threaten members of other political parties with arrest when they wanted to hold political meetings.

The witness said that his union advocated the division of Adamawa

province into five parts, Numan, Mari, and south, central and North Adamawa. If this were done they would be content to remain in the Northern Region provided that anomalies in the judicial system were corrected. In connection with the evidence given by the last two witnesses the solicitor _general invited the attention of the commission to paragraphs 199 to 201 of the Northern Region Government's Memorandum.

The chairman then called Mallam Ibrahim Babandije and told him that the commission had given a ruling at Kaduna that they could not hear branches of political parties in each of places which they visited. They were, however, prepared to hear his evidence on the fears of religion and ethnic minorities in province. Mallam Babandije said that he was provincial president of NEPU for Adamawa province. The principal fear which he wished to mention was that they were being judged neither on the Koran no in accordance with English law, the judgment came straight out of the Alkali's head: if he happened to be in a good mood the judgment might be favorable but if he were in a bad mood they would suffer. The Alkali was an instrument for forwarding the policy of Regional Government and has to regulate his actions so that they would be acceptable to that government. He himself had been imprisoned by an Alkali without any reason being given. He wanted the courts to be taken over by federal government before independence was obtained. In his view Alkali courts should have jurisdiction only over civil matters such as matters such as marriage and inheritance.

He supported the creation of a Middle Belt State but considered that there should in fact be more than one new state. He was in favour of dividing Nigeria into twelve states, seven in the North and five in the south. He was a Muslim, but even Muslim did not have freedom. Last year some members of the Tijani sect who had collected money and materials to build a mosque at Nsong had their money confiscated and the building materials seized by the Native Authority. Instructions had been given that

if even two or three people met to discuss religion they should be arrested.

The solicitor-General said that the member of the Tijani sect mentioned by the witness were a splinter group who had wanted to build a second Friday mosque at Nsong. He invited the attention of the commission to the reported case, Aminu modibbo versus Adamawa Native Authority. The commission adjourned at 1.30 p.m. the commission resumed at 2. 30 pm.

Mallam Razaq addressing the commission said that his clients had understood that the area claimed for the middle Belt state in the Adamawa province was limited to the Numan Division and a part of the Muri Division. The first time it was ever publicly announced that the whole province was being claimed was at the Minna sitting of the commission on the 5th of February and his clients had been taken by surprise. If therefore his answer for the rest of the province appeared weak it would be for that reason. He would be relying mainly on the fact that his clients held all the seats in the Legislature for that area. Allegations had been made that the N.P.C. had won the election because they had been assisted by the chiefs and rulers, but the witness who made the allegations had admitted that he had himself been in prison at the time. It had been said that there was a growing tendency to split up the Northern Region. He submitted that the reverse was the case. All the tribes in the Region had a feeling of belonging together; only politicians in the Region had a feeling of belonging together; only politicians wanted a Meddle Belt State. Nearly all the witnesses had spoken as members of the U.M.B.C. if the tendency to disintegration were followed to its logical conclusion the smallest tribal groups would claim separate states and the country would be torn to pieces. It was only some educated Christian politicians who wanted a middle belt state.

It had been said that it must be presumed that the British did not intend to transfer power, in Nigeria to any one tribe or clique. The fact was that Nigeria as governed by a parliamentary Government, the seeds of which had been sown by the British. The leaders of the N.P.C. were far from

being dominated by the Fulanis; they were a cross section of all the peoples of the country. There was no clique and nothing common to all of them which could make them a clique. The Government most likely to be a clique would be that of a middle Belt state, whose leaders would be drawn from the Tivs and the Biroms.

It had been suggested that Hausa language was used deliberately for assimilating pagan cultures. This was not so. The Hausa language because of its origins was acceptable to everybody in the Region, far from ousting any tribal language it was making the people bilingual. The fears which had been expressed in Numan division were not fears that the practice of Christianity would be hampered but that the scope for propagating Christianity would be limited; this was an expression of religious jealousy. If the middle Belt state was created the policy of its leaders could be to make everyone Christian.

His client's case was that the majority of the people in Adamawa province were against the creation of middle Belt State. It was only in Numan division that a small group of educated Christian politicians were demanding such a state, and they had not produced any evidence of genuine fears. (Today, the fear factors are clear).

Mallam Razeq then called Mallam Hassan, Turakin Adamawa. Who said he was a member of the Hausa of Representatives for North central Adamawa and had been elected in 1954 on the N.P.C platform? During the last two months he had consulted many of his constituents and they had all been completely against the middle Belt State. The people he has spoken to were not only members of the N.P.C. but included both N.P.C. supporters and members of other political parties. He was of the Fali tribe but there were people of many tribes in his constituencies. They did not want the middle Belt State because they realized that in such a state they would not get the amenities which they now have from the Government, for example schools hospitals, good roads, and development grants. They knew that middle Belt State would be financially unsound; schools and hospitals would have to be closed down. He was a member of Adamawa Native Authority council and held the portfolio for Education.

The majorities of the members were non-Fulanis and represented the Chamba, Yungur, Verre, marghi, Higi and fali tribes. There was no religious fear among his people; everyone was free to worship as he liked. The application for permission to open religious classes (Exhibit Numan 1) had not been refused as had been allied when such applications were received by the Native Authority they were forwarded to the appropriate District Heads who then obtained the views of the local people wanted religious classes no objection would be raised by the Native Authority. The witness said that he dealt with these matters and he could say that in the great majority of cases permission was granted.

He had previously been a middle school Headmaster in the province. In the middle school the language of instruction was English. In the junior primary schools the language used in classes I and II was the appropriate vernacular. English was started in class III. It was because of the shortage of teachers that English could not be taught in the lower classes. Mr. Rewane asked, through the chairman, why the witness had toured his constituency to consult people about the Middle Belt if he thought that his area was not included in the middle Belt state. The witness replied that he had not toured specially to talk about the middle Belt, people had come and asked him about it. He admitted that he did not himself speak the fali language. But said that he was of fali origin.

Mallam Razaq called Mallam Idirisu, Tafidan Adamawa. Who said he was a member of the Hausa of Assembly for the Northern Trust Territory and he had been elected unopposed on the N.P.C platform. No N.U.M.B.C. Or N.E.P.U Candidate had gone against him. He did not think there more than five or six N.E.P.U. supporter in his constituency. He had not heard of any U.M.B.C. member. His people would not agree to be put in a separate state.

Questioned by Mr. Rewano through the chairman, the witness said that his constituents they had been sent there from Yola, he had been a District his

constituency for rifer years. Mallam Razaq called the following there witnesses:-

1. Detiwa ardo
2. Ardo hayatu kubu
3. Jauro bubajoda

Detiwa ardo said that he was a village head and a member of the Batta tribe. He had gathered all his people together and had asked them if they had any quarrel with the Fulanis. They replied that there was nothing between them and they would not “refuse the words of their old men”

Ardo Havatu Kubu said that he was in Chama last Thursday. The people had said that they wanted to follow the Lamido. Jaruro bubajoda said that he was a kilba and a village head. He was also a court member. He had an attended a meeting last Tuesday at which the District Head has told them that some people wanted to divide up the Northern Region. About a hundred people had attended the meeting. The majority had said that they wanted the Region to remain as it was; only a few had said that they wanted middle Belt State. (People without vision perished).

Mallam Razaq called Enoch swade, sarkin Batta who said he was chief of the Battas. He had been chosen according to custom, confirmed by the District council and finally appointed by the Governor. He had recently toured his area and had held meetings in towns and villages to ascertain the people's views on a middle Belt state. The people had said that “they had never heard of it let alone wanted it”. He had explained to them what it was. Only in the town of Demsa four people had said that they wanted middle Belt state, they were member of the U.N.B.C. he himself was a Christian and the majority of his people were pagans or Christians. He was not in favor of a middle belt state because his people did not want it. Those who advocated it did not understand the origins of the people. He was a member of the Numan federation native authority council; it had never discussed the question of a middle belt state. His people had no complaint about the council because all areas were represented on it. They had no fears about religion. The people practiced whatever religion they wished and their customs were not interfered with.

Asked by the chairman if his people had any fears interference with the Christian religion when independence came, the witness said that if the Batta people had been Muslim their might have been some fear for the futures but since they were Christians and were able to practices their religion freely they had so much fear.

Questioned by Mr. Rewane through the Christian, the witness said that the member of the native authority council had been elected as independents he did not know if the representative of the Districts they are supporter of U.M.B.C. he did not remember that the government-general had discoursed the middle belt will the council where he had listed Numan in 1957. Mallam Razaq called the following two witnesses:-

1. Sarkin shellen
2. Nduna numan

Sarkin shellen said that he was been his subordinate native Authority. He had heard three days ago that commission were coming to Numan and has collected the elders of district together. He had told them the reason for the commission's visit and they had said that they wished to remain as at present since nothing was troubling them. He had not heard anybody as that he wanted a middle Belt state. His people were not afraid of being dominated. They wanted to remain in the Northern Region when the British left Nigeria. His subordinate, to Native Authority council was happy in the Numan federation.

Questioned by Mr. Rewane through the Chairman he said that he had been told by his district scribe three days ago that he was to give evidence before fifty peoples.

Nduna Numan said that he lived in Numan town and knew the views of the Bachamas living in the neighborhood. They said than the Bachamas and the fulanis had long been friends. They were people who liked drinking, and when they were drinking they talked about what was going on roundabout. They were many people who, like him, did not want a middle Belt state.

Questioned by Mr. Rowane through the chairman, the witness said that he had no occupation: he was a farmer. He had not heard of the Bacama Tribal union.

The chairman they invited Mr. Abubakar N. Jalingo to give his evidence. He came to express the fears which existed among the tribes in Muri as Division, he was a Muri man of the Wurkim tribe, he had worked in Muri as senior accountant for the Native Authority but had been dismissed from because he was taking an active part in politics. He was president of N.E.P.U. platform. The people of Muri wanted a middle Belt state. They feared domination by the fulanis. Two emirs of Muri had been deposed but the new emir was again a Fulani. The district head of Wurkim, who was a Fulani, had jurisdiction over any non-Muslims. Tribal law and custom were not safeguarded since the emir of Muri's court was the highest court of Appeal, from the tribal courts. At the 1951 election to the House of Assembly a son of the former Emir of Muri was elected. In 1954 a son of the present emir of Muri was elected to House of Representatives. The emirate brought pressure to be on voters.

Questioned by mallam Razaq through the chairman the witness said that the whole of Muri Division people would not be alleged. Mallam Sani Kano was then called. He said that he represented the Kwararafa state union which had been formed in May 1957 in Muri Division. There were about 800 members with membership cards but about 2,000 out of the 261,000 inhabitants of the Division were descended from the Jukuns and Kwararafa was the name of the old capital of the Jukun people. The union wanted Muri Division to be federated. They also wanted a new state because they suffered more than anybody from the Fulanis. They wished to have a Kwararafa province as in the old days, and to make it a province within the middle Belt state. (The witness produced a copy of Meeks "A Sudanese kingdom which had a map showing "the country of the Jukun as covering a large part of the present Adamawa, Bauchi, Bornue and plateau provinces). The British had conquered everybody, including the Fulanis, so why should the British consider the Jukuns their slaves and impose chiefs upon them?

The solicitor- General then called Mr. Morrison, District officer, Numan, who said that he had been present when Governor –General visited the council of the Numan federation in 1957. In their address to the Governor-general the council had raised certain points concerning the government of Nigeria and the Government-General had replied. The meeting should have closed, but the Government –general's departure was delayed due to a thunderstorm and during that time members of the council had raised the question of a middle Belt state. There had been no formal motion but the question had been discussed informally with the government-general for about half-an-hour. All the members of the council who took part in the discussion had spoken in favour of a middle Belt state be commission adjourned at 5.20 P.m.

The minutes of the minority's commission Ilorin and Numan submitted herewith. You may interest to glance through them. As requested, the permanent secretary, M.L.G. the commission yesterday and you may be interested what transpired. The chairman had previously that the meeting was to be a fact finding is what it turned out to be. In the course their strenuous touring they had, of courses, picked of information about this country from many quarters and I think that their main purpose seeing us was to get our help in arranging these into a coherent whole. They brought up the follow questions:-

The democratization of NAA. Perm. Sec., M.L.G. who has a special knowledge of this subject, gave them a very good description of the steps that have been taken since the war towards establishing on a proper footing village, district, and outer councils and broadening the basis of N.A. councils. We were able to disabuse the commission of the mistaken idea that a nominated member of a N.A. council was necessarily reactionary, and we under-lined this point by mentioning people like the Makaman Sokoto, whom they had recently met, who had been elevated to the council in this manner without possessing any claims to birth or privilege. At the same time we were able, with special reference to Ilorin, to say that popularly elected councilors were not necessarily paragons of virtue and Balart. We emphasized the dangers of carrying commission appeared to favorably impressed with the progress made during the

decade. In order to help them to get better picture of the constitution of N.A. councils they have asked for detailed information which M.L.G. can provide. Commission also enquired about the aspects of implementing the Hudson Report. Them about the immediate obstacles that by next year there would changes and implementation.

