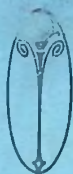


N S R



NOTES
ON
NASSARAWA
PROVINCE
NIGERIA



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1920.

except in the South-East where there are stretches of flat waterless sandy country.

Sylvan riches are very considerable as are also the agricultural, though owing to the depopulation caused by Fulani slave-raiders, mainly in the nineteenth century, only comparatively small areas are under cultivation.

The Southern slopes down to the River Benue are heavily wooded and carry fine specimens of African Mahoganies as well as large numbers of Oilpalms. The oilpalm area extends northwards, to some of the central parts, along rivers and streams, and along the broken country composing the more Eastern portions of the Province. Some of the richest oilpalm areas are situated along the broken country near the foot of the Bauchi Plateau, such as Ayu District near Jemaa.

In these patches of forest country various rubber-bearing trees and vines also abound. Shea trees (*Butyrospermum Parkii*, Hausa "Kadainya") are very numerous, especially in the Northern and Central Districts, as also the tree commonly known as the "West African Copaiba Balsam" (*Pardaniella Oliveri-Rolfi*) (*Daniella Thurifera-Bennett*), Hausa, "Maje."

In the open country everywhere the tree commonly known as the "Locust Bean Tree" (*Parkia Filicoidea*) is plentiful and is carefully preserved by natives on account of its pods, the seeds and mealy yellow pulp of which are used as food (Hausa, "Daddawa").

Note.—The true Locust Bean is a native of the Mediterranean countries and is the "Carob" or "Algaroba" (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) (Arabic, "El Harrub" ?).

The most important town is Keffi, situated almost exactly in the centre of the Province in open undulating country. Keffi is approximately 1,200 feet above sea-level in latitude 8 degrees 50 minutes 34 seconds, and longitude 7 degrees 52 minutes 0 seconds E. The higher ground of the Northern portion of the Province is approximately 2,500 feet above sea level, and the lower, near the River Benue, approximately 500 feet above sea level.

Big Game is plentiful near the Benue, and in the wet season when the Benue flats are flooded it travels northward. Big Game mainly consists of Buffalo, Hartbeeste, Roan Antelope, Cob, Waterbuck, Reedbuck, Bushbuck, Duiker, and a few Oribi. In the Eastern portion of the Province along the foot of the Bauchi Plateau, East of Lafia, there is a strip of virgin bush, and in this there are one or two known herds of Giraffe and some Elephants. Although found in neighbouring Provinces, the Senegal Hartbeeste and the various Gazelle (Senegal Gazelle, Addra Gazelle, Doreas Gazelle, etc.), are unknown in Nassarawa Province. Wart Hog and Porcupine occasion much damage to crops. Leopards are found in various parts and also a few Lions, but both being of nocturnal habits they are rarely seen.

Most of the game birds known in Nigeria are well represented. Guinea-fowl and Partridges are plentiful, and in the North-East corner the lesser Bustard is fairly common.

Birds and Butterflies exist in wonderful variety.

PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION.

THE Province is divided as follows :—Four Administrative Divisions composed of five Moslem Emirates and six Pagan Units. This is more clearly shown in tabular form as follows :—

Divisions.	Units composing Division.	Number of Districts in each Unit.	Number of Villages in each Unit.	Total Population of each Unit.
Keffi	{ Keffi Emirate, 2nd Class ...	8	216	20,840
	{ Nassarawa Emirate, 2nd Class	6	248	47,386
Abuja	{ Abuja Emirate, 2nd Class ...	9	591 (divided into 72 village areas)	68,046
Lafia	{ Lafia Emirate, 2nd Class ...	4	124	17,104
	{ 3 Independent Units* ...	5	164	54,110
Jemaa	{ Jemaa Emirate, 2nd Class ...	6	158	27,874
	{ 3 Independent Units† ...	3	60	22,771
	11 Units.	41 Districts.	1,561 Villages.	267,140 M.F.C.

* Lafia.—Three Independent Units: Mama, Nungu and Mada. Mada is divided into three Districts (North, Central, and South).

† Jemaa.—Three Independent Units: Kagoro, Moron, Jaba (Kwoi).

The five Emirates are independent, and each is administered by a Second Class Emir. Three (Keffi, Nassarawa and Jemaa) were up to 1902, tributary to Zaria, but in that year they were removed from the suzerainty of the Emir of Zaria and rendered independent. The six small independent or semi-independent units are administered by more or less hereditary chiefs, except the districts of Mada and Mama, which are inhabited by primitive pagans not yet emerged from the family or clan stage and in which there is direct administration pending their organization into the tribal stage. (*vide* "History of Native Administration.")

HISTORY OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE earlier history of Nassarawa Province is lost in obscurity, and can only be conjectured very vaguely from references in legends and folklore. As far as can be ascertained the earliest traceable indigenous tribe is the Koro—if any tribe can be called indigenous in a country where successive waves of immigrants which absorbed their forerunners and eliminated all traces of former inhabitants were so frequent. The earliest traceable immigration is that of the Gwari from the East and the Gwandara from the North. In various parts of the Province, however, stone implements can still be found, indicating the prior presence of more primitive peoples.

The Gwari, who are said to have been a subject race in Bornu, settled in the North-West parts of the Province, and came under the domination of the Koro. The Gwandara appear to have spread over the parts of the Province best stocked with game, and scattered from the North-Western foothills of the Bauchi Plateau, then inhabited by the Nimbia, Southward and Westward, till they came in contact with the Koro and the Gwari. The Gwandara claim to have been a race of hunters originating in the country North-East of Kano, and to have followed game-tracks South to Nimbia. The Koro are now a decadent tribe, and appear to be dying out, whereas the Gwari are increasing steadily. Other immigrants are the Kagoro inhabiting the plateau of the North-East corner of the Province, and their neighbours the Moroa. From the South, a section of the Jukuns who had migrated down the Benue, and settled in the interior of the Idah Kingdom, broke away from Idoma, and immigrated across the Benue, and split into two rival sections, now known as the Doma and the Arago, both included in the Lafia Emirate.

(*Etym.* Doma=Andoma, a leading Jukun, who settled in the interior of Idah. Arago=Aragogo, rogues or rebels who broke away from Doma.)

The original Jukuns, who came down the Benue, formed part of the once powerful kingdom of Kororofa. (Muri Province.)

The Niger districts contributed their quota of immigrants in the shape of the Igbara, who settled in the South-Western corner of the Province (*circa* A.D. 1750), set up a powerful organization and founded the Kingdom of Panda. (First mentioned by McGregor Laird, who was imprisoned there on his trip up the Benue.) The Igbara are to this day looked on as especially skilled in magic, and have powerful "jujus" in their possession. They are expert poisoners, and hold the secret of many potent poisons.

Other numerous tribes, such as the Mada and kindred tribes inhabiting the Eastern fringes of the Province, the Bassa scattered along the Benue and the South-West portion of the Province, the Afao spreading from the Benue to the Central Districts of the Province, the Onkwai, the Mama and Ayu, etc., were probably originally immigrants from the South-East. Most of these tribes are distinctly of Bantu origin. Such tribes as the Yeskwa, Numana, Nimbia, Kagoma, Kaninkwom, Ayu, Attaka and others, may have

originally immigrated, or may be the descendants of tribes indigenous to these parts. The various movements of these tribes cannot be traced with any certainty, and the prevalent languages are a great stumbling block, but it is noteworthy that most of the present inhabitants of the North-Eastern corner of the Province, and spreading to near the confines of the N.W. Koro, have a common prefix (or commencement of name) of "Ka," viz., Kagoro, Kaje, Katab, Kagoma, Kaninkwom, etc. "Nimbia" seems to be applied to a people who were found here on the arrival of immigrants, and are therefore looked on as indigenous. Some tribes call the country bordering the Western scarp of the Plateau (i.e., the North-East portion of Nassarawa) "Nimbia." "Numana" may be a corruption of this name.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Fulani invasion commenced in earnest. Though Nomad Fulani herdsmen had visited the Province annually during the dry season in previous times, it was not till about the end of the eighteenth century that the more Northern districts of Nassarawa Province began to suffer from slave-raiders, and that parties of Fulani and Habe commenced to settle in them. The first ten years of the nineteenth century saw certain Fulani and Habe firmly established in fortified strongholds from whence they raided the surrounding country, and sent northwards long caravans of slaves. They penetrated southwards and even crossed the Benue and raided in the Idah Kingdom. The end of the nineteenth century saw the complete ruin and depopulation of the Province. Sir Frederick Lugard reporting in 1902, incorporates the following remarks of Sir W. Wallace:— "... "In the Nassarawa country, a once fertile and populous Province, one can now only view the remains and ruins of large and totally deserted towns, bearing witness to the desolation wrought by 100 years of internecine strife and slave-raiding by the Fulani."

The remaining inhabitants of such towns fled to the hills in all directions; those who approached the Eastern and North-Eastern confines of the Province, until they learned how to defend themselves, were further raided by the Headhunting tribes who inhabit these hilly localities. Others intermarried with Headhunting tribes and themselves adopted their customs. Such was the state of the Province when the arrival of Sir Frederick Lugard put a stop to slave-raiding, and evolved law and order out of chaos and ruin. The introduction of his masterly policy is bearing fruit to-day, in the rapid repopulation of the Province (1) by the cessation of all slave-raiding, (2) by the scattering of people, formerly boxed up in defensive towns and on inaccessible hill-tops, back to their lands and farms, (3) by the filtering back of slaves from places as far removed as Sokoto and Kano, and (4) by the almost universal security of life and property and the resultant increase in birthrate, trade and universal prosperity.

Five Moslem Kingdoms or Emirates were founded early in the nineteenth century:—

Keffi *circa* A.D. 1802 (Originally Katsina Fulani).

Abuja ,, A.D. 1804 (Originally Habe, Kingdom of Zozo).

Lafia Beriberi *circa* A.D. 1804 (Originally Bornuese).

Jemaan Darroro ,, A.D. 1810 (Originally CattleFulani from Kajur).

Nassarawa ,, A.D. 1835 (Originally of the Keffi Fulani).

These have lived through various vicissitudes, and exist to-day intact as the day they were founded.

A few tribes had retained their independence up to the arrival of the British (and this has not been interfered with), such as the Mada, the Nungu and the Mama tribes inhabiting the broken country at the foot of the Bauchi Plateau, the Kagoro in the North-Eastern corner of the Province, etc. But for the arrival of the British, these would have been sooner or later subdued or decimated. And but for the same reason it is highly probable that the victorious career of Sarikin Kwotto would have resulted in his wresting the power from the other Emirates and in his asserting his independence of Zaria.

The Emirates of Keffi, Nassarawa, and Jemaa were removed from the Suzerainty of Zaria in 1902, because the Emir's representative, the Magaji, murdered Captain Moloney, the British Resident, and was not arrested and handed over to justice when he fled to Zaria.

FOUNDING OF KEFFI EMIRATE, A.D. 1802.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Fulani herdsmen who had annually brought their herds to graze in the dry season on the rolling grass country of which the central portion of Nassarawa Province consists, were encouraged to settle by the fact that Fulani rule was rapidly spreading southwards. Fired by ambition, one Abdullahi, better known as Abdu Zanga, a Katsina Fulani, persuaded a number of cattle-owning Fulani like himself to band themselves under him, and appointing one Imoru his Makama, he settled down *circa* A.D. 1802, and built a village with a heavy stockade round it which gained it the name of Keffi. (Kaffi=stockade or barrier.) This stockaded town was later burnt and destroyed in a slave-collecting Razzia by Zaria Fulani, and the present town with its once strong triple wall and moat was built to replace it. It is believed that the ambitious Abdu Zanga attempted to obtain his title (and a flag) direct from Othman Dan Fodio, Emir of Sokoto. This attempt was thus punished by Zaria and Abdu Zanga was forced to become a vassal of Zaria (Mallam Musa, first Emir, who claimed that the Emir of Sokoto had allotted to him the country down to the Benue) to pay annual tribute in slaves, and to hold his title direct from Zaria.

Abdu Zanga (known also as Abdullahi) died in 1820, and was succeeded by his brother Maizabo. Maizabo reigned for 15 years, and died in 1835. He was succeeded by Jibirilu, second son of Abdu Zanga (Abdullahi). Meantime, Imoru Makama (Dogo), who had proved himself worthy of the appointment to the leadership of the Keffi Army, had continued to subdue the surrounding country and finally subdued the Afao tribes nearly as far as the Benue. He appears to have got on well with Abdullahi, and after him with Maizabo, but fell out with Jibirilu, who was his son-in-law, and proceeded to Zaria to complain against him. The Emir of Zaria temporised and appointed him chief of the still-to-be conquered Igbara country (the Kingdom of Panda) which till then had remained immune and independent. Imoru on his return

to Keffi from this trip to Zaria found he had incurred Jibirilu's hostility and, severing his connection with Keffi, he went further South and camped with his followers at a place called Yankardi. Prior to this rupture Makama Dogo had given his daughter Malima to Jibirilu in marriage and though she ran away from Keffi and joined her father at Yankardi, Makama Dogo appears to have been magnanimous and returned her to Keffi, saying that his quarrel was as between men and did not affect the women of the respective households. (*Vide* "Founding of Nussarawa.")

Jibirilu died in 1859, and was succeeded by his brothers, in order of seniority, Mohamadu, Ahamadu and Mallam Sidi, also known as Sidi Imoru, who died in 1894.

Sidi Imoru was succeeded by Ibrahim, ninth son of Abdu Zanga, the succession thus skipping the three brothers Yamusa, Sulimanu and Isiaku, all of them older than Ibrahim.

During the reign of Ibrahim the most powerful personage in Keffi was the Magaji (title now obsolete). Ibrahim was a mere figurehead. The apparent position of the Magaji was that of accredited agent of the Emir of Zaria who was the Suzerain. The Magaji was a man of strong character and was in obstinate opposition to the establishment of British rule, though his resistance up to 1902 had been rather of a passive than an active character. In 1902, the arrival at Keffi of the powerful force under Col. Beddoes afforded a good opportunity for settling this matter, but the Resident (Captain Moloney) attempted to come to an amicable understanding with the Magaji in the hope that the latter's influence might prove of use to the Government. The arrest at Abuja of a number of chiefs, and the death from wounds of the Sariki* himself had a certain effect in Keffi, and the Magaji evidently thought that his time had come. Captain Moloney was a man of strong character and determined action. On October 3rd, 1902, accompanied by the Assistant Resident (Mr. Webster) he proceeded to the square fronting the Emir's and Magaji's residences and summoned the Magaji to attend. He declined to do so and the Assistant Resident was then sent to fetch him, but was set on by the Magaji's retainers and eventually thrown out, narrowly escaping with his life. Captain Moloney then sent Mr. Webster to call up the troops. The Magaji seeing that his arrest was imminent rushed out of his house and killed Captain Moloney and the Political Agent, Audu, who was acting as interpreter, and, it is thought, had falsely translated what Captain Moloney had said.

The Magaji then fled Northwards and though pursued was not captured. He was sheltered by the Emir of Zaria, though in his flight he lost most of his possessions. Later, he went on to Kano where he was well received and became the right-hand man of the Emir. He joined the Ex-Sultan of Sokoto and eventually was killed in the engagement at Burmi, by Major Marsh, on July 27th, 1903.

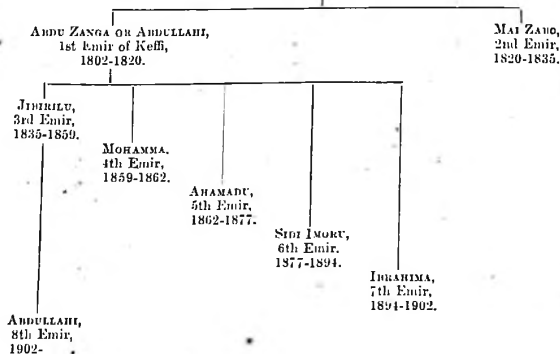
The aged and useless Emir, Ibrahim of Keffi, was removed and Abdullahi, sixth son of Jibirilu (third Emir of Keffi), was formally appointed Emir in 1902, and in 1905 was presented with a Second-grade Staff by His Excellency the High Commissioner, Sir F. D. Lagard.

* *Vide* under "Founding of Abuja."

EMIRS OF KEFFI.

1802-1917.

MOHAMMA GANI, CATTLE OWNER, OF ZANGA, NEAR KATSINA.



FOUNDING OF THE ABUJA EMIRATE, A.D. 1804.

TOWARDS the end of the eighteenth century the rising tide of Fulani invasion from the North was productive of the first Habe immigrations, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the defeat of the Habe of Zozo by the Fulahs resulted in the transfer of this Kingdom to the country that now comprises the Abuja Emirate.

About A.D. 1804, it is recorded that Mohama Makau or Makam the 55th and last Habe ruler of Zozo (Zaria), having been completely defeated by the Fulah Emir, Mallam Musa (first Emir of Zaria) fled southwards accompanied by large numbers of his followers and their women, and sheltered among his vassals the Koro. He eventually settled at Zuba (near the present town of Abuja) and founded the Kingdom now known as the Abuja Emirate. The courtesy title of "Sarikin Zozo" was retained and is in use to this day and the chief badge of office is the "Wukan Zozo" (Knife of Zaria). A daily prayer is said to be put up in the mosque to this day imploring the restoration of their ancient Kingdom. After establishing himself firmly at Zuba, Makau gathered round him many more of his former Zaria office-holders and retainers with their households and slaves, and was thus enabled to continue to enforce the annual tribute formerly sent to him at Zaria by the Koro and their Gwari vassals. As he waxed in power he enlarged his sphere of influence and even adventured as far as Lapai (Nupe Province) where he besieged the Chief of Lapai,

Dauda Maza. Makau was killed in battle at the gates of Lapai *circa* A.D. 1825. (Lapai history shows Dauda Maza as ruling from 1830 to 1846, but there is evidence to show that Makau was killed before 1830.)

On Makau's death his followers retreated from Lapai and were led back to Zuba by his brother Jatau, nicknamed "Abu Ja" (Abu the Red, from his fair complexion), who then became Chief and built the large walled town which became known by the nickname of its founder, Abuja.

The site of the town was admirably chosen in a well-watered amphitheatre surrounded by high hills and broken country well calculated to screen Abuja from attack by its powerful neighbours on the North and West (Zaria and Lapai, etc.). Close to Abuja is a great rock visible for miles around, and round this rock many legends are woven.

"Red Abu" reigned $24\frac{1}{2}$ years and completed the building of the town with its large encircling walls and moat. He died in 1851 and was succeeded by his brother Abubakar, better known as Abu Waka, who reigned $25\frac{1}{2}$ years. This completed the reign of the three brothers Makau (or Makam), Abu Ja, and Abu Waka (or Abu Kwaka) sons of Bako Isinku, 54th Sarikin Zozo, who had reigned in Zaria *circa* A.D. 1798-1801.

It was during the reign of Abuwaka that intercourse was first allowed between Abuja and other Emirates. Until about 1870, no "strangers" had been allowed to enter the country owing allegiance to the ruling house of Abuja.

On the death of Abu Waka in A.D. 1876, the title reverted to Ibrahim, the seventh son of "Red Abu." Ibrahim reigned from 1876 to 1902. During this reign the Emir Usman Yaro of Zaria, with a numerous force descended on Abuja (*circa* A.D. 1894?) and pitched his camp close to the Gwari village of Diko, some ten miles from the town of Abuja. After a series of forays, Usman Yaro penetrated to Abuja and besieged the town for nearly a month, till in a pitched battle in which the Fulani are said to have lost heavily, he was defeated and retired leaving a large number of horses and much booty in the hands of the Abuja Habe.

The Abujas had now developed their forays and brigandage to such an extent, that their influence was felt as far as the River Benue and to its confluence with the Niger, and the great caravan routes from Zaria southwards were unsafe. It was in the southern part of this belt that the Hon. David Carnegie, Assistant Resident, lost his life (at Tuwari) in 1901, and in June, 1902, the murder of a native missionary called Bako, who was travelling near Umaisha close to where the Abuja forces frequently came in contact with the Nassarawa (Sarikin Kwotto) raiding parties, was reported. The Resident, Captain G. W. Moloney, urged the necessity of putting an end to the lawlessness that had its centre at Abuja, and an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel Beddoes, accompanied by the Resident (Captain Moloney), was despatched. This expedition was undertaken during the rainy season and the troops suffered much from sickness, but it was entirely successful. After breaking down resistance, the town of Abuja was occupied in August, 1902, and Ibrahim fled to Arbutchi, where he died of wounds. His

brother Koko or Kurin Kuka, regarded as his successor, was deposed by Government and died in 1908. The expedition, before it retired, established Mohama Gani, eldest son of Aluwaka, but it was not till two years later that effective British Administration was established (April, 1904).

Mohama Gani retired in May, 1917, on a pension of £60 per annum and settled in Zaria. He was succeeded by his Madaiki, Musa Angulu, eldest son of Ibrahim (who had been deposed and had died of wounds in 1902) in May, 1917.

There is said to have always been a Saraunia or female ruler, who rules jointly with the Emir, even in the days of the Zozo Habe kingdom at Zaria. This Saraunia is said to hold certain estates. If this is so the fact has not been brought forward and as far as can be seen the Saraunia takes no active part in the administration of the Emirate. She is said to be always a sister of the ruling Emir and to abdicate, if her brother dies or retires, in favour of the sister of the new Emir. Occasionally female drummers are seen in the following of the Emir.

Up to March, 1909, there were two female "District Heads":— (1) The Saraunia, with charge of the villages of Shanu and Kebbi (tax £22 4s.); (2) The Iya, with charge of only one village (tax 16s. only).

There were then fourteen District Heads or rather fief-holders, as districts were not self-contained. There are now (December, 1919) six District Heads only in the area then (1909) covered by Abuja Emirate.

The Saraunia is a daughter of Abu Ja (who died about 1851). She did not abdicate on the death of her brother Emir Ibrahim in 1902, nor on the retirement of Mohama Gani in 1917.

The Iya used to be the daughter of a reigning or deceased Emir, but time after time the Iya died within a year or two of her appointment. For this reason when Mohama Gani succeeded in 1902, no one of royal blood would accept the office. Mohama Gani therefore appointed the chief concubine of the deceased Ibrahim who was known as "Matan Fada." The present Iya is thus of slave status.

Neither the Saraunia nor the Iya has had any part in the administration since 1909.

EMIRS OF ABUJA (FORMER HABE DYNASTY OF ZARIA).

1804-1917.

BAKO ISIAKU (SARIKIN ZOZO, 1798-1801).

MAKAI,
Sar. Zozo 1801-1804,
" Zulu 1804-1825

ABU JA,
1st Sar. Abuja,
1825-1851.

ABU WAKA,
2nd Sar. Abuja,
1851-1876.

IBRAHIMA,
3rd Sar. Abuja,
1876-1902.

MOHAMA GANI,
4th Sar. Abuja,
1902-1917.

MUSA ANGULU,
5th Sar. Abuja,
1917-

FOUNDING OF LAFIA BERIBERI, A.D. 1804.

WHEN the power of the Kingdom of Bornu was waning about the end of the eighteenth century, many parties of Bornuese left their country and scattered in all directions. One such party led by a man named Dunama wandered down to Zaria by way of Kano, and thence penetrated south-eastward to the Gwandara country situated south-west of the broken country round the foothills of the plateau. From here they passed on towards the Benue and even entered the confines of the Wukari country. Still unable to find a good site on which to settle, they retraced their steps and returned to the Gwandara country where they commenced to farm. This brought them into conflict with the natives of Shabu, which, ended in a fracas in which some of their number were killed. This so embittered them that they decided to return to Bornu, but on the way in passing through Kwandiri, they were persuaded by the Sariki of Kwandiri to remain and assist him in reducing the Arago (*vide* Prefatory Note) town of Aninae, and the Beriberi, led by Dunama and assisted by the Kwandiri braves, destroyed Aninae. Dunama thereupon decided to settle there and built the city which came to be known as Lafia Beriberi, from the expressed wish of the Sarikin Kwandiri that they (the Beriberi) would now settle and dwell in peace (Lafia). On Dunama's death, in 1809, he was succeeded by the next elder, one Musa, who was a capable warrior.

Musa subdued the surrounding tribes of Koro, Gwandara, Mama, and Aike (Onkwoi) and even raided as far as the Bauchi outposts at the foot of the plateau. Umur succeeded Musa in 1814, and continued and extended the raiding tactics. This excited the ire of the (first) Fulani Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu, who about A.D. 1817, led a punitive raid against Lafia Beriberi and destroyed its outlying villages and besieged the city. Tradition has it that on the sixteenth day, Umur led a sally and surprised Yakubu, inflicted defeat and captured one of Yakubu's drums. Yakubu then fell back and Umur, foreseeing that Lafia could not withstand a second attack from so powerful a man as the Emir of Bauchi, sent his Madaiiki, who successfully negotiated terms of peace. Yakubu then acknowledged Umur as his vassal and presented him with a flag and the captured drum, both of which are still preserved in Lafia. Tradition also has it that Umur agreed to send annually to Bauchi a present of a gown, but no other tribute. Umur was succeeded by Laminu, the next senior elder or leader, in 1819, and he it was who built the inner walls round the city. Musa Gana, the last of the original Bornuese party, succeeded Laminu in 1844. He was then very old and died five years after (A.D. 1849).

The succession now passed to Abdullahi Dala, second son of Dunama. Tradition is silent as to the reason why the elder son, Arri, was passed over. Abdullahi is chiefly famous for the great encircling wall he built to enclose the farm lands with the city in the centre. Abdullahi Dala was succeeded in 1866 by Arri, son of Laminu (the fourth Emir). He only lived two years and was succeeded in 1868 by Umur, son of

Abdullahi Dala, on whose death the reversion fell to Abdullahi Dalla II (in 1873), eldest son of Arri (who had been passed over by his brother Abdullahi Dalla I).

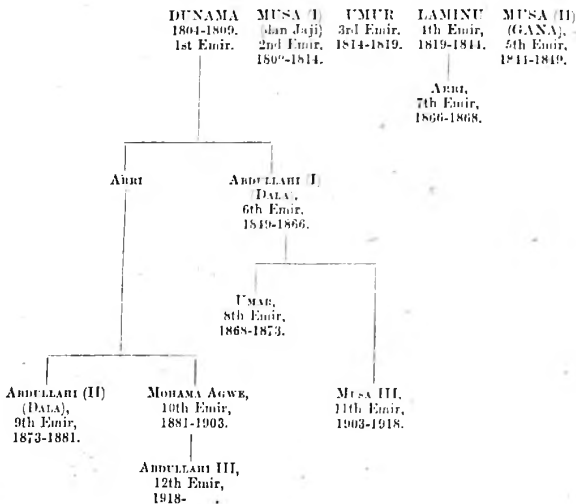
Mohamma Agwe, second son of Arri, succeeded his brother Abdullahi Dalla II in 1881. During his reign, with the assistance of Sarikin Kwotto (*vide* Nassarawa History), he raided and subdued the north bank Munshi, south-east of Lafia Beriberi. The two Emirs (of Lafia and Nassarawa) also opened up trade routes between Nassarawa, Loko, and Lafia, and established markets.

Mohamma Agwe was succeeded by Musa, eleventh Emir, in 1903, who, in 1905, was presented with a Second-Grade Staff by Sir F. D. Lugard. Keana and Doma, minor pagan kingdoms, were placed under Lafia. The first had been hitherto under Bauchi and the second under Zaria. (For their origin *vide* Prefatory Note.)

Musa (eleventh Emir) died in May, 1918, and was succeeded by Abdullahi (twelfth Emir), who is the elder son of Mohamma Agwe, tenth Emir of Lafia. Abdullahi was confirmed in his appointment and received the Staff of Office from Sir Frederick Lugard at Loko in August, 1918.

LAFIA RULERS.

1804 to 1919.



• FOUNDING OF JEMAA, A.D. 1810.

A LITTLE over a century ago a mallam of Kebbi, called Usuman, obtained leave to spread Islamism among the Fulani herdsmen who had settled East of Zaria. These Fulani were in Rugas scattered about the Kachicherri plateau but had also their own farm villages inhabited by their Rundawa (pagan slaves). Mallam Usuman became their religious instructor as well as secular adviser, and appears to have formed them into a clan and ruled them jointly with their eldest member, one Abdurrahman.

When the Kajuru inhabiting the Kachicherri plateau became restless and massed together to oppose the advancing Fulani invasion, which had then reached Zaria and overthrown the Habe dynasty, Mallam Usuman appears to have been watching events. As a commencement, the Kajuru determined to wipe out the community of Fulani herdsmen, and a plot was formed to set on them unawares, to kill them all and to appropriate all their cattle and slaves. This plot was revealed to the Fulani by Indema, the Fulani favourite of the Sarikin Kajuru, who had confided the plot to her. The Fulani, thus forewarned, got away in the night, and the Kajuru on attacking found only the aged and infirm and a few young calves which could not travel fast. They followed the Fulani to the edge of the Kagoro plateau and managed to cut off a few, but were eventually driven off; the main body of the Fulani escaped and settled on the spurs of the Darroro hills. Indema is said to have been buried alive under a heap of stones inside a large hole on her return to the Sarikin Kajuru. (There is a deep chasm or rent in the earth near Kaffanchan, between Jemaa and Kagoro, and this may be the place.) The Fulani then settled down and drove the pagans they found along the Darroro, southwards, and these pagans retired and built the village of Nindam. After establishing themselves at Jemaa, the Fulani deputed Mallam Usuman to proceed to Zaria and obtain recognition of them as a unit under Zaria, from the Emir Mallam Musa and to "obtain a flag" and a name for the new settlement. The Emir of Zaria granted this and enquired who they were who applied for this "flag," and Usuman replied that they were a party or gathering ("Jemaa") of Fulani who had settled close to the mountain of Darroro. Whereupon the Emir of Zaria named the new settlement "Jemaan-Darroro" (*clym.* "The gathering, or party, of Darroro"), and the Jemaa of to-day is a convenient abbreviation of the name.

While these Fulani grazed their herds on the Kachicherri plateau they had been subject to both annual and casual levies of cattle, which they paid to the Kajuru on condition they were given protection. After the move to Jemaa these levies were discontinued, and the Kajuru thereupon commenced a series of raids on Jemaan Darroro which culminated in a pitched battle in which the Kajuru were scattered in all directions. Parties of them were chased southwards towards Kelli, and eastwards towards Randa and Bukuru and

decimated, while others managed to escape back to Kachicherri. This put a stop to the Kajuru raids as the Kajuru were shortly after subdued by Zaria.

Mallam Usuman's visit to Zaria took place about 1810, after the Kajuru had been finally defeated. On his return, the aged Chief Abdurrahman abdicated in his favour and installed Usuman as first Chief of Jemaan Darroro. Usuman then again proceeded to Zaria and was taken by Mallam Musa to Sokoto to receive final recognition and confirmation in his appointment as Emir of Jemaan.

Usuman ruled until 1833. During his reign the Ayu, part of Numana, the Gwandara, the Moroa and the Kaje tribes were subdued. About 1827, an European is said to have visited Jemaan and tried to proceed thence to Bauchi, but, finding it impracticable, he returned northwards. (This may have been Lander.)

The Kagoro were never completely subdued by Jemaan, but in the reign of Abdullahi, eldest son of Usuman (who succeeded his father in 1833) attacked the town whilst he was absent on a raid in the direction of Lafia Beriberi and inflicted severe losses. On Abdullahi's return the Jemaan Darroro retaliated and captured several outlying villages of the Kagoro, which remain in a state of vassalage to Jemaan to this day.

Abdullahi was killed in 1837, while slave-raiding with a Zaria force in the Doma District (near Lafia) and was succeeded by his brother Musa, second son of Mallam Usuman.

Musa is said to have been a drunkard and to have been threatened with deposeal by the Emir of Zaria (Hamada). Hamada died before carrying out his threat, but this was carried into effect by his successor, Mohammed Sani, who banished Musa and appointed Abdurrahman.

Abdurrahman was, however, too aged to carry on for long, and after three years he was deposed through the machinations of Musa, who was again appointed, only to be deposed shortly after. Musa was a warrior and he subdued Ninzam, Kagoma and the rest of the Numana. He completely defeated the Kagoro and destroyed most of their crops, and in fact would have annihilated them but for their underground caves and hiding places. This raid into Kagoro brought them to such straits that they were forced to come in to Jemaan and beg for food, and large numbers of them were enslaved and sent northwards.

Musa was succeeded in 1850 by his brother Adamu, who is also said to have been deposed for a period, but reappointed. The usual charge was brought forward—drunkenness. It is probable, however, that the one who paid the heaviest bribe was the winner before the Zaria Court. Adamu was finally deposed in 1855 and was succeeded by Mohammed Adda, another son of Mallam Usuman, who also was deposed and reappointed and finally deposed in 1888, and was succeeded by Abdullahi (Machu) a grandson of Mallam Usuman (son of Abdu Rahmanu, fifth son of Usuman). The Jemaan Darroro appear to have been on bad terms with their neighbours of Keffi, and encounters had taken place during Adamu's reign, but had been stopped by the Emir of Sokoto.

About 1893 a dispute over boundaries arose between the Jemaan Darroro and the Magaji of Keffi, who claimed the Numana and Ninzam Districts and actually advanced against Jemaa. He was driven away, and the dispute was settled in favour of the Darroro by the Emir Yero of Zaria (*circa* 1893).

About 1897 a plot was formed to depose Abdullahi and to set up his brother, one Usuman, who had been village head of Jagindi—a village founded by Fulani on a deserted pagan site about 14 miles south-west of Jemaa, during the reign of Adamu. Abdullahi had one of the chief plotters (the Sarikin Delle) assassinated, which so enraged the Jagindi Fulani that they rose against Abdullahi and obtained the assistance of the Kagoma and Kaje tribes as well as the slaves of Dangoma village (Itundawa). Desultory fighting went on up to 1903, when the Resident Nassarawa got into touch with Jemaa and settled the dispute by deporting Usuman and Shemaa, the leading conspirators.

The Jemaan Darroro offered no opposition to the British Administration, but the various pagan tribes who had been more or less subdued by the Jemaan Chiefs misunderstood the situation, and in the earlier days of the British administration frequently revolted against the Fulani.

The Emirate of Jemaa is established in country which was once tributary to the warlike Kajuru, and the Emirs of Jemaa assumed the courtesy title of "Sarikin Kajuru Fellatehu" (now in abeyance).

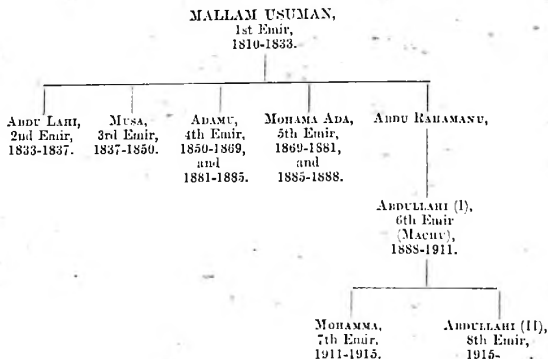
The Kagoro claim to have originated in Bauchi (or thereabout) and to have come West and settled in "Nimbia," on the Western and Northern flats of the Kagoro range, where they found ruins of former towns. Tradition has it that at that time they did not know the use of the bow and arrow, and that the district being infested with wild animals, they were forced to live in underground caves. The stone implements still found in this district are supposed to have belonged to the former inhabitants. It is stated they were at first ruled by a Council of Elders, and it was not till the Kajuru conquered them about one-and-a-half centuries ago that they elected a go-between to treat with the Kajuru, and eventually he became their chief or "Agwam" (one Gundong).

On his death there was an interregnum, and then the Kagoro appealed to the Jemaan Darroro to appoint a chief, and one Bishut, son of Mungu, was appointed "Agwam." This would appear to be a formal recognition of Jemaa as the suzerain power. Bishut was succeeded seven years later by his brother Kaka, the present (December, 1919) Agwam or Sarikin Kagoro.

The Moroa claim that their ancestors came from the north-west from the vicinity of Zaria, and consisted only of one household, and that the Moroa tribe as now constituted are the descendants of the patriarch of this household (one Ennilluchwi). They were conquered by the Jemaan Darroro and removed from the suzerainty of the Kajuru.

The Emir of Jemaa, Abdullahi I (Machu), died in 1911, and was succeeded by his son Mohammeda, who died in 1915, and was succeeded by his brother Abdullahi II, now ruling.

EMIRS OF JEMAAN-DARRORO.



FOUNDING OF NASSARAWA EMIRATE, A.D. 1835.

THE founding of Nassarawa took place in comparatively modern times and had its origin in a quarrel that arose at Keffi, between the Emir Jibirilu, of Keffi, and Imoru Makama Dogo, of Keffi. (*Ude* "Founding of Keffi.")

Imoru was a Katsina Fulani (escaped) slave and when Abdu Zanga (Abdullahi) established himself at Keffi, in 1802, Imoru took service under him. Imoru was then a youth of barely eighteen years of age, but by sheer ability he gradually rose to a position of honour, and was appointed Makama and chief of the Keffi Army. During the reign of Abdullahi, first Surikin Keffi, a certain Katsina Fulah claimed Imoru as his wife's runaway slave. Abdullahi redeemed him by handing over a slave on the spot and promised another one later. While Abdullahi was on a visit to Zaria the Katsina Fulah and his wife claimed the fulfilment of the pledge, and Abdullahi handed over a young female slave from the household of a certain Ahamadu. Some seventeen years later while Jibirilu, who had then succeeded his uncle Maizabo, as Emir of Keffi, was absent on a visit to Zaria, and Makama Dogo was away in the Afao country collecting the annual tribute of slaves, Ahamadu recognised this female slave, now grown into a handsome woman, and found she was living in Makama Dogo's compound. Ahamadu seized her and restored her to his household. Makama Dogo appealed to Jibirilu, who apparently took no action and this so incensed Makama Dogo that he proceeded to Zaria, and laid his complaint before the Emir

Abd ul Karim, of Zaria. Abd ul Karim, jealous of the growing power of Keffi, determined to detach Makama Dogo's party from the Keffi chiefdom, and offered Imoru Makama Dogo the Igbira Kingdom of Panda, then at the height of its power and still unconquered. This crafty move of Abd ul Karim was a double one; if Makama Dogo could subdue the Igbira, a large slice of country would thus be added to the Zaria Emirate. If the Igbira proved too strong for Makama Dogo the latter's party would be much weakened but still detached from the Keffi Emirate.

Makama Dogo who had given his daughter Halima in marriage to Jibirilu, Emir of Keffi, on his way back from Zaria called at Keffi to visit his daughter. He found the gates closed against him and he was refused admittance. With his following he then went South of Keffi and pitched his camp at Yankardi. Here he was joined by his daughter Halima, who fled from Keffi on this indignity being shown to her father. The latter, however, was magnanimous and returned her to Jibirilu, saying, that this matter was between men.

Makama Dogo then cast about for a place to settle in and build his headquarters, and he bethought him of a certain stretch of grassy downs situated near a large river, where Abdullahi, his old chief, always pitched his camp on his forays into the Afao country. He remembered that on each occasion he (with Abdullahi) had camped here, they had returned victorious, and he therefore proceeded to this place and in due time built the city of Nassarawa. (Nassarawa=the victorious.)

From Nassarawa, Imoru Makama Dogo by a series of successful forays conquered the Igbira, and their subject Bassas, and so broke up the Kingdom and destroyed the town of Panda.

(This is the Kingdom mentioned by McGregor Laird in his diary of the trip up the Benue. Laird was detained by the Igbira at Panda.)

Many Igbira refugees from Panda fled West to the rival Igbira Kingdom of Koton Karifi. (Kwotto'n-Karifi=the strong or unconquered Kwotto.)

On his return from Panda, Imoru Makama Dogo assumed the title of "Sarikin Kwotto," which is held to this day by the Emir of Nassarawa. He now exhibited a desire for a reconciliation with his son-in-law Jibirilu, of Keffi, and sent him envoys with letters informing him of his victory over the Igbiras. These letters were accompanied by the present of a tall lamp captured from the Chief of Panda, to his daughter Halima, the wife of Jibirilu, Emir of Keffi. Halima had been entrusted with the task of tending the lamps in the mosque at Keffi, and she placed this lamp in the mosque where it can be seen to this day.

Among others enslaved by Imoru Makama Dogo, at Panda, was a girl named Wase, said to have been the favourite of Chegu, last Chief of Panda. She became Imoru's favourite and she bore him a son named Mohamadu, of whom Imoru predicted great things. (This is the present Sarikin Kwotto.)

After breaking the Panda Kingdom, Imoru turned his attention south-eastwards and established an advanced base at Jankwoi, in the Doma Kingdom. Whilst on this expedition, and being then at the

comparatively advanced age of 72 (about), he sent envoys to Keffi and urged Jibirilu to make peace with him and form an alliance, tempting him with offers of slaves and booty.

Jibirilu acceded to this and gathering his people together he joined Imoru at or near Agaza and thence they raided the country together, probably causing the detached strip of country round Udani on the River Sango to become vassal to Keffi. On this foray Imoru's strength failed him and he died (A.D. 1858.) On his deathbed he is said to have charged Amadu, his heir (styled "Madaikin Kwotto"), to return to the old allegiance to Keffi, warning him with disaster if he did not obey his behests. Amadu disobeyed his father's deathbed commands. *Circa* A.D. 1859, Amadu was led captive to Zaria (Emir Abdullahi) but he apparently succeeded in buying himself off as he returned shortly afterwards to Nassarawa, and retained his independence of Keffi.

Amadu reigned from 1858 to 1878, and though he subdued a number of small villages he does not appear to have conquered any tribe. During his reign the town of Loko was founded by an Igbira, *circa* 1874.

Amadu was succeeded by Mohamadu (the present Sarikin Kwotto) in 1878, and it was during this reign that gradually the whole country from a point nearly opposite Abinsi to the corner formed by the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, and northwards to within a few miles of Keffi was conquered. He drove the Bassa across the Benue and even followed and raided nearly as far as Ida. Westwards to the confines of Abuja he also subdued. The Abuja Habe attempted to raid in the direction of Nassarawa, but met with defeat at Sarikin Kwotto's hands. He occasioned considerable trouble and loss to the Chartered Company right up to the end of its administration. There is little doubt but that for the advent of the British Administration he would have continued his victorious career and absorbed most of the territory now known as Nassarawa Province. Sarikin Kwotto was one of the first to make submission to Sir F. D. Lugard, in 1900.

NOTE—The Hausa name for the Igbira is "Kwotto," probably a corruption of "Okpoto," a numerous primitive pagan tribe inhabiting the country on the left bank of the Niger and inland, south of Idah, the Igbira having originally immigrated from the neighbourhood of Idah. The Igarra of the Bassa Province recognise the existence of this tribe, which is well south of Bassa Province, and the ruling Igarra of Idah call their provincial Igarra brethren of Bassa Province, "Okpoto," as a term of contempt. The true *Okpoto*-speaking tribe is, however, situated in Southern Nigeria, well south of the confines of Bassa Province, and may have originally furnished the people who came to be known as "Kwotto" or Igbira.

EMIRS OF NASSARAWA.

IMORU (MAKAMA DOGO OF KEFFI),
1st Emir,
1835-1858.

AMADU,
2nd Emir,
1858-1878.

MOHAMADU,
3rd Emir,
1878-

ARRIVAL OF BRITISH. PROTECTORATE ESTABLISHED.

As has been recorded, five Moslem Units were set up in the nineteenth century: one Habe (Abuja), which preserved its independence of Zaria Fulani; three Fulani (Keffi, Jemaa, Nassarawa), which held their titles from Zaria, and one Bornuese, which voluntarily placed itself under the protection of the Bauchi Emirate from which it was detached in 1902. These Sub-Emirates may be considered as having originally been advanced bases for purposes of slave-raiding. With the rapid depopulation of the country, feeble attempts were made to administer it, and each Emirate was parcelled out in lots which were "given" to the various office-holders, who in turn "divided" the various villages among their retainers, who became "Jekadu" or tax collectors. All lived at the respective capitals. A rough method of tax collection was the demanding of about one-tenth of crops, live stock, and even of children of the pagans. Frequent pretexts were invented to enable the Emirs to attack the less tractable villages and to carry away the young and the able-bodied into slavery, mostly to be sent northwards as the Annual Tribute became due (to Zaria, etc.), and by the end of the nineteenth century the depopulation was so complete that the retainers of the Fulani had been constrained to turn their attention to farming the depopulated areas round the larger towns themselves. Slave-raiding was still going on up to 1902, until the Emir of Nassarawa made formal submission to the Government, which stopped his victorious career that would almost certainly have ended in his subduing all other units and in asserting his independence of Zaria and transferring his allegiance direct to the Over-lord of Sokoto, without any intermediaries.

Early in 1900 the first Resident (Major A. Burdon, and later, Dr. Cargill) commenced the exploration of the Province. Headquarters were first established at Akwanaja (in the south-east corner of the Province), and an attempt was made to pacify the Munshi. Headquarters were later transferred to Nassarawa Town (after the formal submission of Surikin Kwotto), and the name of the Province was changed from "Lower Benue Province" to Nassarawa Province. In July, 1902, the Headquarters of the Province were transferred to Keffi, and Abuja was subdued by an expedition under Colonel Beddoes.

In October, 1902, the Resident (Captain Moloney) was murdered at Keffi by the Magajin Keffi, the agent of the Emir of Zaria and, as a result, the Province of Nassarawa was removed from the suzerainty of Zaria.

In March, 1903, the Emirs of Lafia and Jemaa made formal submission. In April, 1904, the administration of Abuja Division was commenced, and an Assistant Resident was posted there with a Company of the W.A.F.F. to protect him.

In October, 1904, an Assistant Resident was posted to Jemaa with a detachment of 25 R. & F. under a Subaltern.

In January, 1905, an Assistant Resident was posted to Lafia Beriberi.

In April, 1905, His Excellency the High Commissioner, Sir F. D. Lugard, visited the Province, confirmed the appointment of the five Emirs and presented Staves of Office. He selected the site for the new Provincial Headquarters at Keffi and gave orders for the building of the permanent quarters there. These were commenced the same year and completed in 1906.

In March, 1907, the route from Loko to the Tin Field in Bauchi was finally opened, through Jemaa and Kibbo.

In 1907 and 1908 a series of patrols subdued and opened up various pagan hill districts, such as Kagoro, the Lafia Madas, etc. In 1909 the Lucy Memorial Home for Freed Slaves was transferred from Zungeru to Umai-lu and placed under the charge of the Sudan United Mission.

In January, 1910, the Koton Karifi Division was transferred from Kabba to Nassarawa. (This district was handed over to the Nupe Province in 1914.)

In February, 1912, the W.A.F.F. Company which had been transferred from Abuja to Keffi in previous years, was transferred from Keffi to Wamba, and the Headquarters of the Lafia Division were transferred to Wamba, while the unsettled districts round Wamba were thrown open to prospectors from 1st March, 1st April and 1st May, to three different classes of applicants, some of whom had entered the closed districts in 1911 and had been ejected.

In March, 1912, the discovery of an alleged valuable lode of tin (by the Anglo-Continental Company), resulted in the transfer of Provincial Headquarters from Keffi to Jemaa, and in the same month the Acting Governor (Mr. H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G.) arrived at Loko, and visited Lafia, Wamba, Ninkada and Jemaa and proceeded to Bukuru and Naraguta.

In April, 1912, the Province, which had up to this date consisted of six Divisions (Keffi, Nassarawa, Jemaa, Abuja, Lafia, Koton Karifi), was redivided into four administrative Divisions by the directions of the Acting Governor; these are retained to this day and are as follows:—Keffi, Abuja, Lafia and Jemaa.

In May, 1912, Mr. Campbell, a prospector, was murdered by Mada pagans near Awuleo. Punitive patrols recovered his belongings and remains. Mada District and all that part of Mada and Nungu lying outside a 10 mile radius of Wamba Government Station were closed again.

Early in 1913, a telegraph line from Keffi to Jemaa was completed and a permanent brick Residency and Post Office were built. During 1913, District Heads were established in all Districts; up to this date they had resided in the respective capitals. In September, 1913, the Tin Fields Survey was commenced in Jemaa under Captain Lumsden, R.A.

In November, 1913, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. C. L. Temple, C.M.G.) paid a visit of inspection to the Province, arriving at Jemaa (via Naraguta Kwoil and Kagoro) on 24th November, 1913, and proceeding thence to Wamba, Lafia, Keffi and Abuja; thence on to

Minna Junction. As a consequence of this visit the Districts of Kagore and Moron (Jema Division) were closed to prospectors as also the Districts of Mania and Nungu outside a radius of 10 miles round Wamba (Lafia Division). The Districts of Kagerko (Keffi Division), Jiri and Janjalla (Abuja Division) were transferred to Zaria Province and the District of Koton Karifi (Abuja Division) to the Nupe Province (then known as the Niger Province). Bassa Province was federated with Nassarawa but as this was found to be unworkable without direct telegraph communication the Provinces were re-separated in May, 1915. The loss of these Districts to Nassarawa Province impoverished and, for a time, crippled the Native Treasuries of Keffi and Abuja.

In August, 1914, troops were withdrawn from the Province and sent to Abinsi and Yola on account of the Cameroons Campaign. (Troops returned to Wamba, May, 1916.)

In September, 1914, the Bassas rose against the Igbira of Umuisha and Ogha and a patrol of 40 R. & F. visited the District and restored order.

After the withdrawal of the troops from Nassarawa, in 1914, the Mada, a race of warriors unconquered by the Fulani, started getting restive. Frequent inter-village fights took place resulting in numerous murders, mainly for Headhunting reasons. No action could be taken at the time owing to the absence of troops and to the depletion of the Police Detachment, a number of volunteers from the latter having gone to the Cameroons (and later to East Africa). In 1916, the hill Mada organized Headhunting parties which came down from the hills and attacked caravans on the Keffi-Lafia and Lafia-Wamba roads. A number of peaceful traders and carriers lost their lives in this manner. After the return of the troops, a patrol was sanctioned to enable the District Officer to tour and resettle Mada District, and to obtain the surrender of ringleaders and murderers. In February, 1917, this patrol of one company and a Maxim Gun (B.G. 2nd N.R.) accompanied by Captain H. L. Norton Traill, District Officer in charge of Lafia Division, entered Mada, but was unable to penetrate into the hills on account of the hostile reception it met from several thousand Mada hill men in full war paint. It was then strengthened by a second company and machine gun from Lokoja, the whole under command of Major Napier, 2nd N.R. This force also failed to penetrate the Southern Hill-Mada District, and a mountain gun and detachment under Lieutenant LeGrand, from Kano, was then hurried to the spot, and, under cover of this gun the expedition was able to enter the hills. Fierce resistance was encountered. The Mada had built stone walls and held these with great tenacity, but gradually retired and broke, and the expedition then established itself at Lezin Lafia in the heart of the Mada Hills. From this position all the Mada villages were visited, and the surrender of the ringleaders and murderers was obtained.

The murderers were duly tried and fifteen were hanged in Lezin Lafia, before a vast concourse of Mada from all villages. A number of highway robbers and other criminals were surrendered also, and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Formal submission was made, and the Wamba Company remained in the hills with an A.D.O. (Mr. H. F. Mathews) for some months after the Lokoja Company and

the gun detachment left the Province. During this period the Mada Hills were carefully mapped, and as a commencement, village administrations were established. Since then the Mada Districts have been periodically toured, roads have been made (notably from Lafia to Akwanga and from Akwanga to Jemaa, through the heart of the Mada District) and the District is now practically under administrative control, though it is necessarily still closed to prospectors and other non-officials.

In 1917, all the Emirs and Chiefs were on their way to Loko to meet His Excellency the Governor-General (Sir F. D. Lugard) when his visit was cancelled owing to the outbreak of Yellow Fever on the Benue.

This visit materialized in 1918, when the Emirs and Chiefs with a large concourse of District and Village Heads and other followers gathered at Loko and received His Excellency. On this occasion His Excellency confirmed the appointment of, and presented the Staff of Office to Abdullahi III, the new Emir of Lafia Beriberi.

Towards the end of 1918, a police patrol under Mr. Dix, conducted by Captain H. L. Norton Traill, Acting Resident, visited the Attaka Hills, near Jemaa, for the purpose of arresting the ringleaders of a number of Attakas who had defied the District Head Aboma, Sarikin Moroa, and refused to pay taxes or surrender malefactors. Some opposition was encountered, but the Attaka made submission and handed over the ringleaders and paid all arrears of taxation.

During 1918, intrigue by the ex-Madaikin Keffi had caused unrest among the Afo tribe inhabiting the Afo Hills east of Nassarawa. This tribe is subject to the Emir of Nassarawa, and the ex-Madaikin Keffi intrigued to entice them from allegiance to Nassarawa. Mr. W. Morgan, District Officer in charge of Keffi Division visited the Afo Hill tribe to enquire into the cause of the unrest. Being accompanied only by six police constables he was attacked by several hundreds of Afo and narrowly escaped with his life, managing also to withdraw his escort and carriers without casualties. The ringleaders were later surrendered, and in 1919, a police patrol returning from the Kukurigi Gede villages visited the locality. The Afo tribe were brought down from their hill-tops and settled on their farms on the plain below.

Towards the end of 1918, an epidemic of Influenza visited the Province and caused the death of large numbers of natives. In some localities, notably amongst the lower type pagans, the mortality was very high (estimated to have been from 7 to 10 per cent. of the population).

Early in 1919, a police patrol (conducted by Captain Norton Traill, D.O., in charge of Keffi Division) visited the Kukurigi group of Gede villages, Keffi Emirate, in order to arrest a number of Gede who had defied the local pagan District Head, had refused to pay taxes, and had murdered two of the District Head's relatives when the latter attempted to pacify the Gede. No opposition was offered; the murderers and the ringleaders were handed over and duly tried and sentenced, and the remainder of the Gede came off their hills and built a new hamlet on the plain below. There are now no more hill pagans in the Keffi Division, and Abuja Division.

In May, 1919, the Headquarters of Lafia Division were transferred from Wamba in Nungu District to Akwanga in the Central Mada District of Lafia Division. This was due to the outbreak of Sleeping Sickness in Wamba, which caused several deaths among natives. The troops had also 18 proved cases of Sleeping Sickness.

In September, 1919, His Excellency the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, accompanied by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces, paid a visit to Loko and interviewed the Nassarawa Emirs and Chiefs who had assembled there with a large concourse of followers, to greet the new Governor.

The year 1920 opens with prospects of great developments in Nassarawa in the near future. The projected railway across the Province; the great developments in tin mining enterprise which bids fair to bring Nassarawa into the forefront of tin producing provinces; the rapid social development among some of the most backward and hitherto even hostile pagans; the increasing activity in the production of foodstuffs diligently urged and fostered by the Political Staff; and the really good prospects for cotton production if this is handled judiciously, all combine to assure a most prosperous future for Nassarawa.

RAILWAY SURVEY.

In 1915, a survey was carried out for the extension of the N.E. Railway from Benue Bridge. A route was beaconed, running from Benue Bridge through Doma, Keffi and Yeskwa District, North-West towards Kaduna.

In 1919, a route running West from Keffi through Abuja to Minna Junction was surveyed, and another running from Benue Bridge to Lafia, thence skirting the Western slope of the Mada Hills on to Jugindi, Bakin Kogi and Fadla Kugoro, and thence on to Manchok (Moroa) Ilos, and Bukuru.

INDUSTRY.

The population of Nassarawa Province is in the main agrarian, and the primitive pagans are wholly so. There is a certain amount of weaving and dyeing of native cloth, mainly carried on in and near the more important market towns of the Moslem units. Tailoring, leather work, preparation and dyeing of hides and skins goes on in these centres. In nearly all units iron is worked. Iron-smelting in fair quantities is carried on in the North-West parts of the Province. Canoe-making on the banks of the Benue has received a set-back owing to the new Forestry Ordinance. On the Benue there are also many fishing communities living in permanent villages, as well as temporary visitors in grass shelters at low river. In the Southern half of the Province there is brisk trade with the European trading posts at Loko and Umaisha. At Keana, in the South-East corner, there are Salt

"mines," the workings being the monopoly of the Keana Arago. This salt is then widely distributed by traders, being cheaper than imported salt. Beekeeping is carried on everywhere, especially among pagans in the Eastern and Northern Districts of the Province. A small proportion of the wax is boiled down and carried to trading posts.

Collection and preparation of Rubber is mostly in the hands of Hausas.

TOWNS.

The principal towns of the Province are:—

Keffi	...	...	...	...	Population	3030
Abuja	...	...	...	...	"	4157
Lafia	...	...	...	...	"	2194
Jemaa	...	...	...	...	"	1466
Nassarawa	...	...	...	...	"	1033
Loko	...	...	...	...	"	1369
Umaisha	...	...	...	...	"	1071

These are all connected with Keffi by main roads. Keffi is the central town and market and these roads radiate, roughly, North to Jemaa (and on to Bukuru Railhead), South to Nassarawa and Loko (branch to Umaisha), East to Lafia and Keana, and West to Abuja (and on to Minna Junction of the Lagos Railway.)

A telegraph line from Minna passes through Abuja (no telegraph office) and forms a junction at Keffi with lines from Yola and Ibi (branch to Benue Bridge), passing through Lafia town; from Loko passing through Nassarawa town, and from Jemaa. Thus the principal towns of the Province are all connected by telegraph, but only Keffi, Jemaa and Loko have telegraph offices. There is a regular postal service from Jos to Jemaa and between Jemaa and Keffi, Loko, Akwanga and Abuja.

POPULATION STATISTICS.

ABOUT forty different tribes are represented, speaking different languages or dialects. These are as follows :—

Tribe.	Population.		
	Males.	Females.	Children.
Fulani	5,864	6,387	3,705
Hausa	5,304	5,163	2,682
Lungu	364	309	245
Jala	3,189	2,815	2,547
Moro	1,950	1,750	1,609
Kagoro	2,478	2,650	2,131
Kaninkwom	563	500	314
Gwandara	3,040	2,576	2,267
Kibbo	490	385	270
Numana	1,118	1,041	261
Ayu	1,282	1,403	285
Kagoma	1,897	1,394	1,204
Kaje	2,597	2,139	1,771
Ninzam	2,000	1,699	1,491
Yeskwa	2,083	1,976	1,273
Bassa	10,695	11,094	5,797
Gwari Gengen	15,526	16,105	12,310
" Yemua	4,950	5,241	4,408
" Gabbas	65	73	52
Afao	1,678	1,692	1,060
Igbira	1,623	1,430	877
Gade	1,514	1,667	1,213
Agatu	479	567	324
Kinkera	463	503	282
Nupe	278	284	202
Koro	2,662	2,783	2,326
" Funtu	310	161	146
Gana Gana	342	201	152
Toni	96	109	104
Kamberi	67	66	29
Arago	2,906	2,966	3,274
Berihiri	1,136	1,601	1,194
Yoruba	7	10	8
Rubawa	109	143	98
Luchi	47	59	17
Kadara	15	27	21
Onkwai	140	128	126
Aike	120	116	156
Mada	13,238	10,854	13,913
Mama	2,883	2,695	2,533
Nungu	2,580	1,812	2,339
Jukon	18	17	14
Total	98,014	94,096	75,030

These may be summed up as Moslems and Pagans, as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
Moslem	14,082	14,549	8,143	36,774
Pagan	83,932	79,547	66,887	230,366
Total	98,014	94,096	75,030	267,140

The Moslems are represented by the following tribes and approximate numbers :—

MOSLEMS.

Tribe.	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
Fulani	5,864	6,387	3,705	15,956
Hausa	5,304	5,163	2,682	13,149
Beriberi	1,136	1,001	1,194	3,331
Nupe	278	284	202	764
Various	1,560	1,714	360	3,574
Total	14,082	14,549	8,143	36,774

The balance of population is wholly Pagan, and is as follows :—

PAGANS.

Tribe.	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
36 Tribes	83,932	79,547	66,887	230,366

ROADS.

THERE are no metalled roads in the Province and wheeled traffic is at present impossible. These are to be built when the route of the N.E. Railway is settled. The present roads (December, 1919) are (a) broad tracks, cleared and improved on the original main caravan or trade routes, (b) lesser tracks leading to certain of the more important district villages and (c) native tracks connecting each village with its neighbours. Only (a) can be called "roads."

These roads are as follows :—

From Loko on the River Benue, a fair road runs straight North through Nassurawa to Keffi. This, with a comparatively small expenditure, can be made passable for wheeled traffic. From Keffi a fair road branches West to Abuja (and on to Minna) and another goes North to Jemaa (and thence East to Bukuru, climbing the steep slope of the plateau near Assob in Bauchi Province). From Keffi there is a fair track to Lafia, and another to Akwanga and Wamba and the adjacent Tin Field. The best route from Loko to this Tin Field is *via* Lafia. This can also be made passable for wheeled traffic, with only small expenditure; there is, however, the broad and deep River Sango to be crossed not far from Loko. There is a fair road from Wamba to Jemaa and Akwanga to Jemaa also. Good ferries have been established on the unfordable rivers of these roads. (Fares 1*d.* per head.)

All these roads have rest camps dotted along them every 15 or 16 miles; for more definite distances *vide* Appendix, "Rest Camps on Main Routes."

APPENDIX.

REST CAMPS ON MAIN ROUTES IN NASSARAWA PROVINCE, AND DISTANCES BETWEEN (BY ROAD).

(1) LOKO TO KEFFI AND JEMAA (ON TO BUKUR).

Loko	to Itta	...	...	...	15	Miles.
Itta	" Gindin Duchi	...	...	...	15	"
Gindin Duchi	" Nassarawa	...	...	...	12	"
Nassarawa	" Laminga	...	...	...	13	"
Laminga	" Keffi (Govt. station)	...	...	...	12	"
Keffi	" Haderi	...	...	...	7	"
Haderi	" Ninkoro	...	...	...	17	"
Ninkoro	" Kwokwassa	...	...	...	16½	"
Kwokwassa	" Jagindi	...	...	...	14	"
Jagindi	" Jemaa (Govt. stn.)	...	...	...	15	"
Jemaa	" Karshi	...	...	...	14½	"
Karshi	" Hos (steep climb)	...	...	...	16	" (In Bauchi Province).
Hos	" Bukuru (Railhead)	...	...	...	18	"
Total					186	Miles.

(2) KEFFI TO ABUJA.

Keffi	to Oke (District Head, here)	...	...	14	Miles.
Oke	" Karu " " " "	...	...	12½	"
Karu	" Gwagwa " " " "	...	...	19½	"
Gwagwa	" Abuja (Government station)	...	...	13	"
Total	...	...	...	59	Miles.

There is a camp at Gerki, between Karu and Gwagwa. (Gerki is the Headquarters of the Makama's District). From Abuja to Minna lies mostly in the Nupe Province.

(3) LOKO TO LAFIA BERIBERI.

Loko	to Akum	...	...	...	14	Miles.
Akum	" Amakum	...	...	...	13½	"
Amakum	" Arage	...	...	...	12½	"
Arage	" Doma (D.H., here)	...	...	...	9	"
Doma	" Lafia	...	...	...	12	"
Total					61	Miles.

(4) LAFIA TO AKWANGA (GOVERNMENT STATION).

Lafia	to Shabu	...	...	...	6	Miles.
Shabu	" Alazaga	...	...	...	15	"
Alazaga	" Akwanga	...	...	...	16	"
Total					37	Miles.

(5) LAFIA TO WAMBA (NEAR NINKADA TIN FIELD)

Lafia	to Shabu	...	...	...	6	Miles.
Shabu	" Bekenu	...	...	...	16	"
Bekenu	" Wamba	...	...	...	17	"
Total					39	Miles.

(6) KEFFI TO LAFIA.

Keffi	to Kokona	...	...	...	10 Miles.
Kokona	" Aulba	...	...	...	17 "
Aulba	" Bassa Zerengi	...	...	...	15 "
Bassa Zerengi	" Doma...	...	...	...	17 "
Doma	" Lafia	...	...	...	13 "
Total	...	...	...	...	72 Miles.

(7) KEFFI TO AKWANGA.

Keffi	to Ungwan Maisauri	...	...	5 Miles.
Ungwan Maisauri	" Gerku	...	...	12 "
Gerku	" Kurmin Shinkafa	...	...	9 "
Kurmin Shinkafa	" Akwanga	...	...	17 "
Total	...	...	...	43 Miles.

(8) AKWANGA TO JEMAA.

Akwanga	to Nunku	...	...	20 Miles.
Nunku	" Sanga	...	...	16 "
Sanga	" Jemaa	...	...	14 "
Total	...	...	...	50 Miles.

RESIDENTS IN CHARGE OF NASSARAWA PROVINCE,
1900-1919.

Name.	Rank.	From.	To.
Major A. Burdon ...	Resident ...	1900 ...	...
Dr. J. Cargill ...	" ...	1900 ...	March, 1901.
Capt. F. N. Ruxton ...	Asst. Resident ...	March, 1901 ...	13-10-1901.
H. S. Goldsmith, Esq. ...	" ...	14-10-1901 ...	February, 1902.
Capt. G. W. Moloney ...	Resident ...	February, 1902 ...	2-10-1902.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	Asst. Resident ...	3-10-1902 ...	23-11-1902.
Dr. J. Cargill ...	Resident ...	24-11-1902 ...	13-2-1903.
Capt. H. D. Larymore ...	" 2nd ...	14-2-1903 ...	4-3-1903.
R. K. Granville, Esq. ...	" ...	5-3-1903 ...	3-10-1903.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	" 3rd ...	4-10-1903 ...	30-1-1905.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney ...	" 2nd ...	31-1-1905 ...	25-12-1905.
K. V. Elphinstone, Esq. ...	" 3rd ...	26-12-1905 ...	13-3-1906.
G. W. Webster, Esq. ...	" ...	14-3-1906 ...	7-8-1906.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney ...	" 2nd ...	8-8-1906 ...	15-11-1907.
J. Ley-Greaves, Esq. ...	" ...	16-11-1907 ...	30-6-1908.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney ...	" ...	1-7-1908 ...	1-7-1909.
D. Cator, Esq. ...	" 3rd (ag.) ...	2-7-1909 ...	20-10-1909.
C. O. Migeod, Esq. ...	" " ...	21-10-1909 ...	31-10-1909.
Capt. W. Hamilton-Browne, D.S.O.	" 2nd ...	1-11-1909 ...	21-1-1910.
Major J. E. C. Blakeney ...	" ...	25-1-1910 ...	22-1-1911.
D. Cator, Esq. ...	" 3rd (ag.) ...	23-1-1911 ...	13-5-1911.
Major H. D. Larymore ...	" 2nd ...	14-5-1911 ...	27-1-1913.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	" ...	28-1-1913 ...	20-10-1913.
Major H. D. Larymore ...	" ...	21-10-1913 ...	20-11-1914.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	" ...	21-11-1914 ...	27-2-1916.
Com. B. E. M. Waters ...	D.O., 2nd (ag.) ...	28-2-1916 ...	6-3-1916.
Capt. H. L. Norton Trill ...	D.O., 1st (ag.) ...	7-3-1916 ...	5-11-1916.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	Resident, 2nd ...	6-11-1916 ...	18-5-1918.
Capt. H. L. Norton Trill ...	D.O., 1st (ag.) ...	19-5-1918 ...	31-12-1918.
J. C. Sciortino, Esq. ...	Resident, 2nd ...	1-1-1919 ...	31-12-1919.

**ACTUAL REVENUE OF NASSARAWA PROVINCE.
SHOWING GOVERNMENT SHARE (LAND TAX AND
JANGALI ONLY).**

1903-1919.

Date.	Actual Revenue.	Government Share.
1st April—31st March :—	£	£
1903 - 1904	668	501
1904 - 1905	660	493
1905 - 1906	1,649	1,237
1906 - 1907	4,074	2,108
1907 - 1908	4,100	2,051
1908 - 1909	4,877	2,702
1909 - 1910	5,284	3,044
1910 - 1911	7,995	5,238
1911 - 1912	10,027	5,479
1912 - 1912	13,232	7,369
Calendar Year :—		
1913	20,271	10,232
1914	22,582	11,291
1915	25,548	12,774
1916	28,985	14,043
1917	28,500	14,277
1918	29,251	14,625
1919	31,128	15,564

NOTE.—Up to and including 1905, figures approximate only. From 1906 onwards, figures are accurate.

For Native Administration share, *vide* under Native Treasuries.

NATIVE TREASURIES.

THESE were established in 1911. Up to that year the Emirs and Village Heads received a percentage of the tax, approximating 15 per cent. to Emirs and Independent Chiefs, and 5 to 10 per cent. to Village Heads, of the total tax collected.

In 1911, one Native Treasury controlled by the Resident, was set up for the whole Province, and the total tax was shared as follows:—

Emirates: a moiety.

Independent Pagan Districts: from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent.

In 1913, it was decided that the total tax should be evenly divided throughout the Province, a moiety each to Government and Native Administration.

In March, 1914, the single Native Treasury was divided into individual Treasuries for the Emirates, and one Native Treasury each for the Independent Units of each Division, viz:—Abuja, Jemaa, Lafia. In 1918, all Independent Treasuries in the Abuja and Jemaa Divisions were federated with the Treasuries of the respective Emirates.

At the end of 1919, the following Native Treasuries are extant :—

Division.	Name of Treasury.	Controlled by
Keffi	{ Keffi Emirate	N.A. of Keffi.
	{ Nassarawa „	N.A. of Nassarawa.
Ahuja	Abuja „	N.A. of Abuja.
Lafia	{ Lafia „	N.A. of Lafia.
	{ Independent Treasury... ..	Controlled by D.O.
Jemaa	Jemaa Emirate	N.A. of Jemaa.

The Native Administration's share of the revenue is as follows :—
(1900 to 1906, a percentage of the revenue obtained from Land Tax and Jangali was paid to Emirs and Independent Chiefs. In the primitive pagan districts where there was no central organization a percentage was paid to each individual Village Head).

Date.	Native Administration Share.
1st April—31st March :—	£
1906 - 1907	1,966
1907 - 1908	2,049
1908 - 1909	2,175
1909 - 1910	2,240
1910 - 1911	2,757
1911 - 1912	4,548
1912 - 1912	5,863
Calendar Year :—	
1913	10,039
1914	11,291
1915	12,774
1916	14,042
1917	14,283
1918	14,625
1919	15,564

STAFF, NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

						Annual Salary	£180
KEFFI EMIRATE	...	Emir	...	...	...	"	96
		Waziri	...	...	...	"	24
		Emir's Scribe	...	...	...	"	12
		Emir's Messenger	...	...	...	"	392
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	75
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	90
		Alkalai	...	...	...	"	285
		Dogarai	...	...	...	"	480
NASSARAWA EMIRATE	...	Emir	...	...	...	"	36
		Emir's Scribe	...	...	...	"	12
		Emir's Messenger	...	...	...	"	546
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	96
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	108
		Court Scribes	...	...	...	"	282
		Dogarai	...	...	...	"	400
ABUJA EMIRATE	...	Emir	...	...	...	"	144
		Waziri	...	...	...	"	12
		Emir's Scribe	...	...	...	"	24
		Emir's Messenger	...	...	...	"	660
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	108
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	48
		Alkali	...	...	...	"	54
		Court Messengers	...	...	...	"	351
JEMAA EMIRATE	...	Dogarai	...	...	...	"	400
		Emir	...	...	...	"	24
		Emir's Scribe	...	...	...	"	18
		Emir's Messenger	...	...	...	"	564
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	84
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	36
		Court Messengers	...	...	...	"	372
LAFIA EMIRATE	...	Dogarai	...	...	...	"	300
		Emir	...	...	...	"	24
		Emir's Adviser	...	...	...	"	12
		Emir's Scribe	...	...	...	"	312
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	24
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	54
		Alkalai	...	...	...	"	150
LAFIA INDEPENDENT	...	Dogarai	...	...	...	"	300
		District Heads	...	...	...	"	120
		District Scribes	...	...	...	"	36
		Alkali	...	...	...	"	6
		Court Messenger	...	...	...	"	150
		Dogarai	...	...	...	"

J. C. SCIORTINO,

Resident, Nassarawa,

31st December, 1919.

