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The Educational Potential of Traditional Agriculture in Building a New Nigeria: A Philosophical Analysis

Laurence Momoh. Balogun
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THE EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE IN BUILDING A
NEW NIGERIA: A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

By

Laurence Momoh Balogun

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

July

1985

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VITA

The author, Laurence Momoh Balogun, is the son of Balogun Buoro Ajabi and Ajike Balogun. He was born in the early critical years of the Great Depression, in Ososo, Akoko Edo Local Government Area, Bendel State, Nigeria.

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After his first brief assignment to Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church, Onicho-Olona, Bendel State, Nigeria, he was re-located to Holy Cross Catholic Cathedral Church, Benin City. He was later appointed a Manager and Administrator of fifteen Catholic Schools in Iyekovia Local Government Area, Bendel State, Nigeria.

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Treasurer to the Midwest (now Bendel) State Branch of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign Committee; and a member of Examiners for the West African School Certificate Exams and Grade II Teacher Exams.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
VITA	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Recent History of Nigeria	1
The Purpose of the Study	14
Review of the Related Literature	16
Method of Investigation	21
Organization of the Study	22
II. PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL FARMING AND THE RISE OF TOWNS IN THE NORTH	24
Kano City and its Territory	27
Birnin Katsina	29
Borno Dynasty	31
The Cities of Sokoto and Gwandu	34
Birnin Sakkwato: The City of Sokoto	36
The Niger Region of the Northern States	38
Summary	58
III. PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL FARMING AND THE RISE OF TOWNS IN THE SOUTH	64
The Niger Region of the Western States	64
Ile-Ife	65
Oyo Kingdom and State	66
The Kingdom of Benin	74
The Niger Delta Region	78
The Bini: North of the City of Benin	81
The Oil Rivers State	85
The Niger Region of the Eastern States	88
IV. BRITISH COLONIALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN NIGERIA: BEGINNING TO 1885	102

British Interests in the Niger Hinterland.	110
The Advent of the Explorers.	110
Early Trading Up the Niger	113
Christian Missionary Endeavor.	114
European Merchants and Missionary Activities	117
Mission to the Interior.	121
Yoruba Mission	123
Niger Mission Stations	124
Cross River Mission Stations	125
V. BRITISH COLONIALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN NIGERIA: 1885-1960.	131
The Loss of Sovereignty in Yorubaland.	132
The Annexation of the Niger Region	134
The Occupation of the Northern States.	137
The Amalgamation of Nigeria.	140
British Interests in Nigerian Agriculture.	142
Phelps-Stokes Reports Agriculture.	147
Colonial Educational Policy and Agriculture in Nigeria	150
Lokoja: The City of the Confluence of the Niger and Benue.	170
The City of Kaduna	171
Jos: The City on the Plateau	172
Port Harcourt Township	175
VI. POST INDEPENDENCE AGRICULTURAL REORGANIZATION CONSCIOUSNESS.	181
Nationalists and Agriculture	182
The Ashby Commission and Agriculture	185
Government Reaction to the Ashby Report.	188
Agriculture and the Ashby Universities	189
The Politics of Agriculture.	197
The Early Farm Settlements in the Western Region	198
The National Curriculum Conference and Agriculture	201
Agriculture in the National Development Plans.	204
Nigeria's First Plan (1962-68)	204
Nigeria's Second Plan (1970-74).	206
Nigeria's Third Plan (1975-80)	207
Nigeria's Fourth Plan (1981-85).	214
Objectives for the Fourth Plan	219
The Distribution of Funds on Agricultural Programs	220
Ideological Programs and Agricultural Mechanization.	221
The Green Revolution	226
Rural Development Projects	228
Summary.	229

VII. TRANSCENDENTAL COMMUNALISM AND NIGERIAN AGRICULTURE. .	234
British Colonialism: The Matrix of the Nigerian Agricultural Problem	236
Early Nigerian Nationalists and Conflicting Educational Signals	243
Phelps-Stokes Commission: Adaptationist Education. . .	250
Nationalist Movement for Independence.	253
At The Dawn of Nigeria Independence.	254
Transcendental Communalism	257
Trado-Modern Agricultural Education.	270
Recommendations, Summary and Conclusions	283
Land Tenure and Utilization.	284
Farmers Rule	291
Facts and Myths of Food Production	293
Strategies for the Fifth National Development Plan, 1986-90.	303
Towards Effective Implementation of Nigeria's Fifth Plan (1986-90)	305
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	309

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. West Africa in 1912-13: Area, Population, Imports and Exports	141
2. First-Year Students in Ibadan University College: 1948-1954.	164
3. Total Student Enrollment Figures at Ibadan: 1948-1954 . .	165
4. Students and Faculty at I.U. College: 1948-1953	167
5. Manpower Needs, 1960/70	192
6. Enrollment Figures in Nigerian Universities, 1964/5 to 1978/9.	194
7. Recent Trend in Graduate Out-Turn From the Universities 1974/5 to 1976/7.	195
8. Aggregate of Agricultural and Food Production in Nigeria.	209
9. Domestic Production of Agricultural Commodities	210
10. Areas Under Cultivation for Food Crops.	212
11. Estimated Food Consumption; Capital Expenditures; Nigeria's Major Agricultural Exports; and River Basin Development Schemes	213
12. Fourth N.D.P.: Public Capital Expenditure Program	216
13. G.D.P. at Current Prices: 1980-1985	217
14. Principal Commodities: Imports and Exports.	222
15. Trado-Modern Agricultural Paradigm.	275

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Nigeria: 1961 Regional Boundaries	5
2. British Presence in the Niger Region, 1861-1914	9
3. Federal Republic of Nigeria: Showing the States and Their Capitals.	20
4. Principal Ethnic Groups of Nigeria Before its Autonomy. .	158
5. Nigeria: Ecological Areas	280

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present research study investigates, describes, analyzes, and criticizes the rationalization and educational utilization of traditional agriculture as a potent instrument in building a new Nigeria especially in a period of rapid social and cultural transition.

Before describing the purpose and contents of this work, a short history of the recent past will enable the reader to understand more fully what is contained in the following pages.

The Recent History of Nigeria

The economy of the pre-colonial Nigeria was based almost exclusively on agriculture. The industrialized countries of Europe understood the necessity of diversification of the base of their national economy. They frequently cared for the needs of their own agriculture, but they often strove to shift the burden to other economic enterprises or countries which manifested greater growth within a common market area or to totally new territories. To promote commercial and industrial relations, these countries directed their financial, fiscal and social progress policies in such a way that opportunity for buying and selling favorable to their conditions was afforded industries competing with unequal resources or disadvantages. To put it crudely, a commonly known proverb has it that when the

market is in confusion you look for a person you can cheat. During the three centuries prior to 1914 the political circumstances prevalent in the new emerging country were disadvantageous for Nigeria as a people to compete in the world market. There was no ethnic cohesiveness among the various polities or city-states.

Hausaland¹ was the first main theatre of the revolution which was vicariously known as the Sokoto, the Fulani and the 'Uthman dan Fodio jihad'. Before the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, this Islamic movement had subjugated and imposed its ideologies, law, and values on the indigenes of Hausa (Habe) city-states. At the beginning of the jihad (holy war) movement the Borno empire, east of Hausaland, fiercely resisted the Fulani hegemony and expansionist tendency. The Mai (king) of Seifuwa dynasty even raised some serious doubts about the orthodoxy and motives of the religious reformers (mujaddidun).

However, by 1880, a period of territorial expansion and consolidation of war gains, Sokoto and Gwandu Caliphates had annexed some important peripheral towns in Yoruba and Benin empires. The most notable successes of the jihad and the Islamization movement were not so much in their religious reformation but the bequithal of a legacy of political administrative organization (the system of indirect rule) and Islamic or Koranic education. Horace Miner describes the oligarchical structure:

¹R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 18, 34.

The Fulani conquest of the ancient Hausa, or Habe, States at the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in the establishment of a series of feudally organized emirates. Each was autonomous and headed by an emir descended from the Fulani conquerors. The emirates were divided into fiefs, each allocated to a Fulani, commonly a relative of the emir. The fiefs in turn were divided into village areas, each under the control of a Hausa headman, resident in the principal settlement in his area. Even the headmen held their appointments subject to the approval of the emir. The functions of this hierarchy were the maintenance of order, the organization of defensive and offensive forces, and the collection of taxes.²

Hausa society, including its feudal lords, was very hierarchically structured. The displaced Hausa peasants came directly under the rule of the village headmen whose traditional role depended upon their understanding and manipulation of the local culture. Majority of these homesteads and hamlets had developed from farm settlements or were founded in their present places as a result of the fertility of the land for agriculture. In retrospect, after more than a century of co-existence and enculturation there are no spectacular changes or departures from the imposed administrative machinery and social protocols of the Hausa-Fulani people. Alhaji Aliyu Shagari, the ousted President of the defunct civilian administration, in an interview before the January 1984 coup d'etat, has some reminiscences:

In the Fulani tradition it is unbecoming of a person to show his anger about anything. That is the tradition and it had a great influence on the politics of the North.

The Fulanis succeeded in influencing the character of the ethnic groups in the North because they were accommodating. Though they belonged to a minority group, they managed to control such a large area because of their attitudes of accommodating others. They try always to befriend their

²Peter R. Gould, Africa: Continent of Change (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), pp. 248-249.

enemy so that in the end he becomes an ally. When they fought against ethnic groups in the North, whether they be Hausa, Yoruba, Gwari or Nupe, they at the same time inter-married with them. Emirs married the daughter of other Emirs and Chiefs with whom they had been fighting for years, so that in the end they became not only friends but relations and, through this, they mellowed all kinds of opposition. I think it is this background which people in the South do not seem to understand. In the North people make deliberate attempts to come to terms with those who appear hostile.³

The Fulani are a shrewd and phlegmatic people. Because of the quiet attitudinal disposition and culture of the Fulani, they ruled over the whole of the North for many years. Unlike the Hausa who were predominantly farmers, the Fulani, especially the cattle Fulani, were pastoral. The community, through their cooperative effort, maintained the leaders from the resources of the farms. After a short period of consolidation the jihad moved southwards. The mujahidun (participants in a jihad) captured Ilorin, a Yoruba town. The Oyo empire succeeded in restraining the advancement of the Northern Islamic forces to the South.

The ancient institution of Oba (king) in the South was highly revered and it remained to the people sacrosanct. In Oyo as well as in Benin, the Oba was regarded as the companion of the gods.⁴ Respect and obedience to the traditional or charismatic ruler was tantamount to obedience to ancestors.⁵ The Oba's rights and privileges were

³Africa Now, No. 19, (November 1982), pp. 44; also 34-63.

⁴Symposium Leo Frobenius, Perspectives of Contemporary African Studies, Final Report of an International Symposium (Koln: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, 1974), pp. 67, 69, 72.

⁵Benjamin C. Ray, African Religions: Symbols, Ritual, and Community (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., undated), pp. 42-45.

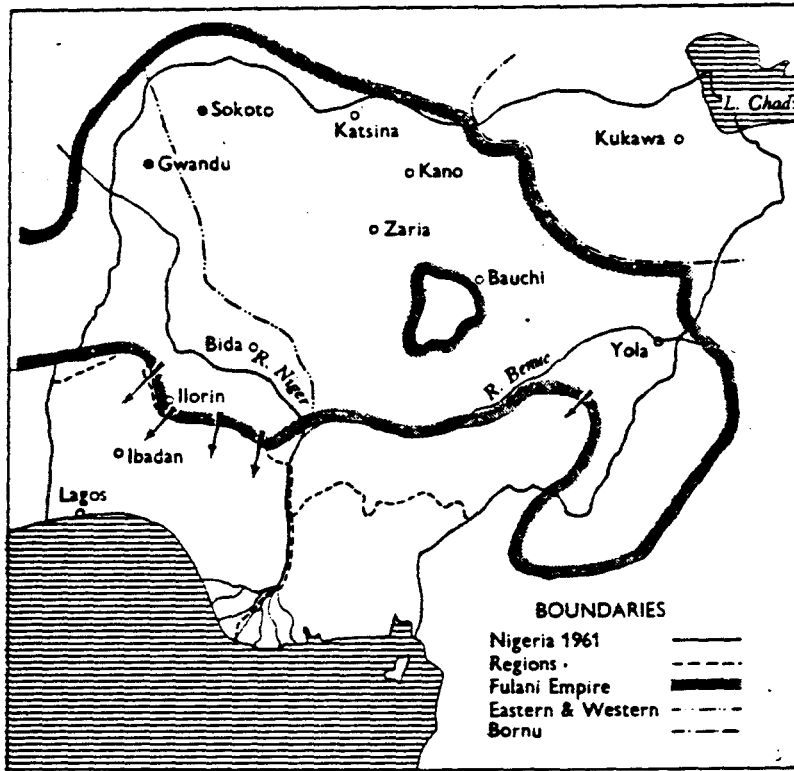


Figure 1. Nigeria: 1961 Regional Boundaries

Source: Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, *My Life* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 18.

unquestionable; he had the supreme right and control to the land. This right was often delegated to his viceroys in the rural parts of the kingdom. The people often come together at the royal palace to celebrate some important feasts. National holidays, holy days, and harvest festivals were instituted to commemorate or celebrate the New Yams, great heroes, and the king's day of coronation. These feasts generally marked the beginning of planting or the end of the harvest seasons. The communal life of the people revolved around agriculture and agro-based business. The Kingdom of Benin⁶ was a typical example.

In the pre-colonial Benin, the Oba's income revenue derived from a variety of sources: the subordinate rulers of large territories, districts, and towns raised annually for the king and his elaborate state rituals, substantial sums of money (many bags of cowries);⁷ farmers and other professionals contributed in kind: cattle, sheep, goats, poultry, yams, grains, and special woven cloths for the palace upkeep. The conferment of traditional titles on his subjects was another viable and lucrative source of revenue for the Oba. The hunters also contributed in a different way. The Oba was entitled to one tusk of every elephant killed by a hunter in his domain. Besides the regular tributes of livestock and foodstuffs from the dependent farming communities, the king could call on the people for a supply of

⁶P.A. Igbafe, Benin Under British Administration: The Impact of Colonial Rule on an African Kingdom 1897-1938 (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, Inc., 1979), pp. 2-5.

⁷Ibid., p. 2. Quotes David van Nyendael, a Dutch merchant who visited Ughoton and Benin City in 1702.

free communal labor or the maintenance of the royal palace and buildings. In external trade, the Oba had monopoly rights over certain commercial articles, for example, palm oil, palm kernels, ivory and pepper.⁸ When Oba Ovonramwen feared European incursion into his kingdom and the disruption of the trade, he closed the markets and coastal routes.⁹ British officials, traders, and the middlemen condemned the unilateral decision to impede the movement of free trade in the Niger Coast Protectorate.¹⁰

The trans-Saharan slave trade to Muslim countries of North Africa and the Near East,¹¹ was comparatively insignificant when viewed against the magnitude of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Both human transactions were ignoble and equally reprehensible. After the abolition and suppression of slave trade, the British anti-slave-trade movement and its leaders recommended, among other things, a positive policy towards West Africa. The new slogan then became Christianity, Commerce, and Colonization.¹² At the same time, the only one commodity which could quickly and easily substitute for slaves as the staple of British trade with West Africa was palm oil. Agriculture,

⁸ P.A. Igbafe, op.cit., p. 4.

⁹ J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprint 1972), p. 99.

¹⁰ Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (London: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1968), p. 121. In 1893, the Consul-General, Major Claude Macdonald renamed the Oil Rivers Protectorate.

¹¹ J.D. Fage, op.cit., p. 87. The Arab slave trade in East and Central Africa in the nineteenth century.

¹² Ibid., p. 116. See also J.F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 57.

minor industry and legitimate trade were to be fostered and developed specifically for the total eradication of the slave trade along the coast of Bights of Benin and Biafra¹³ including the hinterland. The policy of the Bible and the Plough¹⁴ led many explorers and philanthropists to the discovery and exploration of the river Niger. The early attempt to trade up the Niger failed for the high mortality rates among the expedition's crew and members.

In Southern Nigeria the flag followed the Cross. Christian missionaries penetrated the hinterland and established churches and schools. The willingness of the colonial administrators to leave education in the hands of voluntary agencies and the corresponding indifference of the British government to the role of education in justifying colonial rule, produced a laissez-faire educational policy in Southern Protectorate.

On 1st January 1914 the British colonial administration amalgamated the two Protectorates as the 'Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria'. Forthwith, the Royal Niger Company, as a political agent of the British Government, ceased to exist.¹⁵ The colonial administration, the Christian missions, and commerce as they had developed were hierarchical and vertically structured. They all made for only the poorest integration and teamwork in the field among, for

¹³ Ibid., p. 102. Areas formerly known as Slave Coast.

¹⁴ J.F. Ade Ajayi, op.cit., p. 10. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton's, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy.

¹⁵ Rex Akpofure & Michael Crowder, Nigeria: A Modern History for Schools (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1967), p. 173.

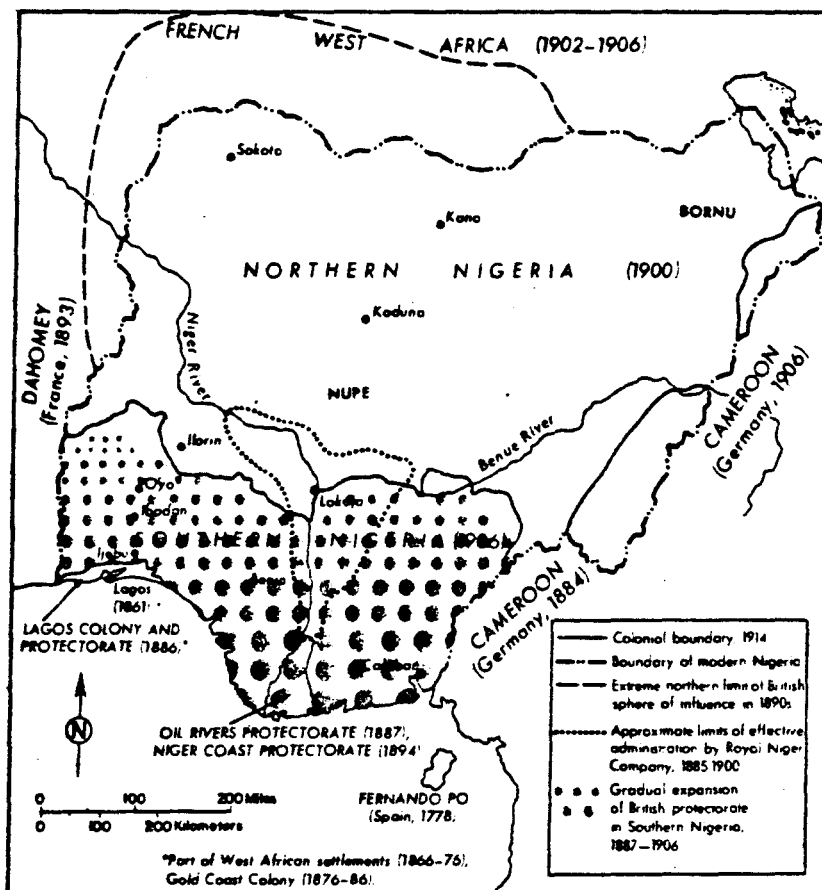


Figure 2. British Presence in the Niger Region, 1861-1914

Source: Harold D. Nelson (ed.), Nigeria: A Country Study (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 27.

instance, education, health, agriculture, and other social development personnel was at best informal, sporadic, and by no means a matter of priority. They all took their time.¹⁶ Slow flowering was deemed essential to soundness of growth. For the development of the country emphasis was placed on academics which was pursued in a strait-jacketed fashion to meet the colonial and mercantile needs.

The Phelps-Stokes Reports suggested a broader philosophical spectrum for adaptationist education.¹⁷ Since a vast majority of the population engaged in agriculture, the school curriculum should be oriented towards the integration of the school and the environment. The official recognition of the problem of adaptation was contained in a 1925 memorandum: Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.¹⁸ The schools dared not seek to build a new social order nor attempted to integrate the individual with his community and environment for a more productive life by participating in progressive-societal activities. Curricular change alone as the basis for attitude change appeared simplistic. David Abernethy in his analysis of the problem of colonial education observed:

It [the British educational policy] underestimated the aspirations for academic success that impelled local communities to build schools and parents to enroll their children in them. Perhaps most serious, the theory analyzed African society in relatively static terms, failing to appreciate the revolutionary impact of British rule: the

¹⁶Michael Crowder, op.cit., p. 201.

¹⁷David G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Columbia University, 1964), pp. 51-89.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 92.

creation of new high-paying jobs within the colonial bureaucracy, the demonstration effect of the British presence on African aspirations, the increased importance of cities, the rise of new economic interests, the recruitment through education of a new stratum of potential political leaders. The only thing the British left out of their model was themselves, and this omission made all the difference between a helpful and a misleading model.¹⁹

The Nigerian intelligentsia criticized the British educational policy as practised in the country. The new idealization of traditional Africa by the British, the elite thought, was a well calculated device to keep Africans from coveting the goods and services and pursuing the ideal of modern life. The administrators in this regard had reckoned without the host.²⁰ Future investments in education in an independent Nigeria were to be directed to a definitive area of national priorities.

Education is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for economic or any other kind of development. The complementarity between education and other enterprises is unassailable in Nigeria's drive to modernization. With the dawn of national independence on 1st October 1960, the national consciousness and urgency to transform her economy through education became a necessity. The Ashby Commission

¹⁹ David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 90.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 34, 56, 69. See also, David Apter's two types of value systems: some societies judge an action by its immediate, tangible results (instrumental value), and in others an action is meaningful only in association with transcendental values (consummatory value).

Report²¹ on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria, and the Federal Government's white paper²² on it streamlined the work of education planners: how to quantify the needs for skilled manpower and how to determine the optimal resources which should go into education. For this end the Federal Government has invested colossal sums of money on education. Rapid economic growth would certainly be one of the major means of translating the vision into reality but the task would most probably call for a thoroughgoing political and social transformation of the Nigerian society as a whole. Such a process should emphasize traditional educational values.²³ Besides the various rites of cultural initiation, the Nigerian ethnic community is a society in which religion, politics, economics and social relationships are invariably interwoven. Education for responsible citizenship and independence requires more than just technical competence. It must include moral foundation, and promote personal integrity, cooperativeness, and social justice. The quintessence of every country's culture is what is expressed in its values of truth, beauty, goodness, and in active human sympathy.²⁴ Agriculture as a

²¹ A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974), pp. 30-49.

²² A. Babs Fafunwa, A History of Nigerian Higher Education (Yaba, Lagos: Macmillan & Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), p. 173. Educational Development 1961-1970, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961 as a response to Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (The Ashby Report), 1960.

²³ A.A. Ayida and H.M.A. Onitiri (eds.), Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 659-676.

²⁴ Kofi A. Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa (The Hague: Mouton & Co. N.V., Publishers, 1969), pp. 76-77.

catalyst for economic development, has withstood the course of time in our post-independence economic extravaganza and political instability.

Agriculture offers the country a self-reliant and self-generating economy with slight modification of institutional and structural changes. Nigeria has many mouths to feed. The population of the country is about 80 million in a land area of about 941,849 square kilometers. Among the principal ethnic groups are the Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Fulani, Edo, Efik, Ijaw, Tiv, and Kanuri. The population is skewed on a high youth-dependency ratio; the proportion of the population aged 0-14 years constitutes about 40 percent of the total population. The proportion of urban dwellers is at present estimated at about 20 percent, living in about 183 towns with a population of over 10,000.

Nigeria has a tropical climate. The mean maximum temperature is about 30.55° C in the coastal belt and about 34.44°C in the northern parts of the country. The temperature fluctuates during the two seasons: the rainy, and dry, season. Rainfall is usually heavy in the south, averaging 177.8 cm a year at the western end of the coast and increasing to 431.8 cm along the eastern section of the coast. The rainfall decreases fairly sharply inland and is 127 cm over the middle belt areas, falling to 50.8 cm in the extreme north.

Near the coast, the maximum relative humidity is between 95 percent and 100 percent throughout the year and usually decreases to a minimum of between 70 percent and 80 percent in the afternoon. The

moist south-westerly wind or the dry north-easterly wind determines the humidity during the seasons. The vegetation consists of the high forest zone which covers one-sixth of the country, and the savannah. Food production in these ecological areas differs greatly.²⁵

Agriculture claims a substantial portion of the National Development Plans. The aims of the Government remain virtually the same. The stated basic objectives are: the provision of food to meet the needs of an ever increasing population; raw materials for home industries, and export earnings to finance imports. If agriculture is made more profitable, young people will be attracted to farming. The development of rural areas will drastically curtail the alarming wave of rural-urban migration of youth, seeking for the elusive petro-naira in over-populated towns and cities. The adoption of the trado-modern agricultural model will help raise the dignity in agricultural labor. The developed model is unsophisticated, economical, effective, and feasible for practical purposes.

The Purpose of the Study

What are the problems and prospects for a pluralistic ethnic society as Nigeria? When she looks back with pride to her ancient culture and customs she is overwhelmed with her present impasse and powerlessness to gear the available manpower resources and the abundant supply of natural resources towards the attainment of clearly defined national objectives. She is now attempting to forge a new

²⁵Nigeria, Federal Republic, (Mimeographs) Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information.

Nigerian identity which transcends the old ethnic loyalties. Yet in doing so she must also seek to maintain the sense of community which is so firmly rooted in the traditional values. This is one of the problems the present research study is to examine and analyze conjointly the tremendous potential of traditional agriculture and of the dynamic role of education in the process of building a new Nigeria.

The future structure and direction of the Nigerian economy will be largely determined by the efficiency with which the leaders can handle the planning, mobilization and harnessing of both the human and vital natural resources in agriculture, livestock, forestry, and fisheries. These dynamic components had sustained the country; and if well integrated they will continue to form the backbone of the Nation's economy. For the technological breakthrough in the field of agriculture a new emphasis is required. This study will specifically help Nigerian policy makers, students, and entrepreneurs.

Just as the various national commissions on education have provided workable guidelines for planning primary, secondary, and higher education, so with the help of the findings in the study, a special commission should be appointed to provide dependable and realistic guidelines for the development of agricultural economy. The cardinal role of agriculture in national development was admirable before the oil windfall. In the light of this research study the Government ought to elevate agriculture and let it be seen in its proper perspective to ensure investment of funds, manpower and other resources necessary for self-generating growth.

One of the main identifiable impediments to the rapid expansion of agricultural development, particularly in the rural areas, is the lack of social and infrastructural facilities. The Trado-Modern Agricultural Paradigm described in the study addresses these issues. The Model is receptive to scientific and technological advancement. Technological change in agriculture can be a powerful engine of economic growth. The synergism between traditional agriculture and Western education will create a new national awareness, integrity, self-reliance and economic independence.

Review of the Related Literature

One of the striking features of recent development in the literary corpus on development education in Nigeria is the strong emphasis now placed on agricultural education and its economic utilization. Farming, like education, is still by far the Nation's largest industry. Consequently, the economic welfare of the farmers is of supreme importance for overall effective development. In fact, farmers, all over the world, are considered to be the core around which a nation is formed, the fiber which connects its economic tissues.²⁶ The current available literature and other documentary research sources on various topics on the country furnish evidence of investigations conducted singly or severally in some aspects of her history, education, and development. In the light of

²⁶ American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy, Farm Policy Proposals, Legislative Analysis No. 6, 95th Congress, (30 June 1977), p. 1. Proposals on: wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, peanuts, disaster provisions, cost of production, payment limitations, dairy, "Food for Peace", food reserve, export suspension, minimum world prices, and bushel and pound allotments.

modern scientific and technological development, there is, apparently, no significant or direct work which presents a philosophical analysis of traditional agriculture as a catalyst for nation-building.

Michael Crowder,²⁷ in his article, "The Impact of Colonialism", pointed out that before the end of the Second World War the British colonial power did little to improve the agriculture of the people. This was despite the fact that the bulk of colonial revenue was derived directly or indirectly from agriculture. The small corps of agricultural officers who manned the poorly maintained research stations and experimental plantations were concerned exclusively with the improvement of export or cash crops. Subsistence crops, like yams, cassava, and maize were of no interest to the colonizers. Similarly, the roads and railways were not designed primarily to develop internal trade but to facilitate the evacuation of the cash crops required in Europe. Such an exploitative economic policy structured essentially to provide European industries with cheap and much needed raw materials could not envisage a sound agricultural philosophy beneficial to the Nigerian nation. Benefits to her were secondary and incidental. Traditional farming was a well balanced enterprise.

Traditional agriculture was an essential discipline in milieu education. In subsistence agriculture, children were taught the rudiments of how to discriminate between fertile and non-fertile soil,

²⁷Michael Crowder, "The Impact of Colonialism" in John N. Paden & Edward W. Soja (eds.), The African Experience, Vol. 1 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970), pp. 233, 243.

to recognize the various crops suitable for different types of soil, and to understand the different planting and harvesting seasons. A. Babs Fafunwa,²⁸ in his book, History of Education in Nigeria, underscores mixed farming or inter-cropping system which was a common practice among subsistence farmers. Specialization of agriculture was a new phenomenon. The people's involvement in agriculture was something ritualistic; farming was regarded as a projection of the vital-force. In this manner of thinking a good crop-yield or harvest was understood as a manifestation of the "manhood" in the farmer.

Large increases in yields do not always mean efficient production of nutrients, Smith contends. Victor E. Smith²⁹ investigated Efficient Resource Use for Tropical Nutrition in Nigeria. He observed:

Examining the nutritional efficiencies of food crops and methods and concentrating development programs on production activities that promise the greatest nutritional efficiencies can significantly improve the effectiveness of food production programs and help make possible the well-fed, alert, and healthy population that is an essential precondition to rapid economic development.³⁰

Smith's model seeks to determine what combinations of production and exchange activities would provide specified quantities of nutrients in each part of Nigeria as well as promote the maximization of income while simultaneously attaining the nutritional objectives.

²⁸ A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, op.cit., pp. 30-34.

²⁹ Victor E. Smith, Efficient Resource Use for Tropical Nutrition: Nigeria (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1975), pp. 10-11.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 370.

A Philosophy for Nigerian Education, edited by Adeniji Adaralegbe,³¹ is a comprehensive report of the proceedings and recommendations of Nigerian National Curriculum Conference held September, 1969 under the auspices of Nigeria Educational Research Council. The document became the basis for the Nigerian Policy on Education, a new charter for educational adaptation and modernization.

The disruption of agriculture during the Nigerian civil war, especially in the war-affected areas, caused severe food shortages. The Government quickly took various steps after the war to avert more dangers and hardships to the people. The National Agricultural Development Seminar³² held July-August 1971, at the Faculty of Education in the University of Ibadan, clearly indicated in the proceedings and recommendations that the strategy of agricultural development has to be related to general economic strategy. For it is not a single function. The recommendations prove that agricultural development is a highly complex amalgam of technical subjects with regards to crops and animals; of the use of land and water; of commercial activities, with an industrial components; and of human organization and incentives. With the passage of years and changing circumstances this idea is gradually percolating through the nineteen states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

³¹ Adeniji Adaralegbe (ed.), A Philosophy for Nigerian Education (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd., 1972), pp. 211-224.

³² Proceedings of the National Agricultural Development Seminar, Faculty of Education, University of Ibadan, July 26-August 5, 1971 (Ibadan: Caxton Press West Africa Ltd., 1973), pp. 42, 48-128.

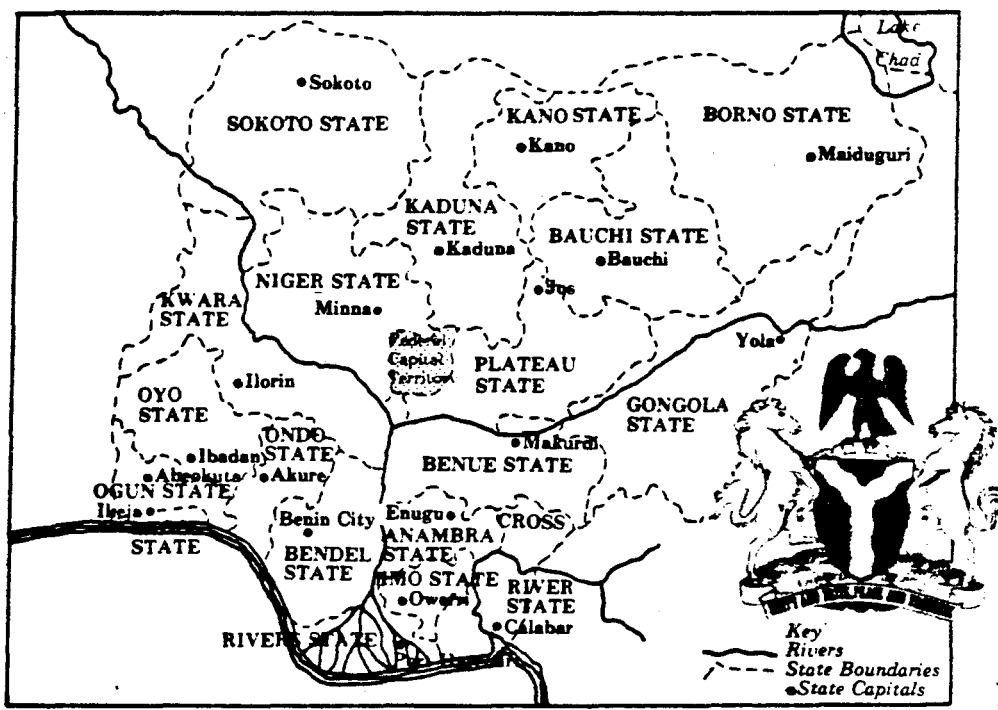


Figure 3. Federal Republic of Nigeria: Showing the States and Their Capitals

Source: Africa Now, No. 18 (October 1982), p. 120.

The new Military Government in its 1984 budget address to the Nation presented, among other things, a comprehensive package of policy measures to revitalize the battered economy. Among the first steps taken towards the realization of the national objectives was the revival of agriculture. With the declaration of war against indiscipline (WAI, pronounced 'why') the military regime hoped for higher productivity in agriculture, industry and other services, as well as self-reliance, harmony, peace and national pride. The Nigeria Illustrated³³ admitted that genuine change goes beyond forcing down food prices, payment of salaries, arrests or probes. In other words, a new Nigeria needs a sound philosophical base for her stride towards modernity. The new Nigeria's Weltanschauung is Transcendental Communalism.

Method of Investigation

The basic research methodology employed in this dissertation is partly historical and partly analytical. Since formal education has been uncritically regarded in Nigeria as the pivot to modernization, agriculture has lagged behind that of other sectors of the economy.

There is no attempt here to make a scientific or profound study of agriculture. The emphasis is, rather, on a rapid and comparative survey of a large number of experiences for the purpose of highlighting differences and similarities in various approaches by the Federal Government and the people towards self-reliance in food

³³ Federal Ministry of Information, Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture, Nigeria Illustrated, No. 22 (1984), p. 5.

production and economic independency. The traditional methods of tillage, planting, and weeding are quite dissimilar from those of modern methods of mechanization.

The personal knowledge in the field derived from my practical association with agriculture and agricultural development for a good number of years. That experience was substantially supplemented by information on many other experiences derived from an extensive reading of relevant literature, as well as consultations with numerous experts concerned with agricultural development.

During the collection of data for this work these universities greatly cooperated with me: the Loyola University of Chicago Library, the Northwestern University (Africana) Library, the Chicago Public Library, and the Nigerian Embassy Library in Washington, D.C.

In spite of the huge allocation of funds for the development of agriculture in the country the perennial problems of food scarcity remain. Is there any answer to the 'whys'? My recent informal discussions with a cross section of Nigerians at home further provided me new insights into the problems. In the project locations the traditional farmers and extension service workers were interviewed with regard to their reaction to the innovation, the society's organization, leadership structure, system of values and motivations, land tenure, and the role of women in agriculture. An investigation such as this prescribes the Trado-Modern Agricultural Paradigm for the development of agriculture in Nigeria.

Organization of the Study

Of the seven chapters to this research study, Chapter I is a

brief historical preamble to the others. Chapters II and III review the role of traditional agriculture in the early formation of settlements, towns, and cities. Chapters IV and V examine British colonialism and its repercussion on the development of agriculture. The chapters also demonstrate and portray the dynamics or pervasiveness of Western educational expansion in Nigeria. Chapter VI surveys Nigerian investments in education, agricultural development and the search for national identity. Chapter VII presents a Nigerian Agricultural Model in a holistic fashion. Suggested recommendations and conclusions complete the study.

CHAPTER II

PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL FARMING AND THE RISE OF TOWNS IN THE NORTH

Agricultural and ecological community development is destined to remain for a long time one of the most critical and crucial single factors in the progress of Nigeria vis-a-vis the Third World countries. Many African countries experience famine and malnutrition. The perennial food crisis in these nations, particularly in the Sahelian region, can be permanently eradicated, all else being equal, by cultivating the soil for essential food commodities, utilizing labor adequately, and adapting the mechanism of modern food production to suit local conditions. In the case of Nigeria, agriculture has always figured prominently in the various National Development Plans (N.D.P.) since the attainment of independence in 1960, over two decades ago. It will undoubtedly continue to be a priority and a necessity for survival as well as a powerful force integrating the country and its people. Farming, as the world's most ancient and important industry, is an indispensable traditional occupation and the mainstay of the nation.

There are three major areas of concern in this overview: the Pre-colonial Traditional Farming and the Rise of Towns, the period after the Amalgamation of Nigeria, and the Post Independence Agricultural Reorganization Consciousness. Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country. This awareness is typically symbolized in

the national flag which consists of three vertical stripes of green-white-green. The green parts of the emblem represent agriculture. Agriculture is vital to the economy of the nation and its people. By and large agricultural education was not underscored during the British administration of the colony and the protectorate of Nigeria. Most of the raw materials and natural resources for the home industry were in abundant supply. But the dawn of self-government brought with it the realization that farming is the bedrock of our economic development. A great number of the literary educated people have been alienated from returning to cultivate the soil. Can anything be done to reactivate and inculcate the pristine excellence and values of agriculture in the people, especially the young generation? Agriculture is a laver of true and genuine freedom and independence for the individual and the nation.

Sir Charles Temple, a former lieutenant governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria in the first phase of the British occupation, was quick to observe the unrelentless ardor with which the indigenous inhabitants pursued agriculture and other commercial venture. He wrote in his memoirs:

In many localities the native small holder works extremely hard, quite as hard as any class of agriculturist anywhere. For instance, round the city of Kan^o there live about one million natives on small holdings, with an average density of population of some three hundred to four hundred persons to a square mile,

entirely supporting themselves from the produce of a soil which is none too fertile and which has been under close cultivation for five hundred years at least.¹

Besides self-reliance in food production the farmers had managed to establish for some past centuries a great industry in cloth and other commercial commodities such as tons of peanuts, barrels of palm-oil, rubber sheets and lumps. Fascinated by such incredible industry and ingenuity to conquer and master the environment, Sir Temple was compelled to conclude that nothing short of great knowledge and skill in agricultural methods contrived all on their own and combined with great application to manual labor, could produce such laudable results. In a country of farmers all communal endeavor and activities are directed primarily to promoting interest in agriculture, developing and improving its methods and demonstrating its profitability in general as *raison d'être* or the touchstone for their existence. The history of the existence of some towns in Nigeria is in the final analysis traceable to certain activities of the farmer-hunter. This second chapter is intended to examine the pre-colonial farming and the founding of towns in the North.

As in most pre-colonial ethnic polities, agriculture uniquely stands out as the universally essential productive activity among the indigenes. Besides farming, however, some of the adults had other gainful occupations as well; they worked as craftsmen, traders,

¹Sir Charles L. Temple, C.M.G., Native Races and Their Rulers (Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969, pp. 147-148). The original edition of this volume was published in Cape Town, South Africa, by Argus Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd., in 1918.

blacksmiths, dyers, fishermen, herdsman, and hunters--to highlight a few items from the catalog of traditional occupations.

The search for fertile and arable land or hunting for some game often resulted ultimately in the founding of towns or cities. Residential settlements around farm places in the past had given birth to certain of our populous and modern towns and cities. Some of the specified Nigerian towns or cities selected for treatment below are a random and arbitrary selection performed to demonstrate the great importance and crucial role of agriculture before the advent of British rule to that part of West Africa in the later part of the nineteenth century.

Kano City and Its Territory

Two major rivers, Chalawa and Hadejia, inundate and drain the territory of Kano. Consequently, farming, pastoralism, fishing and other related activities flourished in the city of Kano and its environs (Birnin Kano and Kasar Kano) since ancient times. Archeological evidence of metal work around Dala Hill, dating to about 700 A.D. and rock paintings at Birnin-Kudu further pointed to a late stone age and iron-age civilizations.

The historical investigation and survey of Kano and its territorial expansion, especially in the later part of the 10th century, A.D. noted a common feature or trend that is prevalent in reaching back to the past, namely, the mythologization and mystification of personalities; this is a phenomenon which often haunts and plagues unrecorded history.

Some historical researchers discover in Kano chronicle the

giant-hunter Dala, an ancient hunter associated with Kano, who founded and inhabited a place which bore his name, Dutsen Dala (Dala Hill).

Sule Bello investigated to his conviction that

There were several other settlements around Dala. Some of these settlements have been identified as Gazarawa, Zadawa, Fangon-Zaura. Dunduzawa, Shariya, Sheme, Gande-giji and Tokarawa. This might have included areas from Dan Bakoshi to beyond Ringim in the west, and from Kazaure to Barkin in the north east.

They were basically agricultural units and in some instances the sarkin noma (chief of farming) or urban-farauta (chief of hunting) exercised some form of authority in relation to economic activities. It was also believed that with more specialization and immigrations, these settlements were transformed into towns (garuruwa).²

The subsequent hunting expeditions undertaken by Bagauda and the influx of immigrants especially the wave of farmer-chiefs to the Dala areas contributed significantly to the fortification and stabilization of the foundation of the present Kano City near Dala.

The apparent long period between the fourteenth and the first decade of the sixteenth centuries was Kano's heyday of institutional development, consolidation of its suzerainty and the integration of people and their institutions into more formidable and newer patterns of political, economic, and cultural hegemonies. The city and its vastly dispersed satellite settlements (Kauyuka) were abundantly accommodated in the distribution of agricultural products, essential commodities and services. Akpofure and Crowder both detected:

²Sule Bello, "The Birnin Kano and the Kasar Kano to 1804 A.D." in Cities of the Savannah: A History of Some Towns and Cities of the Nigerian Savannah (Lagos: The Nigeria Magazine of Nigerprint, Ltd., undated), p. 28.

The main source of Kano's prosperity was agriculture, although Kano City itself became an important international market and centre for the trans-Saharan trade. Under the control of the village head, who was in turn responsible to the district head, the peasant farmer tilled his land and tended his domestic animals.³

The Habe people (the Hausaland aborigines) had learnt to coexist peacefully, develop common interests, goals and aspirations in their prosperous city-states before the infiltration of the Fulani.

Although the Islamic revolution (Jihad) had interrupted and temporarily halted the progress of domestic production, commercial exchanges and enterprise were established with the Nupe, Borno, North Africa, the Jukun, Old Oyo and the other parts of Hausaland (Kasar Hausa or Habe Kingdom). Trade with its partners was free, buoyant and equitable. Muhammadu Rumfa (d. 1503), an astute and dynamic ruler of the city of Kano and its environs, established and maintained a cordial relationship with his counterpart, Muhammadu Korau of Katsina.

Birnin Katsina

During the latter part of the fifteenth century Kano and Katsina ostensibly had become pre-eminent in the history of Hausa city-states.⁴

³ R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, Nigeria: A Modern History for Schools (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1966), p. 32.

⁴ The Habe (singular, Kado) are the aborigines of Hausaland before the Fulani's migration into the Habe-Hausa kingdom. The Hausa claimed their ancestral lineage to the Queen of Daura who married Bayajidda. The raconteurs maintained that the royal couple had a son, Bawo, the progenitor of the six kingdoms--Daura, Kano, Katsina, Zaria (Zazzau), Gobir, Rano; in addition, Biram which was situated at the western border of Borno, completed the Hausa Bakwai or the seven Hausa (states). This was in contradistinction to the Bansa Bakwai (that is, the illegitimate seven (states))--Guari, Kebbi, Kwararafa, Nupe, Yauri, Yoruba, Zamfara. This is a historical improvisation to explain de facto existent phenomena.

The changes and prominence were brought about by the movement of people who were in search of fertile soil for agricultural purposes, attracted by the new commercial venture and the admiration for the administrative arrangements in the two rapidly developing towns. The political climate among other things was favorable and held out some guarantee of security to the stream of immigrant settlers with their possessions.

The Kingdom of Katsina prospered under the reign of Sarkin Korau (c 1444-1494). As was common in the northern parts of Nigeria, in Katsina animal husbandry was highly practised even at those early critical moments of city-state development. Outside Kano, Katsina became the hub center for crafts and industry especially in smith-foundry, tanning and leatherwork. It became a famous center for trade as well as a great commercial entrepot for goods coming from the north and south of the petty city-states; it was a vital clearinghouse for merchandise going to some other parts of Africa. Victor N. Low in his analysis of the three Nigerian states of Gombe, Katagum, and Hadejia, perceived a:

long-established, orderly caravan traffic moving along the Western Sahara oases and transversely across the Western Sudan. Kano, Katsina, and Birnin Gazargamu developed henceforth as new ports and transshipping stations for Sudanic and northern African goods, ushering in several centuries of rapid commercial growth at these major entrepots.⁵

The Islamization campaign had already commenced in the maghreb sector

⁵Victor N. Low, Three Nigerian Emirates: A Study in Oral History (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1972), p. 63.

of North Africa and swiftly sweeping down the coast of West Africa. Morocco had sacked and conquered Gao, Songhai capital, in 1591; it was a debilitating movement and policy that crippled and benumbed transportation and established communication in that area. The three major flourishing cities of the trading network of Western Sudan, Timbuktu, Jenne, and Gao irretrievably lost.

Maska and Gozaki, two contiguous farming communities on Zaria territory, were steeply involved in agricultural production and as important functionaries in the metropolis, they supplied the city of Katsina abundant grains during the harvest. Besides its agricultural and commercial importance Katsina has always been famous for its educational institutions as well as a respectable seat of learning in that part of the world. Some of its reputable pundits were Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Massani (Dan Massani), Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Tazakhti (Dan Takum), and Muhammad ibn al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina). Their academic contributions and influence were not restricted to Hausaland alone but they were widely accepted and acknowledged in Egypt and Mecca. Borno which is in close proximity to Katsina shared similar cultural commonalities with the other Hausa city-states in civic administration and policies.

Borno Dynasty

The Seifuwa dynasty is one of the longest and surviving dynasties in the world. Archeological discoveries clearly showed ample evidence of continuous human settlement in Chad Basin territory for over three thousand years. It was a civilization built around the Mega-Chad (the large lake) which probably had existed for more than 20,000 years.

Lake Chad has been shrinking recently as a result of the activity of the Sahara desert or the drought of the sahel region of West Africa, encroaching on this massive sheet of water. The modern towns of Bama and Gashuwa in Nigeria bordering on the great lake have survived the submersion or extinction.

The sandy plain, or "Yobe", west of the Lake Chad is uninhabitable by humans but the clay plains, that is, "Firki or Firgi", which stretch extensively south the lake have been sustaining

human settlements [which] date possibly from the early second millenium B.C., certainly from the early first millenium. The Firki was attractive to human settlement because of the relatively fertile soil with great moisture retaining capacity almost all year round. It supports good crops of cotton, millet maskwa, and indigo. Maskwa is a dry season crop. It is possible to cultivate, crops twice a year during the raining and dry seasons. It is also easy to grow vegetables and rear animals such as cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys.⁶

These affirmations are not predicable of the Yobe, the sandy arena west of the lake; there is as yet no concrete evidence of human habitation more recent than two thousand years ago.

Settlements sprang up however, in great number around the Chad Basin acres of land and the promontories which constitute the Firki. The materials collected at the town of Daima suggest that this settlement was inhabited for about 2000 years duration. The Mai (the royal family) of Borno, Idris Aloma, in 1575 compaigned against the early dwellers of the place, besieged and captured their town, Amsaka.

⁶A. Mahadi, "The Cities of Borno," in Cities of the Savannah, op.cit., p. 11.

Birnin Ngazargamu was the cultural as well as the economic and commercial center of the Bornoan city and dependencies. It had some trade links with Arabs from the Red Sea regions. Yerwa/Maiduguri has remained unchallenged as the center for trade in smoke-dried fish (banda) caught from Lake Chad.

The development of agriculture and pastoralism around the Chad Basin remains the dominant mode of life of the people of Borno dynasty. Beginning with the crushing defeat and fall of the Songhai empire in 1591, the small Hausa states increasingly regained some access to the advantages and control to the eastward trans-Saharan trade routes.

These newly acquired commercial opportunities were short-lived; for they were disrupted by the Islamic reformation movement from Sokoto Caliphate. The jihad (Islamic holy war) did not terminate at the western frontiers of Hausaland but some serious efforts were embarked on by some zealous muslim fundamentalist purists to export the same brand of Sokoto revolution to Borno. The initial invasion attempt to subjugate and incorporate the Seifuwa dynasty into the Fulani empire was vehemently resisted by Muhammad al-Kanemi, the leader of Borno resistance forces. He did not subscribe to the belief prevalent in certain areas of Hausaland that Sokoto possessed the sole prerogative and monopoly of Islamic moral rectitude. The early endeavor of annexation ventured by the jihadists failed as a consequence of the stiff confrontation from the Borno people. The prosecuting army of Muhammad Bello, the Sultan of Sokoto, was compelled to retreat and the leaders had now to wait for a more

auspicious future date for military action, or adopt a more consummate and respectable strategy to effect an amicable, negotiated settlement, or secure a mutually acceptable compromise in their different ideological and cultural perspectives.

The Cities of Sokoto and Gwandu

The immigrant Fulani had co-inhabited Hausaland with the ethnic inhabitants for more than four centuries. The indigeneous Hausa people were, in the main, agriculturists and pastoralists with a strong traditional aristocratic or hierarchical structure and power. A greater number of Fulani elites and their mallams (teachers) had been exposed to the scholarly traditions of the urban muslim communities of Timbuktu during the heyday of Mali and Songhai empires. This faction or group was less tolerant of the traditional rulers. At this moment of their development some of the Fulani were vassals to the kings as well as veritable leaders of their muslim communities in Hausa states. The degree of the acceptance of Habe Kings by a rigid muslim Fulani could be measured by the degree of their attachment to Islam. The odds were high and precarious and the attenuating factors were maximal and manifold: the constituents and the government of the kingdom, into the bargain, were essentially animistic and therefore reprehensible and offensive to Islamic doctrine and laws.

In 1804, Usuman dan Fodio, a leading Fulani mallam, scholar, and a great muslim reformer, living in Gobir, the land of his birth, fled from the state and declared a jihad against the Hausa kings. This was not particularly unique among some immigrant settlers. A similar

event, the torodbe⁷ Islamic revolution in Futa Jalon, had influenced his final decision to depart and champion the course of Islamic orthodoxy in the empire. The Futa Jalon precedence also served him as a potent leverage for his open rebellion against the ancient traditional Habe-Hausa monarchs and aristocrats of Northern Nigeria.

The rebellion was hatched and executed by dan Fodio who was nevertheless aided and abetted by some minority of devout muslim Fulani, the exploited peasant farmers among the Hausa themselves, and a greater number of non-muslim Fulani cattle-herders in the Kingdoms. By 1809, almost all the territories of the Hausa city-states had fallen under Fulani domination.

The aftermath of the Sokoto jihad in Habe Kingdom was the disestablishment of the previous constituted regime and the institutionalization of a muslim Fulani empire. Shehu (Sheikh) Usuman dan Fodio was a learned and zealous muslim who was not particularly interested in practical politics; he entrusted the governance of the empire to his son, Muhammad Bello, and his brother, Abdullahi dan Fodio. The eastern section of the Fulani empire was allocated to Bello who created and shifted his seat of government to the newly built capital, Sokoto; the remaining half of the Caliphate, the western portion, fell to Abdullahi. The latter, however, had his

⁷Torodbe, a clerical class of muslim brotherhood, associated with Qadiriyya sect; it developed out of the muslim mystical movement called Sufism. Its functions, among other things, were, to propagate Islamic orthodoxy and muslim discipline, establish and promote Koranic schools, develop organized proselytization movements, and convert infidels. Compare the tariqa Islamic brotherhood of the Tijaniyya sect which was more of a muslim militarism than of doctrinal reformation and purity.

residence at Gwandu, a few miles to the west in Kebbi.

When the Islamic revolution had taken its full course, the ancient Hausa kingdoms became emirates and were governed by the Fulani with the title of emirs. After the Shehu's death at Sokoto in 1817, his son and his successors at Sokoto inherited the title Amir al-Mu'mini (Arabic)--the commander of the faithful--(Sarkin Musulmi in Hausa). The emirs or the flagbearers of the jihad revolution owed their allegiance to dan Fodio, Gwandu or Sokoto Caliphates.⁸

Birnin Sakkwato: The City of Sokoto

Alkalawa, the capital of Gobir city-state, strenuously defied the jihadists and put up a fierce fight against the invading forces. After a fearful and bloody battle, the city capitulated and was captured on October 3, 1808. Muhammad Bello had no hesitation to scout around and select a commodious site for his settlement. In 1809, he founded the town of Sakkwato (Sokoto) and constituted it as the capital of his Fulani eastern empire or Caliphate.

Besides Sokoto's strategic military location, it has a broad lowland drained by the river Rima and its numerous tributaries. It has also a highly productive and fertile agricultural land. In his autobiography, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, crisply described the city areas:

The town is built on a low ridge which ends in an abrupt bluff above the Sokoto River.... On the other hand, the steep slopes give a strong defensive position from the north and it was from the north that the young kingdom had

⁸R. Aderemi Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies (New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1971), pp. 40-45.

most reason to expect attack.... There was an ample water supply all the year round--a very important point in that area--and good fertile ground down by the river. The fact that this valley now comfortably supports close on two million people is evidence of its fertility.⁹

And in his profile of Rabah District, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello advanced arguments and reasons for Sokoto location and its utilities:

[Rabah District] lay between the Sokoto and Rima Rivers, and therefore was practically in the river plains and partially on the high ground above them. The people were agriculturists living in scattered villages of between, say 500 and 1000 people. They tilled their farms and grew their corn for domestic use, and a few groundnuts and small crops of tobacco and hemp.... They all kept livestock--goats and sheep, and chickens,--and had interests in economic trees in the bush. The cattle were mostly owned and cared for by the nomad Fulani, as they are to this day.¹⁰

Sokoto has emerged as an important commercial center and has gradually developed a wide regional market. It traded in gains, livestock, mats, leatherwork, pots, iron/wood work, textiles, and kolanuts which came chiefly from Yorubaland and the surrounding neighboring settlements or towns. Most of the trade was carried on by the Fulani, a simple and industrious people without elaborate accoutrements. In the dry season many of the men migrate to the southern parts of the country performing menial duties for meagre remuneration as well as entertaining interested public with their music and songs.¹¹

⁹Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, My Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 12.

¹⁰Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, op.cit., p. 40.

¹¹Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 29, 38, 47, 52. Also Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, op.cit., p. 40.

Sokoto Jihad and Fulani Revolutionary Power in Northern States

In every great revolutionary movement there are always hidden agenda or contributing factors underlying the most obvious precipitating issues at stake. Certain contemporary events that occurred during the imperialist intervention in West African affairs suggested that religious and social reform was not the only motivational force that would adequately explicate the expansionist tendency that accompanied the Sokoto Jihad when it was under full execution. The revolutionary army of Al Hajj Umar Said Tall (b. 1794), the Tijaniyya reformer who was seeking to establish control over his homeland, in Futa Toro, Senegambia region, harassed the adventurous French troops in Medina (1857) after he had been previously defeated by the same army.

Islamic reform movements in the nineteenth century were also a counterforce to European or Christian European penetration, conquest and usurpation of West African states. They were tactics employed by leaders of these resistance movements to preserve their individual independence, retain their political and territorial integrity and very often they were also highly imbued with deep religious revolutionary sentiments. Some of these national upheavals and muslim brotherhood movements occurring in other parts of the African continent furnished models for the Sokoto Fulani insurrection. Reformers always looked for cues. The great muslim reformer Usuman dan Fodio even had cavalry assistance from his Senegalese religious counterpart in Futa when he was waging war against the Habe-Hausa monarchs of the northern states. One of the Shehu's descendants,

Sultan Attahiru, in his last bid of war of attrition against the British occupation of his conquered territories was assisted by his brother, the ruler of Djolof.

By the seventeenth century Islam had percolated through most of the West African coastal seaboard. The Arab and Berber merchants had influenced a great number of their trading partners and their rulers with Islamic religious persuasions. Some of these itinerant muslim traders were soundly literate and had been exposed to other foreign culture and values in the course of their trans-Sahara caravan routes. They became helpful in the bureaucracies of the vast West African empires and thus secured roles akin to those of clerics in medieval European courts. Their services became increasingly valuable in the administrative and commercial structure of the government. They assumed the responsibility of directing finances and taxation, supervised diplomatic correspondence and external communication with friendly empires and kingdoms and the education of princes in the kingdom. In the main Islam was ostensibly a religion of kings and the royal courts, and of merchant communities or minorities. The village and the countryside were usually circumspect and wary of the new religion. But in towns where it was to be found it was only accepted superficially by people who had had their own long-standing traditional religion and values.¹²

¹²Victor N. Low, op.cit., pp. 27, 60, 199. Also Margery Perham & Mary Bull, eds., The Diaries of Lord Lugard: Vol. 4, Nigeria, 1894-5 and 1898 (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1963; reprinted, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, undated), pp. 47, 210, 229, 409.

There were numerous places where Islam was not an imperial cult. As a consequence muslims actually experienced bitter opposition, and even persecution from certain traditional rulers. This was not religious persecution per se. Sporadic harassments of muslims often occurred as a result of their insubordination, disloyalty, and occult machination to subvert the status quo. Muslim fundamentalists frequently alienated themselves from the non-Islamic population. But religious tolerance is not alien to polyglot societies. However, in time of serious conflict of religious interests these kings had to comply with the commonweal of the people. These kings or traditional rulers, as descendants of the founders of their communities, were to act as intermediaries between their ancestors and gods and were to offer the necessary traditional oblations and sacrifices. Therefore, in moments of national calamities when the gods were to be placated by the people, Islam in all probability, if it existed there, would be no better than a public veneer. The rulers of these city-states had a duty to fulfill: the preservation of the political and territorial integrity of the empire or state. The muslim immigrants in their surreptitious schemes sometimes combined ideological motives with religious commitment in order to conquer and maintain these countries for Islam. The underpinning motives for the successions of the jihads were largely attributable to the lust for power, material and territorial acquisition, and narrow ethnic considerations. Religious reform continued to persist as the battle cry for their clandestine operation.

The Muslim advisers to rulers often interfered more than was politic in the running affairs of the state. And as their communities grew, so their demands for special rights and privileges increased. Thus to many rulers they appeared as a dangerous and coherent minority elite with political ambitions and fear of them resulted in sporadic and often vicious persecution. The insecurity of their position in these states, as compared with the influence they held in the earlier empires, led many Muslims to think about the possibility of establishing states in which they would no longer owe allegiance to 'pagan' overlords, and where law, taxation and government would be based on the early Caliphate.¹³

Some muslim visionaries¹⁴ who claimed to have had direct personal communication with the Prophet had great expectations for the coming of a powerful reformer (mujaddid) who at the beginning of the nineteenth century, would help create new theocratic states. To this faction of religious activists or enthusiasts, Holy War against the infidels was in accordance with Islamic theology and practice. Therefore it was justifiable for a muslim king or ruler to conscript and initiate a war against the infidels to convert them. Besides the general conscription of people to participate in such a military campaign against unbelievers, muslims living under a heathen ruler could legitimately sabotage and ultimately overthrow his government

¹³Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, Ltd., 1968), p. 34 in the Fifth Impression, 1981.

¹⁴Mujaddid (plural, Mujaddidun): in Islamic theology mujaddid, an outstanding reformer or religious star, was expected at the turn of a muslim century. Shehu Usman dan Fodio was said to have had such mahdist expectations. This phenomenon is not uncommon in Islamic writings. See My Life by Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, op.cit., p. 16: "... it appeared as though the ancient prophecy, that the Fulani would dip the Holy Koran in the sea, would come to pass." And on p. 19, op.cit., he reminisced: "A prophecy was made known that the Fulani Empire would last for one hundred years."

and in turn, establish a truly Islamic state. Shehu Usuman da Fodio (b. 1744 at Marata in Gobir), an eminent scholar whose Fulani ancestors migrated from the old Mali empire, educated at Agades under the charismatic mallam Jibril in the best Islamic traditions did precisely that: he subverted and overthrew Yunfa and established a Fulani muslim state, a theocratic state. The Fulani revolutionary war spread to other lands and not without great success.

The historical origin of the Fulani is still shrouded in obscurity and bedevilled with unresolvable controversies among historians. However, the Fulani people as a migrant nomadic race had the problem of acquiring permanent residential settlements as a people in West Africa. They were nevertheless to be found scattered around in small groups throughout the eastern and western Sudan, and from the threshold of the plains of Senegal to the mountain crevices of the Comeroons. Those Fulani who were not on migration coexisted peacefully with the indigenous inhabitants, intermarried with the local population, and actively participated in the economic transaction as well as the political affair of the states.

Broadly speaking, those Fulani who had taken residence and settled in towns or cities were generally referred to as Town Fulani (Fulani Gida) while on the other hand those Fulani who migrated with their herds of cattle in search of the best pasturage as the seasons came around were known as Cattle Fulani (Bororoje). This very generalized classification amply admits of sub-categories/subsumption

within the major broad division.¹⁵

The Sokoto Fulani Jihad accomplished significant success. It conquered and took possession of vast territories of lands. The provincial emirate of Adamawa which was south-east of the Caliphate was the most distant of Sokoto's provinces or hegemonies. This section of the Fulani empire assumed different names according to its political arrangement or historical circumstances: it was the northern Cameroon, the Sardauna province, and at the moment it constituted some parts of Borno and Gongola states in the present nineteen states structure of Nigeria. The new kingdom of Abuja, south of the old Hausa states, which was founded by the dispossessed Hausa kings and aristocracy saw no peace from the Fulani of Zaria state. These latter plagued, harassed and reduced the leaders and the citizens into tribute paying vassals. The internecine warring factions of the Nupe royal family peacefully submitted to Fulani arbitration and subsequent their predominance.

Islamic Fulani revolution engulfed nearly all the Habe states as well as territories which were beyond Borno dynasty and Adamawa emirate. These intrusive and intrepid wars greatly devastated the social life of the common people, substantially crippled their economy and disastrously hampered and alienated the non-belligerent peasantry from fervid agricultural preoccupation.

The people of these northern states of Nigeria were predominantly

¹⁵R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-64. See also Michael Crowder, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-7, 357.

agriculturists before the Islamic incursion. Such a political and religious interference, no doubt, dramatically altered the status quo, their traditional and cultural perception of the world. From then onward things were no longer going to be the same; the cultural conflict between the Fulani culture and the indigenous traditional cultural heritage was unmistakably imminent, and the struggle for supremacy was an enduring contention. But the emergence of Islamic political ideology of aristocratic oligarchy arrogated and ruthlessly supplanted the feudal sarauta¹⁶ system of the Habe sovereigns. The former was avowedly militaristic and expansionary in its intents and operation while the latter simply possessed a sedentary culture based on agricultural enterprise and promotion. Farming was the cornerstone of the people's economic survival. They did not disdain agriculture nor manual work as a trade beneath their dignity nor exercised undue prescriptive right over the property of those who had condescended to undertake such lucrative functions.

The Sokoto mujahidun before the amalgam or infusion of the two cultural exchanges had painfully failed to take into consideration the adequate patronization of agricultural development in the two Caliphates or the conquered territories. The course of agricultural settlements in the nineteenth century took a new dramatic twist in various locations in the northern city-states. The Islamization policy of the Fulani rulers greatly affected the traditional

¹⁶Sarauta system: A collection of communal chiefs, title-holders or leaders who shared in the administrative powers of the king (sarki).

agricultural orientation in the moving frontier, the Sokoto Fulani empire.¹⁷

The Niger Region of the Northern States

The ancient Niger region of Nigeria embraced the entire space of Kasar Yawuri (Yauri), Bussa, Bida, Kontagora, Nupe, and more recently Minna. Most of these towns and cities originated as a result of the fertility of the soil around them or their topographical location, their luxuriant suitability for food production and invariably their strategic importance for military defence and maneuvers. In the past victuals had always been considered as a legitimate weapon of war. Majority of these towns or establishments were therefore situated in food producing areas. The availability of food supply was considered necessary for averting indiscipline, mutiny and armed conflict in the local militia or constabulary. Soldiers needed sufficient food provision and sustenance for the arduous task they were to discharge while in active service.

Sarkin Yawuri, a descendant of a Hausa merchant subjugated and ultimately integrated the island communities of Kafa and the Kamarawa which flourished in the sixteenth century on the bank of the Niger River. Birnin Yawuri was primarily established as an administrative and convenient commercial center. It was a unification center for the minor polities which constituted Yawuri kingdom. As a major cosmopolitan town, it attracted numerous immigrants from other parts

¹⁷R.A. Adeleye, op.cit., pp. 49-51; the pre-colonial Islamic moving frontier dislocated the traditional economic stability of the annexed territories, pp. 52, 77.

of Africa and as a gateway to some neighboring countries it attracted some of the local population away from their traditional farming occupation. The city was a pluralistic ethnic and multi-cultural society: a predominantly Hausa-speaking population within a predominantly non-Hausa-speaking milieu. The Jihad movement in conjunction with its Islamic culture further aggravated and complicated the conglomeration of the existing customary practices in Yawuri kingdom.

Birnin Yawuri was situated at the crossroad of two major international trade routes. The north to south overland trade route brought to the city of Yawuri and its environs, the much needed salt, scarce paper and gold as well as other vital agricultural commodities. On the other side of the spectrum the river Niger-sea commercial transaction was handsomely profitable. Riverine articles from the delta region were spontaneously exchanged for northern grains, shea butter and textile materials. Palm oil, plantain and other coastal materials were in great supply in the delta region of the country.

The kingdom or Yawuri was plagued from all sides. It could neither sustain nor fully neutralize the impact of the jihad and the Islamic culture that had filtered in and influenced its cultural heritage. The series of dynastic contentions, intrigues by courtiers, coupled with the internal political instability brought the city capital to a grinding halt. Yelwa town, on the north bank of the Niger replaced the defunct ancient capital; Sarkin Yawuri, Abdullahi Abarshi, towards the last decade of the nineteenth century transferred his seat to Yelwa. Kontagora was located to the east of Yawuri

emirate became a new formidable political rival in the mid Niger region of the northern areas.

Kontagora, unlike Birnin Yawuri, was a frontier post (ribat) of the Jihad movement. This war camp of Kontagora (sansanin Kontagora) was established by Umaru Nagwamatse, a nephew of the emir of Gwandu, in Gwari and Kambari territorial possession. For centuries these Kambari and Gwari speaking people of the Niger region had long co-existed, settled and cultivated the fertile land around the Kontagora river, a tributary of the river Niger. But at the advent of Umaru things took a dramatic turn for the worst in agrarian communities. The non-conformist and rebellious indigenes of the early settlements were compulsorily uprooted and transplanted into Kontagora, the military camp settlement which had rapidly evolved into a fairly large town with considerable population.

In 1901, however, the British imperial forces stormed and defeated the army of Ibrahim Nagwamatse, who was temporarily deposed. But when the rival forces observed that he was innocuous after the decisive defeat and that he was no longer constituted any great threat to the new regime, he was re-instated to his throne.

In the meantime Kontagora steadily emerged under the British authority as the capital of the Kambarawa and Gwari dominion. Today it is still one of the leading towns in the Niger region of the country. The decadent empire of the Gwari and Kambari thrived largely on agriculture and domestic production but Kontagora emirate was grossly devoted to slave-raiding and slave trade. Some of its leaders were steeled in barbarity before the British cessation of that

iniquitous commercial transaction on humans. Nupe, a neighboring dynasty next to Kontagora, had a diversified economy before the arrival of the two imperialist movements in West Africa in particular and Africa in general.

The city of Bida became the new capital of the Nupe emirate after the abandonment of Rabba about 1859, during the restoration period of Usman Zaki¹⁸ as the emir of Nupeland. The chosen site for the city was originally a hamlet of the Beni, one of the Nupe-speaking communities, which the jihadists sacked and converted into a military camp which eventually emerged as a military strategic town.

Apart from the considerable defensive importance of the city of Bida it was a significant center for commerce, industry and crafts. It had a luxuriant vegetation and consequently a great number of the people resident in the area took advantage of its agricultural potential to cultivate and develop a vibrant economy. In pursuance of its economic diversification policy, Bida secured guns and gunpowder from its European traders in exchange for ivory and shea-butter; it

¹⁸ Malam Dendo, a shrewd Fulani muslim scholar, migrated into Nupeland from Kebbi (Kabi) during the early period of the Islamic revolution. In his effort to mediate between the two rival claimants to the throne of Nupe, namely, Majiya and Jimada or later Idris, malam Deno clandestinely manipulated and exploited the situation to his own personal advantage. He became powerful and popular with the people of the land and he cautiously began to function as a viceroy, a quasi-regent, without the traditional title of the ruler of Nupeland, that is Etsu (king), or the muslim title of emir. He behaved as a legitimate ruler but he was an impostor. He mandated his sons or his proteges (henchmen) to collect the customary muslim tax (jizya) on his behalf. After his death in 1832, his successors in Bida openly took the title of Etsu Nupe and thus the consolidation of the Fulani position in Nupe royal dynasty.

also served as a clearing house for kolanuts destined for towns further north of Nupe emirate. The people of the land were very resourceful in their vocational enterprises. Quite a number of specialized finished products fashioned by Bida blacksmiths, such as multi-colored glass and silver wares, beautiful assorted imitation coral beads were to be found in many homes and royal palaces, at home and beyond the city-state. Bida clothweavers technically excelled in textile products intricately and pensively devised and woven on local looms. The famous elegant Nupe gown (riga nupe) and the Nupe flamboyant trousers (wandon nupe) were not exclusively restricted to Hausaland but were also a premium possession in the southern states as well.

Under the reign of Masaba (1859-1873) Nupe made some considerable advancement in its domestic and external affairs. But the dynastic feuds which plagued Nupeland in the nineteenth century were comparable to the Ningi armed rebellion in Bauchi during the reign of emir Yakubu.¹⁹

Birnin Bauchi and the Fulani Southeastern Expansion

The emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim ibn Yakubu, was the only non-Fulani flagbearer of the expansionist movement during the muslim revolution in the early stages of the scramble for territorial possession and proselytization. After he had subdued his own people, the indigenous

¹⁹A.R. Augi, "The City of Bida" in Cities of the Savannah, op.cit., pp. 59, 94. The Ningi rebellion, hatched by Malam Hamza and his non-Muslim sympathizers, was perceived by Mahmoud Hahmman as a distant cry for religious tolerance in the province.

population, and the neighboring ethnic groups, he founded the town of Bauchi as his headquarters in 1848.

Before the foundation of this new city of Bauchi, the area was inhabited by the Gerawa, Yakubu's ethnic relation and descendants. This part of the savannah region was sparsely covered with wood, shrubs and thicket. The vegetation was highly suitable for pastoral life and the soil was just favorably fertile to sustain the type of farm crops that were native to the area and those that were likely to thrive in that geographical zone.

There is a high probability that the name 'Bauchi' was a corrupted form or a mispronounced derivation from the original designation 'Baushe'. The traditional assumption was that Yakubu, the founder and first emir of Bauchi emirate, named his new chosen capital after the hunter, Baushe, whom he encountered during his reconnoissance of the area for a suitable and tactical location for establishing a capital. This move was considered by some people as a purely honorific gesture to the residents and the inhabitants of the place rather than as a diplomatic calculation to win their approbation. But the general consensus of a significant number of ethnologists on the area suggested, among other things, that the word Bauchi was in all probability a designation of an area infested with wild life (wilde-beest) and in which hunting and domestication figured prominently in the survival and sustenance of the people. The term definitely has a wider signification in Gombe and Bauchi itself. The word Baushe was used extensively by the people of the region as a reference to hunters both before and after the Jihad in that locality.

The establishment of the new capital was a great asset to both the growing community and the scattered farm settlements in the vicinity. The wide stretch of flat and arable land would provide appropriate spatial accommodation for habitation, agriculture and pastoralism.

The city of Bauchi and its environs made some prodigious progress; a number of satellite structures sprang up around the city capital, the provision of water was seriously embarked on by the local experts who sank excellent wells. On the whole there was relative security and self-sufficiency in the essential commodities. A conscious effort was made to get many people back to the land, to till the soil, especially after so many bitter military campaigns in the area. The personal pride and zest for farming were not lost in the battle field; yams, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, guinea corn, all types of grains, rice and other cereals were abundantly produced. In addition to those food items, seasonal fruits and cash crops were not neglected by the people. Furthermore, local industries were fully supplied with raw materials, such as, cotton for the weaving industries and adequate provision of metal for the iron-workers (saraki).

Bauchi like many other city capitals in the northern states became an important central market for both domestic and foreign goods. It became an entrepot for trade routes that connected the eastern and southeastern parts of the Sokoto Caliphate with the northern sector. Merchants from Hausaland, Adamawa, Nupe, Gombe and Yola enthusiastically converged on Bauchi regional market to exchange

and trade their wares.

Yola was the capital of Adamawa (Fombina) emirate, a heterogeneous settlement of the aristocrats and their dependents, a massive wave of immigrants from Borno, Hausaland, and some bands of itinerant Arab merchants and scholars. And because of rich pasture and good fertile land the Fulbe nomads, the Bata and Verre agriculturists flocked to take residence in the area chiefly for soil cultivation and animal husbandry. The small agricultural settlement established about 1841 by Modibbo Adama ibn Hassan, a local malam, quickly grew and developed into a large town with a tremendous upsurge in population within a few years of its foundation.

The river Benue and the Njuwa lake near to Yola provided a promising avenue for fishing in greater magnitude, abundant agricultural crop production, beans and peas, groundnuts and a great variety of green vegetables, and fresh fruits.

Yola was the northern gateway from Fombina to Borno and Sokoto. Under the peaceful reign of Lamido (emir) Muhammadu Lawal (1847-1872) there was a flourishing market for north African goods like Arabic books, textile goods from Hausaland, Borno natron (potash) from the Kanuri merchants, and the gorgeous trousers from Nupe. The Benue river communication served and linked Nupe and Kakanda to Yola; traders from these areas brought salt and a great quantity of fish supply to the emirate. But under the reign of Lamido Zubairu (1890-1901) the leaders of the ethnic communities were cautiously suspicious and reluctant to open up trade with the British, French, and German merchants. The Lamido was profoundly skeptical of their

ulterior motives for seeking to establish African commercial life in Yola. He distrusted them and feared their sabotage, intrigue and the adulteration of the muslim community with their alien religion.

Ostensibly the new European comers were primarily interested in ivory and some raw materials for their home industries. Apart from a few sporadic breaches of peace, there was tranquillity in Adamawa emirates notably in Ribadu, Gurin, and the city of Wukari.

The present Wukari is the remnant seat of an ancient civilization of the Jukun people. The Jukun established that powerful Kwararafa empire whose military impact was experienced in most regions of the northern city-states. After many aggressive military campaigns and pillage it suddenly experienced a great transformation. The misfortunes which accompanied the great famine, the disintegration of the empire must have compelled the Jukun to change their world view and focus their attention on the development of more concrete, stable and powerful religious institutions. In their migration in the Middle Benue and the central plateau of the northern city-states these warlike people came in contact with the non-Jukun communities or settlements of the lowlands of the Middle Niger. This association triggered the realization of their cultural affinity to such groups as the Kwande Ajikemai, Ankwe and Angas, Birom, and a host of other ethnic groups in the south of the Benue. These towns or settlements were inexorably founded on cultural tradition and agricultural preoccupation. The Jukun could identify with these ethnic groups and envisage cultural similarity especially in their kingship institution. The king (Aku) was both the symbol of political authority as well as

the representative of the gods and the custodian of the people's welfare. They firmly believed that the farmer's prosperity and bountiful harvest were all through his mediation with the gods. Towards the close of the last century Wukari had embarked on some cultural revival in order to be relevant in the present. It developed simultaneously a firm spirit of determination to cope with the demands of the future. A spirit of cultural resuscitation was discoverable in Igbirraland (Ebirraland).

Okene, an influential Ebirra town, is one of the outstanding cities of the confluence of the Niger-Benue basin.²⁰ The evolution and historical development of this settlement lack concrete and verifiable data. It probably originated in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Okaraitu was customarily credited as the founding father of Okene. This reputed and industrious farmer and hunter belonged to Agada clan in Okengwe. The early settlers in this part of Ebirraland depended largely on agriculture for all practical purposes. The land tenure system operative at this period of development encouraged the people to cultivate the land; the land was communal, it belonged to the whole community. As a farming community the settlers profited immensely from this arrangement and land utilization.

A traditional Ebirra farming community perceived hunting as a complementary responsibility to land cultivation and animal husbandry.

²⁰R.A. Adeleye, op.cit., pp. 191, 230-231; also Y.T. Gella, "Two Cities of the Confluence" in Cities of the Savannah, op.cit., pp. 117-124.

Okene probably derived its name from the ethnic affiliation of the founder or from Okorune (the garden of antelopes). It was a popular acceptance among the later generation that the present location of the town was greatly infested with antelopes (une) which attracted the first settlers to the place. There is much to be said in favor of that argument or rationalization. After all, many modern towns and settlements, even in the past, derived their names from the founders or from some prevailing circumstantial or historical occurrence.

The rapid and constant increase in population and development in Okene town led to notable occupational differentiation in many areas of the economy. Many local industries sprang up and the people adequately supplied the raw materials to maintain production and distribution. The cloth-weaving industry was highly developed and as a result of surplus production Okene became a great commercial center for various types of food-stuff, iron smelting and the manufacturing of some agricultural equipment, such as hoes, cutlasses, strong bows, and special arrows for hunting. Smithing became another important area of occupational specialization.

The town is linked in trade to many other towns and cities; its trade with Hausaland, Nupe, Kabba, Lokoja, Ososo, and Ilorin was well balanced. The Ebirra people in general have great interest in traditional agricultural projects. Their settlements are still extant; they are still to be found in many places outside Ebirraland. The people are highly migratory and mobility is one of their distinctive characteristics. They have a marvelous taste for the land.

The general conception of mobility is the culturally patterned movement of people or an individual from one region to another, involving invariably changes in residences and working places. This action may be undertaken by a mass of people - collective migration - or by an individual - individual mobility. Most of the towns or settlements discussed so far fall under these two categories. The town of Ilorin was no exception to this general rule or broad classification.

Ilorin settlement was founded by the Yoruba who traced their ancestral lineage to Oduduwa, the reliable confidant of Olodumare or Olorun (God Almighty). The traditional history of the origin of this town is prismatic. The prevalent versions are based on a cycle of myths and legends which take their texture and hue from their narrators. But if one extrapolates from the historical events and trends which had shaped and directed the establishment of towns or settlements in the same region one can tenuously maintain that Ilorin seems to fall under the same general ethnographic pattern of venatic intervention. One of the oral traditions asserted that Ilorin settlement was founded by a hunter called Ojo Ise Kuse. Different attempts were made by ethnolinguists to decode the semantic content of the name of the town. The Yoruba word "Ilorin" can be an elliptical or diminutive form of the whole phrase "Ilu-erin" (town of the elephants) or "Ilo-irin" which connotes "the sharpening of iron". In either case the signification of the name clearly insinuates that the hunter-founder discovered an uninhabited open land which was located on the fringes of the forest region and the savannah zone; an area

which was north of the Oyo empire (Katunga). The old Oyo dynasty was situated in the southern city-states. The newly discovered expansive territory which was to be a part of the Yoruba empire was a virginal land, not previously occupied by anyone, and suitably adequate for farming and pasturage.

About 1824, under the Kakanfo Afonja, provincial governor of Ilorin and the military leader of Oyo empire, Ilorin steadily developed into a large settlement, consisting of Yoruba and other flux of immigrants from Hausaland (Gambari), nomadic Fulani and their Arabic scholars, runaway slaves, Nupes, Okaba (Kabba) and many other groups who had come to hunt, settle or trade in the new found land.

After the internal squabble, the Jihad in Ilorin, and the civil war with the Oyo dynasty, a new breed of traders and zealous farmers emerged in Ilorin emirate. It systematically developed a large market to accommodate and handle the people and their merchandise from the two ecological zones. It also served as a crossroad and important entrepot between the northern emirates of the two Caliphates and the Yoruba states. Beans, grains, shea butter, livestock from the towns and cities in the northern states were exchanged or bartered for palm products, kolanuts, plantain or bananas from Yorubaland. Nupe's rich textile materials, goods from Igalaland, tin and antimony from Adamawa, and chattels from North Africa also found their way to Ilorin town.

Ilorin occupied a strategic and commercial position.²¹ It

²¹R.A. Adeleye, op.cit., pp. 52, 185, 225; Pauline H. Baker, Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917-1967 (Los Angeles: University of California, 1974), p. 105.

benefited enormously from trading with the Edo (Bini). Benin Empire was famous for brasswork, red camwood, dyes, and artistic ebony carving; in addition European goods found their way from the coast market to the hinterland through Ilorin town.

It must be understood, however, that the commercial importance of Ilorin emirate was well recognized by Lagos European merchants who were, at this point of time, engaged in intrigue on how to snatch and terminate the intermediary role of Ilorin in the vast trade and to deal directly with the producers in the lucrative trade between the northern and southern states. Under some spurious pretexts, in 1897 Ilorin was subdued by the British forces; the new power annexed and placed Ilorin under the British protectorate. The social, political, and economic dominance of Ilorin was temporarily halted by the British entrepreneurs principally from the coast, but the seed of unity in diversity had been planted in fertile minds and mutual understanding and it awaited auspicious moments to blossom and flourish in a new nation to be structured, Nigeria.

Summary

Agriculture is a potent instrument in nation building. The various traditions of the origin of politics, migrations, and city state formation follow similar patterns of institutional and cultural development in the different parts of the continent of Africa vis-a-vis Nigeria. The pre-colonial Hausa (Habe) kingdom understood the paramount importance of cultivating the land. A people who are constantly on the move can scarcely provide adequate food for its population. The sedentary culture of the Hausa dynasty with its

hegemonies was largely based on agricultural products. The City of Kano with its territory was able to provide food and other domestic materials for the survival of the inhabitants in its widely dispersed settlements. An ample provision of sustenance for the non-agricultural sectors such as the leatherworkers, dyers, blacksmiths, and the local rulers or vassals (masu-sarauta) were carefully arranged by the king (Sarki) and executed by his lieutenants.

Into the bargain the Hausa city-states vigorously promoted and participated in the external trade. Kasar Hausa under a good and powerful leader had more food supply than it actually required by its citizens.

Kano had a reliable external commercial communication with other states. The famous Bida textile productions such as the Nupe gown (rigar nupe) and the Nupe trousers (Wandon nupe) were very much in high demand in Hausaland. The ancient Seifuwa dynasty of Borno also recognized the importance of international trade in the economic development and prosperity in its city-states. Al-Kanemi, following the footsteps of Kano, opened up trade with the Tripolitan and Fezzan merchants from the Mediterranean region; the desert nomads of North Africa patronized the grain and dried fish market in Borno-Chad basin area. The whole life of the Kanuri was centered around the Mai or the ruler of Borno for security and leadership.

In the eighteenth century the Korau ruling houses (Yayan Korau or Jikokin Korau) infused a new life into the economic activities of the Katsina city states. The towns and settlements were founded in the

middle of rich agricultural region. The city of Katsina quickly developed into one of the great cultural, commercial, and educational centers in the Seven Hausa (Hausa Bakwai) states.

Zaria was famous for its exportation of local wares such as pottery, textile materials and the sale of sheep. As a route junction for long distance trade, Zaria attracted many immigrants from Nupe, Yorubaland and other parts of Hausaland. The devotees of the cosmic religion of Zazzau (Zaria and its environ) before the Islamic revolution believed in the high God (Ubangiji) with a host of other titular gods or cosmic powers (Iskoki). The lesser gods or spirits were said to inhabit forests, hills, and rivers. This accounted for the Zaria practice of founding the earlier settlements close to riverbanks, plains adjacent to luxuriant forests or mountain valleys, which were regarded as the abode of the spirits. These are, obviously, fertile agricultural and pastoral zones. The Islamic religion, probably of Bornoan provenance, suppressed the Iskoki traditional religion under Mohammed Rabbo, who reigned in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The Jihad of Shehu Usuman dan Fodio or the Sakkwato Fulani Islamic revolution swept through many territories in the northern polities, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It temporarily disrupted the on-going agricultural and pastoral occupation of the people as a result of the military campaigns against the non-conformists ('infidels'). The two Caliphates of Sakkwato and Gwandu, in their expansionist movements, successfully established emirates in conquered lands and set up military posts. Some of these

military camps eventually developed into towns and cities. The establishment of Kontagora in the Niger Region of the Northern states was inimical to the economic development and social welfare of Birnin Yauri. Bida, already had become the capital of the newly constituted Nupe emirate. The Islamic crusade did not end here.

Yakubu, the founder and emir of Bauchi, was a skillful man. He was able to adapt the Islamic religion to the cultural tradition of the inhabitants without provoking the jihaddists. New settlements sprang up in Bauchi territory; there was plenty of room for the cultivation of crops and cattle grazing in the land. Yola in Adamawa emirate was famous for corn, guinea corn, rice, beans, and groundnuts.

The Jukun kingdom of Kwararafa was based in the middle belt region of the Benue river. It had a well organized, disciplined and highly mobile cavalry with which it terrorized and raided the northern states. But it was humiliated in the fourteenth century by the forces of Amina, Queen of Zaria. The people of Jukun returned to settle in arable lands and learned to engage in gainful occupation.

The Igbirra (Ebirra) like their counterpart in Igarra probably migrated from the Igala kingdom to the southwest of the Niger region. They settled in the periphery of the kingdom of Benin. They have had a great devotion to farming. They built farm-houses which often turned out to be permanent residences for the emigrants from Igbirraland.

Ilorin is a Yoruba town. It was founded by the Yoruba emigrants from the Old Oyo (Katunga) town. Ilorin was a trading partner of the Nupe who traded in leather goods, brass, and glass works. It was also

the gateway from the coastal markets to Sokoto and the Hausaland. Livestock and farm products from the northern states were exchanged for kolanuts and palm products from the southern territories, tin and antimony came from Adamawa emirate. The famous brassworks and red camwood dye from Benin were also found in Ilorin markets.

The pre-colonial city-states in the former Northern Nigeria followed a universal sequence of ecological development. The nuclear or extended family units which preceded the larger and more complicated independent ethnic polities emerged from conglomerations of farmsteads and agricultural settlements. Accordingly, by the virtue of this political association, a complex corpus of traditional and cultural laws governing the social and economic activities of the people derived from the primitive communalism. This totality of collective ethnic experience or political and cultural assertiveness underpinned the activities and relationships of the citizens to one another or to their neighboring communities. Through this intensive social interaction, trade, marriage alliances, and other cultural affiliation the common interests and objectives of these heterogenous city-states were promoted. In general, marriage whether it was endogamous or exogamous created channels for the development of primary relations and thus led to the formation of loyalties and moral obligations. All these cultural elements and more served as integrating forces for the establishment of a central political administration for the entire region of the northern city-states.

The Islamic religion was, in contrast to the traditional or indigenous religion, invariably harnessed to the ideology of the

ruling Fulani or their vassals. Besides being legislators, the emirs were the heads of the government, the judiciary and the army. In such a political arrangement the peasant class was charged with the responsibility of feeding the city-states and the Caliphates. The whole system underscored Koranic education and Arabic culture.

Before the amalgamation, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was virtually under the control and administration of Fulani oligarchs or their liegemen. The administration was substantially maintained through agricultural wealth and force. The Northern ethnic polities were strongly linked in commerce, religion and system of agriculture to the Southern city-states. The two geographical zones of Northern and Southern Protectorates were in many respects economically interdependent. The North sold millet, groundnut oil, dried meat, dried fish, butter, cassava flour, and cattle to the South. Reciprocating the trade gesture the South transported to the North kolanuts, yams, plantain, bananas, palm oil, scrap iron and a variety of imported manufactured goods from the coastal market.

CHAPTER III

PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL FARMING AND THE RISE OF TOWNS IN THE SOUTH

This chapter briefly discusses the historical foundation of Southern city-states and empires with special reference to the development of traditional agriculture in these regions.

It is problematic to delineate precise generalizations about the evolutionary and political history of the ancient city-states and empire formation in most African societies before the availability of written records in these specific areas. It is difficult to deduce these generalizations from oral traditions, without having recourse to the process of demythologization of epic cosmogonies and demystification of phenomena. The complexity of the problem is rooted in placing these heterogeneous societies together with their political systems within analytic categories which permit the isolation of certain characteristics of the indigenes and their states. These states or empires, at least in the context of Nigerian statal development, follow a determinate universal sequence of primordial communalism.

The Niger Region of the Western States

Oral tradition with regard to the ancient empires of Oyo and Benin (Bini or Edo) has generated a multiplicity of theories about their original foundation and their people. These two powerful royal dynasties covered more than the entire territory south-west of the

Niger, including some settlements or towns in the Republic of Benin (formerly the Republic of Dahomey) and on the eastern part of the empire of Benin its vast possession spilled across the river Niger to towns of Onitsha and settlements along the Niger bank. Oyo and Benin traced their origin to Ife, the cradle of the Yoruba.¹

Ile-Ife

The Yoruba readily recognize the proposition that Ife was the original settlement of their progenitors. But the Bini unequivocally will only admit that the founder of the present royal dynasty of Benin immigrated from Ife. The history of Ife is still muffled in mythology and legends.² The first version of Ife creation myth was an attempt by these Yoruba court story-tellers to explain their world vision of life, the ontological dilemma of why there are things in existence rather than nothingness. The physical correspondence of the real existence of the Earth, animals (cockerel), plants (palm-tree) and water to the phenomena narrated in the Yoruba legend of creation greatly mystified Oduduwa, the founder of Ife. These natural dynamic

¹Samuel Johnson, The History of the Yoruba from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate (Lagos: C.M.S. (Nigeria) Bookshops, 1921; reprinted ed., Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), p. 16.

²Tony Idowu Aladejana, "An Axiological Analysis of Yoruba Education," Ph.D. Dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1979, pp. 117-128. An anthropomorphic dialogue between the gods in Yoruba mythology, the creation of the universe. The gods of the pantheon in the creation account were the gods (orisha) of the Sky (Olorun or Olodumare), his eldest son, Orunmila or Ifa, the king of the white cloth (Obatala), Eshu (Demurge), Agemo (Chameleon), and the female deity (Olokun-goddess of water). See also R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, op.cit., p. 38. Oduduwa, the son of the god of the Sky (Olorun) founded Ife, the ancestral home of the people of Yorubaland.

elements vividly conveyed to him the awesomeness and the realization of cosmic transcendency and powers partly incomprehensible to him. The establishment of kingship (Oba) was a teleological response to the existence of unexplained laws, order, and authority in the universe immediate to him and the necessity to execute that authority in Yorubaland. He interpreted the sixteen branches of the palm-tree he planted as a symbol of the sixteen crowned paramount rulers in Yoruba empire.

This early man or founder of the Yorubaland was only wondering and reflecting on his milieu; the cosmic materials he experienced around him were some of the vital ingredients for his farming occupation. These elements were never far away from traditional farm settlements and were concrete realities of daily human experience, curiosity and wonderment.

Oyo Kingdom and State

The Old Oyo territory (Katunga) originally included the town of Ilorin with its hegemonies before the Kakanfo Afonja's declaration of secession from the Oyo empire and the war of independence that ensued after the declaration of the sovereignty of the state. In the seventeenth century the empire of Oyo was at its peak; its territorial boundary extended northwards to the savannah region close to the Niger river, eastwards its land possession was contiguous with the Benin empire, and westwards it incorporated the entire domain of the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey) with some frontier towns of Togoland, and southwards its military prowess astounded people as far as the Atlantic seaboard. Katunga, the great metropolis and capital

of Yorubaland was infiltrated and sacked in 1837 by the combined forces of Hausa and Fulani mercenaries under the command of malam Abdulsalami, an ambitious adventurer who manipulated the jihad as a leverage to his ascendancy to Ilorin emirate. The forces loyal to the Alafin (King) retreated. A new capital, Oyo, was founded farther south of the original capital of the fast disintegrating empire.

The Kingdom of Oyo was ruled by the Alafin, a plenipotentiary of almost all Yorubaland. The city-states were governed by titular kings or vassals whose authority and influence hinged on the Alafin's military superiority in battles, acceptability by the subjects or their proximity to the capital. Akpofure and Crowder clearly recalled:

The Egbado were closely controlled by the Alafin, while the nearby Egba were semi-independent; by contrast, the Ekiti farther to the east and the Ijebu to the south were almost if not completely independent of the Alafin's influence. In practice, only Oyo proper was directly ruled by the Alafin while the remote provinces were almost totally independent, merely paying him tribute.³

Many external factors precipitated the various Yoruba movements especially during the nineteenth century, videlicet, the tumultous and harrowing persistent civil wars of Yoruba sub-groups' rivalry and slave raiding, the economic strangulation of the minority city-states that had no access to alternative economic resources other than farming which at this period was unstable and jeopardized by internal feuds, the search for new routes to coastal markets, and other

³R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, Nigeria: A Modern History for Schools (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1966), p. 40.

analogous components. The most fundamental factor appeared to be of a social and political dimension rather than a purely economic pursuit as previously emphasized by early historians. The movement was essentially connected with new perspectives at state formation and the institution of new centers of power. The Yoruba in the final analysis are culturally one and the same people, sharing a common origin and destination, language, religion, kinship systems, marriage customs, and similar mode of child care. The varieties of the regional dialects of the Yoruba language are mutually intelligible. The degree of diversity in each sub-group is a reflection of its history and environmental circumstances.⁴

The majority of the ancient cities and towns in Yorubaland arose as a result of agricultural settlements. The aborigines were predominantly agriculturists who founded their settlements in fertile regions of the Oyo empire. These settlements eventually developed into magnificent towns. The few military post towns were mostly extension of the pre-existing farm settlements in the locality.

The rapid deterioration of the authority of the Oyo empire over its component city-states facilitated the development of new emergent power centers in Yorubaland. During the period of national upheavals, Abeokuta, Ijebu and Ibadan had come into prominence in the affairs of the empire.

About 1829, immigrants including war deserters from Ijebu, Ife,

⁴S.A. Akintoye, Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893 (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1971), p. 4.

Oyo, and Egba formed a polyglot settlement in the small Gbagura town of Ibadan. This measure of influx of renegades and refugees from the wars greatly increased the population of the indigenous inhabitants whose chief stock in trade was essentially agriculture and a little domestication of animals.

Abeokuta which was founded by Sodeke, a brave hunter, became the headquarters of the federated communities of Egbaland. The three major sub-groups of this ethnic affiliation were generally classified as Egba Agbeyin (Egba Alake), Egba Agura, and Egba Oke-Ona. The precise dates of the period of their migration into the Egba forests is still to be unravelled by historians. But it is abundantly obvious that the immigrants actively and heroically participated in the war to block the advancement and encroachment of the Fulani into Yorubaland. Ade Ajayi sympathetically described the tragic plight of the Egba who paid the greatest price for the revolution in Yorubaland:

Some 153 Egba towns and villages had been destroyed in the wars. In about the year 1830, under the leadership of Chief Sodeke, the Egba began to assemble on the defensible site around Olumo rock to found the town of Abeokuta.⁵

Abeokuta was, foremost, a strategic post. Besides this military advantage its early settlers just as any other migrant settlers in Egbaland were heavily involved in farming, and without any gainsay farm settlements, the nuclei of the future towns, spontaneously sprang up around the city. Farming activities around Ogun river was a

⁵J.F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 21.

perennial business in Egbaland. Ilaro in Egbado has always distinguished itself in food production and other ancillary occupations.

The different sub-ethnic groups in Ijebuland owed their existence to immigrants from other parts of Yoruba kingdom. Ijebu traditions authenticated that separate immigrant bands were responsible for the founding of some of the major towns or cities in Ijebuland, the founder of the powerful Idoko kingdom (Ijebu-Imusin) was different from the group that established the Ijebu-Igbo dynasty; Ogborogan and Obanta founded Ijebu-Ode and its dynasty, Ijebu-Remo and the Ajalorun dynasty of Ijebu-Ife owed their origin to other migrant groups.⁶

The people of Ijebuland like many of their counterparts in Yorubaland lived really very close to nature, in lands superabundantly endowed with fertility. The rains fell in due season for their crops. The tenurial law system was advantageous and promoted enthusiasm in land cultivation. The ownership of land was not by the individual but was a family concern. This customary practice of family land holding made the land more accessible to the individual to exhibit his talent, industry, and vision in the utilization of this communal property. Chief Obafemi Awolowo probed the situation further when he revealed what was in vogue in Ijebuland:

Every member of the family is entitled to cultivate any portion of his family land either on the paternal or maternal side.

Because of the fertility and sufficiency of farmland, only a minimum amount of effort was required to satisfy the sparse wants of the individual. Until western civilisation began to

⁶S.A. Akintoye, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

make its inroad into the lives of the people, it did not require too much exertion to provide food, shelter and clothing.⁷

The communal spirit prevailing in such a serene atmosphere of the farming communities precluded rugged individualism, laissez-faire attitude and weird behavior towards the other members of the extended family and the little towns and villages which dotted the vast areas of the settlements in the confederacy of Ijebuland. Basically the early peasant communities shared common interests and aspirations in security, trade and the local festivities which offered the people appreciable leisure particularly when they were not engaged in tilling the soil, collecting palm nuts or harvesting the farm produce. Women generally took care of planting the seeds or seedlings during the planting season and also were responsible for trading some of the products which they could conveniently handle.

The division of labor or occupational specialization indicated allows both human sexes to maximize their control of the environment and their inherent capacity for growth and development; it is a role or task differentiation which is devoid of biological and ecological constraints but in either case the agent possesses within himself or herself the potentiality and flexibility for self-actualization in determined circumstances.⁸ In Yorubaland roles and tasks for males

⁷Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 6-7.

⁸cf, Anthony D. Smith, The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1973; reprinted ed., 1980), pp. 17-18.

and females are interdependent and complementary in many fields of human enterprises.

The territories of Ekiti, Ijesha and the lands of the people in the north-eastern portion of the Yorubaland became Ibadan protectorate when it had successfully contained the menace of Fulani military advancement into the southwestern states of the Niger river. This political arrangement, however, was short-lived. The confederated alliance of Ekitiparapo in a coordinated effort vehemently resisted Ibadan supremacy and its systematic enslavement of the people. The people of the confederacy of Ekiti, Ijesha, Akoko and Igbomina were aware of their different eclectic history and ethnic association with the other sub-ethnic groups in Yorubaland but were determined to remain in the empire.

The Yoruba city-states were essentially autonomous and more or less also acknowledged the ritual overlordship of Ife, the fountain-head of legitimacy in Yorubaland. Each constitutive state of the great empire of the Yoruba grew through the founding of settlements from the major towns, or through conquest and subsumption of those settlements which were not sufficiently and numerically strong enough to resist a mass influx of immigrants. The parent-towns acted as a catalyst to the emerging settlements which would eventually develop and grow into large towns or cities. A great majority of such settlements originated as a consequence of agricultural activities. S.A. Akintoye poignant pointed out and corroborated Afolabi Ojo's earlier observation:

Usually the farms were situated only a few miles around the town.

But the increase in population and the desire for more fertile land eventually induced large sections of the agricultural population to go far away from the town to make farms. In such cases, the long distance made it difficult to return to town daily or even frequently, with the result that huts of a more permanent nature would be built and a village would emerge. This would usually develop into a more permanent settlement, with the huts being continually modified until they became townhouses. Quite often such a settlement never went beyond being a camp (ago) or a farmstead (aba); sometimes it became a hamlet (abule) or a village (ileto) or even a town.⁹

There were some settlements which served certain definite purposes. Some special designated local markets founded to serve a cluster of villages or settlements, the settlements around these markets often developed into towns. It has already been discussed in the previous chapter when some distinctively military posts subsumed existing farm settlements and ultimately developed into townships. For a stable growth and development of would-be-town settlements the geographical conditions in the localities must needs be congenial to the development of agriculture, basic industry, and the social welfare of the settlers. There were times in the past when some villages or settlements were specifically earmarked to perform some ritual functions on behalf of the entire community or the city-state. Such designated settlements had their priests for the national deity and priests usually resided close to the shrines in the settlements (Igue-Obo). A thoughtful historical investigation into most of our modern towns and cities in Yorubaland will reveal strong connections

⁹S.A. Akintoye, op.cit., pp. 11-12; compare G.J. Afolabi Ojo, Yoruba Culture: A Geographical Analysis (London: University of London Press, 1966), chapters 4-6, the development of villages in some parts of Yorubaland.

with agricultural preoccupations and hunting, and in a lesser magnitude with pastoralism.

In the nineteenth century Oyo had apparently established a hegemony over many of the kingdoms in the Yorubaland. A persistent problem remained as regards the delimitation of its territorial boundaries. The boundary between Benin kingdom and Yoruba kingdom particularly areas bordering on Ondo, Owo and Akure had always raised some critical problems. There was no clearcut demarcation of boundary between the two empires; they dovetailed on the southeastern towns and settlements of both the Yoruba and Benin territories.

The Kingdom of Benin

The history of the origin of the Beninland like that of Oyo in Yorubaland or any of the ancient dynasties is extremely intricate, tortuous, and often in parts, contradictory. The early oral accounts which frequently were unwritten were usually over-laden with comfortable nostalgia, ethnocentrism and contented reminiscences of the past glorious achievements, grandeur, and gallantry that were of Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs. Archeological and ethnological discoveries in the area tended to demonstrate that agriculture was most probably first developed in the lower Nile river valley. The ancient Egyptians through their ingenuity and industry in agriculture, over three thousand years before Christ, preceded many other nations in developing one of the first great civilizations in the world history. The concept of a divine kingship, the supreme powers of the king and his ritualistic role as a mediator between the people and the divine, were some of the common features in most parts of Africa, if

not in ancient world civilizations. The king was regarded by the subjects as suprahuman and sometimes a semi-deity. But the commonest temptation in many African kingdoms or states is the quick conclusion that these commonalities must have emanated from Egypt in Africa diffused widely throughout the continent. This frame of mind is highly unlikely; all else being equal, human nature is basically the same. Chief Egharevba, a reputed Bini scholar, noted in the origin of the Bini:

Many, many years ago, the Binis came all the way from Egypt to found a more secure shelter in this part of the world after a short stay in the Sudan and at Ile-Ife, which the Benin people call Uhe. Before coming here, a band of hunters was sent from Ife to inspect this land and the report furnished was very favourable. Tradition says that they met some people who were in the land before their arrival. These people were said to have come from Nupe and the Sudan in waves.¹⁰

One great fact unmistakably emerged from this oral history; the origin of the aborigines was undiscernible for lack of concrete historical materials. The Igiso (singular, Ogiso), tall and giant-type of men, ruled the land of Benin as kings before the invitation of Prince Oranmiyan of Ile-Ife by some dissident group in the government to replace the reigning monarch. The Evian royal family had a great distaste for the republican spirit of his subjects and he stiffly resisted the machination of the nobles who had schemed to prevent Ogiamwen, his son and successor, from succeeding him on the throne. After a fierce pitched battle between the two feuding

¹⁰Jacob U. Egharevba, A Short History of Benin (Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1934; reprinted edition, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1968), p. 1.

factions, the victorious prince, Oranmiyan, was installed as the Oba (King) of Benin by the loyal elders and he took his residence at Uzama (now a coronation shrine for the future kings of Benin).

Before his coronation, Prince Oranmiyan married a beautiful lady, Erinwinde, daughter of Osanego, the ninth Onogie of Ego. After a brief and turbulent reign in Beninland, Oranmiyan abdicated the throne and returned to Ife, his Yoruba hometown. He experienced some disillusionment and frustration in Beninland. He was successful, however, in establishing a cultural and dynastic affinity between the Yoruba kings and the kings of the non-Yoruba state of Benin.¹¹ The first son of his marriage to Princess Erinwinde later became his successor to the throne as the Oba of Benin, Eweka the First.

Benin constituted a vast empire. Beginning with the entire coastline area of the Bight of Benin, it extended as far west as Lagos (Eko), Badagri and perhaps, even as far as Ouidah. Under King Ewuare the Great the empire of Benin stretched eastwards to the banks of the Niger river and included Onitsha and its environs. During the same reign there was a mass exodus of people of Benin origin who migrated into different locations of the empire and settled in places outside

¹¹The name "Benin" is allegedly a derivation from the combination of 'Ile', the original name for the kingdom and 'Ibinu', a Yoruba adjectival qualifier, connoting a state of anger, exasperation or an emotional perturbation. Prince Oranmiyan (c. 1170 A.D.) disconcertingly named his kingdom "Ile-Ibinu" ('the land of vexation') when he was overwhelmed with the problem of acculturation, deep-seated occultism in the land and intractability of the people. Oba Ewedo (c. 1255) altered the name 'Ile' or "Ile-Ibinu" to 'Ubini' (Benin). King Ewuare the Great (c. 1440) also named the City of Benin 'Edo', in honor of the slayer, Edo who saved him from the usurper, Oba Uwaifiokun and the Elders (Enigie) during Prince Ogun's exile.

his immediate jurisdiction such as the Urhobo and Itsekiri, Western Ijaw (Ujo), Eka (Ika), Aniocha, Onitsha Ibo, Esan, Etsako and Iybiosakon, and the Akoko Edo.

Before the nineteenth century the Bini were vigorously trading with the people of Ilorin and Nupeland. The Benin empire had at the same time established some military posts and sporadic settlements in the eastern kingdoms of the Yorubaland, notably those of the Owo, Akoko, and Ekiti including Ondo and Akure, the twilight zones of the empire, which initially, were attracted more towards Benin City in the south-east than towards the western or northern main centers of Yoruba civilization. In time of peace, the domestic economy was stable; various commercial agricultural goods were marketed and trade between city-states prospered enormously. Furthermore some commercial links were established between the then existing kingdoms or empires.

The districts and towns around the capital of the Benin empire were highly organized for agricultural purposes. A great portion of Benin territory was situated in the evergreen forest region.¹² The principal occupation of the villagers and settlers of the outskirts of the city was farming. Hunting was generally carried out at night. It was incumbent on the farmers and/or hunters to feed and support the population inhabiting the city capital and promptly pay annually a handsome tribute to the king in yams, corn, smoked fish, livestock and in barrels of palm oil. Most of the names of the villages and

¹²Philip Aigbona Igbafe, Benin Under British Administration: The Impact of Colonial Rule on an African Kingdom, 1897-1938 (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, Inc., 1979), pp. 10, 29, 33, 338, 401.

farmsteads surrounding Benin City are strongly suggestive of their humble origin: that is, agricultural settlements which in course of time some had grown and developed into magnificent towns. On festive occasions, the capital is a rendez-vous for the Bini who dwell in the suburbs of the metropolitan city. During the celebration of the great festivals the city becomes as it were a melting-pot for diverse customs and traditions that made Benin famous for centuries.

About the third quarter of the sixteenth century a majority of the ethnic sub-groups struggled and asserted their own self-determination. These groups constituted the already drastically shrunk empire of Benin and were at the same time exposed to a certain amount of European cultural influence, trade and novel vision of life. Nevertheless they owed a token fealty to the Oba of Benin. These same Bini emigrants did not abandon their traditional heritage even though they possessed their own peculiar historical origin.

The Niger Delta Region

The Urhobo and Itsekiri are some of the most prominent settlers in the Niger Delta city-states. These two large ethnic groups had for a long time co-existed and had an almost symbiotic relationship and commercial interdependence with one another. While the Urhobo occupied the hinterland the Itsekiri sprawled along the coastal board of the Atlantic ocean, south-east of Benin.

Most of the Urhobo with their close relatives, Isoko and other sub-groups migrated from Benin directly about 1505 to their present habitation in the evergreen forest belt of the Niger Delta. They laid claim to a large tract of land which they occupied and built their

shanty settlements or towns. Farming was their common occupational pursuit in those areas where floods were not a constant impediment. The settlers who were intensively engrossed with farming produced yams, corn, cassava, banana, pepper and other food items in abundance. But those who settled along the delta creeks of the Warri, Ethiope and Ase rivers assiduously engaged themselves in fishing; this was a major occasional occupation for both men and women. The Urhobo were traditionally referred to as producers of palm oil and kernels.¹³ Their economy was based on an enviable diversified agriculture.

The coastal Itsekiri fishermen exchanged fish and salt in order to procure some of their necessary foodstuffs from the Urhobo farmers, their immediate neighbors. The Itsekiriland virtually lies within the mangrove swamp of the Niger Delta region. It is watered by innumerable creeks and large rivers, namely, the Benin, Escravos and Forcados rivers. The ramshackle settlements which were founded about the first decade of the sixteenth century were located in freshwater areas, in places where the procurement of fish was reasonably safer and plentiful. The people essentially were fishermen and were duly molded by the environment to discharge that duty.

The historical foundation of Itsekiriland and its people is as complex as any prehistorical period, a time when there was an abject dearth of documentary evidence on which to rely. One of the traditions has it that Itsekiriland was founded by a runaway prince,

¹³Obaro Ikime, Niger Delta Rivalry: Itsekiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence 1884-1936 (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1969), p. 6. In some communities in Urhoboland palm oil securely preserved in earthenware pots could be used as a financial medium of exchange to defray bride-wealth or bride's dowry.

Ginuwa of Beninland. It appears that different waves of immigrants commingled in that land. Obaro Ikime also concluded:

Indeed it is likely that the Itsekiri, as they exist today, are a mixture of people of Benin and Yoruba origin. Another linguistic affinity is that Yoruba was the court language in Benin, and therefore Ginuwa and his young nobles would have used that language even after they had settled in what is now called Itsekiriland.¹⁴

The institutional structures as well as the cultural similarities of the new comers to an alien environment distinctly mirror those of the ancient royal practices of Benin. As the time progressed the Olu (king) of Ode-Itsekiri ruled over the entire span of Itsekiri territory without any further approbation or consultation with the Oba of Benin.

The demarcation of the boundary between the Urhobo and Itsekiriland in the seventeenth century was extremely blurred; in some places it was practically non-existent. The frontier was fluid and informal; it was not vigorously supervised by either party. For the people of the two sub-groups frequently intermingled with one another. This is an action which could easily lead to a misapprehension of the homogenization of the two groups of people. There were cultural and political differences as well as group susceptibilities existing between these ethnic sub-groups of Benin kingdom. In general the Urhobo and Itsekiri were cooperative and interdependent in their social activities. The same hand of friendship and cooperation was extended to their close neighbors, the Ijaw and Aboh people. A network of lucrative trade existed among the various ethnic groups.

¹⁴Ikime, op.cit., p. 33.

The dwellers of the delta region needed some food provision which could not be grown or obtained in their area; the towns and settlements in the semi-savannah zone made up for their inadequacy and shortage. The Esan farmers produced more foodstuffs than they required for domestic consumption. The surplus commodities were conveyed to other markets outside their territorial jurisdiction.

The Bini: North of the City of Benin

The Esan (Ishan) were Bini emigrants who ventured outside the city walls at different periods to found settlements in other parts of the kingdom of Benin. Fortuitously these emigrants contributed immensely to extending the frontier of the Beninland. Esan was the eponymous founder and progenitor of the Esan people. Sometimes during the reign of Oba Ewuare the Great, the word Esan was popularized by the War Leaders (Ekakulo) of the migrants as an integrative term to be applied to all the pre-existing emigrant settlements in that region. Prior to the unanimous adoption of the name in about 1463 as a designation for the ethnic sub-groups, the important districts were recognized and called by their individual names, videlicet, Uruwa (Irrua), Ekunma (Ekpoma), Uronmun (Uromi), Ubiaza (Ubiaja) and other sub-groups. Subsequently, these original names would be mutilated during the colonial occupation. The indigenous inhabitants still retain the traditional pronunciation in their everyday conversation. Although there was a proliferation of camp settlements outside the city wall of Benin the emigrants acknowledged the suzerainty of the Oba of Benin and their patrilineal connection. Christopher Okojie asks:

What then brought them [our forefathers] here? From the history of the individual settlement and the fact that all Ishan is an agricultural district, the one deciding factor which must have induced our people to settle in such a waterless area is FERTILITY. Amiele is said to have refused to pass on to his destination because of the succulent Palm Nuts he saw at a place today called Irrua; the great Warrior Eben seeing yams thrown away a year before developed so much, wondered what could have happened had the yams been actually planted and looked after. He sent word to the Oba that he would settle at the spot to farm and his cottage grew to become IGUEBEN.¹⁵

The foundation of several towns, cottages and hamlets in Ishan clan was not prompted solely for their strategic importance but for their intrinsic value and for the richness of the soil for agricultural occupation. Theirs was a subsistent farming and it was vital to the people. Ishan was an agricultural city-state with great potential for agricultural development. Pastoralism was not carried out in a large scale but limited to domestication of animals including cattle. Ishan had a large market; its commercial contact included some neighboring settlements in Ivbiosakon and Etsako. Most of the early ethnic sub-groups of settlements were administered by Benin princes or the accredited delegates of the Oba of Benin. But this was not to be the case with Ososo in the semi-savannah region of the kingdom.

Ososo is an Edo town.¹⁶ It is situated on the north-eastern extremity of the kingdom of Benin. The early history of the town and

¹⁵ Dr. Christopher G. Okojie, Ishan Native Laws and Customs (Yaba, Lagos: John Okwesa & Co., 1960), pp. 23-24.

¹⁶ John Picton and John Mack, African Textiles: Looms, Weaving and Design (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1979), pp. 3, 40, 119, 171-173.

its people is scanty, obscure and undocumented. Much of what is known about the inhabitants was meticulously conserved and transmitted through oral tradition, engravings and some artefacts. The first settlement after the emigrants left Benin was probably founded at Enidegbe in about 1492 during the reign of Oba Ozoluwa (c. 1481-1504). There are still striking cultural and linguistic affinities with the Benin mode of life and practices.

In the second decade of the sixteenth century the inhabitants of this new Benin establishment gallantly engaged on behalf of their fatherland in the campaign against Idah, an important town in Igalaland. After a successful expedition against Igalaland some of the Bini Warriors retreated and settled in the town and the captives were habilitated in the territory. In course of time the population was gradually increased by the influx of Bini adventurers. Ososo possessed an extensive and fertile land which is highly suitable for agriculture. The town owned nearly all the vast expanse of territory south-west of the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers excluding, however, Oke-Aba (Kabba) territory.

About the middle of the eighteenth century an undaunted hunter ventured far west of the old settlement and founded a town which is the present Ososo. The land beyond the hills and the land on the mountains overhanging the town were equally fertile for farming and for the domestication of animals. Furthermore the new location of the town was strategically placed for defensive purposes. The town, Ososo, actually derived its name from Okra (Oso, in the language of the people). Tradition has it that the expression Azhi-Oso (literally

rendered to mean: 'who will buy some okra') was imitatively translated to sound like Oso-Oso by the invading Nupe (Itakpa) forces in the beginning of the nineteenth century. And the modified name, Ososo, stuck to this day. Apart from the traditional occupation of farming and occasional hunting, the people indulged in a little fishing. Ososo had a large market. Her beautifully decorated woven large floor mats and variegated calico cloths were the chief commodities for external trade. Communication and commercial relationship with the Ika and Onitsha people were cordial and mutually beneficial to the parties involved in the trade.

The aborigines of Ika (Eka) emigrated from Benin under the aegis of Eka. The town and its surrounding settlements thrived under the founder; tributes which consisted primarily in foodstuffs and livestock were paid promptly to the Oba of Benin until about 1577 when some of the leaders of the people were misled and they reneged in their obligation to their sovereign. Agban, the valiant Ezomo of Benin, was dispatched and instructed by the king to quell the rebellion in that district. After a brief open skirmish the Ika surrendered to the superior Bini forces.

After the pacification of Ika district the Oba renamed the major city, Agban in honor of the War-leader. With the passage of time Agban was corrupted to Agbor. All the Obi (vassal regents) of Agbor continued to owe their customary allegiance to the Oba of Benin as their overlord.

Although the Ika retained most of the Bini cultural practices, political institution, styles in their costumes and ritual ceremony

there was a linguistic transformation. The Ika language is a hybridization of Bini and Igbo with the latter predominating. It is neither Bini nor Igbo language; it is a peculiar combination of the two languages.

Almost all the settlements and towns in the Ika area are predominantly agricultural; their origins are traceable to agricultural settlements. This historical analysis can be replicated in each single institution if one considers the origin and development of the various towns and cities lying east of the kingdom of Benin, with particular reference to the establishment of Ahaba (Asaba), Allah (Illah), Ogwashi-Uku, Igbuzo (Ibusa) which owed their humble origin chiefly to agricultural development, fishery and a limited pastoralism.

The Oil Rivers States

The Oil Rivers region theoretically extended from the coastline of Lagos to the east coast shore of Calabar. But for practical purposes it was the littoral areas which was inhabited by the Ijaw, Ndoki, Andoni-Ibenu, Asa, Annang, Ibibio and Efik for centuries. In other words it was the estuarine region east of the river Niger; it was the territory traditionally referred to as the Bight of Biafra.

The Nembe (Brass), Kalabari (New Calabar), Ibani (Bonny) and Okrika are related to the Ijaw of the Delta region. The Ijaw in conjunction with the Itsekiri claimed Benin as the place of their origin; consequently the eastern Ijaw traced the migration of the groups ultimately to Benin. The local environment has greatly modified their world view but it did not abrogate their basic values. Regardless of some of the inconsequential variations in their dialect,

traditions and cultural practices, there was a far-ranging substratum of similarity observable in their inter-relationship. On one hand the Andoni and Ibeno may be classified as Ibibio or Efik because of the Efik dialect they have adopted, on the other hand they share the strong Ijaw connections, customs and traditions.

The Annang, Oron, Eket and Efik in their traditions of origin, migration and settlement generally claim that they established their present homeland in the period between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Ifemesia commented:

The Ibibio themselves were located on both banks of the middle-lower Cross River, and west and south-west of the Efik. Like the other peoples of the region just described, the Ibibio have no unitary or systematic tradition of origin, migration and settlement for the whole people. Some Ibibio traditions are even silent about the origins of the people, or insist that they did not migrate from anywhere and have occupied their present homeland from time immemorial. Others narrate that the south-western Cameroon area was their original home; for instance, the Uruan say their earlier settlement was at Efut Usak Edet in that neighbourhood.¹⁷

Jukun immigrants who inhabited the periphery of the Cross River city-state were accommodated in the region.

The Oil Rivers states for over three centuries had closely maintained the traditional pattern of economic activities and policy of the founders of the various settlements before the opening of the coastal trade with European merchants. Most of the people who lived in the towns and settlements in Ibibioland and Annang districts

¹⁷C.C. Ifemesia, Southeastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: An Introductory Analysis (New York: NOK Publishers International Ltd., 1978), pp. 7-8.

situated on the high plane and well beyond the tidal limits, flooding from the Imo and Cross Rivers, and the creeks, devoted their time to agriculture. The Ijaw who lived along the shore and the creeks were competent fishermen. Agriculture and fishery were the principal occupation of these delta coastal people. Market centers quickly developed in various locations of the states. Farmers and traders from the hinterland exchanged their foodstuffs, livestock, plants and animal products for fish, small canoes, and salt processed from the roots of mangrove trees or from the distillation of sea water.

The last endeavor in the nineteenth century by some European enterprisers to penetrate and explore the coastal areas as well as the hinterland for commercial exploitation and colonial domination met with bitter resentment. Some of the powerful traditional rulers, adept in the diplomacy of the coastal trade, confronted these foreign merchants and attempted to wrench the trade away from these merchants.

In 1869 King Jaja of Opobo, an acculturated immigrant from Igboland had moved with some of his political sympathizers from the ancient kingdom of Bonny to a new site where he could monopolize the traditional sources of palm oil supply. In defiance of the British company's threats and of embargo he was not deterred; he continued the shipment of his oil cargoes directly to England. This was not the case with King Pepple the First of Bonny; he was phlegmatic and responsive to the wind of change. He succumbed to the pressure of the foreign companies at the coast. But before the British government intervention in the internal affairs of the indigenous people of the coastline, King Nana of Ebrohimi had controlled the palm oil trade

around the Benin and Ethiope rivers. In the Cross River basin, events there were volatile and unpredictable. The political instability and ethnic rivalry in the coastal districts, especially in Calabar, militated against a broad base economic development in the area. The Obong (king), at that time, was ineffectual in the governance of the Efik territory.

The coastal city states of the Oil Rivers region, in spite of their heterogenous composition or interconnection through the various migration and settlement, formed a commonweal and determination to survive in a hostile region of delta swamps and creeks. Most of the farming activities were carried on in the hinterland where farm settlements could be conveniently structured on high ground, away from coastal flooding. The integration of the later immigrants from Igboland and the Jukun (Akpa) kingdom opened the way to the northern markets which hitherto were unknown to the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Oil Rivers states.

The Niger Region of the Eastern States

The Igbo (Ibo), like the Urhobo of the Niger Delta region, in the main, had no free and safe access to the coast¹⁸ without infringing on the territorial integrity of the neighboring city-states. The coastal ports at this material time, were the centers of early European commercial and social activities in the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 8; Ikime, op.cit., p. 2; Egharevba, op.cit., p. 90; Ruy de Sequeira paid a visit to Benin City c. 1472; John Affonso d' Aveiro first visited Benin City and introduced guns and coconuts about 1485.

The people of Igboland were hemmed in on all sides; they had no thoroughfare or exit to the sea. In the fifteenth century or earlier the lack of a direct entry to the sea was not considered a severe handicap to the people of Ibo city-states, even though the generality of the population had little or no direct contact with the European visitors or merchants trading at the Atlantic seaboard.

The history of the indigenous inhabitants of the Igboland is intensely obscure, undelicately fragmented, and obtrusively speculative. This description of the migratory pattern and settlement in the land by the Ibo is not exclusively peculiar to them. It is a common phenomenon underpinning all oral traditions.

However, anthropological discovery in the Ezi-Ukwu Ukpa Rock Shelter, in the neighborhood of Afikpo town, has illuminated the origin of the early inhabitants of Igboland. Some of the excavated materials seem to suggest that there has been evidence of human habitation and a vigorous culture in the area for some thousands of years (c. 2935 A.D. 15). The artefacts from Igbo-Ukwu, in Njikoka (Awka) district thus further corroborated human existence and activity in that part of the city state.

Powerful light has been shed on the problem of human occupation of the area. There are some questions still remaining unresolved: Who were these early settlers? From where did they come? How did they arrive at this part of the world? Why did they have to settle in that territory? The catalog of questions could continue ad infinitum. Some scientific hypotheses have been designed and solutions proffered; at best the attempted solutions are often at variance with one

another. Furthermore the scientific approach eludes the wonderful imagination of the popular story-tellers. There is no presumption on the part of the author of giving a comprehensive solution to the manifold inquiries. Migration apparently was one of the most popular strands offered by oral tradition. The methodology is flexible, open-ended and no area of research is forced to fit a procrustean bed.

The identity of the first inhabitants, their traditional occupation, the original place from where they set out to occupy the present Igbo territory are unknown. There are various Igbo traditions. One asserts that the subsequent migration in Igboland occurred between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In another version Uchendu, in his examination of the demographic patterns, the intrusive culture traits, the cultural features, together with oral history about the origin and migration of the Igbo hypothesized:

There exist a core area which may be called the "nuclear" Igboland; and the waves of immigrant communities from the north and the west planted themselves on the border of the nuclear Igboland as early as the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.¹⁹

The suggested homeland or hub-centers from where the Igbo ethnic sub-groups emigrated at various periods to the other parts, considered as Igbo territory, were Orlu, Owerri, Awka, and Okigwe. These heart-land or core areas are also prominent towns as well as the most densely populated ethnic groups which claimed to have no tradition of

¹⁹Victor C. Uchendu, The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 3.

emigration from any pre-existing communities or kingdoms.

In a third version, Mazi E.N. Njaka clinically and unemotionally described the Igbo expansionist methods of infiltration, settlement, and occupation of other people's towns or territories. They are essentially, he outlined, peaceful penetration as opposed to brutal force, the invitation of kinsfolk to the new habitation, and a thorough process of acculturation undergone by the immigrant settlers in the community. Mazi Njaka's strategy is straight forward:

One Igbo had penetrated and begun to attract people from Igbo country. Before doing this, he had assimilated himself in his new environment by learning the language and culture. As soon as he has firmly established himself--all legally--he embarked on the final method of absorption...²⁰

Some of his other methods of extending the Igbo frontier and influence could be through intrigues, limited war or confrontation, marriage, and also the use of official and ministerial position for political aggrandizement. The towns of Opobo and Ubani in the Oil Rivers region acutely experienced such territorial interference and de-stabilization in the nineteenth century. Why is this territorial ambition so much exaggerated in the Igbo city-states? This is a loaded question; it is complex and with no easy answers.

Besides the desire of the people to extend the Igbo frontier in order to alleviate and control the pressure of population explosion or the need to escape from some natural calamities that can make

²⁰Mazi E.N. Njaka, Igbo Political Culture (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1974), p. 21.

continued settlement in some places in Igboland in auspicious, the most compelling reason for the continual exodus or dispersion is the insatiate search for the acquisition of LAND. For most of the Igbo ethnic sub-groups, Land is life. Uchendu epitomizes the consummate quality of land to the Igbo:

Land means many things to the Igbo. It is the domain of earth-goddess, a burial place for the ancestors, a place to live on and make a living. Land is therefore the most important asset to the people. It is a source of security which is emotionally protected from alienation. It is believed that a person cannot have too much land and that no opportunity to acquire rights in the land should be lost.²¹

Land is supremely vital to the survival of the Igbo in Igboland. Briefly stated, the four cardinal principals of Igbo system of land tenure are:

- (1) all land is owned, either by the individuals or groups;
- (2) with some exceptions, a piece of land, ultimately belongs to the family and should not be alienated from it;
- (3) no member of the family line is without land; and
- (4) in general, members of the family line have the right to some allocation of some portion of the land for making their farms.²²

The land tenure system of the Igbo is, however, sympathetic to the problems the certain members encounter: some provision is made for aliens, married women, the freeborn and slaves, to acquire land for

²¹Uchendu, op.cit., p. 22.

²²Ibid., pp. 22-23; also Margaret M. Green, Ibo Village Affairs (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1964; first publ. in Great Britain, 1947), pp. 33-34.

farming. This arrangement is merely a usufructuary right; a right of use which confers no legal title of ownership of the property to the user or the agent.

Agriculture has been the bedrock of Igbo society. Most of the emigration undertaken by the individuals was a search for livelihood, a means for survival. Farming was basic to Igbo economy; it was the be all and end all of the traditional community. The Igbo village is an agglomeration of lands or farmsteads owned by family units or small kinship groups which are often interdependent and coalesce into one community for social, economic, and cultural activities.

Although women do not directly own land, for they legally cannot be land owners, they possess definite farming rights in the village of their husbands. Agriculture is the principal occupation of the village, it is the *raison d'être* of the village itself. The Igbo farm settlements are par excellence the nuclei of most of the cities in the Niger region of the eastern states. A majority of the towns and hamlets bear the names of the founders or their ancestors. Most of the towns developed originally from farm settlements. This process is an on-going occurrence in all the city-states. Staples raised are yams, cocoyam, cassava, plantain, and banana. There is a considerable supply of vegetables for making soup for the principal dish.

Livestock is kept only on a limited scale. The climatic conditions are not favorable for keeping cows in the southern states; the savannah region to the north is more suitable for rearing cattle because of the comparative absence of tsetse flies. If cows are not properly watched they are destructive to food plants, such as yam,

cassava, and growing up maize. There is little opposition to keeping sheep, goats, dogs, poultry, and in some localities, the short cows are tolerated. Some of these domestic animals are either bought from the market or are acquired through a contract of agistment (livestock tenancy). The Igbo view farming as of a paramount importance; there is no substitute for it; trading is viewed by them as a subsidiary occupation.

In the economic sphere in the Igbo communities, trade is second only to agriculture. Markets and marketplaces have a dual function for the community. They serve as places for commercial transactions as well as forums for non-economic or social functions of the village or town. The marketplace is truly a place for business. It also serves the village-groups as a pivot for their cultural and social expression.

After farming and trading the production of palm oil and the preparation of palm kernels were some of the lucrative functions of the Igbo farmer. Some of the processed oil was sold in the local markets for domestic consumption. In localities where palm oil and palm kernels were in abundant supply these commodities were transported to the coast for export.²³

Trading has always been an important avenue of income to the people of the East Niger states. Before European contact long-distance trade was in vogue in Igboland. There was a network of Igbo petty commercial posts established in some towns in the

²³M.M. Green, op.cit., p. 40.

neighboring territories contiguous to Eastern states. In hospitable environment some of these itinerant traders on agricultural products and other wares did temporarily settle in friendly towns or farm-encampment far away from home. But as time progressed, through trade, communication and intermarriage with the people of these host towns and settlements, some of the Igbo traders gradually acquired permanent residence. Oftentimes they became the middlemen or the local representatives between the Igbo traders and the inhabitants of their new domicile. Things did not remain as they had been in those areas. Through some cautious ingenuity on the part of the Igbo immigrant farmers or traders the Igbo language was introduced and interchangeably spoken at the beginning of the infiltration; but given the time the Igbo language predominated over the local tongue or at best the two languages were interwoven or mongrelized. In other words the two cultures became fused into one and homogenized. As is often the case, frontier populations become, invariably, bicultural and bilingual in composition. Such intrusive cultural traits are evidently discernible among the people occupying the riparian zone area of the Niger river, such towns as Aboh, Ndoni and Oguta.²⁴ Other border towns and settlements that experienced such cultural intrusion are Agbor (Ika), Ukwuani (Kwale), Opobo and Ubani.

The history of the town of Onitsha²⁵ with its satellite

²⁴Elizabeth Isichei, The Ibo People and the Europeans: The Genesis of a Relationship - to 1906 (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1973), p. 42.

²⁵Egharevba, op.cit., p. 29. Some of the Bini cultural heritage are extant in Onitsha, for example, the Obi-ship.

settlements recounts a unique experience. Onitsha, a hegemony of Benin kingdom, was believed to have been founded in the first half of the sixteenth century by some Bini emigrants during the reign of Oba Esigie (Oseigie).²⁶ Onitsha, in turn, has a tremendous cultural impact on the northern sector of the Igboland,²⁷ especially, towns and settlements in the Anambra river basin state, including Asaba and Allah (Illah). The people of the Nsukka area, including Ogurus, Ezike, Ibagwa are greatly enamored of the Igala lifestyle. The Tiv influence on Abakaliki and its environ has always been of pastoral in nature. The two interdependent people have become intertwined in their diverse cultures and language. The territorial boundaries turned out to be no formidable barriers but are political and ideological contrivance. The people are one and they need one another to grow into maturity as one sovereign country.

Summary

Despite the pillage, destruction and prolonged agony occasioned by the civil war with Katunga Ilorin trade with the Yorubaland was maintained after the cessation of hostilities between the warring factions. The Alafin of Oyo, for all practical purposes, emerged as

²⁶Ibid., p. 26. Before Oba Esigie's accession to the throne he was called Osawe; it is still customary for the Oba to take a new name during the coronation.

²⁷The origin of the word "Igbo" is enigmatic. The derivation of the name is obscure. The many theories about its origin are purely speculative. Until very recently the Onitsha, Oguta, and Nri did not consider themselves as Igbo. The Onitsha, disparagingly applied the phrase, "the Igbo people", to the other Igbo ethnic sub-groups. However, the modern usage of the word "Igbo" may signify either the Igboland, the native speakers of the language, or the spoken language itself. Compare V.C. Uchendu, op.cit., p. 3; Njaka, op.cit., pp. 16 & 23.

the supreme ruler of most of the Yorubaland in the eighteenth century.

The two most powerful royal dynasties, Oyo and Benin, originated from Ife, the cradle of the Yoruba. The Alafin of Oyo and the Oba of Benin were regarded by their subjects as divine. About the middle of the nineteenth century many powerful Yoruba ethnic sub-groups emerged and asserted their self-rule. The Egba, Ijebu, and Ibadan led the way to self-determination; the Ekiti Parapo, including the Ijesha, successfully shook off the Ibadan yoke. Benin empire drastically shrank during the Yoruba civil war of internal rivalry and supremacy within the Yorubaland.

The empire of Benin was unmanageably extensive and difficult to govern effectively by one ruler. Under Oba Ewuare the Great many Bini emigrants left the City of Benin to establish their own settlements. Itsekiri and Urhobo, Edo speaking people, founded settlements in the Niger Delta region; the Isoko, Aboh and Ijaw settled along the mouth of the river Niger. The subsequent bands of emigrants that left Benin cosmopolitan town to find shelter in the northern direction of the kingdom were the Ishan, Etsako, Ivbiosakon, Owan, and Akoko Edo. These latter groups had their settlements at various locations in the twilight zone of the kingdom.

Towards the east, the Bini founders of Ika, Onitsha and its environ probably met with some opposition from the people in the hinterland, the Igbo of the central southeastern states. About the sixteenth century the Bini and Igala cultural influences, kingship institutions, and their hierarchical title systems were deeply entrenched in the Anambra basin, Nri, and the Nsukka district. The

Jukun or Tiv influence should not be minimized in the northern border of Igboland. There were important markets situated at the lower Benue basin; they were the natural meeting places for all people.

The palm oil trade at the coast with the European merchants was dominated by the Ijaw, Asa, Ndoki, Ibibio, and Efik of the Oil Rivers region in the early part of the nineteenth century. The flourishing coastal market gradually filtered into the hinterland. Local trade with the Igbo on staples was also maintained in all fronts.

Networks of trade, primarily in agricultural and pastoral products, linked together the people of the various territories of Nigeria before the amalgamation in 1914. Portugal, Britain, France, and Germany, had great economical and evangelical interests in the different parts of the country. The evangelical missions preceded the mercantile explorers who came to Nigeria.

After the colonial occupation, many of the European administrators or missionaries saw themselves as agents of civilization, progress and evangelism. The British trading company established trading posts; on the other hand, the missionaries founded schools to facilitate the work of the propagation of the new religion and the conversion of the non-Christians into the new religious persuasion.

In the perception of the indigenes, the system of education of youth was part and parcel of the total cultural package. Consequently their quest for formal education for their children was not a demand for milieu education but it was the search for the knowledge of the English language, reading, and computation for the purposes of trade.

Ajayi describes the rulers' type of education:

What they expected from the European was not a substitute but a supplement, a system of apprenticeship by which the children acquired additional arts and skills, the art of reading and writing, guaging palm-oil or manufacturing gunpowder or sugar or building boats.²⁸

The traditional education adapts the individuals into life in the family compounds and the states. The primary objective of informal education is the formation of a good moral character in the person or child. Children receive moral and religious education from the family and the community. The precepts and the customary practices and the taboos are clearly taught. The children are exposed to the conventions and etiquette of the community and can no longer claim ignorance of them. Another important aspect of milieu education is, children are intellectually nurtured and trained to count yams and ears of corn, at the age of four or five. To a greater degree they learn how to manage the various equipments of the specific trade. In the moonlight children assemble in voluntary groups to tell and learn the stories of their past leaders, heroes and heroines, and fables of the family history. They learn to give answers to riddles and conundrums; they also learn proverbs and simple songs.

As the children grow older they are apprenticed to experts in different types of occupation. At puberty the adolescent age-groups are initiated further into the mysteries of life. It is the direct responsibility of the parents of children to supervise their general education while the community helps educate the young. This is how it

²⁸Ajayi, op.cit., p. 133.

had been in the various city-states or ethnic groupings, such as in Badagri, Lagos, Calabar, Kano, Borno and Benin before the British colonization of Nigeria in the late nineteenth century.

The historical foundation of the city-states, kingdoms and empires in the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria was similar or parallel to that of the North. The search for fertile agricultural land invariably led to the formation of cities and towns in two famous kingdoms of Benin and Oyo in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively. But to the far south of Owerri and Aba, the towns and settlements situated in the Oil Rivers and Cross River states dominated the fish market on the Atlantic coast. The Igbo occupied and farmed the central territory on the east bank of the Niger and Onitsha.

The prevailing system of communication, trade, and communal interaction of the country in 1914 continued to flourish in the new political structure. The protracted cultural association welded the various ethnic polities or provinces together in their common pursuit of happiness and national goals.

The introduction of Western education (schooling) into the communities gave the country a new lease on life. It furnished the country a new direction for social and economic development. Pre-literate people accepted schooling with misconception; they were skeptical of the innovation. For them the main guiding principle of milieu education was functionalism: an immediate induction of the immature into a societal responsibility and a preparation for adulthood. Briefly, informal education was for them an integration of

the physical and intellectual experience of the individual or the community. The impact of British colonization on the traditional agriculture will be briefly surveyed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

BRITISH COLONIALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN NIGERIA: BEGINNING TO 1885

The introduction and dissemination of Western education in Nigeria during the colonial rule were revolutionary. Schooling was regarded by the pre-literate people as the key to the understanding of the technological superiority which had enabled the European invaders to come and conquer and rule them. What was not immediately obvious or least suspected by the indigenes was the emphasis formal education placed on individual achievement. This aspect was destined to rock the very foundation of communal and traditional life with its ideas of corporate identity and collective responsibility. The chapter will investigate the British and missionary interests in Nigeria: why they came; how they came; and how they ruled.

In the 1530's European maritime and mercantile activities flourished all along the West African coastal shore. An action which apparently was a direct violation or defiance of the Papal bull which divided the world trade between Portugal and Spain. With the exception of Brazil, the proclamation guaranteed Spain the monopoly of the European exploitation of the New World, discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese mariner, in 1492. The second half of the globe, namely, Asia and Africa, was entrusted to Portuguese management.

Between 1418 and 1475 Portuguese explorers and merchants had established trading posts along the West African Atlantic coastline.

There were forts in the Upper Guinea and the Lower Guinea which consisted of the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast. In 1486 the fort at Ughoton (Gwatto), the port of Benin City, was founded along the creeks for refitting boats. The area was soon abandoned for more controllable markets in the Slave Coast.

Furthermore the West African peppers were to be replaced by the East Indian pepper which was popular with Europe. The paramount reason for the abandonment of the area was the alleged inflexibility of the King of Benin and his total domination of the trade with the foreign merchants. He would not be swayed to export male slaves; these slaves were crucial to his royal power and the economy of the kingdom. In short, the monarchy and the government were autonomous and refused to bend to foreign economic and political pressure.

When the trans-Atlantic slave trade was at its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Britain actively participated and eventually dominated in the conveyance of African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean for commercial transactions. The sale of human cargoes in the two Americas was to last for the next three and half centuries; a deal which involved approximately twelve million Africans¹ hauled across the ocean.

The demand for slaves from Africa to labor in the American

¹J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955; reprinted edition, Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 83-84. With particular reference to Table B: the estimated number of slaves exported from Africa as a whole up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. About 55-60% of all slaves transported to America originated from West Africa.

plantations was astronomical. It greatly increased the number of European suppliers who engaged in the highly competitive slave markets. The situation exacerbated the plight of the slaves in their transit.

The enormous profit in the Atlantic slave trade allured other dealers into the market. In addition to the traditional slave merchant countries, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, France and Britain, another wave of maritime adventurers and merchants from other seafaring nations of Western Europe, Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, also engaged in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. They all bought and sold West African slaves to European planters in the West Indies and the American colonies. The plantations and the plantation colonies rapidly multiplied in number so as to cater for Europe's demand for sugar, coffee, tobacco, indigo, and other similar consumer or capital goods.

Various national trading companies from Western Europe were formed and granted charters by their governments. As a result of government support the monopoly companies were able to compete effectively in the slave trade. Individual slave merchants were precluded from participating in the slave business.

The European slave traders, by and large, procured their human cargoes at the coast from the African middlemen who in turn secured the bulk of slaves from the hinterland. The merchandise the Europeans exported to the coastal areas in exchange for slaves consisted of hardware such as machetes, axes, knives, daggers, and cutlasses. Other foreign commodities for the trade were, strangely, spirituous

liquors, special firearms or Dane guns, and a large consignment of gunpowder. Textile materials, cooking utensils, salt, tobacco and articles for personal adornment or haberdasheries were also introduced into the business by the European merchants.

In return for the trades they bought, the Europeans provided West African traders with many kinds of goods: textiles (woolens and linens manufactured in Europe; cotton manufactured, before the nineteenth century, mostly in India; and silks manufactured either in Europe or in Asia); all kinds of firearms, gunpowder and shot; knives and cutlasses; many kinds of European-made ironmongery and hardware; iron, copper, brass, and lead in bar form; beads and trinkets; spirits (rum, brandy, or gin, according to the country of origin of the trader); and many kinds of provisions.²

The trade was largely concentrated in the hands of a few potentates who were ready to exploit it to their own advantage. When the chartered companies needed some fortified and garrisoned depots where stocks of slaves as well as of the trade goods for the barter were to be securely stored, the African kings and merchants were reluctant to grant the companies the facilities to build permanent fortified bases on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea. The companies' plans were definitely misapprehended by the kings who were not aware of the existence of foreign interlopers and marauders on the coastal waters. The local rulers insisted that the European establishments or structures, where permission was granted, must be made of mud and thatch, built close to their palaces in towns a few miles distant from the range of gun shells, and finally the structures were to be under

²Ibid., op.cit., p. 89.

their strict supervision. The kings were suspicious of foreign encroachment on their power and diminution in their areas of jurisdiction. If the companies were allowed to build strong stone or brick forts, the control of the coastal trade and the communities could easily pass into their hands. They insisted that the land on which the forts were erected belonged to them and that the companies' rights were those of lessees only.

In the case of the Niger Delta states, European merchants were not permitted to live on land and had to carry on their businesses or functions from hulks moored off-shore. It is conjecturable that the crew of the boats were not prepared to risk their lives in an inhospitable environment more than necessary.

The attractions of trade with the Europeans, however, were so fascinating and alluring to a number of the inhabitants that some people living in the hinterland as well as the coastal states migrated to the new towns that sprang around the shanty depots. The local ruler of the district, in whose territory the trading establishments were situated, in most cases, had no jurisdiction over the people living there. The new rulers of such depots were appointed by the company's officials and the administrators or liaisons were responsible to the commander of the forts for law and order in the excised territory or colony.

The English attempts to open trade with West Africa before the middle of the seventeenth century had no lasting success, but in 1660, an English company, the Company of the Royal Adventurers trading to Africa was first chartered. It was commissioned principally to

provide slaves for the West Indian plantations. About twelve years later it was succeeded by the Royal African Company with the same prerogatives and obligations. Denmark paved the way for other nations by abolishing slave in 1802.

In 1807 the bottom of the slave trade fell out in the British overseas territories. The British Parliament in that auspicious year passed an act which forbade British subjects to traffic in slaves. Previous to the enactment of the law, some members of Parliament who championed the abolitionist movement, the "Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade", introduced a motion in the British House of Commons declaring that "the slave trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of Man". The bill was defeated. After protracted court battles, compromises, public enlightenment, and protestations against the abominable practice of slavery and slave trade, the religious, humanitarian and anti-slavery groups were finally victorious. An Act of Parliament passed by the House of Commons and approved by the House of Lords in 1833 finally abolished slavery itself in the British Empire. Britain, the arch-dealer in the trade, endeavored to implement the legislation and to persuade other nations, through diplomatic channels, to take similar action. The British campaign efforts at the eradication of the slave trade yielded some appreciable results: the United States of America abolished its trade in slavery in 1808, Sweden in 1813, the Dutch people of the Netherlands in 1814 and France in 1818. While Brazil put a total halt to it in 1825, Spain and Portugal were bidding time at the stoppage. They merely restricted the trade to certain defined areas of their

interests and utility.

Many events occurring conjointly in the nineteenth century precipitated the attitudinal change in Britain during the period of the slave trade. The increased parliamentary lobbying and a strong pressure from the philanthropist and religious organizations served to arouse the conscience and indignation of the nation against the horrors of slavery. Slave trade or slave raiding could no longer be perceived in the British economy as "business as usual" or treated merely as another form of trade in the British Isles. The widely spread ideas of the Enlightenment or the Age of Reason had a profound impact on the continents of Europe and America. The American and the French Revolutions of the late eighteenth century essentially underscored the fundamental and inalienable rights of the individuals in society. The revolutionary movements often directed against absolutist monarchy and the bourgeois proclaimed that "all men under God, are created equal...." The activists sought to establish the principles of democratic rules: Liberty, Equality, and Social Justice. There was no united Germany in the early nineteenth century; it was just an agglomeration of large princely states. The German Philosophen or intellectuals strenuously agitated in 1848 for a united Germany consisting of folk states (Volksstaaten). Her involvement in the African affairs was to surface at a later date. The need for alternative markets was imminent. Some eminent ideologists and economists had emphasized that land and agricultural production were

the substructure of natural wealth.³

After the abolition and suppression of the slave trade, many of the free or liberated slaves returned to settle in Africa. Ironically, West African countries fortuitously profited from the immense experience of these emancipated slaves from the Americas and Europe. Some of these returnees, in some degree, had been exposed to Western culture and education. Happily, their integration into African communities created little or no problem. They soon acclimatized to the environment. Afterwards, some of them became Church ministers, evangelists, catechists, and teachers in the local mission schools. Those who served as civil servants, clerks and artisans in the commercial houses shared their experiences with the "sons of the soil" (indigines). Traders and farmers among them were also successful in their new land of opportunities and freedom.

The British Industrial Revolution was fully underway in 1800. Britain needed raw materials for her home industries as well as overseas markets for her manufactures. Bristol and Liverpool, the two most important English slave-trade ports, meanwhile took stocks and turned their attention to purchasing palm oil and cotton as a substitute trade; these commodities were increasingly becoming more valuable than dealing in slaves. It was time for Europe, particular

³G.L. Gutek, A History of Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), p. 142: Francois Quesnay, (1694-1774), the proponent of the classic doctrine of laissez faire economic, repudiated mercantilism that exaggerated the aristocracy of land and blood. The 'physiocrats' proposed land and agriculture as an alternative economic policy.

Britain, to explore new avenues for acquiring wealth; methods which were broadly based and diversified in outlook.

British Interests in the Niger Hinterland

Although the British government had long commercial relations with the coastal people of the two Bights, she did not openly demonstrate her interest in colonial expansion into the interior parts of the Niger area, prior to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. But after the abolition of the slave trade, industrial and commercial constraints impelled her to search for alternative and legitimate markets outside Europe for her goods. The establishment and the development of the new commercial venture in Nigeria were largely attributable to the indefatigable work of the British explorers and Christian missionaries. They opened the way to the interior parts of the country, thereby acquiring new varieties of goods and vast territories of untapped wealth.

The Advent of the Explorers

Scientific knowledge or some accurate information about Africa and its peoples was necessary to European entrepreneurs intending to invest in African countries. Such knowledge was also required to dispel the long standing myths and legends about the continent. Serious attempts were made by the 'Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa' to acquire such relevant and objective data. The organization, popularly known as 'the African Association' was founded in England in 1788. Its membership represented a wide range of interests in the fields of science and humanities. The Association, among so many other projects, was

particularly interested in the exploration of the river Niger. It sponsored a young Scottish doctor, Mungo Park, on his expedition to the Niger towards the end of 1795. After more than six months of incredible endurance, physical exposure to suffering or violence, and the frequent attack of malaria fever, the remnant of the group arrived at Segou on July 26, 1796, having discovered the River. With uncontrollable burst of fervor and gratitude Mungo Park uttered his memorable lines:

Through some marshy ground where I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called "geo affili" (see the water); and looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long sought for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the Eastwards. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.⁴

The British Colonial Office with more optimism invested in the Association's second exploratory expedition to the Niger in 1805. The British merchants were enthusiastic to exploit the situation. Unfortunately Mungo Park and his companions were not to return alive to England. They were feared dead or killed in the rapids of Bussa in the present Nigeria. However, Park's retrieved journal furnished a great deal of information about the Niger. The unfinished business of searching for the sources and mouth of the river Niger was to resume at a later date.

⁴Akpofure and Crowder, Nigeria: A Modern History for Schools (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1966), p. 103; quoted from Park, Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa in 1795, 1796, 1797, etc.

In 1822 the British government sent out expeditions to probe the sources and outlets of the Niger. The explorers approached the Niger mission from different directions. Major William Gray, an Englishman, located in the Futa Jallon mountains the sources of the Niger river in the same year. Doctor Walter Oudney, Major Dixon Denham, and Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton, R.N., took the well-established trans-Sahara trade route from Tripoli. The Shehu of Borno, Al-Kanemi, enthusiastically welcomed Denham and Clapperton who explored the Kanuri and Lake Chad territory. After the death of Oudney, Clapperton visited the great commercial city of Kano, and from there to Sokoto, the capital of the Fulani empire. The Sultan of Sokoto gave him a warm reception. But in his second expedition which was through Badagri to Sokoto, Clapperton failed to achieve his main objectives: to chart the course of the Lower Niger and secure the Sultan of Sokoto's signature to a treaty of mutual understanding and cooperation between Britain and the Caliphate. Sokoto refused to reciprocate the British gesture of good will. Sultan Bello firmly declined to repudiate slavery and the slave trade in the two Caliphates. The refusal was a great disappointment to Clapperton and his servant, Richard Lander; Clapperton died in April, 1826.

It was the Lander brothers who finally discovered the mouth of the Niger in 1830. Sailing down the river from Bussa, Richard Lander and his brother John Lander arrived in the Niger Delta region, where the commercial competition between the various merchants at the estuary of the Niger was extremely fierce. African and European traders alike were seen trading for slaves or for palm oil. After the completion of their mission to the Niger, a ship in Fernando Po

ultimately conveyed the Lander brothers back to England after a successful and eventual exploration of the outlets of the river Niger into the Atlantic ocean.

Doctor Heinrich Barth, a German and member of the British expedition to the Sudan in 1850, was a remarkable explorer. He lost all the members of his team from England at different times during the journey. As the only survivor of the travel to central Africa, he visited Katsina and Kano, journeyed to Borno and explored Lake Chad and taking a southward direction he discovered the Benue (chadda) river, a tributary of the Niger. After his visit to Sokoto and some other places in the interior, he returned to England through Tripoli in 1855. He was a brilliant and courageous man. He kept extremely accurate and penetrating records of his observations and the many places he visited in that excursion. These explorations were a break-through for establishing legitimate trade contacts with the people of the hinterland.

Early Trading Up the Niger

After the exploration of the Niger and the hinterland, Macgregor Laird, a Liverpool merchant and ship-owner, sailed up the Niger in two specially fitted steamships on a trade expedition. It was principally geared to test the practicability of direct trade with the interior people of the Niger area. Ten years after the initial experiment to trade with the people of the country, the British government in 1841 embarked on a larger and more ambitious expedition. Apart from the commercial enterprise the expedition was commissioned to establish a missionary station and a model farm at the confluence of the Niger and

Benue rivers. Like its predecessor (1832-4) the enterprise was plagued with many problems. It suffered serious setbacks along the Niger coast. In the journey to the land the high mortality among the seamen as a result of malaria fever slowed down future attempts to penetrate up the Niger. Until the availability of prophylactic drugs for curbing malaria infection the program was shelved. For the moment there was a legitimate concern among the participants in the venture, the British traders, the Christian missionaries, and the British government.

Christian Missionary Endeavor

The first Christian missionaries in West Africa were Roman Catholics. The Portuguese missionaries established a Catholic mission station in Benin City in the second decade of the sixteenth century but little of their influence survived by the end of the eighteenth century.

During the struggle for the emancipation and enfranchisement of slaves (in the eighteenth century) various Christian organizations were also formed; they were specifically entrusted with the dissemination of the Christian gospel in non-Christian countries of Asia and Africa. The resurgence of such Christian movements in Western Europe to evangelize and 'civilize' the people of the different city-states and kingdoms, towns and cities, hamlets and villages of the Niger area quickly gathered momentum after the abolition and suppression of the slave trade.

The British abolitionists enthusiastically supported the formation of the new Protestant missionary societies at the close of the

eighteenth century. They were eager to rectify the gross atrocities and indignities occasioned by the European merchants in their involvement in the West African slave trade. Furthermore, it was a convenient opportunity to indemnify the native people and present the moral and material benefits of European civilization and not the most baneful and acquisitive aspects of the culture.

Slavery was legally banned in many countries. Human energy and resourcefulness had to be channeled towards more desirable and humane goals. A great number of adventurers and humanitarian organizations turned to Africa for the realization of their dreams and aspirations.

West Africa was flooded with all shades of missionaries.⁵

Islamic movements had already spread, through North Africa, their dragnet and were virtually in control of the royal palaces and the administration. But the evangelical missions, in turn, penetrated West Africa through the coastal towns. They failed to present a united front against their more formidable counterforce. Instead the various religious denominations on the missions were each vying for the recruitment, evangelization and conversion of the peoples in the

⁵The term 'missionary' has here dictionary connotations. The Hadith (Islamic tradition) enjoins on every Muslim to seek knowledge and spread it. Muslims therefore have an implicit obligation to advance the course of Islamic faith. For the religious adherents it is a way of life and infidels should be persuaded to embrace its tenets and practices. The Christian missionary societies, at this point, were parts of the larger institutionalized Christian sects with an evangelical mission to foreign countries; the missionaries of the nineteenth century to Nigeria were mainly from Britain, Germany, France, and the United States of America. Some of the liberated slaves who had returned to Nigeria, the two Americas and other places also actively participated in the missionary activities (within the country).

missionland into their different sects. Thus they renewed their denominational, rivalry, animosity, and religious feuds in their territories.

Between 1840 and 1890 there were five major evangelical missionary societies operating in the Lower Niger area. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was, in the final analysis, the brainchild of Dr. Thomas Coke, a Methodist church leader who had earlier contemplated the "Establishment of Missions to the Heathen" in 1787, a plan which later materialized in 1813. William Carey, an English man, founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 as an arm of the English Baptist Church. The interdenomination missionary societies which were to be located in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow failed to integrate in 1795. The unsuccessful accomplishment of the unification gave rise to the foundation of the London Missionary Society in 1798 and the Presbyterian missionary movement of Scotland.

The evangelical, revivalist movements, especially after the Protestant Reformation, were not in the least confined to the nonconformist religious sects alone. In 1799 a fundamentalist movement within the Anglican communion established the "Society of Missions to Africa and the East" which later became synonymous with the Anglican Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.). The formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 was crucial to the success of all these Protestant movements in the nineteenth century. This latter organization was, in principle, committed to the production of subsidized copies of the Bible in other foreign languages. The Anglican and the continental reformation greatly and distinctly shaped

the four missionary movements which were directly involved in the proselytization of Nigeria: the Church Missionary Society, the Methodists, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the U.S.A. Southern Baptist Convention.

The Society of African Missions (Societe des Missions Africaines, S.M.A.), was a Catholic organization, founded in Lyon, France, about 1856. It stood on its own pedestal. Moreover it was established as a reactionary measure against the secularism and atheistic tendencies of the French Revolution. The society was intended to serve as a Catholic challenge and response to the fast growing Protestant revivalist movements in Africa and other foreign countries. Its initial contact with Lagos did not occur until 1867. As a result of the Franco-Prussian War and other internal political problems, the society's spread was interrupted and its activities were confined to the Lagos area. The Holy Ghost congregation made its appearance in the Oil Rivers and the South-East Niger states, in 1884.

These foreign religious organizations were envisaged by the founders to revolutionize the traditional religious concepts of the non-Christian population of the area, create a new crop of Western-educated elite imbued with Western orientation and thought, and provide a healthy atmosphere for the social and economic development among the people.

European Merchants and Missionary Activities

The successful accomplishment of the exploration of the Niger waterways by the Lander brothers greatly spurred more new breeds of merchants and missionaries to come to the West African coast,

especially to the Lower Niger area. During this period their common interest was threefold: the propagation of Christianity, the promotion of commerce, and the civilization of the Africans. Although there was a mutual understanding and close cooperation between the two groups in the project, their mode of operation and achievement of the desired objectives were markedly different. They both sought to encourage legitimate trade between the Africans and the Europeans. The missionaries were particularly anxious to establish along the same lines and principles the Christian religion in the new territories. In short, a legitimate trade was to replace the slave trade and Africans were to be converted to the Christian faith. The blueprint of the work was contained in Buxton's classic book.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a staunch abolitionist and humanitarian asserted in his famous work, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (1840), that the eradication of the slave trade required the development of a legitimate trade in the products of Africa's forests. In the same vein he maintained that the souls of the liberated slaves must also be saved through the Christian message of salvation. A new economic order had to be introduced and developed on the coast, based on the natural products of the Nigerian forests. The resumption of trade in palm oil, timber, cotton, hides and skin, ivory and beeswax were to be substituted for human cargoes. Buxton systematically outlined a comprehensive and attractive program of action for the implementation of the desired free trade. He observed that the use of gunboat diplomacy and the British naval blockade at the coast as a means of establishing a long lasting cultural association with African

countries was not only futile but inexpedient. He suggested that Britain should negotiate treaties with the local or traditional rulers who, as a gesture of good will, would grant other fertile lands in the interior for economic development. These ceded areas, when developed, would eventually become little cells of civilization dotted across the country. In addition, British industrialists or merchants should establish factories and model farms in such lands. If the people were instructed in scientific farming, he postulated, the model farms should more than provide the raw materials needed in the British factories. The new trade policy should be carefully coordinated to stimulate agriculture and to civilize as intended. Finally, he suggested that the missionaries should be zealous in the evangelization of the people. He maintained that 'the Bible should accompany the plough and the traders' goods.' A favorable ground should be created to sustain the economic interdependence between African countries and Great Britain. Each country possessed what the other required for economic and cultural development.⁶

The policy of the Bible and Plough was a welcome plan to industrial England. 'The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa' was hurriedly formed in July 1839. The society endeavored to try out the proposals and ideas set out in The African Slave Trade. The members of the Agricultural

⁶Compare R. Akpofure & M. Crowder, op.cit., pp. 107-109; and Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969), pp. 8-12.

Society were eager to acquire arable lands for agricultural experimentation.

Buxton's journal, The Friend of Africa, helped allay some spurious fears about Africa and the people. Industrialists, merchants, missionaries and even politicians rushed to seize the opportunity to invest in the Niger Expedition of May 1841. The three ships weighed anchor the same year. The expedition was under the command of Captain Trotter, R.N. The Rev. J.F. Schon and Samuel Ajayi Crowther⁷ joined the ship crew at Sierra Leone. The Niger Expedition was an elaborate single venture. Ajayi peers at the ship's deck:

It [the Niger Expedition] was to symbolize the whole civilize force of Britain. There were three steam-boats; four commissioners of the government authorized to make treaties and explore the chances for a consul somewhere on the Niger; scientists of all types equipped with the latest instruments to make observations about the climate, the plants, the animals, the soil, the people themselves and their social and political institutions; commercial agents to report about the trade, the currency, the traffic on the river; a chaplain and two C.M.S. missionaries to report on the possibilities of missionary work. In addition there were agents of the Agricultural Society to acquire land at a suitable point near the confluence of the Niger and the Benue and there to establish a model farm that was to be the first cell of civilization.⁸

⁷Samuel Ajayi Crowther was a Yoruba slave liberated in 1822. He was educated in the local C.M.S. school in Freetown, Sierra Leone; and afterwards in the Parochial School, Islington, in London. He received his priestly ordination in 1843 in London and later he was consecrated 'Bishop of Western Equitorial in Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions' in Canterbury Cathedral in August 1864. He was a pioneer missionary of missionaries.

⁸Ade Ajayi, op.cit., p. 12.

Mission to the Interior

The evangelization of the hinterland of the Niger area was a three-pronged operation. The previous explorers of the Niger river had paved the way for the Christian missionaries. The evangelists carried the Gospel message into the interior parts of the country and thus they made it more accessible to the European merchants who trailed behind them. The trade followed the Cross. The Church of Scotland Mission began its operation in Calabar in 1846, the Niger Delta region up to the banks of the Niger was evangelized by the Church Missionary Society, and Yorubaland was dominated by the Wesleyan Methodists, the C.M.S. and the Baptists. The Catholic missionaries came much later onto the scene.

The crew of 145 Europeans and 158 Africans arrived at the Niger to initiate the long contemplated legitimate trade and evangelization in July 1841. The work commenced immediately. Treaties abolishing the slave trade were negotiated and signed with a number of the local rulers and kings. Captain Trotter concluded a non-aggression pact at Idah with King Ocheji, the Attah of Igalaland on September 6, 1841. After the customary court protocol and the presentation of 'gifts' to the Attah, his royal highness granted Captain Trotter and his entourage a large piece of land near the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue, for a model farm. Alfred Carr, a West Indian agriculturist, was earmarked to be the superintendent of the pilot farm project at Lokoja. The project never materialized. The death toll on the crew was frightfully high. The whole expedition was suddenly terminated and the surviving Europeans returned home in July

1842. The expedition was not a colossal disaster. It succeeded in opening a window of mutual understanding and future cooperation between the two peoples. Furthermore, the converted Africans continued with the missionary work to their own people.

In 1841, at the very inception of the evangelization of the West African countries, the Rev. Henry Venn, the Honorary General Secretary of the C.M.S. strongly advocated the indigenization of the African Church. He apprised the Anglican Church dignitaries of the unsavory consequences that would result, as long as European priests were visibly at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs in Africa. The newly founded churches would always be perceived by Africans as alien institutions. A prompt action was taken by the Anglican Church to avert such an occurrence. The Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther was consecrated as the first African bishop of the Anglican Church. Venn regarded the episcopal elevation as the fullness of the native African Church.

Crowther headed the Niger Mission Expedition. Many of the freed converted slaves had returned from Freetown and other locations to their original Yoruba homes in Lagos, Abeokuta, and Badagri. They willingly collaborated with him in the work of evangelization, rehabilitation of the returnees, and the restoration of the almost defunct agricultural and economic system. This state of affairs was a

result of the horrors⁹ of the slave trade. The systematic depopulation of the city-states greatly diminished the manpower needed for agricultural development in the areas where the trade was most concentrated. Young people in their prime, both male and female, had been forcibly plucked out of their environment and marketed as slaves into foreign lands. The predicament had serious repercussions on the agricultural economy, caused incalculable hardships and uncertainty of life to the people who had now to live from day to day and from hand to mouth. Slave raiders had terrorized and driven the farming population to take refuge in caves, subterranean places, hill-tops and mountain valleys. The Christian missionaries and philanthropist organizations came to the people's rescue after more than 350 agonizing years.

Yoruba Mission

The Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission at Cape Coast, opened the first missionary station at Badagri in September, 1842. Badagri, a town founded about 1727 by a group of Egun, Hueda and Wemenu emigrants from Allada and Ouidah in the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey), became the first missionary

⁹R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, op.cit., p. 60; J.D. Fage, op.cit., pp. 84-95. Fage analyses the term 'slave'. In the strict sense of the word, it may refer to any person who is deprived of his personal freedom and is regarded as a chattel, such as the slaves in the barracoons or in the trans-Atlantic plantations in the New World or in the West Indies. In its broad usage, the word may be applied to subjects (of a King or Queen), domestic servants, serfs, pledges or pawns, apprentices, captives, and war prisoners. Both analyses are probably derived from the Latin verb 'servire', to serve, to minister, etc. His assumption for the analysis is based on the premise that if only the kings were wholly free men all men and women under their jurisdiction could be referred to as 'slaves'.

base in Nigeria for Christian activities into the interior of Yorubaland. In the following year, after the establishment of a mission station, a school was opened by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Denominational rivalries marked this period. In January 1845, another band of missionaries began their activities in Badagri. The C.M.S. Mission consisted of the Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the Rev. Henry Townsend, and the Rev. C.A. Gollmer, a Wurtemburger from the Basel Seminary in Germany. They also established a school and an experimental farm in the place. Gollmer tried to encourage the Badagri to invest in agriculture. To stimulate their interest in farming he organized agricultural shows and awarded prizes for a good performance. But their soil was most infertile. The inhabitants who were predominantly traders and desired to remain merchants refused to cooperate. In 1846 the Yoruba Mission wound its way into the interior parts of the country. The Abeokuta Anglican station became the home base for missionary activities to Egbaland as well as to many other important towns in the region. It became the gateway to Ibadan and Ijebuland. Bishop Crowther carried the faith beyond the confines of the Yorubaland. The people living along the Niger banks also listened to his preaching.

Niger Mission Stations

At the request of some influential Igbo in Sierra Leone, the local committee of the C.M.S. Mission dispatched the Rev. Edward Jones, a West Indian, and Principal of Fourah Bay College, to head a three Igbo delegation to the Oil Rivers states on an exploratory mission. The delegation was to investigate the possibility of

settling the liberated slaves in those areas that would accept immigrants. Intelligence reports collected by the group abundantly showed that a sizeable number of liberated Igbo were already accommodated in Calabar in 1853.

The 1857 missionary expedition to the Niger was led by Crowther. He was accompanied by the Rev. John C. Taylor, a freed Igbo slave, and a group of 25 catechists. They founded a mission station at Onitsha. The Obi of Onitsha granted them a parcel of land for their use. Taylor was later left behind to administer the Onitsha station. Crowther with his party sailed upstream to establish two more small stations at Igbebe and Lokoja. The earlier plan to locate a model farm at Lokoja failed. Nevertheless the missionaries continued to emphasize the importance of agriculture as a powerful instrument of civilization and national economic development.

Cross River Mission Stations

The Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell with his missionary companions arrived at Calabar in 1846. The Church of Scotland Mission to Calabar was admonished by the United Presbyterian Church, the parent body and sponsor of the mission, to soft pedal the idea of agricultural settlements as a part of the evangelization deal. Their primary objective was strictly the preaching of the Good News of Salvation.

Coincidentally, Hope Waddell and his co-evangelists on their arrival at Calabar in April 1846 discovered in the Delta Creeks that, commerce and not the cultivation of the land was the civilizing force. The rulers were not land-owning aristocrats but middle-class merchants. Fishery, however, was the traditional occupation of the

coastal people. They traded their catch for farm products from the hinterland of the Cross River city-states.

The missionaries built schools and churches on lands granted to them by the Obong, the Efik and Ibibio rulers. In 1850, the 'Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs and for Promoting Civilization in Calabar' pressed for the abolition of human sacrifice in Calabar town and its environment. With the assistance of the Ekpe Cult members, the Presbyterian Missionary Society succeeded in the eradication of human sacrifices and the killing of twins.

Hope Waddell and his confreres during their pastoral work uncovered in the Cross River and the Delta areas a flourishing trade in palm oil, ivory, camwood and gum copal. Like shrewd businessmen, the Ijaw, Ibibio and Efik sought the aid of these missionaries principally for commercial and material purposes. The local traders often misperceived the missioners to be group of commercial advertisers or viewed them as the harbingers of a new economic prosperity and industrial development. As a matter of fact the foreign traders and the missionaries were interdependent. The distinction between the two groups was not always clearly obvious; however, the mistaken identity would have made no significant difference to the common people. The entire package deal was Christianity, Commerce and Civilization. The separation between the Church and commerce was minimal and often non-existent.

The people wanted the missionaries for agricultural development and the establishment of industrial factories for the abundant sugar cane produced in the creek swamps. They also needed help from the

missions to build and staff the schools. The children were anxious to acquire the relevant knowledge and the technical know-how of the industrial and technological world. The new converts were prepared to gamble on the foreign cultural orientation of the West. The social and religious problems confronting the converts were enormous. They were to battle against the tenacity of the traditional religion and the aggressiveness posed by Islamic religion and its way of life.

The early Christian converts gravitated towards missionary stations. These institutions were the citadel of civilization and spirituality for the neophytes. The tyros preferred to live close to the sources of their new life. Consequently, settlements of converts and emigrants grew around the Mission Houses. The mission or Christian Villages should not be confused with the Robert Owen's utopian communitarian socialist settlements of the same period. These were not theocratic settlements independent of the rest of the community. They were clusters of establishments planned and directed in order to promote the standard of agriculture which was vital to the development of the emerging states.

Not all families were eligible to settle on the land of the mission families. Catholic, Protestant, and Pagan families were admissable in the farmland projects provided they conformed to rules or norms stipulated by the organization.

The Societe des Missions Africaines (S.M.A.) borrowed the idea of a "Christian Village" from the work of some famous Jesuit Priests in Paraguay, where they made mass conversions of Indians and established independent theocratic states, ruled by the missionaries. The

Nigerian experience was greatly modified so that it would not conflict with the power of the traditional rulers. The Society of African Missions and the Presbyterian Missionary Society carried out isolated experiments at Topo (Badagri) and in Calabar respectively. They were unpopular with the people. The program alienated the settlers from their kinsfolk. The traditional religion took account of the individual personal beliefs as well as the culture of the whole of the community. It was a way of life of the whole community. The Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee relentlessly discouraged the practice of upholding the claim of the right of asylum for the Mission House or the missionary establishments.

The Topo Agricultural Experiment of the 1880's was more than an agricultural establishment. It was a quasi educational institution whereby the children of the settlers learn to read, write and carry out some basic calculation. Children as well as adults were exposed to arts and technical subjects such as carpentry, masonry, printing, shoemaking, sewing, and embroidery. The discipline within the settlement was extremely strict and austere. Industrial and technical education was pursued in missionary farm settlement. But a greater emphasis was placed on religious and moral education. The missionary education, with time, gradually supplanted the secular education that had been offered by European merchants at the coast to the children of leading traders and selected slaves. These children or slaves acquired their skill of speaking and writing European languages and keeping accounts through a system of apprenticeship on board the merchant vessels.

An undercurrent of opinion regarding things temporal and spiritual divided the evangelicals. The controversy was about the duties of a missionary. Some ministers and ordained missionaries excluded from their missionary functions the involvement in trade, agriculture, politics, and the establishment of schools. The radicals maintained a clear cut separation between the Bible and the Plough or any secular occupation other than the preaching of the gospel. The non-fundamentalist evangelicals perceived philanthropical endeavors, especially agriculture as a civilizing occupation and the commerce that resulted from it. Agriculture was envisioned generally as a respectable occupation which was capable of linking Christian Europe to Africa.

One of the primary goals of the coming of Christian missionaries to Nigeria was the evangelization and conversion of the people into Christianity. Education was perceived by the evangelizers as a powerful instrument for achieving this objective. Schools were founded in strategic locations. These educational institutions were the cradle of the infant church and a means for the dissemination of the doctrines of the Christian faith. The protestant church with the other sectarian churches firmly believed that Christianity was a religion of book. Bibles, prayer books, catechism and religious tracts were greatly multiplied and distributed to literate converts to illuminate and consolidate them in their new way of life. Adult education was grossly neglected.

These Christian denominations had reckoned without their host. They hardly recognized in their educational enterprise the traditional

and cultural values inherent in the traditional social institutions. All was not 'fetish', 'paganist', and 'must be expunged'. Traditional education strongly underscores the formation of sound moral character; the milieu develops in the individual persons a sense of valor, integrity, honesty and devotion to the community or ethnic polity.

The failure of the missionaries to harmonize the indigenous culture with the world heritage of knowledge, created a disastrous dichotomy between formal and informal education, the soul and the body [if the analogy does not limp]. The Bible and the Hoe must be fully integrated to produce a new social order of reconstruction and change, a reorientation of educational policy and practice which will upgrade agriculture. Education gradually became a venture distinct from evangelization in the 1960's.

British mercantile companies discovered that the products of the missionary schools were much a better buy in the country during the colonial regime. As a result, a high performance in the English language, writing, spelling, and arithmetic became important in securing employment. Colonial interest in education synchronized with a period in which education 'of the native' was highly fostered to enable the establishment and commercial firms to receive better qualified workers. To Great Britain, it was sufficient if Nigerian education enabled the indigenous population to produce more food and raw materials along modern lines without the technical know-how and financial commitment.¹⁰ The next chapter discusses the loss of ethnic sovereignty: Pax Britannia.

¹⁰The Ministry of Education, Western Region of Nigeria, Proposal for an Education Policy for the Western Region, Nigeria (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1952), pp. 5-14.

CHAPTER V

BRITISH COLONIALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN NIGERIA: 1885-1960

The Berlin General Act of 1885 paved the way for the then European super powers, Great Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, and King Leopold the Second of the Belgians, the opportunity to interfere in what was considered strictly the internal affairs of African countries and kingdoms. Before the European Scramble for colonies in Africa Great Britain was consistently opposed to increasing its limited colonial obligations in Africa. It was more from financial exigences than humanitarian considerations. The British Exchequer kept an eagle eye on any governmental enterprise on the Atlantic coast that might involve it in an unwarranted expenditure, even if the motives were the protection of British trading interests in the region. The cardinal policy of British colonialism in the nineteenth century was that colonies should be financially viable or self-solvent. Grants-in-aid by the 'mother' country to the colonies was to be greatly minimized or totally avoided.

The annexation of Lagos as a British Crown colony in 1861 by Lord Palmerston stirred debate in the British Parliament and caused furor in the Colonial Office. The action was seen in many circles as politically undesirable, economically expensive and unnecessary for the advancement of British trade. But the British attitudes towards the balkanization of Africa dramatically changed after the Berlin

Conference.

Britain's aversion for colonial enterprise and her reluctance to extend her hegemony over some West African territories took on a different note. The activities and interests of British missionaries, traders, and administrators who had been involved with the West African peoples for more than eighty years edged her into colonization. The political events prevailing on the continent facilitated a diplomatic shift in British policy. The Western powers struggled during the partition of Africa to maintain a balance of power in Europe. They sought to prevent any power in Europe from gaining ascendancy in Africa.

British traders, like Sir George Taubman Goldie and evangelist Hope Waddell, were anxious to establish colonies in Africa. In 1886 the Royal Niger Company took over the administration of the Oil Rivers Protectorate. The territory extended from the coastline of Lagos to the Cameroons and also included all the lands bordering the Niger and the Benue. The agent was guaranteed British protection, the power to levy import and excise duties as well as taxes to defray the cost of the administration of the British territories.

The Loss of Sovereignty in Yorubaland

The internecine wars in Yorubaland left that kingdom weak and vulnerable to foreign invasion and subversion in the nineteenth century. The British administration in Lagos solicited the assistance of the Rev. Samuel Johnson (author of the classic History of the Yoruba) and the Rev. Charles Phillips (later bishop) to go on separate peace missions into the interior of the Yorubaland. The two

delegations succeeded in arranging for a truce between the warring factions of the kingdom. The peace treaty which ensued at the Lagos Conference benefited the sub-ethnic group participants of Yorubaland. The British observers were delighted at the outcome of the peace talk.

The Dahomeyans on the western frontier of Oyo kingdom constituted a real threat to the Alafin of Oyo. In 1890 he accepted the cooperation of the Lagos government in his bid to keep the French colonizers out of his territory. The acceptance of the British mediation compromised his sovereignty over Yorubaland. Egbedo, a minority sub-ethnic group in Egbaland, permitted the establishment of a British garrison at Ilaro, the divisional capital. The Egba and the Ijebu reacted vehemently against the British political and economic interference in the region. They declared that this interference was provocative and intolerable. They quickly retaliated by severing trade communication between the southern and northern city-states. On the 13th May 1892 Sir Gilbert Carter's military expedition against the Awujale of Ijebu-Ode landed in Epe. Ijebuland fell to the British Lagos-based government. Early in the following year Carter signed a similar treaty of cooperation with the Egba at Abeokuta. Ibadan resisted the external coercion but in August of the same year it capitulated.

The political tide had turned full cycle in Yorubaland. In 1893 the Alafin was coaxed by Carter to sign a treaty which ultimately granted to the British a free access into all Yorubaland, freedom of trade, and religious tolerance in the kingdom. Some of the earlier clauses contained in the 1887 peace accord between the British and the

Alafin were reiterated. The parties mutually agreed that no other international power was to be allowed to occupy the Yoruba kingdom. The Alafin, through a clandestine plan, intimidation, and a subtle diplomatic pressure was constrained to sign away his regal authority and sovereignty. He kowtowed to the British Crown. Britain's sphere of influence in Yorubaland had been greatly expanded through the various activities of her missionaries, merchants, and administrators of trading companies. Their expansionist drive also affected the Benin-Delta areas, the Niger Basin and some parts farther up the Niger.

The Annexation of the Niger Region

The Royal Niger Company was granted the power to administer on behalf of the British government the territories with which its agents had made treaties and pledged British protection. The Company set up its judicial and administrative headquarters at Asaba. Foreign interlopers were to be prosecuted. Furthermore Goldie's Company strongly insisted that all trade must pass through Akassa, its chief port at the coast. By this monopolistic action the Company had intended to shut out the German and the French rivals in their competition for colonies. The British were prepared to defend their holdings.

Captain Frederick Lugard, an employee of the Royal Niger Company, commanded the first battalion of the West African Frontier Force against the Fulani Emirs of Nupe and Ilorin. In 1897 he pacified the region. He was fortunate to be in Borgu to sign the Nikki treaty. In the following year both the British and the French governments

negotiated and determined the present western and northern boundaries of Nigeria. The British made some territorial concession to the French in the western boundary. The struggle for possession of territories in the southern region of the country was different. The opposition was from the indigenous rulers who objected to foreign interference in their territories.

The traditional rulers in the Niger Coast Protectorate resisted Britain's new trade policies. Britain was indirectly aiding and abetting the monopolistic practices of the Royal Niger Company by channelling all commercial dealings through the port of Akassa. The British administration in Lagos colony viewed the resistance of Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Ebrohime, the Brassmen and Oba Ovonramwen Nogbaisi with deep concern. Jaja had previously signed a treaty with Britain in 1884. Apparently he had failed to adhere to the terms of the treaty in his commercial pursuit. He discountenanced a vital aspect of the treaty, which was the promotion of a free trade in the area as well as the liberalization of religious worship. The consul, Sir Harry H. Johnston accused him of exclusionist policies and obstructing the highway of trade. He was summarily tried and exiled to the West Indies. Some type of a governing council, one more amenable to the administration was installed in Opobo. King Nana of Ebrohime was not less intransigent in his attitudes towards the Company's policies.

Previously in 1853 COUNSUL John Beecroft, the most influential European long resident on the Niger coast had signed a treaty with the Itsekiri for the protection of British trade in the region. In later years, King Nana of Ebrohime, the Governor of the Benin River area,

came up against the resentment of British merchants at the coast. These traders were determined to break his effective monopoly of the coastal trade. Trumped-up charges were brought against him. He was accused of the disruption of the flow of trade on the river. The real reason for his banishment to the Gold Coast (Ghana) was a power struggle between the consul and the Olu of Itsekiriland. The people revered and acknowledged the Olu as the only legitimate authority in the area. The British administration and trade would not tolerate the status quo or the use of middlemen in business negotiations. The Acting Consul-General, Ralph Moor, was out to establish a new order in the Delta states. This was not to occur without a fight.

The Brassmen raided the Company's port of Akassa in 1895. They inflicted heavy casualties on the personnel. The naval force of Protectorate troops retaliated the following year. The strategic towns of Sacrifice Island and Nembe (Brass) were captured during the confrontation. British interests in the area were protected. The last vestige of traditional power was to be found in Benin kingdom.

Benin which alone had stood tall, ancient and proud outside the effective control of the Company administration, finally fell prey to the British establishment in 1897. The British punitive expedition which culminated in the massive carnage and destruction of property in Edo was a reprisal for the killing of the six British subjects on their way to Benin City. After the devastation and pillage of the City and the palace museum, Oba Ovonramwen Nogbaisi was compulsorily removed to Calabar where he spent the last years of his life.

After the fall of Benin Britain was virtually master of the whole

of the Niger Coast Protectorate. The Royal Niger Company had established business communication with the major Yoruba towns and cities. The British trade in the Delta, Cross River and the Oil Rivers continued to prosper in spite of the political interference in the traditional system of administration. The British garrison of the West African Frontier Force assembled at Lokoja in April 16, 1898 maintained peace and order in Ilorin and Nupe emirates.

The Occupation of the Northern States

The British occupation of the southern states¹ was effected chiefly by conquest and diplomatic maneuver. But the occupation of the northern states was by direct conquest. The military campaign against the North was considerably less complex. Ideologically the two forces were similar in political ambition. British imperialism was regarded as a counterforce to Islamic militarism.

The Royal Niger Company in the last two decades of the nineteenth century could not resolve its own problems in its territories and trading posts. In addition it had outlived its usefulness as an agent of the British government in the colony and the Protectorates. In the light of the then current political and economic happenings in Europe it had become anachronistic.

After the revocation of the Charter of the Royal Niger Company on

¹The southern states consisted of the Niger Coast Protectorate, the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, and the Royal Niger Company Protectorate. These several units of kingdoms and emirates bordering on the confluence of the Niger and Benue at Lokoja, in later years constituted the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

31st December, 1899, the British government assumed direct responsibility for effective occupation and administration of the colony of Lagos and the Protectorates. The task of extending the real frontiers northwards devolved squarely on the British government itself. On 1st January, 1900 the Colonial Office formally declared a protectorate over its northern territories and renamed the southern states the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

Sir Frederick Lugard (later Lord Lugard) was appointed the first High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria on the same day. The Colonial Office entrusted him with the duty of establishing a British administration for the Northern Protectorate. He accomplished the task through a series of military expeditions. The invasion of the North was bitterly resisted by the Fulani emirs.

Lugard hoisted the Union Jack at Lokoja on that very same date. The ceremonial action marked the beginning of the end of Fulani absolutism in the Northern city-states and the ascendancy of British rule in that region. The emirs were implacably hostile to the incursion and colonization. That the transition of power between the Fulani rulers and the British could be peaceful would be a fatal delusion. Furthermore Lugard scorned the signing of treaties and the informal gradualism which punctuated the early exploratory years of European contact with the Niger regions.

Before the end of April, 1901 when the harmattan was still raging, Lugard had stormed and taken possession of Borgu, Ilorin and Kabba which was liberated from the Nupe. The fight over the control of Nupeland was short in duration. The Lower and Upper Benue put up a

little resistance against the overwhelming and well armed British troops. Adamawa emirate fell but the Lamido pledged his loyalty to the Sultan of Sokoto and to the British his hate. Bauchi tolerated the intruding forces; the people were convinced of the inevitability of defeat. Zaria collaborated with Lugard in the prosecution of the war. The Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai, had no cause to engage the West African Frontier Force in a battle, he owed his throne to the prompt intervention of the British in the political rivalry in the Kanuri region.

In 1802 Abuja and Keffi were conquered. After mopping up the remaining pockets of resistance the colonial forces retreated to Zaria. In the same year a column of Lugard's army took Birnin Kebbi on their expedition to Argungu. Kano had a premonition of imminent danger. Going on the attack, it provoked the British forces to the war of 1903. The City of Kano was sieged, afterwards bombarded by the Frontier Forces under the command of Colonel Morland, and was captured. The Habe (Hausa) inhabitants and the talakawa (peasants) were indifferent with regard to the defeat of their Fulani overlords or the change of guards. Katsina offered her submission without a struggle.

The fall of Kano tipped the scale in favor of the British in the military campaign in the Sokoto Caliphate. The Western capital, Gwandu, had been subjugated. On 15th of March 1903, the gallant Sokoto army laid down their arms. The Sokoto Council of Notables recommended Atahiru as the successor to the Sultan who fled the city during the invasion of the capital of the Eastern Caliphate. The

defeat and the execution of the fleeing Sultan of Sokoto at the battle of Burmi marked the climax of the British penetration and occupation of the Hausaland and Borno kingdom.

The small pockets of resistance in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria were gradually subdued. They did not constitute any serious danger to the British administration at that moment. The rebellion of the emir of Hadejia was immediately quelled in 1906. The pacification of Benue-plateau zone was necessitated by the occurrence of insurrection.

The Amalgamation of Nigeria

The year 1914 was a turning point in the political and economic history of Nigeria. After the conquest and the subsequent occupation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard with the British mandate, amalgamated the Northern and the Southern Protectorates. On 1st January 1914 the amalgamation was proclaimed as the 'Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria'. Sir Lugard was appointed as its Governor-General. The declared intention of his government, as the representative of the King of England, was the promotion of commerce, prosperity and maintenance of peace and order in the land.

A new vista of trade was opened to Nigeria. The country had access to a free and wider market in the Western world, especially in Britain, the British Dominions and Western European countries. The external trade figures for groundnut exports alone from the North in the first decade of colonization was 1,179 tons. But after the completion of the Northern Railway line from Minna to Kano, the export

TABLE 1

West Africa in 1912-13

	(1) Area (1000 sq.m.)	(2) Population (1000's)	(3) People per square mile	(4) Imports (£1000)	(5) Exports (£1,000)	(6) Total trade (£1,000)	(7) Value of trade per head	(8) Revenue (£1,000)	(9) Revenue per head	(10) Miles of railway	(11) Ratio of miles of railway to square miles of area	(12) No. of school- children (1,000s)
Gambia	4	146	40	619	655	1,274	£8.0	125	£0.85	Nil	—	?
Gold Coast	80	1,502	19	3,510	5,014	8,524	£5.65	1,302	£0.85	222	1:380	19
Nigeria	336	17,124	51	6,324	6,779	13,103	£0.75	3,327	£0.20	912	1:350	22
Sierra Leone	28	1,502	53	1,438	1,376	2,814	£1.85	618	£0.40	271	1:100	?
All British												
West Africa	448	20,274	45	11,891	13,824	25,715	£1.3	5,372	£0.25	1,405	1:320	?
French West Africa	1,798	10,700?	6?	6,333	5,250	11,583	£1.1	1,723	£0.15	1,545	1:1160	11?
German Togo	33	1,000?	30?	530	455	985	£1.0	1,536	£1.50	203	1:165	15
Liberia	38?	1,750?	46?	334	224	558	£0.3	107	£0.05	Nil	—	?

Source: J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 197.

figure skyrocketed to 19,288 tons.²

The British administration together with the Christian missionary efforts had brought to Nigerian society Western European cultural influences. Missionary schools were established to promote literacy among the many people of the country. However in the north, Koranic schools dominated the region with only a few isolated Western educational institutions located in approved areas of the country. Between the years 1905 and 1912 the C.M.S. mission built schools at Zaria and Bida; a handful of Government Provincial schools were dotted across the North. In contrast, the traditional education, which was a school without walls, prepared the young for life in the community. Traditional techniques in agriculture, hunting, fishery, the crafts and other related subjects or activities beneficial to the community were inculcated in the young.

British Interests in Nigerian Agriculture

Agricultural techniques in the vast areas of Nigeria had substantially remained just as they were in the pre-colonial era. A few cosmetic innovations in agricultural technology were introduced in the dying years of colonialism. But, in the main, the hoe and the cutlass had survived as traditional instruments of land cultivation. Pastoralism did not fare better during the interchange of government.

²R. Akpofure and M. Crowder, Nigeria: A Modern History for Schools (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1966), p. 186; also J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 197, the statistical data on economic development of West Africa, 1912-1913.

The annual ritual of migration of the cattle Fulani, in the dry season, to verdant pasture in the southern parts of the country had not altered considerably. And in a comparative similar situation the coastal people in their narrow fishing canoes, in the course of years, had only slightly improved on the texture of their fishing nets and hooks. To this class of people time stood still. These people, unfortunately, appeared as mere spectators during the colonial occupation.

A great deal of the educational services allegedly provided by the colonial power was in fact furnished by the missionaries. The laissez-faire attitude of the government towards veritable research for development was reflected in its agricultural policy. The administration lacked a comprehensive system of research into areas of vital interest to the ruled. Expenditure on agriculture was perversely low and in the early years of colonization it was practically non-existent. The Nigerian peasant farmers were not discouraged by lack of monetary incentives. The phenomenal output of the cocoa industry in 1908 admittedly could be credited to the enterprise and industry of the indigenous population. The general indifference and indolence of colonial administration towards agricultural development also filtered down and affected the lower ranks and interested business magnates.

Export-import trading companies who depended largely on the cash crops and other materials from the country for their home industries were remiss, became extremely conservative, and did very little to improve the quality of cacao, rubber, cotton, benniseed, groundnut,

and palm trees. These commodities were the life-blood of the colony. The social life of the people could have been greatly bettered if experiments were consciously undertaken by the Agricultural Department to improve the traditional methods of cultivating and planting yam, rice, corn and other staples. The Department of Agriculture in Nigeria in the 1920's was understaffed. The country had only 20 European officials who lacked specialized training in tropical agriculture; they depended largely on their instincts and on-the-job experience. The budget for agriculture was inadequate for elaborate extension work. When the situation was slightly improved in 1938, the 82 British agricultural personnel were preoccupied primarily with raising cash crops for export. The economic policy was different from that of the Germans in the League of Nations Mandated Territories of the Cameroons which were also part of Nigeria beginning in 1919.

The German colonial administration has left behind a legacy of sound agricultural methodology in the Cameroons which were a part of Nigeria until the general plebiscite of February, 1961. In contrast to the British colonial administration the Germans in the two Cameroons demonstrated real concern with the improvement of the subsistence crops for the indigenous population. Within her limited financial resources the German government tackled headlong the problem of increasing agricultural productivity in four ways, through the establishment of an Agricultural and Experimental Research Center, the promotion of Agricultural Education, the Diversification of Crops, and Organization of Agricultural Co-operatives.

The Governors of the different German Territories modeled their

school system in Africa on the English and not on the French. They learned to have a voice in schools through subsidization of the educational institutions. But the Germans excelled the English in their practical application of their educational philosophy in the dominions. The German educational policy in African schools took a dualistic approach: the practical and the more academic studies. Social education as well as intellectual education took into consideration the various aspirations of the whole person. Due precautions were taken not to breed, as best as they could, an educated citizenry which would look down on agricultural work as a thing of the past. German education in Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century accentuated the necessity for vocational training, agricultural education, technical schooling, and a provision for academics.

Between 1925 and 1948 when the Germans were laying strong foundations for an agricultural economy in their territories through serious research and experimentation the British Colonial Office was preoccupied with issuing series of policy statements on the education of the Africans in the British Tropical African Dependencies. The British perceived colonial education, inter alia, as a process of acculturation and modernization for the non-western peoples. Meanwhile missionary educators and colonial education officers continued to express increasing concern over the state of education in Africa. But after the publication of the celebrated Phelps-Stokes Reports of 1922 and 1925 government education officers, missionary educators and other voluntary agencies swiftly went into action to

safeguard their vested interests in the schools. They promptly embarked on the re-examination, reassessment and re-evaluation of the earlier colonial educational policies and managements which were intended to entrench in Africa replicas of European or American model.

The partial failure of early colonial education in Nigeria was due to some extent to a lack of educational adaptation to the indigenous cultural life of the citizens; this was an area which was vital to the interest and stability of the people. Colonial education was superimposed on unexamined traditional customs and values which were potent to subvert or denigrate some of the desired goals of the colonizers. The early educational institutions which were geared exclusively to preparing the young Nigerian for literary and clerical occupation were detrimental to the general norms and practices that were more fundamental to the economic and social development of Nigeria. The most desirable long range plan vocationally would have been the development and the effective utilization of the soil possibilities. Agricultural education was not an inferior alternative to any other system of education; on the contrary it involves the whole man: physical, intellectual, moral and emotional components of the whole person. The Phelps-Stokes survey took some cognizance of these aspects in the reports.

Phelps-Stokes Reports Agriculture

The 1922 Phelps-Stokes Report,³ Education in Africa, distinctly recommended the adaptation of education to African social and cultural experience. The mechanical transplanted of educational practices and conventions of Europe or America, however laudable these facilities might appear, without a thorough research and necessary safeguards to an alien culture and peoples were impolitic and bothered on recklessness. The Commission was apprehensive of the inexpediency of a wholesale educational exportation and the cultural issues at stake if education were allowed to operate haphazardly and unchanneled. The Commission in its recommendation for Africa schools suggested among other things the inclusion of agricultural science in the school curriculum. Such pedagogical or agronomic studies would ensure for the future the acquisition of the necessary skills in the cultivation of the soil. In addition it would generate in the would-be farmer the appreciation for the soil as one of the great

³The Foreign Missions Conference of North America with funds from Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes Foundation, (U.S.A.), sponsored a commission of enquiry to study the educational needs and resources of Africa. The international composition of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which was made up of Europeans, Africans, and Americans, gave credibility and universal acceptance to the Report of the Commission. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a Welsh-born American was the chairman of the Commission. Other members included Dr. James E. Kwegyir Aggrey, an eminent educator from the Gold Coast (Ghana), Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Wilkie, representatives of the Conference Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, Dr. C.T. Loram, of Native Affairs Commission of South Africa, and Mr. Emory Ross, of the American Disciples Mission of the Belgian Congo. Other members and distinguished observers: Dr. Henry Carr, the veteran Nigerian educator and administrator, Henry Stanley Hollenbeck, and Leo A. Roy.

resources of the world. The practical work of farming more than the theoretical should be regarded as an important aspect of the educational system. The basic agricultural methods and practice should be taught in the elementary grades of all schools. Refresher courses or seminars were recommended as supplementary training for teachers in elementary schools. For the survival and continued interest in farming the Report advised that:

school departments in agriculture should be provided for the advanced instruction of pupils who are to specialize in agriculture either as teachers in agriculture or as itinerant instructors.⁴

A few mission societies had previously endeavored to establish agricultural settlements or communes in Nigeria in the latter part of the nineteenth century but with little success. Since schooling had become an integral part of the total civilization package both the colonial administration and the missionary societies immeasurably used the schools as instruments of socialization, national integration of the people, and development. In grant-aided or assisted schools some gardening instruction was demanded in part by the government in lieu of the subvention given to these institutions. For all that investment the school garden had not always been a congenial and reputable place to learn the rudiments, methods and practice of agriculture. School gardens which were often perceived by students as

⁴David G. Scanlon, ed., Traditions of African Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 61.

a show-case for private or voluntary agency schools served invariably as a means of attracting funds and securing school approval from the government. They also had their undesirable side effects; they were despicable places for meting out punishment. In the past some instructional institutions had employed the school gardens as reformatory facilities for delinquents. When an aberrant pupil was directed by any member of the staff to report to the teacher in charge of discipline, these demagogical commands were tantamount to punishment or child-abuse. Such behavioral control measures or management interventions derogated from the long-established true notion of farming and its attendant excellence. Farming which was a prestigious occupation among the people had been rendered odious to the young generation. The use of inappropriate and incompatible measures against maladaptive behavior as indicated had failed to take into consideration the pre-eminence of agriculture over other leading economic indicators. Originally farming was status bound and considered a priori as the royal route to social mobility in the local administration. For a successful implementation and maintenance of interests in agricultural occupation by the farmers there should be suitable educational facilities, organized and systematic development, and mutual cooperation between the government, the missions, commercial interests and the people themselves. Mission-government collaboration in many social fields during the colonial regime in Nigeria was skewed and stilted in every conceivable way. But the British officers in the colony and the protectorate of Nigeria were able to stage-manage the marriage of convenience. Open conflicts in

matters of great moment were circumvented by the two powers.

Colonial Educational Policy and Agriculture in Nigeria

In 1925 the British Colonial Office published a memorandum entitled Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.⁵ The document, in many ways, attempted to narrow the wide disparity between the education being offered young Africans and the kind of education appropriate to the social setting in which they lived.

The appropriate education which was to be adapted to the mentality, attitudes, occupations and traditions of the various ethnic groups in the country was estimated to reduce the hiatus between the elite and the rest of the community whether sovereignty or peasantry.

The blueprint emphasized the

conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.⁶

The policy had within it all the necessary ingredients for building a British African Empire especially after the horrors of the First World War. But the program lacked the essential substratum, agriculture, its basic cornerstone. The young generation drifted to

⁵The Advisory Committee [Report] on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925). See D.G. Scanlon, op.cit., p. 92. H.M.S.O. document on British African Education.

⁶Scanlon, op.cit., p. 94.

the schools and thus the cultivation of the land was left to the adult citizens, many of whom were illiterate. To complicate the problem the old traditional techniques were inadequate to produce more food for a fast surging population.

The Memorandum on the Education of African Communities⁷ was issued in the early 1930's, a few years following the end of the Great Depression. The main objective of the memorandum of 1935 was to demonstrate the educational importance of the mutual relationship among all the factors of social-change. The document specifically underlined the effectiveness of the school as an instrument of modernization. The efficacy of the school should be pitched and evaluated against other social dynamics or a more comprehensive scheme of community reorganization.

The policy further recommended the establishment of self-help projects and bureau for community development. Emphasis was placed on the education of the whole community, the young and the adolescent and the adult (of both sexes). Such a comprehensive program undoubtedly demanded close collaboration between the African traditional institutions and the various agencies responsible for social welfare services, schools and agriculture.

The memorandum on the education for community development was a response to the precarious situation predominating in the British

⁷ Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), pp. 2-4.

Colonial Empire. In Nigeria more people had deserted the farms for alternative, probably more lucrative, trade. Systematized schools which were a novelty to the generality of the people quickly became popular in most parts of the nation, especially in the southern portion of the country. The schools attracted pre-adolescent children from the farms. Since many of the early primary schools and all the post-primary level were boarding establishments only a few non-school children were available to assist parents or guardians at the farms. But during the school vacation students sometimes helped at the farms. On the whole school children developed apathy towards agricultural occupation. Could any positive action be taken to nip the social malaise in the bud before the total collapse of the traditional system with the occupational consciousness? The Colonial Office broached the problem when the danger became manifest.

Mass Education in African Society⁸ was an extension of the 1935 British educational policy in its colonies and protectorates. The instrument clearly defined a new perspective on universal schooling. It visualized juvenile, adolescent and adult education as inseparably bound to and mutually inclusive of the general program of mass education. In part it maintained:

just as the education of the child must lead up to the development of the adult so must the schemes for adult education reach down, as it were, to join hands with the school. The plans made at one level must ensure the fulfillment of activities at other levels.⁹

⁸ Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Mass Education in African Society (London: H.M.S.O., 1944); also Scanlon, op.cit., p. 105.

⁹ Scanlon, op.cit., p. 108: Extracts from the Mass Education in African Society.

The single plan of the mass education advocated for community service took into consideration a distinct curricular design or the various phases and forms of training appropriate to the juvenile, the adolescent and the adult. In this bottom-up and top-down strategy education would not look ultimately the same from the bottom as from the top.

Education for community service assumed an international dimension during the Second World War. A mass consciousness and international interdependence which developed at that time accentuated the responsibility of community groups as well as the individual contribution towards the promotion of world peace and solidarity. Nigeria's contribution in manpower and resources was enormous. The national wealth was derived chiefly from agricultural production.

A great number of the British Acts of Parliament pertaining to education in Britain tended to influence and even shape the direction of education in the British Colonial Empire. The Butler¹⁰ Act of 1944 initiated major innovations into English education in spite of the raging battle in Europe. Britain moved from its lethargic and laissez-faire moorings into active participation in social change.

¹⁰ Richard A. Butler was instrumental in the reorganization of the National Board of Education in England. The Butler Act of 1944 provided for a Minister of Education of Cabinet rank. Social welfare programs were more apparent during that administration than educational programs. English education system has influenced the educational policies in Nigeria. In British colonies and Dominions it was easy to find modified extensions of the English system. School programs in agriculture took a backseat; it received the least attention from the Colonial administration. See also G.L. Gutek, A History of Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), p. 300.

Education in Britain responded to the welfare-state programs of the Labour Party. The consequences of such policies were extensive; they had overarching effect on the overseas colonies as well. Education throughout the British dominion was spurred by the passage of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1944 and 1945. Fall-outs from the enactment were to be experienced in the colonies.

Education for Citizenship in Africa, by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1948, was the final Standing Command on education in the African territories. Mass education, it strongly maintained, would be valuable only insofar as it trained young Africans to become responsible citizens of free countries. For the realization of a truly free and democratic state the people should possess the ability, knowledge, disciplined reason and political acumen to exercise both selection and conservation amid the fast changing features of social and economic life. The complete process called for the education of the whole masses of the people.

Agricultural education which was one of the basic priorities in Nigerian economy was slurred over during the colonial rule. Political rhetoric outweighed the realistic implementation of the outlined policies. The enunciation of policies was one thing but the execution of the same course of action was another matter. The British home government initiated several educational reforms in its colonies. Such plans were sometimes not executed in the Dependencies. The early

plan to establish model farm schools¹¹ in Nigeria failed to materialize for various reasons. Apart from the noble intention the task was not seriously pursued by the colonial government which had left education almost completely in the hands¹² of the missionaries with no direct overall educational policy. The primary aim of the missionary societies in the country was the dissemination of the gospel in which they regarded as heathen land. Agriculture was only a by-product which was used as a means to an end when it was opportune and convenient to do so. The Society of African Missions established the famous Topo industrial and farm school near Badagri in 1876 for delinquent children. The S.M.A. like many of its religious contemporaries devoted to missionary activity in Africa considered itself as

¹¹The British Privy Council's Committee on Education in 1847 had made some reference to the need for 'securing better conditions of life and development of the African as a peasant on the land.' Incidentally the memorandum which was destined for the West Indies was also distributed to all the other colonies. The Committee proposed, inter alia, Day School of Industry and Model Farm Schools. See also H.S. Scott, 'The Development of Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact' and 'Education by the European', The Yearbook of Education 1938, London, pp. 708, 710.

¹²Prior to 1925 the colonial administration in Nigeria had no clearly defined educational policy for the whole country. The Chief Inspector or 'Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the West African Colonies' merely laid down ground rules and regulations regarding the system of grants-in-aid and other matters of moment to schools. But the Nigerian Inspectorate of education ordinance of 1887, after its separation from the parent body, prescribed in greater detail the guidelines for granting subventions to infant, primary, secondary and industrial schools. Under Dr. Henry Carr (1863-1945), Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the Colony of Lagos, education took a progressive turn in the Colony and the Protectorate.

an effective response to the missionary vocation of the whole Church and to be an efficacious sign of this vocation, in particular among Africans.¹³

And for the achievement of the declared objective--the evangelization of the people--the members were obliged to proclaim confidently the Good News

by exercising a direct ministry either of simple presence or of preaching among the non-Christians. While recognising that pagans receive directly the grace of God, the missionaries remain conscious of the riches of divine truth and love that they bring through the Church; by making the Christian community for which they are responsible radiate its influence among non-Christians; [and] by ceaselessly stimulating the faith of the baptized who are often tempted to drift into syncretism or materialism.¹⁴

In 1983 the Irish Provincial Assembly of the S.M.A., Cork, developed a forward-looking and ambitious program and targets for the Desired Future and Society Objectives as outlined by the General Assembly. In the society's traditional mode of gesture and cordial cooperation with the local churches, it manifested its willingness to meet and dialogue at the crossroad of cultural interchange African way of life, aspirations and values. The colonial administration on the

¹³Society of African Missions: General Assembly 1968 (Roma, Italia: Societa Tipografica, 1970), p. 41.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 41. The 1978 General Assembly underscored evangelization and conscientization of people--a societal aggiornamento and renewal. The 1983 General Assembly re-emphasized the basic aims and principles of the Founder, Melchior de Marion Bressilac (b. Dec. 2, 1813--d. June 25, 1859). Dearest to his heart was the evangelization of the people of Africa--people 'who do not yet know Jesus Christ'. It was not "so much as bringing Christ where He is not known, but as in discerning the Presence to fulfillment among people". S.M.A.-Irish Province Report (Cork: Black Rock, 1982), p. 31.

other side of the fence was however skeptical about cultural exchanges and compromises. Under its auspices schooling became an intense pursuit for diplomas or academic accreditation; it was purely a paper chase with minimal application in challenging situations.

Nigeria's Agricultural Foundation Non-Inarched

The colonial administration in Nigeria did not consider agricultural education a priority. It was relegated to the background in the scheme of things. Consequently the education department in its turn merely accorded it a token existence in the school's curriculum. The educational system did little to foster or upgrade the traditional agricultural skills and practices prevalent in a country which was predominantly agricultural. Apparently the new rulers missed the mark and did not fully appreciate the dignity of manual labor and technical vocations operative in the nation at that period. The government of the country focused its attention more or less on schooling and the training of the lower cadre of the civil service. In collaboration with the Christian missions and the other voluntary agencies the government began to invest more in education and social development programs.

Previous to the appointment of Mr. E.R.J. Hussey as the Director of Education for both the Northern and Southern Provinces in July 1929, Sir Frederick Lugard had sponsored a four-point plan of secular education for the Northern states. The plan suited both the British and the indigenous Northern aristocrats. The emirs, chiefs and headmen in an ambivalent manner favored the preservation of the political and social status quo. Along the same line Lugard also

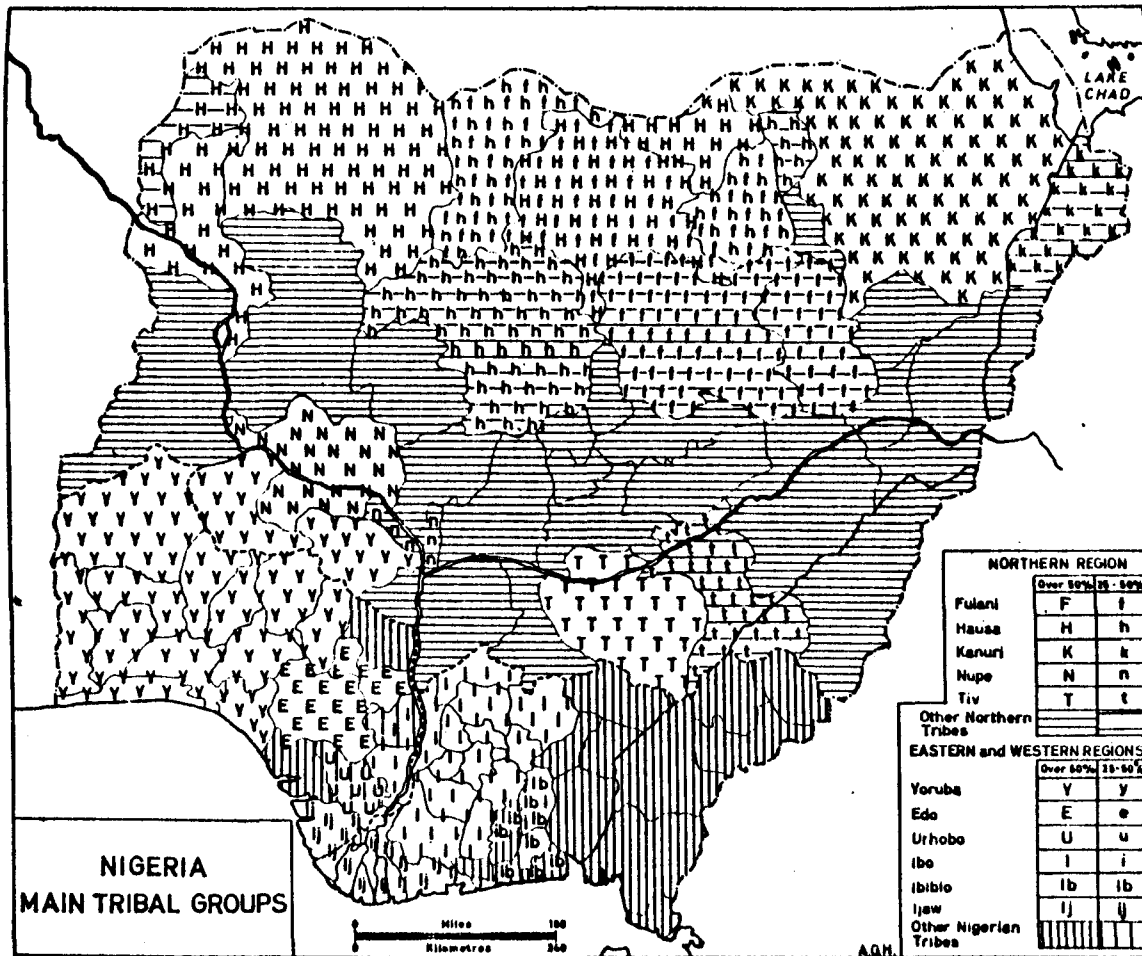


Figure 4. Principal Ethnic Groups of Nigeria Before Its Autonomy

Source: Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr., Nigeria: The Tribes, the Nation, or the Race--The Politics of Independence (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 4.

proposed a kind of education appropriate for each socio-economic class. The sons-of-chiefs' schools guaranteed the sons of chiefs and emirs a liberal type of education in both primary and secondary schools. But the sons of the commoners or peasants (talakawa or fellahin) received an inferior education in elementary and craft public schools for serfdom--without any opportunity for secondary education. Thus Lugard enshrined within the social class structure the actual functions of the individuals in the society. Dr. Walter Miller apparently shared Lugard's view on colonial education.

Walter R.S. Miller, a medical practitioner, an educator and a close confidant of Sir Frederick Lugard, founded schools for malams at Bida and Zaria. The malams' class and the school for the nobles were to serve as beacons of light for the people of the emirates where the graduate students originated and were to return for their first assignment as teachers. Dr. Miller created a class of people who were averse to manual labor and interested in little beyond becoming clerks or interpreters; such a class of intelligentsia was often contemptuous of its own culture. The education plan of Sir Frederick Lugard vis-a-vis Dr. Miller tended to keep each social class in its station in life.

[Students]... should as a rule follow in the occupation for which they were destined. The standard should be low so that the boys will not be alienated from their friends and parents by too great a sense of superiority. After a generation or more, the standard might be raised.¹⁵

The Lugardian ideal of a perfectly regulated educational system in the face of the various memoranda coming out of London demanding for quantity and excellence in education in the colonies was unrealistic. For a short while the official attitudes inexorably remained conservative in the interim application of the educational principles and recommendations in the North.

Hanns Vischer¹⁶ (later Major Vischer), a Swiss-born Briton had determined to reverse through education the problem of cultural alienation by relating education more closely to the needs and lifestyles of its beneficiaries who were likely to remain in the agricultural sector. Among the guiding principles he had outlined for the education of the people of Northern Nigeria were that Northern

¹⁵ Suggested Policy in Primary and Elementary Education in Kano Province, Jan. 14, 1928; quoted in James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 139; Mark Bray, Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State (Boston, Mass.: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981), p. 36.

¹⁶ Hanns Vischer's official educational policy reflected his biographical background and varied experiences. He was born at Basle, Switzerland on September 14, 1876. He was educated in Switzerland, Germany, and England. He was a C.M.S. missionary in Nigeria from 1900 to 1902. At the time of his resignation from his post and his adoption of British nationality in 1903, he joined the Northern Nigeria Political Service a third-class Resident in the territory. His good reputation, sensitivity and knowledge of Kanuri, Arabic, Hausa, and Fulani languages made him quite acceptable to the Muslims. More about Vischer in Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919 (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966), p. 66.

schools should be well adapted to the culture of the people in order to avoid producing a class of misfits (a 'babu' class), which would be a future liability to the country; furthermore, care should be taken to include in the curriculum of all schools, without discrimination, both practical and academic work. Vischer's schools had their own farms;¹⁷ and he suggested that at the earliest opportunity, technical instruction was to be introduced side by side with instruction in clerical skills in all the institutions.

The plan without any equivocation provided for a class system of education. Although the system was deeply rooted in the traditions of the community nonetheless the integrated process continued to generate new skills and attitudes. However the effectiveness of this inelastic scheme was highly circumscribed. The plan could not be implemented through the wide expanse of land and of towns in the Protectorate. When Sir Hugh Clifford, a one time Governor of Nigeria, was unimpressed by the annual progress report release on educational outcome from the North he reflectively remarked:

... after two decades of British occupation, the northern provinces have not yet produced a single Native of these provinces who is sufficiently educated to enable him to fill the most minor clerical post in the office of any government department.¹⁸

¹⁷ Graham, op.cit., pp. 75-77; Albert Ozigi and Lawrence Ocho, Education in Northern Nigeria (Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin Inc., 1981), p. 43; A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1974), p. 106.

¹⁸ Address to the Nigerian Council, Dec. 29, 1920 (typed copy), Macauley Papers; quoted in J.S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 140.

The malams trained in Vischer's college did much work initiating their own elementary schools and transmitting their knowledge and skills to pupils in the different parts of the emirates. The work of educating the North might have been initially slow, but in the final analysis the integrated system steadily produced a highly talented elite and leaders for both the Northern and Southern states.

When the British colonial government began to play the central role in Education, Mr. (later Sir) Eric Robert James Hussey, the newly appointed Director of Education from 1929 to 1936, masterminded the educational reforms in Nigeria. He was also the architect of Higher Education in the country. Among some of the innovations he proposed in his Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria¹⁹ was the establishment of a "higher college" which would offer the graduates of the middle schools a three- to five-year course in such subjects as medicine, engineering, teacher education, and agriculture. The Higher College located at Yaba was essentially designed to procure much needed manpower in the economic sector, facilitate Nigerian entry into middle level bureaucratic and teaching positions, and finally to guarantee a gradational upward mobility within the colonial framework. The Yaba Higher College, before its absorption by the University College, Ibadan, had produced competent Assistant Medical Officers, Assistant Medical Officers, Assistant Agricultural Officers, and

¹⁹Legislative Council of Nigeria, Sessional Paper No. 31 of 1930, Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, Lagos: The Government Printer, 1930.

tutors for the nation's secondary schools.²⁰ The number of graduate students in the field of agriculture and other related disciplines was insignificant for a country of such magnitude and rapidly growing population.²¹

The establishment of Nigeria's premiere University College at Ibadan in 1948, initially did little to generate a strong national consciousness for agriculture in either the undergraduates or the populace. Some interested groups were stimulated by the creation of a Chair of Agriculture. The faculty of Agriculture for all its fabulous financial endowment comparatively lagged behind the faculties of Arts, Science, and Medicine in student growth. Babs Fafunwa also observed the stunted development with regard to student enrollment and public awareness:

²⁰Okechukwu Ikejiani (ed.), Nigerian Education (Bristol, Great Britain: Western Printing Services Ltd., 1964), p. 133; Nduka Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria (London: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1971), p. 80. In 1944, ten years after the formal inauguration of the Yaba Higher College and three years before its closing, the institution had graduated a sizeable personnel: "58 teachers, 20 medical assistants, 15 assistant agricultural officers, 3 forest supervisors, 6 surveyors, 31 administrators in government and 9 in commerce" (N. Okafor, idem).

²¹The Literary Digest, Atlas of the World and Gazetteer: Prepared by Rand McNally and Company (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1931), p. 211. It put the population of Nigeria at 19,081,672 in an estimated area of 336,778 square miles. The adverse impact of Western education which was improperly introduced into the country had chilling effect on traditional agriculture. The youth gradually drifted into schools as a better alternative to cultivating the soil or raising crops. Before the exodus the emphasis was on the domestic agricultural production. The farms flourished. The diary enumerated peanuts (groundnuts), cocoa, coffee, rubber, livestock, hides, ivory, and ostrich feathers as Nigeria's principal products. Timber trade was highly lucrative in the forest region of the South.

TABLE 2

First-Year Students Admitted to Ibadan
University College: 1948-1954

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>1948-49</u>	<u>1949-50</u>	<u>1952-53</u>	<u>1953-54</u>
Arts	35	40	42	32
Science	113	50	55	52
Medicine	--	17	21	28
Agriculture	--	0	15	12
Total Number of Students	148	107	133	124

Data compiled from Nigerian newspapers and Ibadan University College Calendars.

Source: A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education (Lagos: Macmillan & Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), p. 95.

TABLE 3

Total Student Enrollment Figures at Ibadan:
1948-1954

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Science</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Total Number of Students</u>
1948	38	66	--	--	104
1948-49	60	121	29	--	210
1949-50	111	153	34	0	298
1950-51	113	158	50	1	322
1951-52	110	107	98	23	338
1952-53	123	126	90	28	367
1953-54	130	139	98	39	406

Data compiled from Ibadan University College Calendars.

Source: A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education (Lagos: Macmillan & Co (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), p. 96.

The Faculty of Agriculture was the smallest, the youngest, but the richest division at Ibadan University College. Its chair was endowed in 1950 by the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board with a sum of 1,000,000 [one million pound sterling]. During the 1949-50 academic year, the division had six faculty members (five lecturers and one professor, who was the head of the division), but not a single student. In 1950-51 there were four instructors (including the head of the division) and one student; in 1951-52 there were eight instructors and twenty-three students.²²

The curriculum of the institution from the beginning was strictly modeled on the University of London, and the students were definitely trained to sit for the London University degree examinations. The Ibadan University College in its special relationship with its parent body scrupulously maintained the academic standard of London University with little adaptation of the syllabus to local conditions.²³ The

²²A. Babs Fafunwa, A History of Nigerian Higher Education (Lagos: Macmillan and Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), p. 108. During this period the Department of Veterinary Science had not been instituted as a part of the Ibadan University College. The course for the Veterinary School at Vom which was founded in 1935 was patterned on those of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in Great Britain. The subsequent absorption of the Forestry School (May 1938) at Samaru Agricultural Station near Zaria, and the School of Forestry at Ibadan (1941) was a slow and protracted arrangement. It demonstrated a lack of long range vision and interest in these areas.

²³Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945), pp. 128, 179. The Elliot Commission as otherwise designated was headed by the Right Honourable Walter Elliot. The Commission suggested among other recommendations that the College in Nigeria should have faculties of arts and sciences, school of agriculture, forestry, veterinary science, medicines, institute of education, and a West African School of Engineering. In the same year the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies under the chairmanship of the Honourable Mr. Justice Cyril Asquith emphasized, among other principles, the formation of Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies. The Council was a consultative body on the academic aspects of schemes involving the promotion of higher education, learning, research, and the granting of aids to colonial institutions. It apparently did not realize or overlooked the equal importance of agricultural education.

TABLE 4

Students and Faculty at Ibadan University College: 1948-1953

<u>Faculties</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1948-49</u>	<u>1949-50</u>	<u>1950-51</u>	<u>1951-52</u>	<u>1952-53</u>
<u>Arts</u>						
Number of Students	38	60	111	113	110	123
Number of Teachers	*	*	26	19	24	28
Student-Teacher Ratio	*	*	4.2:1	6:1	4.6:1	4.4:1
<u>Science</u>						
Number of Students	66	121	153	158	107	126
Number of Teachers	*	*	22	21	20	27
Student-Teacher Ratio	*	*	7:1	7.5:1	5.4:1	4.7:1
<u>Medicine</u>						
Number of Students	--	29	34	50	98	90
Number of Teachers	--	*	18	17	15	17
Student-Teacher Ratio	--	*	1.9:1	2.9:1	6.5:1	5.3:1
<u>Agriculture</u>						
Number of Students	--	--	0	1	23	28
Number of Teachers	--	--	6	4	8	9
Student-Teacher Ratio	--	--	0:6	1:4	2.9:1	3.1:1

*Figures unavailable.

Data processed from Ibadan University College Calendars.Source: A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education (Lagos: Macmillan & Co (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), p. 89.

University College was responsible for continuous courses of instruction leading chiefly to administrative, specialist, and research posts. In the Nigerian scene, the government Technical College which was later to be established would on the other hand deal mainly with refresher or "sandwich" courses. Besides, the Technical Institution would be responsible for the training and updating the knowledge of the field and executive officers of the Government Department.²⁴

A recommendation was made in the Report on a Technical College Organisation for Nigeria in 1950 by W.H. Thorp, Chief Inspector of Technical Education, Nigeria, and Dr. F.J. Harlow, Principal, Chelsea Polytechnic, London. In pursuance of this recommendation, the colonial government agreed to the establishment of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technicology in 1952-53 academic year with branches at Zaria, Ibadan, and three years later at Enugu. In 1954, a reviewing Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development submitted its report on the Technical College. It made some recommendations for the merging of the schools of Agriculture owned by the Northern and Western Regional Governments

²⁴Report on a Technical College Organisation for Nigeria, 1950 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1950), pp. 1, 18-19. Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1950. Besides the proposed professional and sub-professional training in Agriculture, Forestry, and Veterinary sciences the Nigerian College was designed to meet the economic and social demands of the nation: the requirements of industry, commerce, and society. It was ill-equipped to sustain agriculture on a grandiose scale. Also see Nduka Okafor, op.cit., p. 100.

respectively at Zaria and Ibadan with the Nigerian College.²⁵ The Umuahia Agricultural Settlement was too far from the Enugu Branch of the College which was to commence operation in the following academic year. The enormous distance between the two campuses made an easy access to the College facilities irksome and oftentimes unprofitable for the students of Umuahia Farm Settlement.

The Nigerian College had an evanescent existence. During the ten years or more of its existence its prestige was overshadowed by the Ibadan University College. The few graduates and agriculturists produced from the two higher educational institutions were frequently at the top echelon of the Civil Service or business corporation. They often functioned as armchair supervisors and consequently they were remote and distant from the peasant farmers around the country. The higher the ascent of the individuals in the educational ladder in the pre-independent era in Nigeria the lesser the attraction or urge to return to the cultivation of the land. The situation deteriorated when the colonial administration began to provide scintillating alternative employment opportunities in commerce, education, military service, and miniature industry. As a result of the serene and lackadaisical attitude of the regime towards farming and the creation of other avenues of survival, though ephemeral, many towns, like Lokoja, Kaduna, Jos and Port Harcourt suddenly emerged and gained prominence in the new economic order. These were colonial

²⁵The Economic Development of Nigeria: Report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1954), pp. 386-388.

establishments, developed and sustained by the government and the trading companies operating in these areas.

Lokoja: The City of the Confluence

The early attempts made by the Christian missionaries and British philanthropists to establish a model farm at Lokoja (Hausa, Lakoja; Yoruba, Ilu-Kojo) were unsuccessful. By 1860 European interest in the trade around the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers had greatly increased. Trading stores and factories were established along the great river and its tributary. The British Cotton Ginning Association (B.C.G.A.) located a ginnery a few yards down the Royal Niger Company's trading stores which were situated along the West bank of the Niger, and not too distant from the "Native Town" of Lokoja. The African section of the town supplied the necessary raw material for the local factories and some of the British home industries. In exchange for cotton, hides, skin and other staples the Royal Niger Company and the French West African Company (C.F.A.O.) in a limited participation supplied the inhabitants with European manufactured goods. The territories under the influence of the Royal Niger Company contributed very little to change the crude method and technique of food production. The traditional method of raising the commercial commodities was scarcely noticed by these corporate companies operating at Lokoja. What mattered to the companies and the colonial administration was the welfare of the Company's (R.N.C.) constabulary and Lugard's West African Frontier Force. Foodstuff was not in short supply in Gwari, Bassa and Nupeland. The town was advantageously located in an area of great natural fertility and in the vicinity of a

people who needed only a friendly nudge to produce the items of commercial exchange. In 1902 for logistic reasons and territorial ambition Lugard transferred his military and capital headquarters to Zungeru and thence to Kaduna.

The City of Kaduna

The present City of Kaduna most probably developed from the widely scattered Gwari and Fulani settlements. The early settlers of the beautiful plain were chiefly farmers and herdsmen. The new town derived its name from the crocodile ('Kadduna', plural of Kada, in Hausa) infested river (Kaduna river). The agricultural settlements or towns like Kakuri (formerly Kudanda) stretched along the bank of the Kaduna river, a tributary of the Niger.

Before its occupation and development the Kaduna landscape like many of the northern slopes lying between the two great rivers presented a fascinating and picturesque sight. The land was covered with orchard bush and with great trees standing at intervals like giant pillars in hundreds of acres of grassland. Cecil Rex Niven, a colonial veteran, recalled from his twenty years' experience in Nigeria:

It is lovely in a quiet way. Herds of white egrets and brown cattle graze on the short herbage, undisturbed by the white egrets in their midst; there are sturdy goats and flop-eared sheep; the villages have neatly thatched houses; and in the distance loom ranges of hills, rugged and grand. Nearer at hand are bare granite peaks jutting up through varied greens of the trees at their bases.²⁶

²⁶C.R. Niven, Nigeria: Outline of a Colony (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1946), p. 78.

In the final analysis Kaduna was a product of colonialism. The founding of the town served a dual function: as a base for Lugard's military headquarters and the seat of government of the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria. Before the development of Kaduna from a small pre-existing farm settlement, it was a satellite of Birnin Zaria. After its occupation it soon transformed from an army encampment into a great commercial town with superabundant water supply for domestic and industrial purposes. It had a well established network of communications. In short the transfer of the West African Frontier Force from Zungeru on 21st February 1913 to a predominantly Hausa and Gwari-speaking arable territory gave rise to the present City of Kaduna.

Immigrants from other parts of the country soon flocked into the City of Kaduna for trade and clerical employment. The farms were gradually neglected. The individual or mass migratory movement into the 'new town' was facilitated by the newly government constructed railway system which connected some of the great cities of the West, East and North to Kaduna. The branch line which joined Kaduna to Jos through Kafanchan was opened in 1927 for an easy transportation of goods from the Jos Tin Mining industry to Lagos terminus and ports.

Jos: The City on the Plateau

Jos (Gwosh) was probably the hill-top farm settlement or village which was about four miles south of Anaguta (Hausa, Naraguta) in Bauchi city-state. The Royal Niger Company's prospectors and tin miners transformed Jos into a metropolis of the tin mining industrial community. Before the introduction of other novel employment

opportunities or occupations to Jos and the Plateau area, the surrounding towns and settlements were traditionally agricultural; an occupation which was religiously pursued by the generality of the inhabitants. The tableland was luxuriantly fertile; the people of Angas, Birom and those of Eggon, Sura and Yergum were celebrated farmers. Besides the incursion of the prospecting and mining operations in the heartland of the farming communities, the extension of the Zaria railway into Jos in 1915 and the Eastern Railway Extension that reached Jos terminus, via Kafanchan greatly tipped the scale of balance. With this single important development the floodgate of occupational opportunities was thrown wide open to enterprisers in the various sectors of the economy but chiefly in the mining fields. The unexpected industrial development taking place in the region drastically altered the stock in trade. Other employees and laborers including petty traders, craftsmen and miners, seeking wage employment in the mines streamed into the city of Jos. As a result of the mass exodus from the neighboring areas of the Plateau to the urban towns farming suffered some set-back. However a skeleton of farming was reluctantly maintained in certain remote areas which were not yet affected.

The Royal Niger Company had considerable vested interest in the operations of the Jos Mining industry. Various incentives were offered to lure the people to the town, especially to the mining fields. The Company provided the necessary infrastructural facilities to boost production. The urbanization and industrialization of the City of Jos attracted not only the investors but also the laborers to

the pleasant and cool plateau climate. It became a commercial center of the mining community and other suburban towns or farmsteads. The newly introduced British currency²⁷ and its circulation in the region also aggravated the tense crisis situation. More people abandoned land cultivation. Because land cultivation was connected with a system of bartering, its falling into disuse accelerated the movement towards a money economy. The people from the rural areas poured into the City. Their labor was highly needed at that time by the Company. It hired men for the transportation of the tin ore by human carriers from the Jos depot across to Keffi and Loko on the Benue rivers. From the Benue storage and warehouses the commodities were shipped in small vessels to their coastal destination and finally to Europe. The carriers, on the other hand, in their return journey on foot, conveyed back to Jos the imported merchandise and other requirements. For a long period of time the Company had conveniently maintained a standing or regular carrier labor or teams that numbered, no less than four thousand at any one time, until the construction and completion of the

²⁷The development and the standardization of currency in Nigeria was a gradual and protracted process. Trade by barter had been in vogue for centuries before the evolution and the use of cowries (that is, the small 'cypraea moneta', and the larger 'cypraea annulus'). Both species of these molusc shells probably came from the Indian Ocean by way of the Sahara Desert and the Atlantic. Some of the coastal currencies, manillas (copper bracelets), doubloon, and dollars were not legal tender in the inland towns and settlements. But foreign currencies were tolerated at the coastal markets when dealing with foreign merchants who preferred other forms of European currencies to local monies, such as copper rods and iron bars. There were a host of other medium of exchange system operative in different geographical locations within the country.

Zaria-Bukuru shuttle Light Railway Service in 1914. Thirteen years later, another main line from Port Harcourt on the Bonny was extended through Kafanchan linking up Jos, and the Light Railway from Zaria to Jos gradually fell into disuse. Most of the workers, especially the carriers who had been at the Company's service were no longer needed. And those who lost their jobs with the Company were reluctant to return home to farming.²⁸ The establishment of a network of land communication and transportation, particular the railway system, greatly facilitated the rapid movement of people and goods over a very large area within the country. Lagos and Port Harcourt became more easily accessible to the Northern people by train service. Similarly the North was also drawn closer to the South.

Port Harcourt Township

The Anglo-Ijaw armed confrontation at Akassa in 1895 and its aftermath failed to dampen the colonial expansionist spirit and interests in the coastal Oil Rivers city-states. The local British administration aggressively pursued its political and economic policies in that region. From the very beginning of the race for African colonies it sought to establish a clear delimitation of its area of 'effective influence' or jurisdiction. The German and the

²⁸ Julian H. Steward (ed.), Three African Tribes in Transition, Vol. I (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972 edition), p. 487. Stanley Diamond described in detail the baseline culture and processes of change among the Anaguta of Nigeria. The forces of change were inevitable but for the Anaguta they were cataclysmic: "... to the Anaguta birth and death, man and nature, the present, the past, and the future, the thing and the person are related in ritual cycles which remold the finality of any experience", *ibid.*, p. 494.

French who were also in the bid for parts of Nigeria finally acknowledged and respected the British presence in those occupied territories. Concrete action had to be taken as a justification of British territorial control. With the construction of the Nigerian railway and some major connecting roads the frontier of trade and opportunity in the Niger Coast Protectorate shifted to Port Harcourt, a colonial establishment, founded as the principal entrepot for the coordination of the Delta trade. The newly developed town provided better harbor facilities for frigates and other ocean liners than Brass or Bonny. It quickly eclipsed the port of Calabar in the Cross River city-state. The cosmopolitan town of Port Harcourt became the gateway to the markets in the hinterland. Youth from the heartland of the Igbo, especially Orlu, Owerri, Arochukwu and Aba, were attracted to the British constructed city at the coast.

After the political annexation of Nigeria industrial Europe flooded the nation's markets with manufactured goods. It gradually introduced luxury goods into the country and the people unavoidably developed a great taste for these imported commodities. Domestic economies steeply declined. Foreign economy and trade dictated the types and quality of domestic production considered suitable for export. Farmers adhered to the specification and mode of production. They directed most of their energies to producing those exportable goods like cocoa, palm oil products, groundnuts, hides, skin, and beniseed. Cash crop production henceforth dominated farming occupation and with adverse effects on the necessary local consumer goods. In other words, the colonial objectives by and large (and of

necessity from the colonial world market perspective) did not significantly promote indigenous agriculture. Professor Paul S. Briedenbach, one of the committee members for this dissertation, poignantly pointed out in a written comment that the reality among other things was

colonial self-interest demanded the destruction of traditional subsistence agriculture (and in the case of Nigeria even traditional agriculture leading to urbanism and surplus). They needed labor for one or two export crops such as palm oil. The indigenous sector was an obstacle in the path of overall colonial goals.

Consequently, the newly created and industrialized cities drained potential farmers from the rural and unurbanized areas.

The local Nigerian products were gradually losing their marketability to the superior European imports. In the local industries the blacksmiths' metal productions could hardly compete with Sheffield cutlery and Birmingham hardware. In the fishery industry the European introduction of stockfish (dried cod) into Nigerian homes nearly supplanted the supply of the salt-and fresh-water fish from the delta waters, the Niger and the Benue, and the Chad Lake. The British search for a 'legitimate trade' in Nigeria was widely off the mark. The philanthropists and the early Christian missionaries must have had noble intentions when they had endeavored to promote the prosperity of the country principally through education and agriculture. The declared goal of the colonizers and the humanitarian movement was the extension of the benefits of 'civilization' and not the strangulation of the domestic economies or the exploitation of the natural resources of the land. Major (later

sir) Claude Macdonald, the British Commissioner, Consul-General and architect of the Niger Coast Protectorate strongly advocated a policy of cultural interdependence culminating in a peaceful social change. He had the conviction that British rule had but one justification, the improvement of the social and material conditions of the ruled.²⁹

Education was one of the most powerful instruments of social change. The Nigerian nationalists had never wholeheartedly and freely endorsed the objectives, methodology and curricular contents of the British colonial educational policies as they had affected the long range plan for the country. A number of the elite had contended that agents of modernization should not disregard Nigeria's complex past heritage if they were to maintain a core of cultural continuity amidst flux and change. The cultural contact between the foreign and the indigenous experiences was not to be unidirectional but decidedly a two-way flow of innovative ideas and skills corroborating and transforming contemporary experience and challenges into radically new demands and expectations for the future. The entire integrative action should be a combination or fusion of what was best in the two supervening cultures. The dawn of national independence ushered in new positive

²⁹Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1968), p. 121. See J.E. Flint, Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 129. Sir George Dashwood Taubman Goldie, K.C.M.G. (1846-1925) was a man of many credentials, a seasoned diplomat. See Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 77; Consul John Beecroft's reports and enclosures to the Foreign Office concerning the British diplomatic maneuvers and treaties with Badagri, Ijebu and Porto Novo, on 3rd January 1852.

directions for agricultural revival.

During the colonial rule in Nigeria, Western education superseded and submerged agricultural occupation. Series of educational policies on reforms were issued from the Whitehall after the publication of the Phelps-Stokes report in 1922. This document strongly recommended the adaptation of education to the African social and economic conditions.

Some British educationists had previously expressed doubts about the relevance of the school curriculum, in both primary and secondary schools, to the environment and future occupation of the children in Nigeria. Some social anthropologists did recognize the fact that there were elements in the traditional culture which should have had a place in the school system. Therefore, it was wholly incongruous and unsound psychologically and socially to educate children entirely away from their traditional culture without alienating them.

The system of Indirect Rule worked when it was extended to other parts of the country. But the British administration shied away from modernizing traditional agriculture; it failed to develop *pari passu* with education which was introduced into the country at the beginning of the colonization. Farming had a stunted growth during the period of British occupation. What had Nigeria to show to the world on the day of the attainment of national sovereignty? There were many British achievements for the country. But in the field of agriculture, it was cutlass and hoe! Besides there were a host of men and women in which the elements of European civilization were not fully integrated and harmonized with the indigenous Nigerian culture, a cluster of deracinated people with mental dichotomy. The following

chapter will examine the necessary steps being taken by the nationalists to ameliorate the explosive situation.

CHAPTER VI

POST INDEPENDENCE AGRICULTURAL REORGANIZATION CONSCIOUSNESS

Nigeria is a nation of free and independent farmers. It has its vital roots in agriculture. Consequently, the post Nigerian independence agricultural reorganization was effected by the political activities of the nationalist movements. The process of re-orientation could only be effectively brought about through education; albeit, through a new fashioned brand of education capable of achieving and sustaining the reorganization of the society as well as regenerating a new social consciousness of communalism. To maintain and develop national self-determination the people should be educated and trained in those survival skills realizable in a modern nation. In other words a concerted effort should be made to build a sound agricultural and industrial economy. During the transitional period of the British gradual transfer of power to the Regional Government the educated elite envisaged the potential danger of the absence of cultural adaptation. But they were apathetic to, much they abhorred the intrusion, the implantations of foreign educational constitutions and conventions in the school system, especially higher education, without making them relevant and adaptable to the cultural climate of Nigeria. This chapter discusses strategies and approaches taken to evolve development education in the country.

The Ashby Commission Report on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in the country addressed, in part, the grave national issues

concomitant with the major personnel and power shifts anticipated in the first few years immediately following self-rule. The Commission through its investigation helped to pave the way for future government actions in certain areas of great concern, chiefly in education and manpower development. The political realization of the ambitious policies and aspirations of the government proved slightly complicated. The change-over during the struggle for independence had generated fresh nationalist fervor, activity, and solidarity.

Nationalists and Agriculture

Nigeria's national era began with the attainment of political sovereignty. As a free and independent country, it entered the international community as equal partners in progress. Education was regarded by Nigerian patriots as paramount for the national economic advancement. During the interim self government for the Regions, the Action Group Policy Paper¹ on Higher Education in Nigeria cautioned that there were four major pitfalls in the document. It repudiated the rigid exclusiveness of the educational policy which based admission on the availability of residential accommodation in the institution, all else being equal. The Party also criticized the arbitrary academic orientation or the allocation of priorities to certain faculties at the expense of others and the emphasis placed on certain courses in relation to others. The unhealthy relationship between technological and university education left much to be desired by the Action Group Party. The constant antagonism and rancor of the

¹The Action Group Paper on Higher Education in Nigeria. The Daily Service, Lagos, September 5, 6, 1958.

administration, especially of officialdom, towards the educated Nigerian elite² greatly militated against mutual understanding and cooperative effort in the smooth implementation of government policies and programs. The Ibadan University College was a case in point. The Provisional Council, in accordance with the charter of the University College had adopted the residential system based on the recommendation of the Elliot Commission Report. This aspect of the report favored the Oxford or Cambridge academic and administrative systems and policies. The nationalists had preferred a shift of emphasis from pure to applied science such as engineering, agriculture, geology and medicine. The Colleges of Technology were to function as complementary to universities and not in competition with them. The nation's institutes of higher learning, the political release suggested, were to be instruments of national integration rather than establishments for divisiveness and factionalism. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in his writings and public speeches on educational reforms underlined the need for cultured, creative and dedicated Nigerian men and women who would assume responsible leadership in many directions of human endeavors. Like the late Edward Wilmot Blyden, the father of African nationalism, Nnamdi Azikiwe craved for new thinking on educational

²James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 146, 150, 152, 162, and 171. The notion of the 'English Gentleman' conflicted with the idea of the 'Westernized Elite' in Nigeria. The preconceptions were based on false premises that peaceful colonial administration and the perpetuation of imperial rule were correlated and directly dependent on the colonist superiority. In the pre-independent era the concept of 'detrribalization' often tended to invoke disparagement and the isolation or polarization of the Nigerian intelligentsia in the bid for social change.

policies and practices. He summarily dismissed the British philosophy on colonial education in Africa. He contended that

Africans have been mis-educated. They need mental emancipation so as to be re-educated to the real needs of Renascent Africa.³ [All italicized in the original.]

The scholarship and intellectualism advocated by Azikiwe were more easily pursued in higher institutions, preferably in a university, than elsewhere. Before Nigeria became autonomous, indigenous universities were a rarity in the British colonies of West Africa. Those who could afford to pay for their higher education proceeded abroad for it. Education was largely perceived by Nigerians as an investment which was expected to yield some dividend to the investor or communities. It must be cost effective. To many families and communities investing in education yielded lucrative returns and prospects. Many people took advantage of the opportunity to invest in their children's education. Farming, a one time prime occupation, unexpectedly became the second best profession to many individuals and communities. The findings of the Ashby Commission helped to shed some light on the role of education in an emerging country like Nigeria. The Report from its very title, Investment in Education, clearly

³ Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe, Renascent Africa (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1968; first published in 1937), p. 135. See also Dr. Azikiwe's Foreward to Nigerian Education, ed. O. Ikejiani (Bristol, Gt. Britain: Western Printing Services, Ltd., 1964), pp. xi-xiii. Political harangue and vituperation indicting colonial policies in Africa were a common feature in the early nationalist writings and speeches. J.E. Casely-Hayford of the Gold Coast (Ghana), John Payne Jackson of the Lagos Weekly Record, and the Rev. T.B. Macaulay, the father of Herbert Macaulay, the doyen of Nigerian politics (1920-1945), propagated cultural renaissance, political emancipation and educational revolution.

recognized the intimate relationship which existed between education and economic development.⁴ Education might have been a potent factor or weapon in economic modernization, but it was just one facet of overall development. The people were in serious danger of losing hold on the traditional past while not yet in full grasp of the foreign cultures and traditions. For a people who had originally a diversified agricultural practice were now cast to the sideline of economic prosperity.

The Ashby Commission and Agriculture

In April 1959 the Federal Government of Nigeria appointed a

⁴A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1981), pp. 82, 104. In September 1971 the World Bank more critically re-examined Ashby's many postulations or assumptions in the Investment in Education. It came to the conclusion that not only was [development] education not directly revenue producing; in the present state of the available knowledge its economic return was not accurately measurable. World Bank, 'Education: Sector Working Paper', September 1971, p. 17.

commission⁵ to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-Secondary Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years (1960-1980). For higher education in Nigeria this was another landmark in the second phase of educational development.

This Commission commenced its work on 3rd May 1959 and submitted its findings to the Federal Ministry of Education on 2nd September 1960. The Ashby Report⁶ was the most significant document of the

⁵Unofficially the Commission was often referred to as the Ashby Commission. It was composed of nine members, three each from Nigeria, the United Kingdom, and the United States: Sir Eric Ashby (Chairman), Master of Clark College, Cambridge; Professor K.O. Dike, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan; Professor R.G. Gustavson, former Chancellor of the University of Nebraska and President of the Fund for the Resources of the Future, Inc., U.S.A.; Professor H.W. Hannah, former Associate Dean of Agriculture of the University of Illinois and later President of the Michigan State University; Sir Shettima Kashim Ibrahim, former Federal Minister of Education, the Waziri of Borno and former Chancellor of the University of Ibadan; Professor F. Keppel, former Dean of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University and later Secretary for Education, Health and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; Sir J.F. Lockwood, Master of Birkbeck College and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of London; Dr. S.D. Onabamiro, former Research Fellow at the University of Ibadan and later the Minister of Education in Western Nigeria; and G.E. Watts, Principal of Brighton Technical College. The services of Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton University were secured to examine the country's high-level manpower and educational needs up to 1970. See also A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education (Lagos: Macmillan and Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1971), pp. 151-152.

⁶Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria, Investment in Education, the Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, Government Printer, 1960). The Harbison Report was Part II of Investment in Education. Also, Nigeria, Federal Government, Educational Development 1960-1970 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1961), Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961, p. 4. Some people like to call the Ashby Report 'an educational bible for Nigeria'; see O. Ikejiani, Nigerian Education, op.cit., p. 14; see A.I. Asiwaju, 'Ashby Revisited: A Review of Nigeria's Educational Growth: 1961-1971' in African Studies Review, Vol. XV, No. 1, April, 1972, pp. 1-16.

early 1960's for the boldness of its vision. The Commission observed among other things that agriculture was the mainstay of Nigeria and that at least seventy-five percent of the country's population worked on the land. Before greater emphasis was placed on literary education at the secondary and post-secondary levels in Nigeria, agriculture formed the basis for domestic and foreign exchange earning. The lack of balance in the educational structure, particularly at the post-secondary level, most probably engendered indifference to agricultural education. Literary type of education was imported to the country by expatriate administrators, many of whom were arts graduates. They served as models or symbols of prestige, success, and power to the youth in the schools. A fortiori, since agricultural science and technical or vocational courses were not appreciated as prestigious by these teachers themselves most of the school-certificated boys and girls viewed these branches of study as unimportant. The lethargy, the Commission felt, affected not only the young people but the educated adults as well. It advised that the Federal Government should give the necessary leadership in agricultural education, sufficiently attractive incentives to trained farmers, and clear guidelines in this all too important enterprise. The diversification of agricultural posts with attractive salaries attached to them and good conditions of service would restore, in some measure, interest in agricultural occupation.

The Commission also made other recommendations on primary, secondary and sixth-form education, teacher education, technical and commercial education, agricultural and veterinary education, and

university education.

The Report stressed the crucial importance of agriculture to Nigeria, a nation founded on agriculture. The awareness should be reflected in the Federal Government's agricultural organization, education, research, and sponsored public programs. As a first priority agricultural assistants and superintendents should be produced at the rate of not less than 200 a year from the then existing four agricultural schools at Akure, Ibadan Moor Plantations, Samaru, and Umudike. Vocational agriculture should be made attractive enough to persuade School Certificate holders to enter agricultural schools. For the training of veterinary assistants at sub-degree level, the Veterinary Institute at Vom in Plateau should remain the national center, but it should double its annual output as soon as practicable. Regarding agricultural and veterinary education at the universities the Commission proposed that, in addition to the existing faculty of agriculture at Ibadan, a faculty of agriculture with research and extension program should be established in a university in each Region of the Federation. On the other hand veterinary education should be closely adapted to the special needs of Nigeria and attention should be paid to animal nutrition and preventive medicine. Since agriculture was the largest element of the Nigerian economy the universities should see to the establishment of departments of home economics for food processing and marketing industries.

Government Reaction to the Ashby Report

After due consideration and the necessary amendments the Federal

Government accepted the Ashby Report in principle. The document hence forth constituted the basis for the development of post-secondary and higher education for the next decade (1960-1970).⁷ The Commission had successfully reawakened in the government the realization of the existing state of agricultural education and the dearth of Nigerian recruits into the agricultural and veterinary services. The government recognized the need to encourage and promote agriculture. Instead of the 200 agricultural assistants recommended to be trained each year, the government increased the figure to 600 per annum. On the training of veterinary assistants the existing annual intake was multiplied by four instead of two as recommended by the Commission. The founding of more universities in the country accelerated the development of the nation's manpower needs and the Nigerianization of many of the governmental or private establishments and services.

Agriculture and the Ashby Universities

The universities founded after the Ibadan University College were established as autonomous institutions. They adhered closely to the Ashby Commission's recommendations. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka, however, was founded as a land-grant university.⁸ Besides the

⁷Educational Development, op.cit., p. 4. After the study of the report of the Ashby Commission the Government accepted Harbison's estimates as minimum requirements for the implementation of the entire program.

⁸The land-grant idea was an American innovation in higher education. A land-grant college or university was a state institution established for the expressed purpose of emphasizing agriculture, technical and commercial education, and home economics. The state donated the land and sponsored the institution; see the First Morrill Act of 1862. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka, founded on 7th October 1960, was modeled on the lines of the land-grant colleges of the United States.

pursuit of other academic excellence and higher goals, it was destined to mirror the philosophies, values and the aspirations of the people while adapting simultaneously the educational philosophies of other cultures to the needs of the indigenous cultures.⁹ Apart from the primary objectives of any university to promote research, science, and learning, the post independence universities of Nigeria were also committed to the promotion of the lofty ideals. They also addressed issues like the indigenization of education, the production of efficient high level manpower for the Nigerianization of the civil service, the training of personnel to supervise the development of the national resources, the restoration of the dignity of man, and the revival or resuscitation of cultural learning. Agricultural development and farm extension programs were widely diffused in Nigerian universities.

⁹University of Nigeria, Eastern Region Official Document, No. 4
(Enugu:Government Printer, 1958), pp. 1-2, 7.

The National Universities Commission (N.U.C.)¹⁰ in its recommendations for the quinquennium beginning in 1963 stressed the importance of all Nigerian universities with the exception of Lagos and any other place where land was not easily available. These universities should develop strong Faculties of Agriculture. The University of Ibadan should upgrade a vigorous post-graduate school in agriculture. The other universities should each endeavor to develop an Agricultural Extension Department in collaboration with the appropriate Ministry of Agriculture. The universities of Ibadan and Ahmadu Bello, at Zaria, should jointly develop clinical and veterinary science. Karl P. Magyar in his survey of U.S. Export Opportunities in Nigeria observed the implementation of the N.U.C. recommendations in the Higher institutions:

¹⁰The Ashby Commission had recommended the formation of a National Universities Commission (N.U.C.). The Commission was vested with the powers to control the affairs of all the nation's universities with particular reference to finance, staffing, conditions of service, programs, and post-graduate studies. Among its other functions were to advise the Government on the creation of new universities and other degree granting institutions in Nigeria, and on the allocation of funds to higher educations; to collate, analyze and publish information relating to university finance and university education both in Nigeria and Overseas. It was its responsibility to make recommendations to the Federal Government or to universities relating to higher education as the Commission may consider to be in the national interests. The inaugural meeting of the Commission was held on 11th October, 1962. The N.U.C. was patterned on the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom (the London University Grants Commission). See the Report of the N.U.C., University Development in Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1963), pp. 1-2; Decisions of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the Report of the National Universities Commission, Sessional Paper No. 4 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1964), pp. 7-8.

Universities with established agricultural programs include Ibadan, Nsukka, Zaria, Ife, Maiduguri and Ilorin, with other programs being planned at several other universities. Alumu [Ahmadu] Bello University at Zaria has a quite well-developed Institute for Agricultural Research.¹¹

According to Professor Harbison the manpower needs depended on the rate of economic growth as speculated in his projection for the period 1960/70. If the rate of economic development desired was constant, at least as high as four percent annually, then the projected figure of 1,200 agricultural, forestry and fishery specialists would be met. About 800 veterinarians were targetted for the country's high-level manpower and educational needs up to the plan period.

Table 5

Manpower Needs, 1960/70¹²

Graduate teachers	8,500
Engineers	5,000
Agricultural, forestry and fishery specialists	1,000
Veterinarians	800
Doctors	2,000
Scientists (for research institutes)	500
Others	2,000

¹¹U.S. Department of Commerce, International Administration, Karl P. Magyar (ed.), Nigeria: A Survey of U.S. Export Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981), p. 81. Dr. Karl P. Magyar is a member of the staff of the American Graduate School of International Management, Glendale, Arizona.

¹²Investment in Education, op.cit., p. 63; see Frederick Harbison, 'The African University and Human Resource Development', Journal of Modern African Studies, 3, 1, 1965, pp. 53-63; David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 210.

The Ashby Commission argued that at least 7,500 places would be needed in Nigerian universities in order to achieve this minimum number of 2,000 graduates per annum. The conservative estimate, however, took into consideration students in longer duration courses during the projected period. Was the Ashby Report an elixir for all the Nigerian educational problems? The Commission certainly asked the right question. It marked the beginning of a new era in thinking about the role of education in development in West Africa.

The Economic Commission for Africa on Accelerating Economic Growth

Six years after the Ashby Commission on Nigerian higher education and high-level manpower development, the Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.A.)¹³ still noted deficiencies in African educational systems. The E.C.A. maintained that trained manpower shortages persisted, in spite of modest effort by some countries to accelerate the tempo of development, because the educational systems have not yet been devised to meet the challenge of rapid transition from a traditional economy to an industrial one. The E.C.A. evaluated the potentiality of existing educational institutions, particularly at the university level. The universities were geared to supply the trained manpower of varied occupational skills needed for economic

¹³United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Memorandum on Manpower (MPTR/1-66): January, 1966. The extract is from the Memorandum submitted by the Economic Commission for Africa to the Second Conference of Heads of African Universities, Zaria, Nigeria, 19th-22nd January, 1966. Title: 'Manpower Requirements for African Development.' See A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education, op.cit., Appendix vi, p. 324. Also A. Babs Fafunwa and J.U. Aisiku, ed., Education in Africa: A Comparative Study (Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin, Inc., 1982), p. 256.

Table 6

Enrollment Figures in Nigerian Universities, 1964/5 to 1978/9

	<i>Ibadan</i>	<i>Lagos</i>	<i>Nsukka</i>	<i>Zaria</i>	<i>Ife</i>	<i>Benin</i>	<i>Jos</i>	<i>Calabar</i>	<i>Maidu</i>		<i>Port</i>		<i>Total</i>	
									<i>Kano</i>	<i>Guri</i>	<i>Sokoio</i>	<i>Ilorin - Harcourt</i>		
1964/5	2,284	563	2,482	719	659								6,707	
1965/6	2,687	773	2,579	957	713								7,709	
1966/7	2,729	1,116	3,125	973	945								8,888	
1967/8	2,593	1,859		1,352	1,254								7,058	
1968/9	3,118	2,062		1,745	1,663								8,588	
1969/70	3,146	2,395		2,351	1,803								9,695	
1970/1	3,639	2,535	2,931	2,844	2,411	108							14,468	
1971/2	3,742	2,918	3,363	3,835	2,985	250							17,093	
1972/3	3,783	3,053	3,891	5,177	4,568	417							20,889	
1973/4	4,618	3,400	4,677	5,828	4,005	700							23,228	
1974/5	5,304	3,639	5,800	6,257	4,400	1,048							26,448	
1975/6	6,961	4,416	6,059	7,299	5,671	1,365		515					32,286	
1976/7	8,586	5,982	6,661	7,321	7,249	1,871	579	952	1,158	743		397	41,499	
1977/8	8,865	7,447	6,727	7,477	8,322	2,257	1,339	1,209	1,796	1,396	194	327	47,670	
1978/9	7,781	7,743	7,009	8,010	7,234	2,611	1,971	1,675	2,390	1,462	455	912	650	49,903

Source: Lagos Universities Commission, 1980, quoted in A. Babs Fafunwa and J.U. Aisiku, eds., Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey (Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin Inc., 1982), p. 226.

Table 7

Recent Trend in Graduate Out-Turn from the
Universities, 1974/5 to 1976/7

<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Graduate Out-turn</i>			<i>% Increase</i>	
	<i>1974/5</i>	<i>1975/6</i>	<i>1976/7</i>	<i>1974/5 to 1975/6</i>	<i>1975/6 to 1976/7</i>
Arts	561	692	746	23.3	7.2
Sciences	592	735	1,043	24.1	41.9
Medicine and Related Disciplines	440	494	570	12.3	15.4
Agriculture	301	365	605	21.3	65.7
Veterinary Medicine	40	54	900	35.0	—
Engineering	305	431	559	41.3	29.7
Environmental Studies	162	166	137	2.5	-17.4
Administration	186	242	677	30.6	64.1
Education	675	854	1,756	26.5	105.6
Social Sciences	562	727	1,149	29.3	58.0
Mass Communication, Law and Others	180	237	452	31.7	90.7
All Disciplines	4,004	4,998	8,594	24.8	71.9

Note: The figure for veterinary medicine in 1976/7 seems unlikely but the total adds up correctly. However, there is no percentage increase given. It would be 1.008% which strains credulity and would make the overall figure, given as 71-99%, very large.

Source: National Universities Commission, quoted in A. Babs Fafunwa and J.U. Aisiku, eds., Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey (Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin Inc., 1982), p.227.

modernization. The evaluation revealed that the educational systems suffered from inadequacies and gaps in curricular content and objectives, from under-utilized available resources, and from insufficient cooperation in human resource development efforts. In other words there existed expensive duplication and over-production of trained personnel in particular fields. The E.C.A. also observed that a number of specialized training courses in the professional and technological areas were generally either absent or inadequately developed. As regards student enrollment, liberal arts and the humanities predominated while insufficient numbers were enrolled in agricultural, scientific, engineering technological fields and in specialized professional fields where acute shortages of trained indigenous personnel were known to exist. Customs die hard. African institutions of higher learning are still largely celebrated seats of literary academic activities. They are fighting shy of applied science and of orientating the content and objectives of education and training towards the realization of economic and social goals. With the eagerness of African countries for cultural, scientific, and technological revolution development education¹⁴ becomes a sine qua non for the orientation of educational curricula to development needs.

¹⁴'Education for Development', 'Development Education', and 'Education Development' are often interchangeably used by different authors. See The United States and International Education, Harold Shane (ed.) 68th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 6, 13-14, R. Freeman Butts defines 'Development Education'; pp. 46, 47, Donald Adams discusses 'Development Education and Social Progress'. See also A. Baba Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education, op.cit., p. 328.

The E.C.A. suggested a range of selected course subjects¹⁵ essential for accelerating the economic growth in Africa. To acquire the specialized skills in demand in the field of agriculture and forestry, provision must be made for the study of Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Engineering, Food Science and Educational Technology. The technical know-how and understanding of irrigation, drainage, and timber technology would aid the indigenous trained student to undertake feasibility studies; to formulate and evaluate development projects; and to implement, manage, and supervise these projects. To better the social and economic welfare of its people the Nigerian government resorted to massive investment in education and agriculture.

The Politics of Agriculture

Nigeria has the means and capacity to provide adequate nutrition for its people through agriculture. If efficient techniques of food production, distribution, storage, and marketing are aptly harnessed, Nigerian agriculture can successfully forestall the intermittent food

¹⁵A. Babs Fafunwa, Nigerian Higher Education, op.cit., p. 329. See Sir Eric Ashby's paper 'The Functions of West African Universities' in The West African Intellectual Community, M. Dowuona and J.T. Saunders (eds.), of the Papers and Discussions of an International Seminar on Inter-University Co-operation in West Africa, held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 11-16 December 1961 (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1962), pp. 48, 50, 56, and 74. Universities in Africa, to a great degree, are vehicles of Western, African, and other civilizations. It would be appropriate for them to advance education along a broad spectrum of academic, social and cultural interest. Education should be reorientated to suit African or Nigerian needs.

shortages experienced by the people.¹⁶ Newly developed practices of hoarding essential commercial commodities and foodstuffs in order to create artificial scarcity is a malaise, individualistic and unpatriotic. Maladministration and mismanagement of the national resources are parts of such ignoble practices. In the past the country produced a large variety of foodstuffs and livestock more than sufficient for domestic consumption. For it also exported large quantities of agricultural, forest, and animal products.¹⁷ Thus the nation can do at least as well in this modern and technological age. The hope is that agricultural education will be a springboard for the realization of self-reliance, self-sufficiency in food production, and a solid foundation for economic independence.

The Early Farm Settlements in the Western Region

The government of Western Nigeria attempted to eradicate the social and economic prejudices held against farmers when the Action Group party first took office in the Region. It reversed the myth that farming was an occupation associated with illiteracy and low

¹⁶Victor E. Smith, Professor of Economics in Michigan State University, East Lansing, presented a method for organizing the knowledge of the nutritionist, the agriculturist, and the economist into a paradigm or system that can be used to examine agricultural production patterns, to identify the most efficient nutritional crops, and to describe techniques and strategies for improving nutrition in a developing country like Nigeria. See V.E. Smith, Efficient Resource Use for Tropical Nutrition: Nigeria (East Lansing: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University, 1975), pp. 238, 291.

¹⁷Obafemi Awolowo, The People's Republic (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 295. Chief Awolowo bemoans Nigeria as a Land of Plenty and Want. He yearns for a politico-economic freedom for his country.

income earners who have to toil hard for little remuneration and few social amenities. The influx of students who have completed their courses in the free, universal primary education schools (U.P.E.) created serious employment problems in the urban towns. These social problems were not fully considered before the inception of the U.P.E. scheme in 1955. The Western Government did not delay acting in addressing the issue of migration of graduates from the rural areas into the cities. It established farm settlements to absorb those young men who could not proceed to secondary schools or afford to pay for secondary modern school education.¹⁸

The young farmers who went into these projects were not highly motivated; they were reluctant to spend the rest of their lives in these Western Region Farm Settlements. The program was a laudable one but it needed good planning and a thorough supervision to succeed as a government establishment. After James O'Connell had observed the tremendous transformation that formal education could effect in a man's way of life and standard of living, he thus viewed the government predicament in U.P.E. program:

Some over-simplified solutions must be avoided in tackling educational reform. There is need to introduce, or to re-introduce, some element of an agricultural and technical

¹⁸The Secondary Grammar School was an extension of the Primary system. The early grammar school in Nigeria was patterned on the English Grammar School with its classical orientation. The students sat for the Oxford and Cambridge syndicate examinations. In 1956 the length of the grammar school course was reduced from a six year duration to five. The Secondary Modern School offered a three year terminal course in general and practical areas for students who could not pursue a normal grammar-school course or were too young to enter the labor market. It was introduced simultaneously with the free, universal primary education scheme in 1955.

bias into a reformed primary school syllabus. But it is first necessary to train the teachers in those disciplines. Nor must an agricultural and technical bias be allowed to injure the basic function of primary schools which is to make their pupils literate and numerate. In this respect the approach to the secondary school syllabus must be even more circumspect. It should not be thought either that introducing some agriculture into a syllabus will keep the young people on the land. General social pressures much more than a literary syllabus are enticing people from the land. Lastly putting an agriculture and technical bias into a syllabus is no substitute for a proper development of agricultural, technical and commercial education in post primary schools.¹⁹

If the development of formal education were to be a guiding star for political leaders and if it were to animate the graduates in the agricultural extension work that lay behind a more scientific harvesting of cash crops, making a fetish of literacy would not be reasonable. The great input from the illiterate farmers could help

¹⁹Professor James O'Connell, a renowned philosopher and political scientist, taught first in the Ibadan Major Seminary, then transferred to the University of Ibadan, and later to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He believed that the time had come in Nigeria to restructure the educational pyramid, to broaden the base, to diversify the forms of education, and to raise the academic standard through teacher education. See J. O'Connell, 'Education, Economics, and Politics', in Education and Nation Building in Africa, eds., L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David G. Scanlon (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1965), p. 190. The article first appeared in the West African Journal of Education, published by the Institute of Education, University of Ibadan, Vol. VII, No. 2 (June), 1963, 64-66. Also, W. Arthur Lewis, 'Education and Economic Development', International Social Science Journal, Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1962, cited in A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, op.cit., p. 96. Just as a nation gets the type of government it deserves, a society gets the education it bargains for.

energize the farm settlers.²⁰ Agricultural education demands collaboration from all the agents concerned, the government and the people, the school and the home, and most important, the societal perception of agriculture.

The National Curriculum Conference and Agriculture

It is an educational truism that whoever controls the curriculum of education shapes the destiny of that nation. Five years after the acceptance of the Ashby Report political events²¹ in Nigeria overtook the remarkable work of that great Oxford scholar. Forces of disunity and disintegration engulfed the country. It was not until early in 1970 that peace and normalcy were finally restored to the nation. The months that followed the secessionist rebellion were times for national reconciliation, reconstruction of war ravaged areas, and rehabilitation of displaced persons. However, during the war period,

²⁰The correlation between the innovativeness of a group of farmers in Nigeria with their economic circumstances and certain specified social characteristics including age, level of education, contact with information and personal attitudes, is inconclusive and tenuous. Although this is so, the general conclusion should not be disregarded. Education still remains a powerful agency of change. It helps to shape the quality of the desired attitudes, knowledge and thinking. The survey conducted by W.W. Ogionwo revealed that neighbors and friends were most effective influences upon the farmers in certain rural farming areas; the influence of extension officers was inconsequential.

²¹In the early years of the Nigerian independence, America, Britain, Canada, and some European countries came to aid the country in its educational reforms and social development plans. The U.S. Peace Corps Voluntary Service Overseas (V.S.O.), and its Canadian counterpart, were in the main a part of a mission designed to help improve the way of life in the host country. More devastating in the offing were the tragic political unrest, coup d'etats, and recriminations which precipitated the Nigerian Civil War. These national upheavals complicated and ultimately grounded educational and development programs in the country.

the Federal Military Government maintained skeletons of essential social services in the warfree zones.

The National Conference on Curriculum Development in Nigeria was held from 8th-12th September 1969. The conference was a turning point in the educational development since the attainment of Self-Rule. This Conference included not only experts and professionals, but a cross-section of various strands of the people. For the first time, Nigerians deliberated, by themselves, on the aims and objectives of education suited for their children. The upshot of the National Curriculum Conference was that Nigerian education must relate to the needs and aspirations of the child, community and nation. Since education and society are interdependent the curriculum must aim at functional permanent literacy to ensure more efficient producers and consumers of goods and services. In his address to the participants Dr. S.J. Cookey, the Chief Federal Adviser on Education, warned against the preservation of a warped concept of education:

We have developed a class of people who look upon education as a preparation for a clean job. The educated man, according to this view, does not work with his hands. You cannot be a farmer if you are educated. We prefer civil engineering because we think it is a cleaner occupation than, say, mechanical or automobile engineering. In a country like ours, where agricultural produce accounts for a very high proportion of our national income, it is obvious that more attention should be paid to agricultural education,

and yet this is a field in which the country as a whole has failed. Attempts at introducing the teaching of agriculture in schools have been disappointing, as have been some of the attempts, like the farm settlement scheme, made at encouraging the acceptance of agriculture as a worthwhile career.²²

An urgent need for a critical review of the curriculum becomes imperative. Dr. Cookey in the keynote address anticipated Malam M.N. Shuaibu Naibi's underlying anxiety in his paper: 'The Purpose of Primary Education'. On the relationship between primary education and agriculture he reaffirmed that the schools were not to be entirely divorced from the social milieu. The classroom must draw meaning and color from the life, aspiration and activities of the community. Among other things he suggested:

Some practical work concerned with the cultivation of the land, the growing of crops, and the care of livestock should certainly have a place in the school curriculum.²³

The inclusion of agriculture in the school timetable should not be a facade or a platform exercise. According to Nigerian tradition children are apprenticed at an early age to master artisans. The children of craftsmen, farmers, and traders understudy their parents, guardians, and friends by working side by side with them. Education for living should prepare children and adults to take their places in the society either as leaders or as followers.

²² Adeniji Adaralegbe (ed.), A Philosophy for Nigerian Education. Nigeria Educational Research Council, Proceedings of the Nigeria National Curriculum Conference 8-12 September, 1969 (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltds., 1972), p. xxvi.

²³ Ibid., p. 10. See also pp. 55, 212 and 232 (idem); Jonathan A. Anyanwu, Curriculum Development in Secondary Schools in Nigeria (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977), p. 54.

Agriculture in the National Development Plans

Agriculture has a crucial role to play in the economic development and political stability of Nigeria as an independent and sovereign country. Before the discovery of petroleum in the southern parts of the country, agriculture had been the major source of revenue for capital development projects and the most important contributor to the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.). The Federal Government which in the past had apparently regarded agricultural development as essentially a regional or state rather than a national responsibility, is now determined to improve agricultural productivity. It gave agriculture greater priority in the 1962-68 Development Plan than in the 1955-62 Plan.²⁴

Nigeria's First Plan (1962-68)

The objectives of agriculture in the First National Development Plan (1962-68) were extremely generalized and vague to meet the urgent demands of agriculture. If a desirable balance between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors were to be narrowed down to a more

²⁴World Bank Country Economic Report, Wouter Tims (ed.), Nigeria: Options for Long-Term Development (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 23. Medium-term development plans were in use before Nigerian Independence. They served as the chief vehicle for allocating public sector investments. During the Colonial rule, the first plan for Nigeria was a Ten-Year Plan for Development and Welfare, 1945-1955. In a country that was undergoing rapid structural and social changes, by 1950 a new plan was formulated, 1951-1956. The 1954 World Bank Mission activities and the constitutional changes in 1955 gave rise to a new Economic Development Plan for the years 1955-1960. The period was later extended to 1962. The First National Development Plan for independent Nigeria was launched on the first day of the Fiscal Year, 1st April 1962. The Plan was expected to last until 31st March 1968 but it was interrupted during 1966 to 1970. The Second Plan period was scheduled for 1970-1974.

comfortable optimal expectation in the plan period, more action was needed in that direction.

The Federal Government stated in the First Plan that emphasis would be placed on soil fertility, fertilizers studies, and the breeding of improved seeds. In close collaboration with the Regional Governments, the Central Government hoped to provide the basis, through research, for a major fertilizer program which in turn would form the foundation for expanded fertilizer production.²⁵ The Northern Regional Government was to intensify and maximize its agricultural outputs in beef, grain and groundnut productions, and fish supplies.²⁶ The Eastern Nigeria Government planned the modernization of agriculture through the adoption of improved techniques, intensified agricultural education and changes in land tenure.²⁷ The agricultural objectives of the Western Government's plan was the pursuit of increased productivity both in cash and domestic crops through the efficient use and management of land, labor, and capital, as well as through efficient marketing of agricultural products.²⁸

The chief weakness in these generalized projected goals was the lack of quantification in the Plan. The absence of projections in the

²⁵Federation of Nigeria, National Development Plan, 1962-68 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1962), pp. 55-56.

²⁶Ibid., p. 109.

²⁷Ibid., p. 206.

²⁸Ibid., p. 287.

agricultural production, anticipated fore-cast income yield in the investment either globally or sectorally, and estimated employment opportunity made the scheme ineffectual. In the First Plan period, 43 percent of the budgeted allocation for agriculture remained unspent because of shortcomings in design and implementation of agricultural plans.²⁹ The stated agricultural objectives for the First Plan period were poor indicators of the much needed agricultural revolution.³⁰

Nigeria's Second Plan (1970-74)

Implementation of the First Economic Development Plan was interrupted by civil disturbances and war (1966-1970). The Federal Military Government had to prepare a Second National Plan for Reconstruction and Development covering the period 1st April 1970 to 31st March 1974. The Second Plan remained in essence a program of public investment activities by projects. It was flexible in projects-content. The political situation necessitated a Plan with a list of selected approved areas or projects for which resources were to be made available as a matter of development priority. After the cessation of hostilities and retoration of peace, petroleum and agricultural exports gradually revived. Except for the war-affected areas, production of food crops continued without any significant trend. During the prosecution of the war cocoa and groundnut (peanut)

²⁹W. Tims, Nigeria, op.cit., p. 23.

³⁰H.A. Oluwasanmi, 'Agriculture and Rural Development', in A.A. Ayida and H.M.A. Onitiri (eds.), Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria. Proceedings of a National Conference (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 143-153.

trade was unhampered except for internal transportation difficulties. To improve communication and transportation the nation needed a fairly dense network of arterial highways of first-class quality. The regional, local, and rural feeder roads leading to districts where agricultural activities were concentrated, could then be connected to the national major network of superhighways.

Nigeria's Third Plan (1975-80)

Nigeria's Third National Development Plan (1 April 1975-31 March 1980) was a bold and ambitious venture.³¹ The program aimed at the radical transformation of the national economy and the improvement of public and social services for the people. The Federal Military Government was to organize, over a five-year period, a colossal investment of 42.5 billion Naira³² (about \$68 billion U.S. dollars) in all the sectors of the national economy. Agriculture continued to be a major focus of development activity in Nigeria, as over 72 percent of the labor force derived their income from the agricultural sector. Consequently the revised Third Economic Plan allocated a total of \$4.9 billion to agricultural development. It was redistributed as follows:

\$2.7 billion to crop production

\$1.0 billion to irrigation and water resources

\$789 million to livestock development

³¹J.A. Anyanwu, op.cit., p. 162; culled from The New York Times, Sunday, January 26, 1975. Advertisement, Section F, pp. 76-77; 'Nigeria: Radical Transformation of Economy'.

³²One Nigerian Naira (N or ₦) is approximately \$1.60 (U.S. dollar) or £0.67 (British Pound Sterling) in foreign exchange conversion in Nigeria (1981).

\$219.7 million to forestry development, and \$165.6 million to fisheries development.³³

The production of crops is important to the national economy. Major crops are roots and tubers, grains and cereals, fats and oils, vegetables, and oilseeds and nuts. Food crops contribute 97 percent of the calories and 87 percent of the proteins of the Nigerian diet. Cocoa and cocoa products are mainly agricultural products for export.

Livestock production remains a traditional occupation with a little modernization. Over 90 percent of the cattle are found in the Northern states; and they are owned mostly by the Fulani. But poultry, goats, sheep, and pigs are widely spread in the rural areas; and they are owned in small numbers by each household for domestic use. Under the Third Plan, the Military Government made \$789 million available for the development of livestock, related livestock industries, and research. The entire livestock industry was valued at between \$2.4 and \$3.2 billion.

A large arable land in the Southern states is already exploited for various agricultural purposes. Irrigation projects in the Northern areas received more attention and financing. Before the revision of the Third Plan, \$866.8 million was allocated for irrigation and water resource programs. Large-scale projects in Gongola, Bauchi, Borno, Kano, and Sokoto, states greatly benefited from the development fund. Bakolori project of the Sokoto-Rima River Basin Development Authority was scheduled to irrigate up to 35,000

³³Karl P. Magyar, Nigeria, op.cit., pp. 67, 70, 73, 75.

Table 8

Aggregates of Agricultural and Food Production in Nigeria
(In Million Dollars at Constant Prices)

	Average 1961-65	1973	1974	1975
Crops	2,064.3	2,266.2	2,434.0	2,513.3
Livestock	179.5	263.5	259.0	267.3
Total Agriculture	2,243.8	2,529.7	2,693.0	2,781.1
Total Food	2,195.3	2,485.2	2,636.2	2,722.3
Indices of Production				
Crops	100	110	118	122
Total Agriculture	100	113	120	124
Total Food	100	113	120	124
Per Capita Agriculture	100	89	92	93
Per Capita Food	100	89	92	93

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, cited in Karl P. Magyar, ed.,
Nigeria: A Survey of U.S. Export Opportunities (Washington,
D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981), p. 82.

Table 9

Domestic Production of Agricultural Commodities
(In Calendar Years)
(In thousands of Metric Tons)

Commodity	1976	1977	1978
Rice paddy	611	620	700
Corn	1,440	1,500	1,600
Millet	2,865	2,950	3,100
Sorghum	3,680	3,700	3,800
Pulses	555	365	450
Wheat	7	7	8
Cassava	13,900	14,000	14,150
Yams	18,000	18,000	18,100
Cocoyams	1,680	1,700	1,710
Tobacco	10	8	8
Cotton	81	36	42
Cottonseed	130	70	80
Soybeans	1	3	3
Peanuts	10	14	50
Sesameseed	6	6	6
Bananas and plantains	1,450	1,400	1,425
Other fruit	53	53	65
Coffee	3	4	4
Rubber	56	60	65
Cocoabeans	170	205	165
Kola nuts	150	152	160
Sugar, refined	40	36 ¹	35
Palm oil	500	510	515
Palm kernels	295	340	345
Meats	590	550	550
Milk	370	370	370

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, cited in Karl P. Magyar, ed., Nigeria: A Survey of U.S. Export Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981), p. 84.

hectares of land for mostly small-scale private and large-scale cooperative farming.

Fishing is a well-established traditional occupation among a wide section of the population. The Third Plan voted \$165.6 million for fisheries development. The Federal Department of Fisheries, the Nigerian Institute of Oceanography and Marine Research spur development of this long neglected industry. State governments are also expected to offer assistance in aquacultural development. The National Accelerated Fish Production Project aimed at improving the productivity of local fishermen engaged in "artisanal fisheries."³⁴ New technology in fish farming is to be incorporated in fish production, processing, storage, and marketing. The fishing industry is potentially a lucrative and promising area of national enterprise. The Federal Government has some equity stocks in fishery industry. It also participates in the fishing industry by offering training and research facilities.

Nigeria's forest lands cover about 40 percent of its total area of 941,849 square kilometers. The country is one of the world's most important producers of tropical timbers. The forest reserves (preserves) are owned by the state governments. Of the more than 600

³⁴Ibid., p. 73. Two categories of classification of Nigeria's fisheries are described: 'artisanal' and 'industrial'. Artisanal fishing is a traditional small-scale fishing operation undertaken by local fishermen along the offshore coastal water, rivers or lake. It includes coastal canoe fisheries, brackish canoe fisheries, fresh water canoe fisheries, traps, and some fish farming. The 'industrial' sector embraces inshore or coastal fisheries within the continental shelf 45 miles to the sea, in vessels up to 100 registered gross tonnage.

Table 10

Areas Under Cultivation for Food Crops
(1000 Hectares)

Year	Cassava	Cocoyams	Yams	Maize	Millet	Sorghum	Rice	Cowpeas	Wheat	Groundnuts
1959/60	730	166	876	1345	4329	4585	119	1196	9	1102
70/71	920	250	1222	1431	4905	5643	246	3772	10	1848
71/72	899	200	1197	1197	4788	5387	200	3791	10	1796
72/73	844	266	788	1050	3692	3792	237	2466	7	2032
73/74	861	167	855	1130	5651	5516	373	3256	7	2076
74/75	815	108	671	579	4787	4653	269	2937	8	1796

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, cited in Karl P. Magyar, ed.,
Nigeria: A Survey of U.S. Export Opportunities (Washington,
 D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981), p. 83.

Table 11

Estimated Food Consumption
(In percentages)

87	Food Crops
7	Livestock
3	Fish
3	Imported Foods

Capital Expenditures
1978/79

	1978/79	1979/80
Agriculture	\$129,832,000	\$304,548,000
Livestock	45,864,000	29,484,000
Forestry	20,607,000	26,058,000
Fisheries	4,003,000	4,565,000

River Basin Development Schemes

1. Sokoto-Rima Basin
2. Hadejia-Jamare Basin
3. Lake Chad Basin
4. Upper Benue Basin
5. Lower Benue Basin
6. Cross Basin
7. Anambra-Imo Basin
8. Niger Basin
9. Ogun-Oshun Basin
10. Benin-Basin
11. Niger Delta Basin

Nigeria's Major Agricultural Exports

Benniseed	Groundnut oil
Castorseed	Groundnuts
Cocoa	Palm kernels
Copra	Palm oil
Cotton-lint	Rubber
Ginger	Soybeans

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, cited in Karl P. Magyar, ed., Nigeria: A Survey of U.S. Export Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981), p. 83.

trees species in these forests, over 100 are usable even though less than five percent have been commercially introduced to the world market. The Government, in the Plan period, devoted \$219.7 million for various programs with about three-fourths of the funds to be expended by the states. Programs were provided in the areas of forest plantation development, protection forestry, infrastructural development, forest inventories, and research. An extra \$16 million was specifically earmarked for the establishment of irrigated nurseries and mechanical afforestation units for raising plants in strategic areas in the Northern states. This move is an effort on the part of the Central Government to control the Sahara Desert encroachment on the northern border of the country, especially in such states as Gongola, Borno, Kano, Sokoto and Kaduna. In the North, the drought and desiccation create a serious agrarian problem. The afforestation of the designated areas will create shelter belts along highways and farmlands suffering from wind erosion and dunes. Several Federal training programs are also in progress for sawmillers and machine servicing personnel; a school for mechanization of forestry industries is to be established in due course.

Nigeria's Fourth Plan (1981-85)

Despite the growing importance of other sectors, petroleum and manufacturing in particular, agriculture, including forestry and fishing, will remain a key factor in Nigeria's economic development. The country's future with respect to decreasing income disparities between the rural and urban labor markets will depend primarily on the course of agricultural development. In the Fourth National

Development Plan, issued by the National Government in 1981, agriculture is accorded a very high priority. The Fourth Plan calls for a total investment of 82 billion Naira (U.S. \$152 billion)³⁵ over the five-year period. Of the total investment the various governments of the Federation and their agencies will contribute \$130.43 billion accordingly: the Federal Government will be responsible for \$74 billion, while the State and the Local governments will cumulatively account for \$51.8 billion. The Federal Capital Development Authority is earmarked to subscribe \$4.63 billion. The private sector will be responsible for the remittance of the balance of \$21.28 billion for the next five years. Agriculture will receive a significant share of 13 percent of the total capital investment of all governments of the Federation, The civilian³⁶ government also recognized the urgent need for the development of agriculture and non-urban areas. The 1981/85

³⁵The Nigerian currency is the Naira which is divided into 100 kobo. The Central Bank of Nigeria sets the exchange rate on a weekly basis. The foreign exchange rate fluctuates from year to year: 1973, \$1.52; 1974, \$1.59; 1975, \$1.62; 1976, \$1.59; 1977, \$1.55; 1978, \$1.57; 1979, \$1.65; 1980, \$1.85. The exchange rate for 1980 is adopted here for the computation.

³⁶Nigeria now has a 24-year post independence history of four military coups, three civilian administrations, a Westminster system of administration, and a Presidential system of government. The first civilian government before 15th January 1966 coup d'etat is popularly referred to as the "First Republic"; this was the first experiment in Parliamentary democracy. The military rule lasted for 13 years; a third experience was that of the Presidential democracy which was toppled by the military on 31st December 1983. The Nigerian populace has remained unruffled as if in silent judgment of each successive change of government. The greatest desire of the onlooker is a regime that can guarantee political stability, economic independence, and social peace. See Aminu Tijjani and David Williams (eds.), Shehu Shagari: My Vision of Nigeria (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1981), p. 129; Federal Ministry of Information, Nigeria Illustrated, No. 22, 1984, p. 1.

TABLE 12

Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85
Public Capital Expenditure Programme

N million

<i>Government</i>	<i>Capital Programme</i>
1. Anambra	1,500
2. Bauchi	1,300
3. Bendel	2,200
4. Benue	1,200
5. Borno	1,600
6. Cross River	1,300
7. Gongola	1,300
8. Imo	1,500
9. Kaduna	1,600
10. Kano	2,200
11. Kwara	1,100
12. Lagos	2,000
13. Niger	1,000
14. Ogun	1,000
15. Ondo	1,400
16. Oyo	1,600
17. Plateau	1,100
18. Rivers	1,600
19. Sokoto	1,500
TOTAL ALL STATES	28,000
Federal Capital Territory	2,500
Federal Government	40,000
GRAND TOTAL	70,500

Source: Nigeria Federal Government, Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1981), p. 18.

TABLE 13

Gross Domestic Product at Current Prices: 1980-1985

	(N' Million)					
<i>Sector</i>	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
1. Agriculture	5,205	5,684	6,207	6,778	7,401	8,082
2. Livestock, Forestry and Fishing	3,733	4,076	4,451	4,861	5,308	5,797
3. Mining and Quarrying	16,640	17,991	19,452	21,032	22,739	24,586
4. Manufacturing	4,043	4,973	6,117	7,523	9,254	11,382
5. Utilities	181	208	239	275	317	364
6. Construction	3,482	3,875	4,313	4,801	5,343	5,947
7. Transport	2,194	2,611	3,107	3,697	4,400	5,236
8. Communications	116	133	153	176	203	233
9. Wholesale and Retail Trade	8,543	9,995	11,695	13,683	16,009	18,730
10. Housing	2,176	2,350	2,538	2,741	2,960	3,197
11. Producer of Government Services	2,908	3,431	4,049	4,778	5,638	6,653
12. Other Services	1,378	1,612	1,886	2,207	2,582	3,021
TOTAL	50,599	56,941	64,208	72,552	82,154	93,228

Source: Nigeria Federal Government, Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1981), p. 11.

scheme among other things, contains the following:

One of the major lessons of Nigeria's development experience is that a more comprehensive view is now being taken of the problems of agricultural transformation. The sector is one from which a lot has been expected from the point of view of providing employment opportunities, self-reliance in basic food production, higher capital real income, foreign exchange earnings and provision of industrial raw materials. These expectations have, however, not been realized particularly when viewed against the background of rising food prices, growing food import bill, the decline of traditional export crops and rural-urban migration.³⁷

The Scheme is expected to generate an annual growth rate of four percent in agricultural production. The Government envisioned that productivity from this sector will help to eliminate shortages of goods and industrial raw materials. Consequently, when the Fourth Plan operates full capacity it will check or perhaps altogether halt the inflationary prices of consumer goods.

The agricultural scheme has its own intrinsic problems. The industrialization and modernization currently taking place in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy have tended to depress rather than improve the agricultural sector. The enormous growth in the construction, commercial and services sectors tend to lure away from the rural agricultural sector its virile labor force. There is a felt need for some balance and mutually reinforcing complementarity between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. In the past the government has principally extended cultivable areas rather than raised productivity. Productivity per man and per unit of area

³⁷ Nigeria Federal Government, Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-85 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1981), p. 19.

cultivated by subsistent farmer has not improved. Mechanization which provides a rough index for measuring the level of modernization of production remains on the average very low, at less than two kilograms of plant nutrients per hectare of cultivated land. Why is this so? There are many reasons. The farmers have turned to cultivating cash or export crops rather than staples. Construction industries and urban development offer higher wages. Agriculture cannot be mechanized quickly. Schools draw students from the land. There is no supporting infrastructure in the area of productivity. Finally, the old colonial style of food production still encourages an arm-chair rather than a hands-on style of administration. Many projects failed to take off because of the lack of social amenities in the farm settlements. In its stated objectives, the Fourth Plan takes into consideration these inadequacies.

Objectives for the Fourth Plan Period

The sectoral goals of the Third National Development Plan remain essentially relevant in their broad perspectives and they form the basis of the sector's policies, programs and objectives for the Fourth National Development Plan. The Federal, State and Local Governments continue to sustain and promote increased production of food and other raw materials to meet the demands of a growing population and rising industrial production. Increased production of livestock and fish will also create new markets for the surplus commodities, and thus providing employment opportunities for those interested in industrial production and processing of export crops. Lastly, the evolution of appropriate institutional and administrative apparatus will facilitate

the rapid development of the country's agricultural potentials.

The Distribution of Funds on Agricultural Programs

About \$17,064.4 million is billed for agricultural development during the period covered by the Fourth Plan. The Federal Government allocated a total sum of \$5,550 million to the crop production program. Under that title food crop production, tree crop production, rural development program, agricultural inputs, and the promotion of agricultural co-operatives have been strongly emphasized in the Plan. Government subsidy was promised to small-scale farmers to accelerate the production of rice, soyabeans and groundnuts. With regard to tree crops the Federal Government has also made a provision for rehabilitation schemes and the establishment of new cocoa, rubber and oil-palm plantations.

For livestock production programs a substantial sum of \$7,396.3 million was budgeted to cover broadly meat production, veterinary and health services, extension services and training, feed production, and marketing facilities. The Government's interest was shown in the establishment of ranches, dairy plants, piggeries, and poultry farms. Programs aimed at providing infrastructural facilities for agricultural sector like water resources projects will cost the Federal Government \$1,709.4 million during the five-year period.

Forest regeneration and plantation development form th major projects under the forestry program. A total sum of \$179.45 million of Federal allocation for forestry development. The arid zone afforestation program in the previous scheme is re-emphasized in the Fourth Plan. Over 100 million seedlings are scheduled to be raised in

1,780 hectares of nurseries for the establishment of roadside plantations in the affected States. These trees eventually will serve as windbreaks, hedges and shelter belts in the designated areas.

The various governments of the Federation (Federal, State and Local) have sufficiently demonstrated a willingness to explore the potentials of the fishery industry in order to improve the protein consumption of the teeming population. The Federal Government has set aside a total of \$160.95 million for fishery development. Highlights of the sub-sector programs cover the broad areas of artisanal fishery, industrial marine, fishfarm, fish storage, processing, fishery infrastructural facilities, manpower development, fish marketing and research.

Ideological Programs and Agricultural Mechanization

The basic national objective of self-reliance, self-sufficiency in food production, and a spontaneous radical improvement in performance of all aspects of agriculture, have been the object of slogans since Nigerian political independence. Crop production has failed to measure up to the desired goal. In no less dramatic fashion the growth rate of livestock production stagnates at 0.75 percent. During the Third Plan the Government policy tended to underscore direct production in large-scale mechanized farms, especially those established by public sector enterprises. Unfortunately these pilot farm establishments do fall short of the Government expectation. Whenever the domestic economy is in a shamble the people's demands for welfare assistance increased. In the past such public outbursts led the Government to massive importation of consumer goods in an

TABLE 14

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES
(£ million)

IMPORTS	1979*	1980†	1981‡
Food and live animals	766.5	1,091.0	1,506.8
Beverages and tobacco	49.8	67.3	84.1
Crude materials (inedible) except fuels	112.1	135.2	180.2
Mineral fuels, lubricants, etc.	206.8	241.5	323.0
Animal and vegetable oils and fats	52.3	77.3	96.1
Chemicals	540.3	734.0	885.0
Basic manufactures	1,524.1	2,076.5	2,410.8
Machinery and transport equipment	3,791.5	4,548.6	5,750.4
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	414.8	666.4	752.8
Other commodities and transactions	14.3	20.3	24.0
TOTAL	7,472.5	9,658.1	12,013.2

* Provisional.

† Estimate.

EXPORTS	1979*	1980†	1981‡
Agricultural products	468.0	340.1	113.2
Cocoa	432.2	311.8	84.5
Mineral products	10,157.8	13,524.0	10,281.3
Petroleum	10,166.8	13,523.0	10,280.3
Manufactures and semi-manufactures	42.0	39.0	39.1
Other exports	147.2	147.0	15.0
Total domestic exports	10,825.0	14,050.1	10,449.2
Re-exports	16.2	26.9	20.9
TOTAL	10,841.8	14,077.0	10,470.1

* Revised.

† Provisional.

‡ Estimates.

Source: Europa Year Book 1983: A World Survey, Vol 2 (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1983), p. 1147.

unprecedented manner. To arrest the ugly situation the Fourth Plan stressed price incentives and promotional activities aimed at increasing output of small-scale farm holders. The bulk of the targetted incremental production is expected to come from these small-scale farmer through increased productivity and multiple cropping.

However, the Government still encourages private entrepreneurs to establish large-scale farms. The fiscal incentives already provided by the Government for companies wishing to invest in large-scale agricultural production will be honored and improved upon as may be appropriate as means of inducing private investment for agricultural production.³⁸ Such a successful strategy will help pave the way for modernizing agricultural production. The Government incentives are good gestures designed to attract foreign private investment for mechanized farming. The Commodity Boards, Grains Production Companies and the States Agricultural Development Corporations are eager and willing to go into partnership with private indigenous and/or foreign

³⁸ Agricultural production and processing have been transferred from Schedule II to III of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Act (1977). It means that foreigners can now own up to 60 percent of the equity in an agricultural enterprise. Schedule I, Section 4, No. 40, Vol. 68, 14th August 1981, p. 125: "Enterprises Exclusively Reserved for Nigerians"; Schedule II, p. 126 (idem): "Enterprises in Respect of Which Nigerians Must Have Majority Interest"; and Schedule III, p. 128 refers: "Enterprises to Which Section 6 Applies". This includes fertilizer production, agricultural plantations for tree crops, grains and other cash crops. Sugar plantation and processing. Also, Industrial Development Income Tax Relief Act (1958) as amended by Decree No. 22 of 1971, pp. 178-179; Federal Republic of Nigeria, Decree No. 6: Land Use Decree, 1978 (Lagos: The Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1978), pp. 49, 51.

investors in establishing large-scale farms.

The Federal Ministry of Agriculture (F.M.A.) has established four zonal offices at Ibadan, Kaduna, Jos, and Enugu. Their primary purpose is effective promotion of agricultural development in the country. Field offices are located in almost all the nineteen states. The F.M.A. has three divisions: Crop Production, Agricultural Services, and Land Resources. It also sponsors several campaigns and programs such as Operation Feed the Nation (O.F.N.), the National Accelerated Food Production Program (N.A.F.P.P.), Seed Multiplication and Distribution, Agricultural Mechanization, Fertilizer Procurement and Distribution, and the Agro-Service System. The State governments also have similar Ministries of Agriculture adapted to local needs. They have shared agricultural interests in soil conservation, tree crops, rice production, research, and pest control programs.

The N.A.F.P.P. came into existence after a study conducted by the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (I.I.T.A.). The study was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.). The goal of I.I.T.A. was to increase production of traditional staples under the demanding ecological conditions of Nigeria's agricultural climate.

The Operation Feed the Nation program was a massive campaign strategy which was evolved by the Military Government to spur agricultural production. It was a major Government effort in 1976 at achieving self-sufficiency in food production. The Federal Government heavily subsidized the program. The States also initiated similar programs to boost food production. The Mid-Western (now Bendel) State

established the Freedom From Hunger Campaign within the Ministry of Agriculture and National Resources. These food production drives survived for awhile before they waned and finally faded away. This occurred when the early fervor dissipated and the O.F.N. was confronted with implementation problems; it was also haunted or plagued by ineffective management and distribution of fertilizers, new improved seeds, pesticides, and tractor hiring services.

Various attempts by the Federal Government to exploit the commercial advantages of large-scale farming have not yet met with great success. Large-scale farming remains an unfulfilled desire in Nigeria and such efforts will continue to receive public sympathy. Nevertheless, the infrastructural facilities are already underway. Great strides have been taken in the area of the establishment of the river basin authorities. The Federal Government has already established eleven river basic authorities. Karl Magyar explains further:

These authorities are to develop comprehensive integrated projects covering water resources, flood control, erosion, water shed management, the construction and maintenance of dams, dykes, wells and bore holes, irrigation and drainage systems, crop irrigation, water for livestock, urban and rural water supplies, pollution controls, village resettlements, fishery development, river navigation, and hydroelectric generation.³⁹

Nigeria recognizes the role that foreign investment can play in developing the priority in agricultural sector. Nigeria and the United States of America, through a series of Vice-Presidential dialogues and diplomatic exchanges, have signed a Memorandum of Intent

³⁹Karl P. Magyar, op.cit., pp. 66-67.

on Energy and a Memorandum of Understanding on Agriculture. The latter was designed to facilitate agricultural projects of mutual interest to the two countries and for the advancement of agri-businesses. The established Joint Agricultural Consultative Committee, composed of public and private sector representatives is charged with the responsibility of promoting contact between Nigeria and American businesspersons in the agricultural field. At the beginning of the 1980's a new twist occurred in agricultural development in Nigeria.

The Green Revolution

The Federal Government has frequently acknowledged that Nigerian agriculture, per se, is a multi-disciplinary activity which cuts across individual ministerial responsibility. After the abolition of the O.F.N. Council and Committee, a National Council on "Green Revolution" was substituted for it. The new Council comprised Ministers from all sectors of government⁴⁰ whose responsibilities have a bearing on agricultural production, processing, marketing and research. Their expertise and services were sought in order to carry out the necessary co-ordination for executing the program and moreover to assist the Ministry of Agriculture in the great task of

⁴⁰The National Council on Green Revolution is made up of Ministers from the following ministries and organizations: Agriculture, Commerce, Finance, Water Resources, National Planning, Industries, and Science and Technology.

revolutionizing agriculture. A similar Council and Committee was to be established in each State. The National Council on Green Revolution, launched on 14th April 1980, was given the responsibility primarily to advise the Federal Government on how best to respond quickly and effectively to the varying needs of the agricultural sector. Since the Council was not an executive body but purely advisory it was to devise means of assisting the country achieve self-sufficiency in agricultural production in the shortest possible time. The National Council has these specific functions:

- (a) Co-ordinate the activities of all ministries and organizations that have a bearing on agricultural production, processing, marketing and research.
- (b) Give general direction to the Ministries of Agriculture and Water Resources on issues relating to the development of the agricultural sector.
- (c) Monitor the activities of the Federal Ministries of Agriculture and Water Resources and assist these ministries in every way possible in their pursuit of the goal of self-sufficiency in agricultural production.⁴¹

The success of the Green Revolution will depend largely on the effective mobilization and the involvement of all sectors of the

⁴¹ Aminu Tijjani and David Williams (eds.), Shehu Shagari: My Vision of Nigeria, op.cit., pp. 226-227, 230.

society, particularly the farming community. Agro-based industries and marketing can only take off when there is significant increase in agricultural productions and raw materials.

On 3rd June 1980 the National Committee on Green Revolution was inaugurated. The body was to monitor and advise the National Council on Green Revolution. The National Committee works through subcommittees and expert groups to study in detail all aspects of the policies and programs for the Green Revolution. The Committee in its terms of reference has within its portfolio a review of the activities of the private sector and advise the Council on the necessary incentives to encourage the commercial production, processing and distribution of crops, livestock and fish products by private individuals and companies. The Committee works for the full implementation of the Green Revolution by examining the adequacy or otherwise of these programs for achieving the administration's objective of self-sufficiency and self-reliance in Nigerian agricultural economy within the Plan period.⁴²

Rural Development Projects

The Green Revolution program is more than a booster for accelerating agricultural production. It also ensures the development of non-urban areas through the establishment of agro-based industries, the construction of feeder roads, the provision of housing, education, health facilities, water and electricity in rural areas.

With the assistance of the World Bank loan the pilot

⁴²Ibid., op.cit., pp. 230-231.

Agricultural/Rural Development Projects (A.D.P.) have proved quite successful in raising the standard of living of the people. There has also been a substantial improvement in the incomes and the living standard of the small-scale farmers in the projects area. The Accelerated Development Area Program (A.D.A.) will be implemented concurrently for residual areas not yet encompassed by the A.D.P.s. The A.D.A. program will embark on improved extension services, input distribution and the construction of rural feeder roads in a simplified package which later could be upgraded to full A.D.P. status.

In the Fourth National Development Plan, the A.D.P.-A.D.A. program will be jointly implemented by the Federal, State and Local Governments with the World Bank providing the loan for financing the foreign component. The Federal Government will contribute \$782.235 million to the \$4,335.086 million program.⁴³ Agriculture, education and housing are the most important, and most urgent, programs for Nigerian economic development and political independence.

Summary

Nigeria is a poly-ethnic society. For both large and small constituent units, land is considered the single more important form of wealth and the people are deeply concerned with external interference, occupation, distribution and the use of it. National independence has practically done little to alter that sensitivity and

⁴³ Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan, op.cit., pp. 23-24; The New York Times, Monday, October 11, 1982, Advertisement, Section Y, pp. 27-29.

attachment to land. The early nationalist movements struggled against overwhelming odds to secure and preserve the territorial integrity of the country from colonial occupation.

At the dawn of Self-Rule, the national government demanded greater Nigerian participation in modern economic activities which were formally monopolized by colonial and foreign entrepreneurs. The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree listed a number of service activities and simple manufacturing endeavors that were exclusively reserved for Nigerians. The indigenization policies gave Nigerians a wider range of participation and ownership of light industries and economic ventures.⁴⁴

The implementation of the Ashby Commission Report accelerated the Nigerianization policy which was previously recommended by Phillipson and Adebo Commission.⁴⁵ As a result of various studies and Commissions, at least five new national universities were founded. Professor Frederick H. Harbison, in Investment in Education, turned the attention of Nigerian leaders and planners to a new theme, the connectedness between education, manpower, and economic development. He epitomized the importance of human resources development and utilization as the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. The

⁴⁴Harold D. Nelson (ed.), Secretary of the Army, U.S. Government, Nigeria: A Country Study (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 143.

⁴⁵In April 1952 the Nigerian Council of Ministers appointed Sir Sydney Phillipson and Chief Simeon O. Adebo to view the policy and machinery of the Nigerianization scheme. See Sydney Phillipson and Simeon O. Adebo, The Nigerianization of the Civil Service: A Review of Policy and Machinery (Lagos: Government Printer, 1954), p. 5.

National Universities Commission and the National Manpower Board were established to collate the activities of the Government towards industrialization and modernization of the nation.⁴⁶

Agriculture remains the mainstay of a large majority of the population. Although it apparently declined in the 1970's to the point it did not meet overall domestic food needs, a popular proverb has it that when a leopard wants blood he does not consciously dash his paw against a stone or scratch his body with his claws. Is the solution to our agricultural problems in massive importation of consumer goods? A well planned agricultural education and orientation will extricate Nigeria from the quagmire of being a major net food importer to a comfortable and maximal food producer and exporter. The political and economic machinery is well underway. The Federal, State and Local Governments have given a high priority to agricultural development in the National Development Plans. Large sums of money are being expended on agricultural planning, programs, projects, and research. Dams are being constructed for farm irrigation and other services. The availability of sufficient water supply and infrastructural facilities will go a long way to improving

⁴⁶ Ukandi G. Damachi and Victor P. Diejomaoh (eds.), Human Resources and African Development (New York: Praeger and Publishers, 1978), p. 1; Tejani M. Yesufu (ed.), Manpower Problems and Economic Development in Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 27. In his article, "Toward an Integrated Manpower Policy for Accelerated National Development" John F. Hilliard sees a distinction between 'economic development' (the development and use of resources to increase the supply and improve the distribution of economic goods) and 'national development' (precontains economic development plus all the affairs of political and cultural life, etc.). Ibid., pp. 27-36.

productivity in food crops, livestock and fisheries. A clean environment is a great asset to any nation.

Nigeria has the potentials and the right calibre of men and women to revolutionize agriculture. It is a common saying that if the elephant is not well nourished in its rich environment (jungle), do not lay the blame for its malnutrition on the luxuriant vegetation. The Nigeria land is fertile and ecologically diversified for various crops and animals. The establishment of various schemes, institutions like the Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, and other ideological programs have their salutary place in the national economic development. A great deal remains to be done to transform and modernize the small-scale farmer and his environment.

The exploitative and often socially and culturally disruptive forces endemic in colonialism are still dormant in Nigeria's political and economic system. The colonizers have left the political stage and bequeathed the governance of the country to its elite but their vestiges remained to haunt its national unity and economic development. The British administration was apathetic to agricultural development. The lethargy was transmitted to the new rulers in British posts (position).

The nationalists, through thick and thin, had endeavored to keep Nigeria one, as a political entity, but they have not fully achieved a substantial breakthrough to revolutionize the country through agriculture. The schools and the universities have contributed immensely to national and cultural development; there is still a great deal more of unfinished business in self-provisioning agriculture and

education. The various national development programs and projects were geared to build a strong economy in a truly free and independent nation; a new Nigeria has not yet emerged. All is not lost. The next chapter will attempt to delineate and suggest means of building a new Nigeria through agricultural education and transcendental communalism.

CHAPTER VII

TRANSCENDENTAL COMMUNALISM AND NIGERIAN AGRICULTURE

The financial investment alone in agriculture in Nigeria is colossal. Regardless of the priority accorded agricultural occupation in the country, the people still depend largely on foreign food import, especially essential consumer goods. Food gap or food deficit exists in Nigeria. The whole ambivalent situation is problematic and counterproductive. Nigeria gropes for a justifiable answer to the perennial food shortages and inadequacy in agricultural production. It was the desire to reduce the country's increasing dependence on food imports, step-up the production of food and cash crops to meet the home demand, and export the surplus that prompted the Government to a direct agricultural policy.¹ Various policies directed towards short and long term increase in food production were designed and executed at various times.

The agricultural sector increasingly got a substantial share in the Government Development Plan as well as a yearly budgetary allocation to accelerate food production. The institutionalization of agricultural schemes gave the Government greater participation in the various agricultural development projects operating in different parts of the country. The Commodity Boards replaced the defunct Marketing

¹Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Information on Nigerian Agriculture (Marland, Lagos: King & George Press, Ltd., 1984), p. 5.

Boards. The River Basin Development Authorities and other Federal Ministry of Agriculture parastatals, like the National Grains Production Company, Nigerian Livestock Production Company, National Rootcrops Production Companies with their allied companies, were, in principle, established to boost the agricultural economy. The role of the banks, especially the Nigeria Agricultural and Cooperative Bank and the Central Bank in granting agricultural loans to private individuals and farmers' cooperative societies, was another remarkable contribution in the drive towards Nigeria's self-reliance and self-sufficiency in both food and agricultural raw materials for the nation's industries.²

The Operation Feed the Nation and the Green Revolution schemes³ have not yielded the desired result. It is still pertinent to continue to query: Why cannot Nigeria feed itself? Is it as a result of rapid population growth? Are the nation's agricultural development policies, objectives, programs and projects inadequately planned, uncoordinated and ineptly executed by the Federal Government, the States and the Local Government? Were the specific budgetary allocations to agriculture judiciously disbursed for the purpose of generating a robust and a self-sustaining agricultural economy? It is perfectly in order to underline the role of indigenous technology as a sine qua non for agricultural modernization in public forum, but how

²Ibid., pp. 19-20.

³Because these programs failed to achieve the objective, the elite derisively and often contemptuously refer to them as 'Operation Fool (Cheat) the Nation', and the 'Grey (Brown) Revolution', respectively.

much of the rhetoric is factual and what proportion of it is ideological or more of a political propaganda stunt? Could the prosecution of agricultural scheme in Nigeria since the socio-cultural contact with the West, be a victim of bureaucracy or inherited colonial legacy? Nigerian agriculture requires a philosophy which is unique to its own experience, a center-piece to its agricultural development and organization. This chapter will discuss and suggest an alternative solution to the agricultural problem menacing the nation. Varying from people to people are the approaches and responses to the most fundamental question of why the country cannot in a healthy fashion feed its population.

British Colonialism: The Matrix of Nigerian Agricultural Problem

When the British colonizers came to the nation-states which constituted the present Nigeria, the process of acculturation was unidirectional. The cultures of the city-states were constrained, for better or worse, to become receptacles for the dominant culture traits of Western industrialized countries. The real issues at stake during the cultural contact were the struggle for supremacy, submission, and dependence, which, in the final analysis, characterized the colonial experience. Thousands of years of the indigenous people's cultural heritage, profound beliefs, sublime religious rituals embedded in their sophisticated customary practices, and their past glorious achievements were in imminent danger of submersion, obliteration or supplantation by the intrusive alien culture. During the same period of colonial occupation, the indigenes' cultural link with the past snapped and the culture drifted until a more hospitable moment arrived

for cultural resurgence. But before its present resuscitation the cultural life of the affected people languished. A foreign Weltanschauung was imposed on the dispossessed aborigines. The simple peasant system of technology and subsistence economy was at the verge of replacement with the complex technoeconomic system of the industrialized world.⁴

Traditional agriculture was disrupted by the introduction of new economic demands for plantation economy and cash cropping. The British colonial administration in its frantic search for the development of alternative trades after the abolition and suppression of the slave trade, emphasized the cultivation of cash crops to the detriment of the production of staple foods for local consumption. A one time self-sufficient food producing people were thrown into a precarious predicament of hunger and dependence. Frances Moore Lappe, the author of Diet for a Small Planet, also identifies colonialism as the virulent force creating the condition of food scarcity in nonindustrialized or partially industrialized countries. In the light of her later research discovery, Lappe submits:

When I started I saw a world divided into two parts: a minority of nations that had "taken off" through their agricultural and industrial revolutions to reach the level of unparalleled material abundance and a majority that remained behind in a primitive, traditional, undeveloped state.... I learned that my picture of these two separate worlds was quite false. My "two separate worlds" were really just different sides of the same coin. One side was on top largely because the other side

⁴Walter P. Krolkowski, S.J., (ed.), Faith and Justice (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), p. 104. Dr. Paul S. Breidenbach's scintillating article, "Underdeveloped Mythology: A Shroud for Global Justice" is an invective against colonialism and cultural imperialism, the twin sources of global hunger.

was at the bottom.... Colonialism destroyed the cultural patterns of food production and exchange by which traditional societies in "underdeveloped" countries previously had met the needs of the people. Many precolonial social structures, while dominated by exploitative elites, had evolved a system of mutual obligations among the classes that helped to ensure at least a minimal diet for all.⁵

For over 61 years of active colonial rule in Nigeria, the administration neglected to develop any meaningful or adequate policy towards food production. Indeed, through subtler and insidious strategies, traditional agricultural was contemned and perceived as primitive and backward. In that light a reinforcing rationale was trumped up for its gradual destruction. In remote areas where transportation was impracticable or not easily available, taxation was the preferred colonial strategy. This strategy impelled the rural inhabitants to produce more cash crops. The higher the tax the more the cash crops produced for the market. With the adoption of the tax technique, domestic food production for the local consumer steadily waned. Apparently,, taxation became an effective instrument for stimulating cash crop cultivation. Taxation was also a rich source of revenue for the colonial bureaucrats and merchants. Farmers had to

⁵ Batista Angeloni, S.J., (ed.), Readings in Anthropology: Annual Editions 1980-81 (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin Publishing Group), p. 194. Frances Moore Lappe's insight into "Why Can't People Feed Themselves?" comes from a larger work by Frances Moore Lappe & Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler, Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity (New York: Ballantine Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1977).

produce sufficient cash crops to avoid incarceration.⁶ As a result of these coercive methods agricultural production increased in the desired commercial commodities. Kano was inundated with tons and tons of groundnuts, stacked in large bags in a pyramidal or conical form. The Western states were the traditional home for cocoa production. Palm oil and palm kernel production dominated the economy of the people inhabiting the evergreen region of the south. Besides the artistic carving Benin City was famous for, it was also the home of rubber market. Abundant agricultural products destined for foreign market dotted major towns and cities of both the Northern and Southern Protectorate of Nigeria. Traditional agriculture was a convenient and cheap means for the administration and mercantile merchants to extract wealth on behalf of their home government. They consistently pursued their own individualistic interest in the commercialization and exploitation of the country without improving the crude means and mode of agricultural production.

The British administration for its own economic advantage established Marketing Boards to regulate most export crops in the

⁶Prisons, as established by the British, were novelties in many parts of the country. They were dreadfully odious to a people who greatly valued family reputation. They were opprobrious to families and societies. See also, Sir C.L. Temple, C.M.G., Native Races and Their Rulers: Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria (Capetown, S. Africa: Argus Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd., 1918. Reprint, Chicago: Afro-Am Press, Inc., 1969), p. 197. Sir Charles L. Temple concluded the Chapter on "Direct and Indirect Taxation of Natives": "... the relaxation of the extra taxes on certain crops (underlined mine) led to a great increase in the production of groundnuts, now the most valuable export from those parts," p. 210.

1930's. The big training companies, such as the John Holt, the Cadbury Brothers, and the United African Company (an affiliate of the Anglo-Dutch firm, Unilever or the Lever Brothers) were appointed agents of the colonial government in the purchasing of export crops. The Cocoa Control Board in Lagos determined the local prices for various grades of dried cocoa beans in the Western towns and other cocoa producing areas of the country. While the cocoa trade was booming on the western side of the Niger, the U.A.C. and the John Holt company made Lokoja, a British settlement at the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, their commercial depot for the northern export goods, especially groundnuts and cotton. The Marketing Boards were only a cover which shrouded the reality of colonialism--the extraction of wealth. The system protected the foreign interests and the local elite who exploited the peasant producers. The aftermath of their predation and exploitation finally made some impact on the peasant farmers who had borne the yoke of oppression and intimidation; it frustrated them. The introduction of plantation agriculture further exacerbated the crisis situation of alienation from the land and rootlessness in the face of cultural contact. Agricultural occupation started to decline with urbanism. The Christian missionaries offered believers a life of superabundant material endowment and afterwards an unending world of blessedness.⁷

⁷David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 28. Note, Thomas Fowell Buxton's 'the Bible and the Plough'. See J.F. Ade Ajayi, "Henry Venn and the Policy of Development," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, I (Dec, 1959), 331-42.

The Christian missionaries had definite motives for coming to Nigeria. Their primary objective was the evangelization and conversion of a 'heathen' or 'benighted' people from paganism to Christianity. Before the scramble and partition of the continent, Europeans had spurious notions and pejorative words to say about Africa and its peoples. It was regarded as a 'Dark Continent'. The early missionary emphasis on literary education, no doubt, was directly related to their evangelistic purposes. The converts were ultimately to read the Bible.⁸ To understand the dynamics of educational expansion in Nigeria, particularly in the southern provinces, one must appreciate the dynamics and motives of the missionary movement that first introduced Western-type schooling. Through their educational activities, these voluntary agencies affected, more or less, the entire spectrum of development in Nigeria.⁹ These missionaries were in closer contact with the people and consequently had the opportunity to study and wonder at the complexity of their cultural practices. Farming, fishing, and cattle-rearing were the chief occupation of the people.

The Topo-Badagri agricultural settlement was a by-product of the

⁸Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 134, footnote 4: 'schools for the rising generation must be the basis of all missions among barbarous and savage heathen.' Reducing the principal Nigerian languages to writing, pp. 126-133.

⁹David B. Abernethy, op.cit., pp. 25, 31, 49. Also, A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974), p. 81; Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. 81.

Society of African Missions' evangelical movement. Some missionaries observed at that early time that agriculture was vital to the people¹⁰ of the colony but unfortunately it was little developed in the mission stations or extensive parishes. Land was always available for community projects. Evangelization through agricultural development did not seriously occur as a practical possibility to the early missionaries; and it was a totally new concept in missiology. European missionaries, Nigerian citizens, and government officials, the three main agents of Western education in Nigeria, did not consciously integrate traditional agriculture in their educational program. Agriculture was merely given a token existence in the general plan and little consideration in the school curriculum.

Colonialism greatly undermined the development of agriculture in Nigeria. In the process of stimulating cash crop production and plantation agriculture it sowed the seed of famine in neat cohesive peasant communities that previously could survive economically by their own food production. They were autonomous and the people were less enthusiastic to sell their labor and estate to foreign investors and individualistic interests.¹¹ Western education provided the

¹⁰Ade Ajayi, op.cit., pp. 114-116, 141-142. In Father Page's notes sur les missions de Topo-Badagry, he insinuated an agricultural or industrial school: "C'est la fondation d'un etablissement agricole pour favoriser le developpement de la culture si utile dans une colonie et si meconnue dans cette partie de l'Afrique." See M.J. Walsh, "Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria (1861-1926)," London M.A. thesis, 1953; Chapter V, 'An Early Agricultural Experiment', treated Topo.

¹¹Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London: Bogle-L'Ouyverture Publications, 1972), pp. 184-185.

younger generation alternative employment opportunities, but they would have to depend more on imported food and other luxury items. The abandonment of the land for bureaucratic services was a debacle to the continued equitable and stable development of the country. Colonialism underdeveloped Nigeria and immensely contributed to the people's problem of under-nourishment. The manipulative action of the minority gelded the long range agricultural economic future of the majority. During the colonial regime the Nigerian elite failed to fully comprehend what was in the offing for agricultural occupation in Nigerian development.

Early Nigerian Nationalists and Conflicting Educational Signals

Trade and the maintenance of balance of power in Europe were the essential motives that brought British merchants to Nigeria. Education was quite a secondary motive. The prevalent economic theory at the time established that a nation's wealth, a fortiori its power, was determined by its possession in gold and silver. Consequently, Britain craved to compete and increase her wealth in gold by participating in Europe's overseas trade. Furthermore, she wanted markets for her exports and in return to procure tropical produce and exotic spices from her colonies without the disbursement of gold and silver to those alien producers or merchants.¹² She would increase her wealth by re-selling these commodities to other, less fortunate, European peoples. In this way she hoped to maintain her power and authority in the world.

¹²J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 67-68.

Formal Western education was first introduced into Nigeria by Christian missionaries in 1843. In areas where missionaries were not expressly prohibited from operating and in states where Koranic education did not predominate, formal Western schooling soon won popular approval. By the time the colonial government was actively involved in education Southern Nigerians had placed a higher value on formal education or regarded its consequences more optimistically. The mission schools were already providing literate southerners to fill subaltern positions within the colonial administration. As more potential farmers moved away from the cultivation of the land, the place of agricultural occupation became increasingly uncertain in the new economic system. The citizens' reactions were swift and vehement,¹³ but sometimes these protestations boomeranged. They often incurred sterner measures from the government.

Nigeria's colonial educational system was consciously designed to change the indigenous culture. The scope of the transformational plan was reflected in the colonial and missionary education strategies adopted during the early period of colonialism and missionization.¹⁴

The nationalists had mixed reactions to the tactics. Margaret Read, a

¹³Margery Perham, "The Aba Market Women's Riot in Nigeria, 1929" culled by Wilfred Cartey and Martin Kilson (eds.), The Africa Reader: Colonial Africa (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 163. From Margery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria (London: 1937), p. 211. Compare the 'Unrest in the Eastern Region' during the Era of Universal Primary Education, in David B. Abernethy, op.cit., p. 182.

¹⁴Ade Ajayi, op.cit., pp. 4, 10, 53, 69. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 4, 100, 121-122.

British social anthropologist, has suggested that the Nigerian response vis-a-vis British education went through six stages.¹⁵

Initially the traditional culture resisted and totally rejected the foreign dominant culture from introducing the formal schools. At the time of the cultural contact it was not easy to analyze or predict the reaction of the dominant culture in contact in the schools and other educational institutions. Furthermore, during the contact, it was virtually impossible to isolate cultural contact through education from the forms of contact in other spheres--political, economic, and religious.¹⁶

The traditional culture was the totality of the people's experience. Milieu education was only a part, a very important component, of that cultural experience. Many instances of outright rejection of or public apathy towards mission schools before the First World War were common in the country. The financial advantages of literacy were not obvious as they were to be later. Lord Lugard assured the Hausa emirs in Northern Nigeria of the preclusion of mission schools from Islamic dominated areas. Prior to the British occupation, no Christian missionaries were permitted to enter Opobo during the reign of Jaja, or to establish stations in Ijebu-Ode. The Isoko of the Delta region or the inhabitants of Abakaliki in East Niger area, remained resistant to schooling well into the twentieth century. In places where schools were allowed to open they proved virtually ineffective. These opposing areas were predominantly

¹⁵Margaret Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1955), pp. 106-111.

¹⁶David B. Abernethy, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

agricultural.

In the second stage, some places gradually accepted schools but with great circumspection or misgivings. However, when the elders began to recognize the advantages a school would provide within the framework of a new economic order, but by the same token, they prudently foresaw and halfheartedly endeavored to delay its destructive impact on the old order. Hence, it was the practice of some traditional rulers to send young slaves instead of their own sons to school to test the effects of European learning. But this was not the case with Kings William Dappa Pepple and George Pepple of Bonny in the Oil Rivers. They readily cooperated with Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther and his missionaries. The towns accepted Western education from the first moment of the mission contact with the people of the kingdom. The unfortunate reversions¹⁷ to hostility or rejection expressed the ambivalence felt by some indigenes towards schooling and its impact on their traditional culture. Western education in Nigeria was more than the acquisition of basic skills and knowledge; school education was a culture deliberately set up within another culture.¹⁸

The third phase inevitably flowed from the second: the rejection

¹⁷Education in Yorubaland suffered a severe temporary setback in the 1930's as a result of Joseph Babalola's revivalist movement. See also, D.B. Abernethy, *op.cit.*, p. 59; A.Babs Fafunwa, *op.cit.*, pp. 131, 134. Mazi Mbonu Ojike, a prominent Nigerian politician in the mid-1950's fanned a political slogan: "Boycott the Boycottables" in favor of adaptation. See his early educational enthusiasm in D.B. Abernethy, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁸Margaret Read, *op.cit.*, p. 100; Abernethy, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

of certain traditional ideas and former cultural practices. Once the children began to attend the new school, milieu education or the 'bush school' died out. Many cultural values and practices, for example, the rites of initiation into an adolescent age-group (grade), puberty, communal rural service, were no longer transmitted to the younger generation. The very presence of the dominant culture with its tantalizing values as an agent of a technologically superior civilization was sufficient to weaken the fabric of these traditional institutions. People are always fascinated by novelty. Western education was the new broom which was expected to sweep best.

There were significant variations in the acceptance of school education. Southern Nigeria was more disposed and enthusiastic in accepting the values of education. The bait was tempting. When parents decided to send their children to school, their motives were probably complex. Schooling opened up a host of hitherto undreamt-of possibilities for the recipient. The acceptance of education was clearly connected with employment opportunities created by the colonial presence. The educational opportunities offered by the dominant culture were fully subscribed to by those who accepted formal education. It created an atmosphere of competition for those who came from the pre-literate traditional culture as well as those from the dominant culture.

The fifth stage marked a partial reinstatement of certain elements in the traditional culture in the educational system. Finally, the educated Nigerian was to re-examine and re-evaluate his own past and his present exposure to Western orientation and

selectively integrate his experiences with the acceptable values of the dominant culture. This form of constructiveness of integrated elements from both cultures has not yet gained ascendancy in the school nor in the curriculum. Cultural integration envisaged in the context was not expected to be a mongrelization of aptitudes and beliefs nor simply, a hybridization of the two cultures, but the extraction or distillation of what was best, adaptable and especial to Nigerian cultural experience for internalization. The real task is not to force a change, but to induce it in a manner in which will be meaningful to the beneficiaries of the societies it affects.¹⁹

The nationalists' agitation was mostly concerned with the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of the educational development. Quantitative development was crucial to the even development of the country, but funds were not readily available at the time. Therefore it was not feasible to spread the benefit of education thin and consequently, with little effectiveness. The Rev. T.B. Macaulay and his sympathisers favored a curriculum with a heavy dose of classics.²⁰ A strong literary tendency placed little emphasis on manual and technical inclination. This was only expected since the colonial mentors, who served in many capacities as a reference group for the Nigerian intelligentsia, had themselves received a predominantly literary education, and the prestige of the generalist in the colonial hierarchy definitely was higher than that of the

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 120-121.

²⁰ D.B. Abernethy, op.cit., pp. 34, 73.

specialist or technician. The chief employers, namely, government, missions, and business alike made literacy a prerequisite for any well-paying post. Education was regarded as an investment. Those, who valued education primarily as a stepping stone to salaried career stressed academics rather than manual arts. Civil service salaries were much higher than their counterparts in the subsistence agricultural sector. Productive peasant families shrivelled up, and farming yielded its traditional dignifying position to government work.²¹

When Western education was first introduced the Nigerian people dimly perceived schooling as a seminal move or the genesis for a new agricultural development. But the colonial interests and policies in this regard failed apparently to synchronize with the early nationalist aspiration and interest for a liberating education. Consequently, there were strong dissident voices from certain areas of the country against the establishment and expansion of school. In general, formal schooling was warmly accepted by many as a symbol of community status. The school prepared the young to adapt to new ways of life since it was not directly seen as challenging the traditional culture of the older generation. Vocational or agricultural training received little encouragement from the administration. Daring nationalists took the bull by the horns. A prominent planter Mojola Agbebe, an African Church leader and educator, preached in season and

²¹The illiterate person who was employed by the Public Works or the Railway Departments prided himself as a civil servant regardless of the job description. He earned more income than the average farmer.

out of season, 'the gospel of coffee, cocoa, cotton and work as well as the scriptures.' With the aid of a West Indian he established the Agbowa Industrial Mission which functioned from 1895 to 1908.²² The Agbebe's approach was similar to Booker T. Washington's industrial education experiment in the United States.

The early Nigerian nationalists unanimously championed industrial, and liberal arts education. The apparent bone of contention was on the methodology of imparting the knowledge and skills of the one without any serious detriment to the other. The mooted point at the time revolved around the qualitative aspect of the proffered brand of education. In other words, what kind of education would guarantee the nation a rich source of intelligent and dynamic citizens, dedicated leaders sensitive to the needs of the people, and men of keen vision? The agitation was not a conflict of ideology.²³

Phelps-Stokes Commission: Adaptionist Education

The Phelps-Stokes report on education in Africa jolted the British Colonial Office because of its inaction in that vital area of development. The newly introduced Western education in Nigeria should be more than the commercialization on cash crops and the establishment of a bureaucratic administrative system. Hitherto, education had not

²² A. Babs Fafunwa, op.cit., pp. 118-119. Abernethy, op.cit., p. 67. See also, James Bertin Webster, The African Churches Among the Yoruba, 1888-1922 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 129; and "Bible and Plough" in Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, II, 4 (Dec. 1963) by J. B. Webster.

²³ Compare Booker T. Washington's idea of Industrial Education and W.E.B. DuBois' view of 'The Talented Tenth', in Booker T. Washington, et al., The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes Today (New York: James Pott & Co., 1903), p. 386, cited in Julius Lester (ed.), The Thoughts and Writings of W.E.B. DuBois: The Seventh Son, Vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 385.

been adequately recast from the standpoint of Nigerian life and experience. It had neglected the essential needs of the ethnic communities and the resources of the environment. The content and methodology were slavishly patterned on the British educational system. The emphasis was on the transfer of information and the memorization of facts. Too little thought was given to creative adaptation, the effect of the family on the school, and the environment (or 'education for life').²⁴ Since the majority of Nigerians engaged in agriculture, the school curriculum should have been adapted to the children's environment and rural experience. That type of approach would not necessarily reduce the academic quality of the education imparted in rural schools. On the contrary such curricular adaptation would help inculcate in the pupils the correct view that vocational careers were no less honorable than the clerical.

The publication of Education Policy in British Tropical Africa in 1925 was the official recognition of the existence of the problem in colonial countries. The British document, in the main, emphasized that education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various people and to conserve what was valuable in their diverse cultures.²⁵ Funds and trained personnel

²⁴George Wayland Carpenter, "African Education and the Christian Missions" in Stanley Elam (ed.), Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLI, Jan. 1960, p. 191. See also, O.J. Caldwell, "Education for Africanization", *Ibid.*, p. 143; Samuel C. Adams, Jr., "Nigeria: Where Education has not Kept Pace with Politics", *Ibid.*, p. 162; and a UNESCO staff writer, "Unesco's Task in Africa", *Ibid.*, p. 196.

²⁵David B. Abernethy, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

were required for large scale implementation of the recommendations of the memorandum. More serious than curriculum change as a basis for attitudinal change were the years of the great Depression which damped efforts to execute the stated policies, programs and proposals. The recession and the inflation of the 1930's crippled subsequent colonial educational policies²⁶ and activities in Nigeria.

The former colonial policies lacked a comprehensive view of education for Nigeria. The policies were piecemeal, directed towards short term objectives. They were not intended for a total evolution of the society. But the evolutionary impact of British rule in Nigeria is often under-estimated. When the colonial administration wanted lower cadre of civil servants to work in subaltern position within the colonial bureaucracy, it created new high-paying jobs based on education. The rise of new economic interest and industrial opportunities cast deep shadows on Nigerian agriculture. Many pupils and their parents saw Western education as an alternative investment to agriculture. For them the purpose of schooling was to liberate a young person from the confinements of his cultural ligatures regardless of the curriculum design and the quality of instructional materials. During the transitional period Nigerians had successfully

²⁶David G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Columbia University, 1964), pp. 93-94; see also, Kofi A. Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa (The Hague, The Netherland: Mouton & Co., N.V. Publishers, 1969), pp. 19, 96. Margaret Read, op.cit., p. 23, "Educational Problems in Non-Autonomous Territories", openly admitted: "We are all aware, grimly aware, of the limiting factors of money and trained personnel in carrying out what we would like to do."

acquired a taste for imported consumer goods.²⁷

Nationalist Movement for Independence

Between 1930 and 1950 education had firmly deepened its roots in Nigeria. A cyclic process thus developed by which the educational system generated interests conducive to its own maintenance and enlargement. The high degree of interdependence concurrently developed between the missionaries, the citizens, and the colonial government created a congenial atmosphere for its rapid educational expansion. But the rise of the Nigerian nationalist movement in the same period transformed a self-confident, secure colonialism into a colonialism that was beginning to prepare for its own demise.

The National Director of Education, E.R.J. Hussey, in the light of the political development in the country, proposed some educational changes in the colonial policies and programs as operated in the schools. The nationalists challenged and viewed these actions and innovations with suspicion. The moves were said to be inopportune and ill-conceived and designed to consolidate and perpetuate the British

²⁷Gerald K. Helleiner, Peasant Agriculture, Government, and Economic Growth in Nigeria (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1966), p. 18. See also, Ludwig Schatzl, Industrialization in Nigeria: A Spatial Analysis (New York: Humanities Press, 1973), p. 15.

position and stay within the country.²⁸ Hussey tried to prevent detribalization among the great majority of pupils who would not proceed beyond the primary and secondary, but he was unsuccessful.²⁹

For the decolonization and the assumption of political power in Nigeria, a cadre of university graduates, was needed to perform important political and bureaucratic functions. A large body of literate adults was needed to form the core of a free and democratic government. Education for independence was accelerated and as a result less attention was focused on agriculture. The higher institutions were geared to prepare the future leaders of the country through education for political autonomy.

At The Dawn of Nigerian Independence

The Ashby Commission and other regional or stataal commissions had tremendously helped pave the way for Nigeria's rapid economic, social and cultural development. The national universities grappled with the

²⁸Hussey's outlined educational proposal included the reduction in the primary school years from eight years to six. He suggested that the vernacular (or local language) was to be the medium of instruction in the primary schools. In addition, the curriculum would strongly emphasize agriculture, handicrafts, sanitation and rural development--'the arousing of an intelligent interest in the pupils' environment'. Secondary grammar schools were to teach the final two years of the primary sequence in addition to four years of so-called middle school. These curriculum changes as perceived were aimed at limiting employment opportunities of educated Nigerians, especially, the southerners. Hussey envisaged in his educational reform, an automatic return of a large number of pupils who would not continue past the primary stage, to work on their fathers' farms after completing the shorter and more practical course. See also, Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 31 of 1930, p. 15, quoted in D.B. Abernethy, op.cit., p. 94.

²⁹Sir Sidney Phillipson reviewed the grant-in-aid system. The schools returned to an eight year sequence. See also, Sydney Phillipson, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria: A Review, with Recommendations (Lagos: Government Printers, 1948), pp. 43-45, cited in D.B. Abernethy, op.cit., p. 97.

problem of providing the necessary manpower for the young emerging country. As a general practice, the regional governments gave top priority to agriculture, industry, and technical education. A serious effort was made to shift resources into agriculture, and several directly productive enterprises that seemed appropriate for increasing income and employment. Unfortunately, the leaders sidetracked gradualism and were too much in a hurry to catch up with the industrialized world. These political leaders, for some reasons, favored grandiose capital projects that symbolized modernity rather than simpler, capital-saving projects that might have more effectively modernized the economy.

Agriculture, devoid of ideological influences and regional rivalry, holds the key to the nation's political stability and industrialization. At the threshold of national independence the Western Nigerian regional government launched in 1959 an ambitious farm settlement scheme. It was designed to attract those leaving school, particularly, those of the first universal primary education scheme, into modern agriculture. The Mokwa Agricultural scheme in Northern Nigeria was established for the same ideological reasons. These farm settlements failed for many reasons:

1. inadequate feasibility study of the project locations with regard to their ecological conditions;
2. the remoteness of the farmsites from other human habitation;
3. problems of land tenure and organization of land use in the modernization of agriculture;
4. improper selection of settlers;

5. over-dependence on mechanized equipment;³⁰
6. insufficient research prior to land clearance and project development;
7. research and experimentation data (if available) in the development of agriculture were not adapted to the physical variations in natural conditions;
8. choice of oversized farm sites, and the
9. lack of provision of infrastructural facilities.³¹

³⁰ Some of the agricultural machineries were extravagant and irrelevant for the farm settlements. Cyril Black in retrospect warned: "The influence of foreign models is likely to divert [the leaders of emerging nations] from empirical experimentation and to interfere with a more discriminating consideration of the adaptability to modern functions of native traditional heritage and institutions." The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), pp. 97-98.

³¹ J.C. Wells, of Nigerian Institute of Social Economic Research (NISER), commented on Professor H. Oluwasanmi's paper, "Agriculture and Rural Development," in A.A. Ayida and H.M.A. Onitiri (eds.), Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 143, 159; see also, J.C. Wells on the discussion on Agricultural Sector Planning, in G.K. Helleiner (ed.), Agricultural Planning in East Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Publishing House, 1968), pp. 53-56; J.C. Wells, "Government Investment in Nigerian Agriculture: Some Unsettled Issues," Nigerian Journal of Economics and Social Studies, VIII, I (March 1966), pp. 37-48; Carl K. Eicher, "Transforming Traditional Agriculture in Southern Nigeria: The Contemporary Experience" (Mimeo paper presented at the October 1966 meeting of the African Studies Association). K.D.S. Baldwin, The Niger Agricultural Project: An Experiment in African Development (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957); Alan Wood, The Groundnut Affair (London: 1950), cited in D.B. Abernethy, op.cit., pp. 230, 325. For a general survey, the two-volume work by John C. de Wilde, et al., Experiences with Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), "the Synthesis, and the Case Studies."

Thus, in the case of the Western Region Farm Settlement scheme, the costs for settling the farming families were so high that at best only a few thousand farming units could be accommodated in the various projects spread around the region.

The efforts of the Federal and the State Governments of the federation to provide virtually a free, universal primary education for the people of the country was a progressive and significant step towards evolving a comparatively stable and dynamic economic system. Such a system would reasonably guarantee abundant production and equitable form of distribution of wealth and services. It should, besides, promote the course of national integration through ethnic cooperation. Greater education as a colonial vestige and 'modern' status symbol has bred an unwillingness on the part of the educated Nigerian to return to cultivate the land.

Nigeria is a country in a hurry. As an emerging nation, it is unwilling to crawl before taking gigantic strides towards modernization, scientific and technological advancement. The first decade that followed self-rule, the country, like its colonial predecessor, stagnated. It also neglected to harness instantaneously Western education, and consciously utilize the same to develop the traditional agriculture, the catalyst for building a uniquely modern African nation.

Transcendental Communalism

In a democratic government, the people rule theoretically through their elected representatives. But a truly representative government does not constitute itself autocratic or totalitarian nor does it

possess some invisible force apart from the people. It is rather a bastion of liberty. Such a government works for the common good of the people since its political goals and aspirations would coincide with those of the community or nation. In a polity the paternalistic tendency of "let the government do it" currently observed in non-industrialized or partially industrialized countries would be greatly minimized or even totally non-existent. The ethnic polity is coterminous with the people and services.³² From the general observation of bureaucratic machinery when the government executes a project the performance is almost always more costly, less free, more complicated and generally less productive and effective. Bureaucracy is never an adequate substitute for communal and voluntary undertaking by the people. Acting together, the people can provide for most of their own human and supramundane needs.

Since human nature is basically the same, the Nigerian thought on humanistic community presumably holds also for the whole of traditional thinking in Africa, for African philosophy as such. Before the incursion of Islam and Christianity into Nigeria, the ethnic polity or community administration was a comprehensive cultural community which embraced social, political, economic, aesthetic, educational, and religious life of the people.³³ The political community was not only the totality of the people's cultural

³² Aristotle, The Politics of Aristotle, Ernest Barker (tr.) (London: Oxford University Press, rep. 1978), pp. 92-100, 222-224.

³³ Gerald L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), pp. 20, 42 and 46.

experience but also those activities and beliefs which transcended external perceptual cognition. Transcendental communalism is the total view of man and society, in his complex network of cultural relations to the universe. This conception of the reality is rooted in the past, but is also attuned to the revolution of our times, taking into consideration the transformations now in process, and the new perspectives stretching out before us. Gottfried Leibnitz put it concisely when he observed: "The present is big wth the future, the future might be read in the past, the distant is expressed in the near."³⁴ This is a telescopic world view or something like prophetic compenetration. The traditional world view is still alive today. Things are experienced not disparately³⁵ but in a subsumption of the lower into the higher and yet not wholly consumed or annihilated. The coherence or compatibility of one thing with another is inherent in the nature of the being itself. Education perpetuates that heritage by transmitting it.

In traditional thought, man is the dominant force among all created visible forces. The inorganic, the vegetative, the sentient, and the rational beings interact in varied degree of compatibility. The rational transcends and is pre-eminently superior to the lower

³⁴Gottfried W. Leibnitz, Principes de la nature et de la grace fondes en raison, in Andre Robinet (ed.) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), paragraph 13, p. 53, quoted in Walter P. Krolkowski, S.J., An Alphabetical Companion to Educational Foundation 420, Philosophy of Education (Chicago: Loyola University, 1974), p. 2 on 'Growth'.

³⁵Janheinz Jahn, Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 13th Print., 1961), pp. 148-150.

species of life or existence. Naturally the three lower forms of life have no direct influence on the higher category of life.

There are no atheists, agnostics nor deists in traditional religion. God is the source of the vital force. God, the "great, powerful life force",³⁶ is also acknowledged in traditional religion as the architect of knowledge and existence. Faith and reason are interdependent and are inextricably concatenated in the Nigerian traditional system of thought and disciplines. God, the great Person made human persons (Latin, *personae*). The spiritual life force animates the composite entity and becomes its principle of operation. The ontological union of the body and the human spirit is a temporary coalescence. Human beings are not immortal. Death is the dissolution of the biological and the spiritual bond. The separated genuine life force continues to exist and function in a transformed form.³⁷

The distinguishing characteristic of man from other living things is the vital force which is immortal. The soul which had been the source of wisdom and happiness, exists in pure form in the kingdom of the departed. The living is able to communicate with the ancestors through prayer, honor, and ritual sacrifice for the intensification of the vital force. Ritual sacrifice is a potent way of entering into

³⁶Placide Tempels, Bantu Philosophy (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959), pp. 30-33, 45-46. The word 'God' conveys a stable notion in the various Nigerian languages. The Supreme God is "the Owner of the Sky" in Yoruba (Olorun), Igbo (Chineke), Hausa (Ubangiji), Bini (Osalubura), Urhobo (Oghene), Ososo (Evesho), and so on. Many Nigerian names and words are susceptible to paronomastic usages. The languages and dialects are tonal rather than inflectional. See also Janheinz Jahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 72.

³⁷Placide Tempels, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 72.

relations with the ancestors or the departed. The communion is the transmission of the existential force of life, in such a manner that, by an inverse movement, the vital force of the ancestor flows into the sacrifices and into the community which he embodies. This living influence of the dead on the living persons is a natural occurrence or normal ordering of events in the world of forces. Ritual oblation is the most typical illustration of the interaction of the vital forces of the universe.³⁸ Thus, ancestors can transfer some vital forces to new-born individuals in the course of their development. The interrelationship existing between the living and the 'dead' is uninterrupted even though the dead are no longer physically perceived by the living. The ancestors possess extraordinary life-force which could influence the individual and the ethnic community. Their superior vital force transcends human actions and cosmic power. The ancestral vital energy is only limited when it is contrasted with the cosmic universal force or the ontological hierarchy of vital causality. The interaction of forces and the exercise of vital influences occur according to determined laws.

The transcendental or universal notions of being, of its force, of action, of relationships, and of reciprocal influences of being constitute the essential elements of Nigerian philosophy or transcendental communalism. In the traditional ethnic community man never appears as an isolated individual or an independent entity. Each person forms a living link in the chain of vital forces extending

³⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

from the lines of ancestry to the lines of descendants. The ontological relationship is not regarded as simply juridical dependence nor one of parenthood only. The interconnectedness is greatly amplified by exogamous marriage. The interrelationship is a real ontological dependence.³⁹ European civilization and education have not sufficiently penetrated the traditional culture and the Nigerian world view. Both Islamic and Western cultures⁴⁰ are a mere superficial garb which has no deep or permanent impact on the traditional wisdom and philosophy of the Nigerian people.

The theory of transcendental communalism is a distinct notion from the mitigated Kantian transcendental idealism.⁴¹ For Immanuel Kant, the ultimate solution to the epistemological problem lay in the systematization of the cognitive faculty.⁴² Human reason, he claimed, is by nature architectonic. Its definitive task is to work towards the creation of a comprehensive organic system or master plan in which all questions are resolved and all knowledge comprehended.

³⁹President J.F. Kennedy rightly observed: "Every nation has its own traditions, its own values, its own aspirations. Our assistance from time to time can help other nations to preserve their independence and advance their growth, but we cannot make them in our own image." See Frank V. Szasz, John F. Kennedy: Words to Remember (U.S.A.: Hallmark Cards, Inc., 1967), p. 45.

⁴⁰Placide Tempels opts for education that takes due cognizance of traditional thought and an African philosophy of life which integrates the very essence of the people's being. *Ibid.*, p. 113. See also, John A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thought", Ifeanyi A. Menkiti, "Person and Community in African Traditional Thought," in Richard A. Wright (ed.), African Philosophy: An Introduction, Third Edition (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), pp. 93 and 171 respectively.

⁴¹John Herman Randall, Jr., The Career of Philosophy, Vol. 2. From the German Enlightenment to the Age of Darwin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 147.

⁴²Nicholas Rescher, Kant's Theory of Knowledge and Reality: A Group of Essays (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983), p. 86.

Accordingly, the realm of systematically ordered scientific phenomena or nature would be the "reality" and the "noumena" or intelligible reality would function merely as a "regulative ideal of reason". The move was not a complete abandonment of the intelligible world⁴³ but only a tactical withdrawal to a more easily defensible philosophical position. The understanding may not be able to "know" anything beyond empirical data but reason is sovereign in the realm of action--in the 'ideal'. The exposition of the cognitive organization of knowledge pervades Kant's three great publications, the Critique of Pure Reason, the Critique of Practical Reason, and the Critique of Judgment.⁴⁴ Kant's Critique of Pure Reason explored the various capacities of the human intellectual faculties to determine the possibilities of knowing and finally to formulate the procedures involved in the process. Kantian philosophy is often referred to as transcendental.⁴⁵ The concept is based on an analysis of the structure of rational minds rather than an attempt to describe the nature of those objects or supersensible realities which are conceived to have an extramental existence.⁴⁶ Kant postulated that objects conform to the structure of

⁴³ John H. Randall, Jr., op.cit., p. 148.

⁴⁴ N. Rescher, op.cit., p. 83.

⁴⁵ George P. Klubertanz defines a transcendental as a 'predicate' and a perfection which transcends all genera and differences. He refers to the properties of beings as transcendentals, e.g., transcendental truth, transcendental goodness. See George P. Klubertanz, S.J., Introduction to the Philosophy of Being, Second edition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 200, 236.

⁴⁶ Etienne Gilson refers to Kant's transcendental as an illusion because its very possibility is due to the fact that the principles of human understanding are not borrowed from any particular objects, but transcendent in respect of all possible objects. See details in Etienne Gilson, The Unity of Philosophical Experience (Westminster, MD: Four Courts Press, reprinted 1982), pp. 231-247.

the mind rather than the other way round.⁴⁷ In other words, the knower did not revolve around things any longer, rather things revolved around the knower.⁴⁸ Because the structure of human sensibility and of the human mind is constant, objects which are true concerning sense experience for one person will also be true, all else being equal, for all other rational beings. People fulfill themselves better in society.

Kant, as a political philosopher of the first rank, was no Enlightenment optimist. He advocated a federation of peoples (a Volkerbund) with a tilt towards republicanism. Among other things, he suggested that the constitution ought to adhere to the principle of the freedom of the members of society as human beings, the dependence of all, as subjects, on a common legislation, and the equality of the members as citizens. Kant's political individualistic liberalism will not quite translate into transcendental communalism as practised in a traditional Nigerian environment.⁴⁹

Colonizers imposed a Western culture with a totally different philosophy of life, organizational structure, and techniques on unsuspecting ethnic communities of Nigeria. The first result was a

⁴⁷ Frederick Copleston, S.J., A History of Philosophy, Vol. 6, Part 1 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1960, 1964), p. 237.

⁴⁸ Gerald F. Kreyche, Thirteen Thinkers: A Sample of Great Philosophers (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), p. 57. See also, Charles H. Patterson, Western Philosophy, Vol. 2 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Cliff's Notes, Inc., 1971), pp. 68-77.

⁴⁹ Richard A. Wright, *op.cit.*, pp. 1, 7, 18-20.

syncreticism of two cultures, old and new coexisting.⁵⁰ Just as a people cannot be easily transformed overnight, it is equally impracticable to supplant one culture with another.⁵¹ One of the basic problems of cultural contact especially in an emergent country moving into an urban, industrialized society is: How can an educational system be developed suitable to integrate the alien and the traditional cultures? The problem, essentially, was the synthesization of the two cultures to build a new educational system that would meet the needs of a rapidly changing society.

In spite of differences in initiation ceremonies in the various ethnic communities, one basic principle may be observed--no young man could be considered a full member of his society until the initiation ceremony was completed. In some areas girls were also required to go through an initiation ceremony.⁵² Generally, after the ritual induction the boys who went through the initiation ceremony formed an age-group bound together as a social unit within the larger community

⁵⁰ Placide Tempels calls those who have been torn away from their ethnic roots as deracinated (deracines). Compare his use of evolves or the assimilated; those who would accept and clothe the color of their skin decently in the culture, religion, and manners of a Western civilization or a metropolitan white society; op.cit., p. 17 (and p. 13).

⁵¹ The current term, inculturation (enculturation), is gradually replacing the terms considered to be less suitable in describing the fusion of cultures: viz., adaptation, accommodation, indigenization and acculturation. Inculturation is defined as a process of internalization of an alien culture. Such a process demands a thorough knowledge, a sensitivity, and a deep respect for the traditions and customs so concerned. See Columbia Mission, Vol. 67, No. 8 (October 1984), p. 3.

⁵² The initiation ceremonies were usually held in secluded and well guarded places to bar all non-members of the groups or the uninitiated. In some places circumcision was a part of the ceremony for boys. A comparable operation, clitoridectomy or female "circumcision", was performed on girls in many areas. Various scarification ceremonies were customarily held to indicate permanently that the individual had undergone initiation rite. In many parts of Nigeria, tatooing is rarely a ritual initiation identification symbol.

for the rest of their lives.⁵³

During most initiation ceremonies the young men are introduced to all cultural aspects--social, religious, economic, and political--of the ethnic community. The best techniques in farming, certain trade necessary for survival and the general welfare of the society were also inculcated during the period. The theoretical was combined with the practical when there was a long interval between the ritual exercises. Special emphasis was placed on character-training and religion in indigenous education.⁵⁴ Religious education was perceived as a means of introducing the initiated to the power of the spirit world. The ritual performance enabled the neophytes to maximize the use of the power of the spirits and ancestral vital forces in their individual and communal tasks. Realistically, the traditional society is a society in which religion, politics, economics, and social relationships are invariably interwoven.⁵⁵ Hence, the scope of milieu education spans from the theoretical to the practical aspects of farming, hunting, domestication of animals, fishing, and community

⁵³David G. Scanlon, "The Bush School", in Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLI (January 1960), pp. 148-150. See a similar article by the same author, "Conflicting Traditions in African Education", in D.G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 1-12. The term "community" can also refer to orientations towards the ethnic, religious, and political identities asseverated.

⁵⁴J.A. Majasan, "Yoruba Education", unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 1967) quoted in A. Babs Fafunwa, op.cit., p. 21. Majasan contended that character development and religious education were the two main objectives of Yoruba education and that other objectives were pursued through the latter.

⁵⁵David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education, op.cit., p. 4.

responsibilities.⁵⁶ The entire orientation of informal schooling is community-centered rather than egocentric or individualistic in the pursuit of the summum bonum.

Concerning the reconstructions of the term 'communalism' in the context, several caveats and qualifications must be made.⁵⁷ The concept connotes a theory or system of loosely confederated ethnic communities which are quasi autonomous and pursue a common political destiny or ultimate goals and objectives. In the stipulated sense, communalism is neither communitarianism nor totalitarianism in either theory or practice.⁵⁸ For all intents and purposes, the unity in diversity observable in the social groups becomes more conspicuous when the different roles of the nuclear family units, the extended families and other members of the federated communities are cumulatively viewed against the overall social and cultural interests of the entire people. The strong expendable loyalty of the citizens to the immediate ethnic communities is extendable and not

⁵⁶ Kofi A. Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa (The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton & Co. N.V., Publishers, 1969), pp. 16-18. See also, A. Babs Fafunwa, op.cit., pp. 15-49: a comprehensive survey of Traditional African Education, with special reference to Nigeria.

⁵⁷ Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe (eds.), "Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A Theoretical Perspective" in Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1971), pp. 2-5, describe communalism as the political assertiveness of groups which have three distinguishing characteristics: a people sharing in a common culture, identity, and a complementarity of communication; encompassing the full range of demographic (age and sex) divisions within the wider society and providing for a network of groups and institutions extending throughout the individual's entire life cycle; and finally, like the wider society in which the people exist, tending to be differentiated by wealth, status and power.

⁵⁸ For various strands of the definition, see The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1976 ed., s.v. "Commuanlism."

unduly chauvinistic. The various ethnic loyalties will ultimately culminate in a national patriotic allegiance.

The ritualistic initiation of the child is, no doubt, severe. To bring progress to these cultures it is obviously necessary that such unitive and disciplinary forces, now serving traditional cultures which have retained much of their validity, be summoned and utilized for goals and objectives higher than those of the individual or of the basic ethnic unit of the society. Into the bargain, the incorporation of some certain secret societies and other ritualistic African societies into some form of modernized framework which may eventually permit these traditional civilizations to relinquish what has been called their religious immobility, is highly desirable. The disciplinary forces upon which they are based are enormous. A new force of ethical principles based upon progress may have its foundation on such solid disciplines and experience.⁵⁹

In the final analysis, the coexistence of the ritualistic secret society with Western ideas and methods organized along Western lines equally possess grave problems. The superimposition of a dynamic present on a traditional or indigenous past can hardly survive for a long time. The great crises and conflicts which plagued Western education at its inception in the nineteenth century were symptomatic of an age of profound transition and rapid social change. Examples of cultural miscegenation which resulted in disintegration of agrarian,

⁵⁹ See Lucien Paye, "France's Hopes for Instruction and Education of the African Citizen", translated from the French by Joel A. Hunt, Indiana University, in Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLI, op.cit., p. 186.

neighborhood communities are abound. In Nigeria, the older social patterns were discountenanced by the agents of the intrusive culture. Consequently, the highly complex, industrialized, scientific, and technological culture endeavored to displace the indigenous mode of life through institutional devices and massive destruction: the presence of modern industry in close proximity to a time honored forms of craftsmanship; the introduction of agricultural credits into rural domains still often enclosed within their original matrices; the simultaneous utilization of barter, of trade, and of cooperative organizations which were tendentially construed to destabilize the older order.

To build a stable, progressive and dynamic society, Nigeria must "match backwards towards the future" by blending the new and the old⁶⁰ into a viable cultural synthesis. In order to achieve this objective a civil culture which is inseparable from moral education and which dedicates itself to the reconciliation of abstract ideas with realities, of an ever-living past, and of a future which must be built, must be introduced to all citizens regardless of the social status in the country.

School education is a powerful instrument of social change which may be effected through a process of enculturation or a deliberate dissemination of certain socially preferred skills, knowledge and

⁶⁰ Lucien Paye, Phi Delta Kappan, op.cit., p. 187.

values.⁶¹ But Western education, in the creation of new forces or equilibriums, should cause no irremediable disruption of the long-established balance of production, of exchange, and of economic and social life of the people. Until the Western educated man--and no less his family--is no longer alienated from the environment and community, then, and only then, can one rightly speak of the Westernization of transcendental communalism and the communalization of Westernism. The harmonization of the two powerful forces of change with all its accoutrements will unquestionably become the concrete foundation for building a new Nigeria.

Trado-Modern Agricultural Education

Practical agricultural education holds an indispensable place in building a new Nigeria. This position does not in anyway compromise the importance of other areas of academic discipline. The economic and political stability of the country hinges securely on it. The nation continues to seek the services of enlightened and unselfish leaders, of producers quick to understand the demands of the modern world, of skilled, imaginative and prudent technicians, and of citizens capable of making a significant contribution to the progress of the country. While this is occurring, the nation must also call for the revitalization and redevelopment of traditional agricultural consciousness in the line of modern, scientific and technological advancement (i.e., traditional-modern agriculture). Our common

⁶¹Gerald L. Gutek, Philosophical Alternatives in Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, A Bell & Howell Company, 1974), p. 174. Cultural Reconstructionist, George S. Counts, challenges the schools to dare build a new social order.

proverb has it that an old woman is never old when it comes to the dance she knows. The twin legacy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance was not a novelty to the people of this country. It is high time that the king's kolanut be returned to his hand if the national independence is to be politically meaningful to a peace loving people.

The land has been left to lie fallow too long. It is always an awesome task to send an entire nation to school, to make it understand that it must make good the losses caused by its desultory acts of impetuosity in the past, and that it must also prepare itself tenaciously for a better future.

What may be regarded as genuine development in our estimation must spring from within the philosophic thought and the particular genius of the societal culture of the people. Such an endogenous development must take into due consideration the people's needs and aspirations. Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organization, and discipline. The traditional religion, which is the life-cell of the people, has laid the foundation for improved ethical standards in government, the professions and in business. School education, another powerful

instrument of modernity, should therefore contribute appropriately to the promotion of good social attitudes, environmental development, and agricultural science and productivity.

When agricultural education⁶² is contrasted with formal education, a barrage of fundamental questions could be raised concerning the economic viability of agricultural investment in the former. What is the value of these rural developments when the city industry, manufacturing, and construction sectors drain potential farmers from the rural areas? Are the vestiges of inherited colonial insensitivity to manual labor still haunting agricultural education? Is the Federal Government seriously committed to revive agricultural education in schools? Are younger children actually expected to participate in practical farming activities and to learn purposely from them? Could it be that practical agriculture would amount to little more than desultory hoeing and weeding in the hot sun? How long can largely repetitive farming operations as customary in the school garden serve as a solid basis upon which to build a sound theoretical understanding? How much science and mathematics can be learned in such a curricular design? Will not such vocational and

⁶²The World Book Encyclopedia defines agricultural education as the instruction about crops, farm animals, and other agricultural subjects. Basically it involves crop production, livestock management, agribusiness, and soil conservation (agronomy). Agricultural education may be approached from four major angles: (1) elementary agriculture is taught in elementary schools; it deals with such subjects as plant growth and soil formation; (2) general agriculture provides the public with the basic agricultural knowledge; (3) vocational agricultural trains people for farming or other agricultural fields, such as conservation, forestry, and the sale of farm equipment; and (4) college agriculture is involved in teaching, research, and extension services. The World Book Encyclopedia, 1979 ed., s.v. "Agricultural Education."

practical studies jeopardise the achievement of high standards in theoretical and academic disciplines? Is there any assurance that the acquired knowledge in the vocational areas will be transferred into practice performance when the pupils become productive farmers? Are the resources, equipment and materials available for promoting or advocating practical agriculture in schools? Presuming that land will be available when it is time to farm, will the land tenure system permit the application of the newer methods of land cultivation? In a profoundly traditional society with pluralistic ethnic cultural practices, especially, respects for age, authority and customs, will not the young farmer succumb to the practices of the elders? Will the traditional agricultural methods permit the infusion of new techniques without any serious peril to the communal spirit of the people? If more capital will be needed to train teachers of agriculture, provision of school farms, and infrastructural facilities, will that extra expenditure not be detrimental to other social activities? Is agricultural education a joint or cooperative venture among the Federal, State, and Local Governments? Can the schools long retain their traditional dual function, guaranteeing their pupils' aspirations and motivation, interest and effective learning? How effective has formal education been in promoting rural development? The list can continue.⁶³

So many men so many minds. Opinions of well-informed people vary

⁶³ A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1981), pp. 117-118.

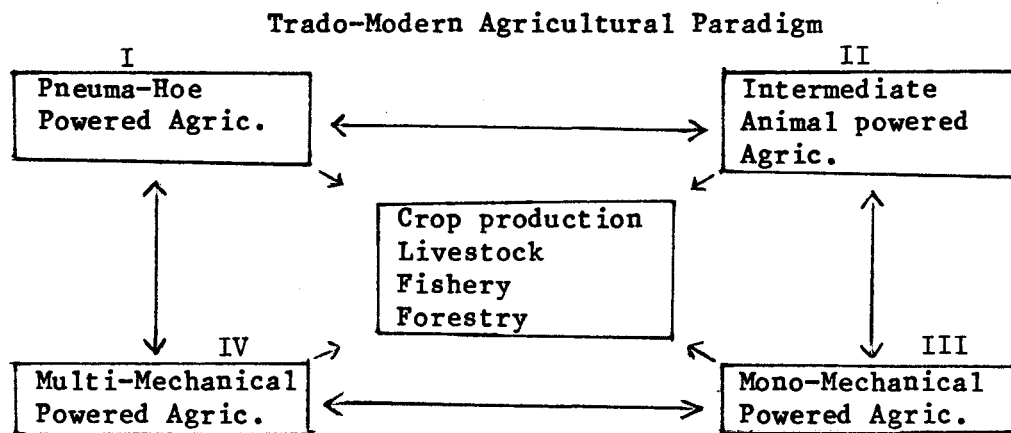
widely on these issues for lack of rigorously conducted studies on the contribution of education to agricultural productivity. T. Ajibola Taylor acknowledges the role of formal education in agricultural education. Greater emphasis is placed on a practical orientation and decreasing emphasis on the theoretical knowledge of systems and strategies although they remain relevant. The trained farmer (educated farmer) who has acquired knowledge through practice is not afraid to farm:

It is the misplaced emphasis in the training of some present and past generations of agriculturalists that has placed Nigerian agriculture in a state whereby only very few trained agriculturists have confidently embarked on profitable farming on their own. The sometimes plausible excuses of capital, land tenure, etc. notwithstanding, it is sometimes more of the trepidation of potential failure and lack of confidence in the practical application of agricultural knowledge that has been the bottleneck.⁶⁴

There may be other uncontrollable factors which elude the educated Nigerian agriculturists. This technological change in four different agricultural production systems (Table 15) can help effect a revolution in Nigerian agriculture, and offer a solution to the fundamental problem of the profitability of agricultural education in Nigeria vis-a-vis Africa.

⁶⁴T. Ajibola Taylor, "Philosophy, Scope, Objectives and Significance of Agricultural Training in Nigeria" (unpublished mimeo, May 9, 1978), p. 6. Dr. T.A. Taylor, of the Institute of Agricultural Research and Training, University of Ife, Moor Plantation, Ibadan, presented the paper at the Seminar on National Policy on Agricultural Education, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Table 15



The majority of the farming population in Nigeria are subsistence farmers who expend much physical energy, use rudimentary hand tools and techniques for food production (Module I). Although animals are domesticated, they are not normally integrated into the overall farm system (Module II). In Module III, technological improvements take the form of improved hand tools and equipment. It is a combination of animal-powered equipment as in strategy II, and of hired engine-powered machinery which serves to increase total crop area and yield through improved cultivation techniques. Module IV (tractor technology pattern) utilizes advanced technology or large scale mechanization techniques. Two organizational strategies are employed in the figure. Modules I, II are labor-intensive and Modules III, IV are machine-intensive. Module IV envisages intensification of mechanization; Modules I, II, III take the form of improved operational efficiency, better high yield crop varieties, fertilizers, and pesticides. In all, the Nigerian agricultural production patterns are interrelated.

Nigerian agriculture, until recently, has been perceived as a

sector of human activity independent from industry. It is now more clearly viewed as a frontier area of scientific and technological priority. Farm and factory are closely interlocked in a symbiotic relation within the overall ecosystem.⁶⁵ Traditional modes of agriculture in the light of modern developments are no longer adequate to the complexity of immediate requirements. Rapid increases in food production are but one aspect of the agricultural breakthrough. New seeds, genetic engineering, space and ocean explorations⁶⁶ are bringing far-reaching changes in every segment of society. The new contact with the old may eventually lead to agricultural revolution in Nigeria.

The flora and fauna constituted animal feeds for eons in the continent. These animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and insects consume roughages not directly suitable as food for man. But through the food chain process, the herds of animals, the flocks of birds, and the fishes were natural, economical and highly nutritious sources of man's food. Nigerian people had lived, and lived well, for ages. Times are changing. There have always been good reasons for food, livestock, poultry productions; now more attention ought to be

⁶⁵ Don Fabun, et al., Dimensions of Change (Beverly Hills, California: Glencoe Press, 1971), pp. 124-125.

⁶⁶ Research horticulturist Merle Jensen of the University of Arizona's Environmental Research Laboratory pointed out that there are more than 110,000 species of plants in the world, of which about 80,000 are edible. Yet, over the centuries, people have used only about 3,000 species for food. Today, over 95% of all our calories and protein come from just 30 species. Wheat, rice, and corn alone account for more than half of our food energy. See, Alan D. Haas, "Guess What's Coming for Dinner" in The Catholic Digest, Vol. 47, No. 4 (February 1983), pp. 70-73.

directed to hydroponics⁶⁷ and fisheries. If man uses his technology on water as intelligently as he does on land he can furnish much of the protein he needs for survival in a clean environment. The revolution in agriculture in Nigeria is more of a creeping revolution than a cataclysmic one.

Receptivity of the Nigerian Agricultural Model to Modernization

The flexibility of the Nigerian Agricultural Model (N.A.M.) to assimilate all forms of agricultural development plans, programs, and projects, lies in its basic philosophical tenets and intrinsic strength. The success of communal agriculture in the past was due largely to the people's strict adherence to the transcendental values and vision of the world. Their universe was an especial world in which the visible and invisible forces constantly interacted, affected, and modified behavior.⁶⁸ Honor, valor, and prestige were highly esteemed and the need for personal achievement was also extolled in the ethnic communities. Farming which was a positive expression of the indigenes' beliefs was the prestige occupation for both men and women. Yam production was preeminently for prestige rather than for trade. The coveted goal of every industrious farmer was to have full barns of yams, grains, peas, and tall sheaves of corn. The women gloried in their stock piles of treated dry yams, beans,

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 72. Hydroponics or aquaculture is the science of growing plants without soil in nutrient solutions. Fish farming is an aspect of aquiculture (or aquaculture).

⁶⁸Victor C. Uchendu, The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 26.

cassava, and other root crops. The next step for men after the acquisition and storage of the farm products was to seek chieftaincy or traditional title. Prosperity and population went hand-in-hand in pre-independent Nigeria.⁶⁹ After self-rule, new additional methods in agriculture were required to accelerate food production to meet the needs of the teeming population.

The World Bank has an important role to play as the largest external single donor and overseas lender for agricultural projects and programs. For most non-industrialized or partially industrialized countries agriculture and rural development have concurrently assumed a high priority in modernization. With allowance for some regional variations, four different types of agricultural programs had successively interested the World Bank and other external donors: the single crop project; the area or regional agricultural and rural development projects; the national agricultural programs; and the structural adjustment and rehabilitation projects.⁷⁰ These programs or project designs will not be presented chronologically. The single crop project seems more significant at the beginning than at the end in the Bank's experimentation and project execution.

The single crop project is entirely alien to the traditional method of cultivation (Module I). The land can produce simultaneously

⁶⁹William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (eds.), Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 206.

⁷⁰Christopher Walton, "Lesson from East African Agriculture" in Finance and Development, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 1984), p. 13.

two or more crops. The success of intercropping technique depends on the nature of the soil and the type of crops to be planted.

Intercropping is a technique which has been in vogue among Nigerian farmers. Just as a well spaced planted maize in a groundnut plantation will produce abundant fruits, so also cocoyams do thrive in cocoa plantation (Figure 5, areas II, III, IV). This system of planting can be successfully replicated with moderate modifications in all the ecological areas of the country. The ecology of Nigeria offers farmers extensive opportunities for diversification of food and other agricultural production. Food crops grown mainly or wholly for subsistence purposes, annual cash crops, and tree plants--all can be grown, but each is best suited to particular regional ecological belts. The evergreen forest, the large rivers, the delta and the coastal, areas chiefly support timber production, fish growth, wild beasts and aquatic animals (Figure 5, II, III, IV, V, IV). The savannah region is highly conducive to pastoralism (Figure 5, I, II, VI).

Rural development is a sine qua non for the stability and economic viability of Nigeria. The bulk of agricultural supplies comes from non-urban areas. If the National and the State Governments cooperatively provide an integrated package of infrastructure and social services for agricultural communities, these services will indirectly become a suitable vehicle for tackling national agricultural problems. The improvement of living standards in the rural areas will help increase the level of agricultural production. In pursuance of the macropolicy design, the state rural development

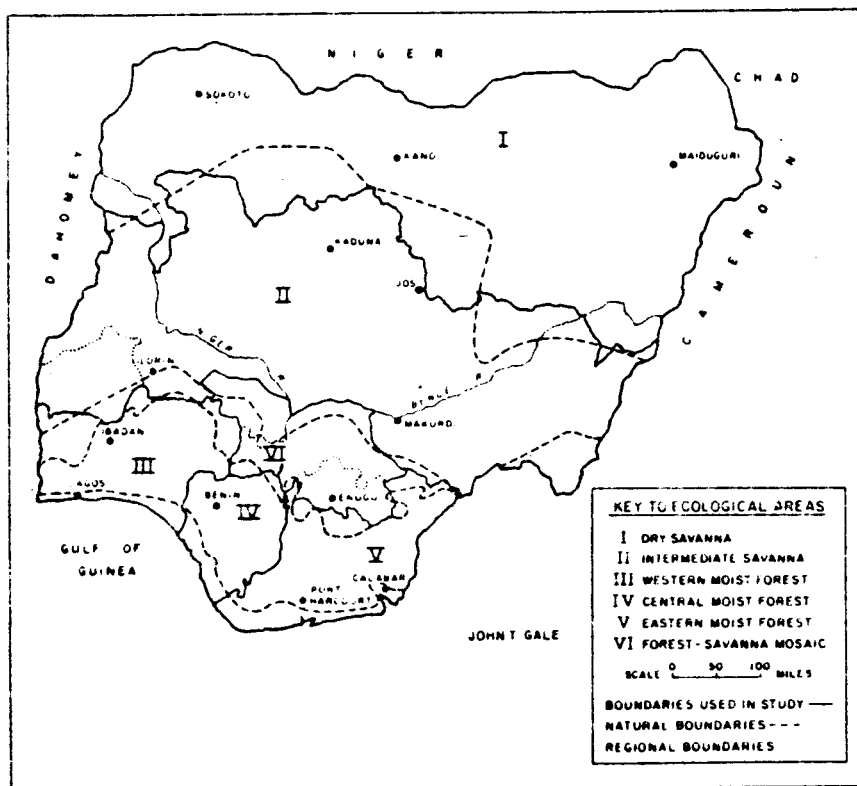


Figure 5. Map of Ecological Areas

Source: Victor E. Smith, Efficient Resource Use for Tropical Nutrition: Nigeria (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1975), p. 20.

projects move horizontally, with successions of pilot projects based on different local district areas.⁷¹ The national programs move vertically, each project separately addressing a major agricultural or support activity on a national macroeconomic basis. For the prosecution of projects, care should be taken to avoid unnecessary ethnic competitiveness and the duplication of programs and projects on pure ideological grounds.

For a realistic implementation of Module IV of the NAM, the Federal Government should selectively and consciously establish agricultural communities or farming towns in different locations. Such national agricultural programs and settlements located in suitable places around the country will serve as agricultural models for farmers. These Federal establishments will further provide the necessary nexus or opportunity for a dialogue between the Federal Government and the states to develop understandings on national macroeconomic problems, agricultural reforms and integrative effort to generate a self-sustaining agricultural economy.

Agricultural and rural development projects involve a wide range of components. They include the interaction of many types of investments, policies, and personnel. The overall development of Nigerian agricultural economy should go beyond crop- or area-orientation. Part of the strength of the technological innovation lies in relatively modest improvements in the technical

⁷¹Ibid., p. 14. See also, G..K. Helleiner (ed.), Agricultural Planning in East Africa, op.cit., pp. 53-56.

package, fertilizers, planting techniques, product quality, efficiency saving, the upgrading of infrastructure, or a combination of these factors. Another part lies in the agricultural training, extension services, crop processing, storage and marketing (agribusiness), research, management system, monitoring, and constant program evaluation.⁷² At times the strength of the technological innovations may be inadequate to overcome institutional weaknesses or to induce certain changes in traditional on-farm practices. As a result, the agricultural plans, programs and projects will wane and steadily succumb to the superior forces and philosophy of transcendental communalism in traditional agriculture.

Agricultural development should be gradualistic. Post independence experience has abundantly shown that when projects have become more ambitious in their scope and more complex in their design their standards of implementation often decline. Sector and project performance depends heavily on the macroenvironment, notably price incentives, promotion, institutional developments, and dependable infrastructural services which are within the competency of the national and state governments.

N.A.M. provides an ample opportunity for both small-scale and large-scale farmers. Modules III, IV, plans are most suitable for giant corporations which may not necessarily own the farmland. The productivity of small-scale holdings is encouragingly high. Given the

⁷²A.A. Ayida and H.M.A. Onitiri (eds.), Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria, op.cit., pp. 153, 161, 184.

proper conditions, small farms can be as productive as large farms. Modern agricultural technology is undoubtedly adaptable; there is ample evidence that small-scale operations need not be an obstacle to accelerating agricultural productivity.⁷³

Recommendations, Summary and Conclusions

Trado-modern agriculture provides the only avenue for social mobility for a large majority of the Nigerian population. It is estimated that the population of the country will grow at the rate of 3.0 percent a year while food production will rise only half a percent.⁷⁴ A good production growth rate of 4.8 to 5.5 percent would be required to meet the projected consumption levels in 1990. Production deficit is already obvious in the local markets, supermarkets, and grocery shops. The various National Development Plans have not revolutionized the traditional agricultural occupation to meet the challenges of modernization and urbanization. Nigeria has fallen short of its own expectations to be self-sufficient and self-reliant in both food and agricultural materials. The fast diminishing number of farmers who still cling tenaciously to the hoe and cutlass are greatly disenchanted. Local industries stagnate as a result of the present strict policies and import regulations adopted

⁷³R. McNamara, "Address to the Board of Governors, World Bank Groups," quoted in A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, op.cit., p. 111.

⁷⁴Food Needs of Developing Countries: Projections of Production and Consumption to 1990, Research Report 3 (International Food Policy Research Institute, December 1977), p. 97.

to recoup the losses due to an ailing agriculture. The national economy creeps as a consequence of the oil glut and the drastic slump in oil prices in the world market. How good is an economic takeoff that leaves the bulk of the citizenry still unaffected?⁷⁵ Grains are not new phenomena to doves. Nigeria must return to the agricultural basics, revamp and adapt modern technology to her optimal advantage.

For agricultural planning to be efficient and effective it is important that policy and planning be integrated with one another. Megaplans should take due consideration of the farmers' input and traditional expertise at the local level.⁷⁶ Greater attention should be given to project preparation, building up from small-scale beginnings, and adopting high-yielding crop varieties.⁷⁷

Land Tenure and Utilization

The Land Use Decree⁷⁸ clearly guarantees to all Nigerians the protection and preservation of their rights to use and enjoy the country's land with its natural resources. The underlying anxieties of the decree are differences or climates of opinions in social and

⁷⁵William A. Hance, African Economic Development (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967 ed.), p. 300.

⁷⁶In a typical traditional milieu, each farmer is the responsible quasi-monarch of his family's enterprise of making a living. In absence of external pressures or uncontrollable adverse agroclimatic conditions, he takes a crucial risk in deciding to grow a cash crop in lieu of a food crop. The welfare of his family and community is his first priority.

⁷⁷Farmers are attracted to high-yielding maize varieties, an outcome of some 20 years of research.

⁷⁸Nigeria, Decree No. 6 - Land Use Decree 1978 (Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1978), pp. 49-51.

political philosophy as well as variations in the emphasis put on security or on maximization of output in agricultural investments. Except in some isolated cases, the land tenure problem has not arisen out of concentration of land ownership in the hands of the few and the relationships of landlords to tenant cultivators.⁷⁹ On the contrary, the problem has been one of defining rights to land and determining the relative emphasis put on individual rights as against group or communal rights under changing sociological, economic and technological conditions. The Federal Government, through the River Basin and Rural Development Authorities should make a determinate effort to embark on area development programs which tend to use multisectoral approaches. Such a wide range of services which include roads, education, and health care will raise the productivity of large numbers of small-scale and medium-size farm holdings. Similarly rural farm establishments will considerably slow down or reduce rural-urban migration to a minimum.

Urban growth gives rise to economies of scale.⁸⁰ Industries

⁷⁹ John C. de Wilde, et al., op.cit., p. 132.

⁸⁰ Economies (diseconomies) of scale is, briefly, increasing (decreasing) returns; this occurs if an increase of X percent in all inputs results in an increase in output of more (less) than X percent. In other words, it exists when a doubling of all inputs more than doubles output. The theory is Adam Smith's simulation of modern 'production line', which depends on specialization of the labor force, machinery, and research and development. See Paul Wonnacott and Ronald Wonnacott (eds.), An Introduction to Macroeconomics (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1979), pp. 42-43; also, Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Modern Library edition, New York: Random House, 1937), pp. 4 and 5, as quoted (idem).

capitalize on concentrations of suppliers and consumers in cities. Large cities allow savings in communications and transportation costs. They also provide big, differentiated labor markets and may help to accelerate the pace of technological innovation. The location of industries in urban cities permits the exploitation of economies of scale for such services as water supply and electric power.⁸¹

Migrants who are mostly between the ages of 15 and 29, better educated, adventurous and often more motivated than those left behind in the countryside are great assets to the urban economy. Since they earn more income than non-migrants at all educational levels, internal migration is encouraged by low income earners in rural towns. In many parts of the country income and employment levels are a function of age, sex, and education. The cities attract youth because of the social services and occupational differentiation. The obvious effect of emigration on rural areas is the drastic drop in farm output.

Nigeria, which was once a self-sufficient food producer with a valuable net surplus for export, was expected to spend over \$2 billion on food import⁸² in 1984. Although agricultural export performance has been dismal before the military intervention to topple the

⁸¹Dennis J. Mahar, "Population Distribution Within LDCs", Finance & Development, an IMF & the World Bank, quarterly publication, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1984), pp. 15-17. See also Montague Yuledelman, "Agricultural Lending by the Bank, 1974-84," Finance & Development, Vol. 21, No. 4 (December 1984), pp. 45-47.

⁸²John C. White, "Nigerian Farms Dying in the Dust," Chicago Tribune, Sunday, March 18, 1984, Section 1, p. 3. See Wendell Berry, "What are People For?," Chicago Tribune, Thursday, May 30, 1985, Section 1, p. 27.

civilian government, there are now grounds for optimism.* Food crops are growing to meet the new challenges and rapidly increasing internal demands.⁸³ Previously, the different ideologically created programs and projects were heavily dependent on capital-intensive agriculture and irrigation. The National Accelerated Food Production Program, Operation Feed the Nation in 1976, and the Green Revolution in 1980, failed to deliver or achieve the desired goal before the 1984 military coup d'état. The River Basin Development Authorities were probably the most costly of the government-sponsored schemes. The cost of preparing land and providing water for irrigation can be up to \$24,975 (N13,500) per hectare.⁸⁴ The Agricultural Development Programs (A.D.P.s) which were financed by the Federal, State Governments, and the World Bank made a more effective use of the money invested in agriculture. Increases in crop production of the A.D.P.'s, which was 6.8% were comparatively higher than the annual growth rate of less than 2% in the rest of the country.⁸⁵ But, in the final analysis, the

*The present author recently visited home, Nigeria (December 18, 1984-January 14, 1985) to ascertain and verify some of the Government established agricultural projects and institutions in the country. He observed things first hand, visited project sites, and held informal discussions with a cross-section of the people: Government administrators, project personnel of the River Basin Development Authorities, agronomists, and the village peasant farmers. The Military Government is cleaning up the Augean stables. However, the political, economic and social problems are strictly receiving due attention.

⁸³ Alan Rake, "Nigerian Agriculture at the Turning Point?" African Business, No. 49 (September 1982), pp. 61-67.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

small-scale farmers still account for the bulk of national agricultural production, and their performance will determine the success or failure of the agricultural revolution in Nigeria. In spite of the political and economic crisis, the country was pumping more than its OPEC quota of 1.3 million barrels of crude oil a day in the early part of 1984.

The venture into oil had disastrous and elusive effects on the economy.⁸⁶ The oil economy has been a disaster for the Nigerian agriculture. Not only has the agricultural export sector collapsed but food production has lagged far behind population growth consequent on the steady rise of food imports of more than \$4 billion dollars a year. Abdication of one's responsibility is not a gallant way of resolving a national problem. The agricultural economy--an area where most Nigerians work--still determines the prosperity of the nation as a whole. The reckless reliance on slippery and ready, get-rich-quick oil bonanza was not only inimical but untactical. New structures capable of avoiding or, at least, minimising the dangers inherent in this type of a single economic commodity should have been introduced by the governments of the Federation. In fine, for the achievement of health economics it is essential to maintain a proper balance between

⁸⁶"Nigeria Survey," Africa Now, No. 18 (October 1982), pp. 40-49. Petroleum production provides 88%-93% of Federal Government revenue. The growth of oil money overshadows other economic activities, sets in motion various mechanisms of strangulation and structural distortion of other sectors of the economy. Nigeria's pre-oil traditional exports, such as cocoa, palm oil products, groundnuts, cotton, rubber, hides and skins, take the back burner.

industry and agriculture.⁸⁷ The country must develop a strong agricultural base for its economic stability, progress and development. What is happening to the peasant farmer who remains the key player in the agricultural development vis-a-vis industrialization?

The entire agricultural cohort, the peasant farmers, the herdsmen, the fishermen, and the silviculturists, get poor remuneration for so important a national task. These agriculturists face endless problems which are ill-understood even by the best-meaning extension workers. The farmers have social service needs towards their children: education for their offspring, their health, housing, and modest clothing. The present lack of social amenities in rural areas must be tackled if any sense is to be made of back-to-the-land drives or the hoe-wielding slogans. The young people will prefer to remain in the rural areas with the provision of essential amenities on par with those supplied to the urban young.⁸⁸

The Government must re-evaluate and upgrade the farmer's

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 109-120. Nigeria moves ahead on shaky grounds. Some outstanding characteristics of Nigerian economies: they are not consolidated and therefore vulnerable; almost wholly dependent on external finances; and structurally dependent on investors or donors' political and economic interests. Heavy imported equipment is not necessarily the key indicator of the level of a country's industrialization or modernization. See also, Chicago Afrikan, premiere edition, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1983), p. 7.

⁸⁸ Africa Now, No. 38 (June 1984), pp. 56-57. Not much visible progress has occurred in ten years to Nigerian agriculture. The ecology of some parts of Nigeria is quite similar to that of California; better incentives to peasants may reverse their lethargic disposition to work and food production.

remuneration and incentives. If the situation is improved in the farming areas, a new schedule with a new time table could be adopted for agricultural purposes. Early morning and late afternoon shifts could be used as an alternative to working in the scorching tropical sun of the noon day.⁸⁹ It has always been the pious intention of our governments to get the farmer away from the agricultural drudgery by substituting modern equipment and technique for the out-moded hoe and inept method.⁹⁰ Infrastructural and social facilities are needed in the farms to boost agricultural production in the project sites. Apart from according high priority to agriculture as an occupation and rural development, a better strategy for agrarian reform should include the following: (1) the allocation of adequate resources to small-holder production; (2) the establishment of improved incentives through more remunerative producer prices; (3) a more efficient marketing system; (4) a sufficient supply of inputs and of consumer goods; (5) the reactivation and implementation of existing programs and projects; (6) the rehabilitation of existing infrastructure, small-scale irrigation and rural roads; (7) the intensification of research on crops and

⁸⁹ If the infrastructure is in place in farm areas the suggested Work Time Table will be as follows:

5 a.m. - 10 a.m.		5 Hours	
4 p.m. - 7 p.m.		3 Hours	
Make Farming Attractive			

⁹⁰ West Africa, No. 3297 (September 29, 1980), p. 1897. How the \$33.30 million (N18m) went: for a beginning, about 200 tractors, 50 ten-tonne lorries, 250 mobile ridge threshers, 250 small irrigation pumps, 44 publicity vans, 250 sorghum and millet threshers, and 1,800 maize shellers, were purchased. Thousands and thousands of tractors to be purchased for mechanization! Twenty years of independence.

livestock; and (8) the expansion of pest control and related activities and measures to reduce post-harvest losses. Finally, the agriculture ministers should acknowledge the greater involvement of farmers in decision-making.⁹¹

Farmers Rule

The agoral forum or traditional palace assembly is the model for the farm settlement government. The Palace Assemblies were communal and cultural platforms which served to focus and integrate every dimension of the citizen's life. These were centers where human loyalties, commitments and values were practically demonstrated. The local government of the farm settlers should be based on transcendental communal consciousness and solidarity. This democratic system envisaged here returns to the roots of primitive democracy, creating a triadic tier of pyramidal structure in the local level: the Assembly (Council) of each nuclear age-group, the Representative Assembly of age-groups, and the Senatus or the Council of Elders and "titled persons".⁹²

If, at the state level, there are truly patriotic representatives who are constantly in contact with the social, economic, agricultural and educational realities at the home base, a genuinely democratic,

⁹¹West Africa, No. 3494 (August 6, 1984), p. 1590. African ministers of agriculture met at Harare, Zimbabwe, July 16-25, 1984. The Harare Declaration was a high point of the FAO Conference for Africa.

⁹²The traditional ruler usually presides over the Senatus. In places where this is not customary, the Elders may choose their own president from their members to serve the Assembly. In practice, the presidents of the Lower Councils are coopted but with consultative voice only.

integrative, and non-alienating system of government would be born. Since peace is the tranquillity of order, the farmers' council will be substratum for their economic development and progress.⁹³

The age-group system is a catalyst for the farmers' cooperative societies. The formation of such group associations will readily pave the way for the groups to have easier access to credit facilities, equitable distribution of income, and social services. When the government is brought nearer to them, the people become closely associated with the objectives and goals of the entire nation. At that point the national celebrations and local festivals, for example, the New Yam festival, Argungu Fishing festival, will become interdependent. Intuitively, in that fusion the national policies can do little more than set the broad parameters for such decision-making and implementation. The cumulative net effect of more efficient macroeconomic and sectoral policies is to encourage the decentralization of large-scale farm development in the long run. This decentralized development will occur not because it is always politically desirable but because it allows the actual growth of national output to approach its potential.⁹⁴ The greater the independence of our industries and manufacturing from import substitution, the less the incentive to concentrate industrial production and population in a major metropolis.

⁹³ Jane Bryce, "Dialectics and Democracy," Africa, No. 156 (August 1984), p. 63. Jane interviewed Wole Soyinka, a social critic, novelist and playwright.

⁹⁴ Andrew Hamer, "Urbanization Patterns in the Third World," Finance & Development, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1985), pp. 39-42.

Facts and Myths of Food Production

A child is never scalded by the piece of yam its own mother puts in his palm. The Nigerian educational system ought to be the backbone on which our many specific developmental objectives should rest. The colonizers and the missionary agents had their own primary objectives in introducing Western education into Nigeria. Education, for them, was merely a means to an end. The people of the country responded differently.

In the 1950's, the average Southern Nigerian was enthusiastic about formal education. The very success of the elite in wresting power from colonial administrators reinforced the popular view that education was the key to power, wealth, and prestige. It became a formidable rival and alternative to traditional agriculture. The receptivity of the various traditional ethnic societies to change in the country further corroborated the existence of differential group responses to education.⁹⁵ In Northern Nigeria where Islamic schools were widely spread, a sizeable Muslim population was initially reluctant. Muslim parents kept many children from receiving a Western education. These Muslim parents justifiably feared that Christians would proselytize their children if their children were permitted to attend mission schools. Because of the lack of adequate coordination between schooling and traditional agriculture, the schools greatly hampered the natural growth and progress of agriculture. The delayed effects became transparent in later years.

⁹⁵David B. Abernethy, op.cit., pp. 68, 129.

The Federal, State, Local Governments, and other humanitarian agencies have apparently invested billions of dollars in agriculture in Nigeria but unfortunately without the expected positive result. Why is the country still dependent on foreign food importation? Is it because the people have developed a strong taste for certain nonindigenous food items or goods "made in overseas"? Is the scarcity of food supply a result of over-population? Are people who unpatriotically create artificial food shortages by hoarding actually helping to solve the problem? Can we fairly attribute the sources of our hunger to the concentration of economic power and the internationalization of food control? Does the climate adversely affect our food production? Can the whole hunger-scenario be the ruthless enterprise of multinational agribusiness sabotaging the effectiveness of the strategies for accelerating food production? What about the methods of New Malthusianism and neo-colonialism? Are the humanitarian food aid programs Trojan horses? Why have the illiterate farmers suddenly become ineffective especially after the colonial occupation? Is agriculture a victim of bureaucracy in Nigeria? Has agricultural development any basic philosophy? Are the problems of food shortage real? What practical steps are being taken to resolve the problematic situation?

Just as bad ideologies can lead to political instability and chaos in a nation, good philosophy leads to good revolution. Nigerian agriculture had lost sight of its philosophical foundation during and after the colonial occupation of the country. Basically, political, ideological, and economic conditions, not physical barriers, hinder

food production and distribution.⁹⁶ There are other suggested solutions to the problem besides the Trado-modern agricultural model already analyzed.

The Ashby Commission Report generated a vigorous educational consciousness and wider perspectives. Among some of the tasks before the educationists and planners were the integration of the school with the environment,⁹⁷ the provision of the necessary high-level manpower for the development of the economy, and the blending of the literary and theoretical knowledge with practical studies. The pre-independence curriculum had greatly emphasized academics to the detriment of vocational and technical studies. Education held a place of preeminence in the national policy. When the Government appraised Teacher Education as the key to educational expansion and development, it got considerable attention and huge financial support. To meet the national target for qualified and effective teachers, undergraduates in education and Nigerian Certificate of Education (N.C.E.) students received scholarships to enable them to complete their course of studies.⁹⁸ Science was also accorded top priority as this was an area where teachers were in serious short supply.

If agricultural education remains crucial to the economy and

⁹⁶ Frank Maurovich, "Six Myths of World Hunger" adapted from Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, World Hunger: Ten Myths, in Maryknoll, Vol. 76, No. 11 (November 1982), pp. 10-14.

⁹⁷ See A.R. Thompson's Chapter 10 on "Re-schooling: Some Common Trends," *op.cit.*, pp. 262-314.

⁹⁸ A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

stability of the country, the Government should take the necessary actions, as it had done in the past, under similar circumstances, to solve the problem of inertia and lukewarmness in the area. Nigerian independence is not negotiable, and therefore, to keep Nigeria's freedom intact is a task that remains. It is unity in diversity. The country must formulate concrete and realistic proposals and establish rural agricultural vocational schools at the grassroot level where both literate and illiterate farmers can acquire the basic available knowledge of scientific and technological farming methods,⁹⁹ suitable to the country. To accelerate mass education and to reduce costs, the system of pupil monitors may be adopted.¹⁰⁰ Capable students from secondary schools can be effective instruments in the dissemination of simple foundations of learning to illiterate farmers. They should be exposed to the three R's. The monitorial method invariably works in a geometrical progression: the device consisted of teaching blocks of information to a group of "monitors" who then teach the acquired

⁹⁹ Ahmed Kari, "Agric: A Victim of Bureaucracy," New Nigerian, December 21, 1984, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Ulich, The Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspective (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, Revised ed.), pp. 108-109.

skills and knowledge to another group of learners, and so forth.¹⁰¹

The monitorial method should be a temporary measure¹⁰² to facilitate the teaching of a few basic skills and knowledge in agricultural education.

The Nigerian Council for Science and Technology¹⁰³ was founded to devise, among other functions, the most effective means of ensuring the firm establishment and the continuous accelerated growth, within the shortest time possible, of an atmosphere of scientific and technological competence within Nigeria and among Nigerians. It was to explore suitable means of transferring technology into agriculture and industry, thus ensuring the rapid activation of the abundant natural resources of the country for raising the living standard of the people. The need for the national research institutes to intensify their efforts to develop improved varieties of seeds including hybrids in the case of maize, sorghum and yam seedling is important for

¹⁰¹The monitorial method was similar to oral traditional communication system, but in one case, the monitorial modality was literate. Oral transmission of messages was a traditional system of communication in Nigeria. The "talking drum", in the past, served as the voice of Africa. Through this means, coded messages, royal decrees and proclamations were transmitted to the people by the use of the drum. Drum-sound language experts were easily able to decode the relay. Rumors and speculations spread very fast in predominantly pre-literate societies; relayed messages being molded often by the limitless imagination of their narrators. See also, Zdenek Cervenka, The Nigerian War, 1967-1970 (Frankfurt/Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag fur Wehrwesen, 1971), p. 33.

¹⁰²Gerald L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience, op.cit., p. 286.

¹⁰³Nigeria, Federal Republic, Nigerian Council for Science and Technology, First Annual Report (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1970), pp. 1, 3, 19.

accelerated food production. The agricultural research¹⁰⁴ centers should study solutions to the problem of fertilizers and try to use animal wastes instead of inorganic fertilizers. Green-manuring crops can be substituted for chemical fertilizers. Furthermore, steps should be taken to establish joint venture projects and private commercial seed production companies. By the Government's making farming an attractive and lucrative business entrepreneurs will be

¹⁰⁴Alice Hayes, "Helping to Feed a Hungry World." in Loyola Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 4-7. The present food technology is adequate to feed today's world population. One farmer can feed about 78 people. The American Institute of Biological Sciences in its survey affirmed that the greatest promise for increasing the quantity and quality of food production resides in biotechnological research. The International Conference in Chemistry and World Food Supplies identified areas of high-priority research in genetic engineering and plant physiology, e.g., "pomato" (potato-plus-tomato) in protoplast fusion, and bean protein being introduced into a sunflower plant, using the bacterium agro-bacterium. The National Science Foundation enjoined scientists to identify new crop plants that could be developed for areas that are now unproductive: drought affected areas, saline soil, porous soil, swamps, and so on. Another area of interest is how to increase productivity in food-yield per seed; increase the number of seeds per plant; or how many plants are to be sown per hectare (the problem is not increasing the number of hectares put to crops). How many times each crop is to be manured, irrigated, in the light of the climatic and soil conditions? In Chicago, Loyola agro-scientists are also involved in plant science research to assuage world hunger. They focus their investigations on plant bio-chemistry and physiology, microbiology in plant growth hormone (cytokinin), and plant morphogenesis (factors that influence leaves and thereby affecting plant productivity). Many breeding experiment programs have resulted in the production of high-yielding varieties (HYV) of maize, wheat, rice, etc. Since the country is in a hot climate, Nigerian scientists will be able to make such experiments on crop cultivation successfully without building hot houses. To protect crop plants from their many enemies (160 species of bacteria, 250 of viruses, 8,000 of fungi, 2,000 of weeds, and 10,000 species of industrious destructive insects) pesticides are needed. The socioeconomic and ecological implications of these developments need thoughtful caution. See also, President Kim II Sung of the D.P.R. of Korea, "For the Development of Agriculture in African Countries", an advertisement in Daily Times, May 12, 13, 1983, pp. 35, 37 respectively.

encouraged to invest in it.¹⁰⁵

Food storages and preservation facilities are problems to our agriculturists. Besides the silos for food storages, other storage devices should be explored and the conventional methods improved for the prevention of food losses especially during the peak season. Nigerian Stored Products Research Institute (N.S.P.R.I.) should develop an effective storage and preservation systems¹⁰⁶ for small scale-farmers in rich food producing areas. The establishment of a comprehensive agricultural insurance scheme to cover all agricultural sectors¹⁰⁷ of the economy will motivate investors and producers to take interest in agriculture. Only the growth of an indigenous technology, grown and nurtured within the framework of our political, social and economic systems, can productively utilize economic surplus needed to finance our own brand of industrialization. The harmonious integration between agriculture and industry can pave the way for a resilient industrial takeoff.

The expenditure of \$2.80 billion on importation¹⁰⁸ of food items alone in 1981 was not prompted by a strong taste for exotic food nor by demographic reasons. The low rate of progress in food production in recent years was due partly to the failure of Federal and State functionaries to work closely together. Although the prolonged

¹⁰⁵ National Concord, February 22, 1984, p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Sunday Observer, December 9, 1984, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ National Concord, September 21, 1984, p. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Sunday Times, May 2, 1982, p. 16.

Sahelian drought complicated matters in the procurements of essential food commodities, the unscrupulous hoarders also aggravated the chaotic situation in time of scarcity. They often create artificial scarcity to charge higher prices. These weaken the economy. A chain is as strong as the strength of one of its links.

The petro-naira could not radically transform the economy from its rudimentary stage to one befitting a modern industrial society. The petro-wealth has created a chasm between the agricultural and industrial sectors. As two different worlds apart, each is haphazardly pursuing its own separate development in complete isolation. When the technologically advanced countries find an alternative source for procuring and conserving oil, they will strike. Then, the nation will suddenly be thrust into deeper economic crises. In the Nigerian case, the world oil glut precipitated a drastic fall in oil prices; paradoxically it slowed down the leap-frogging capital-intensive development. The foreign exchange reserve took a downward turn. As a result the country became vulnerable to external political intrigues and economic strangulation. Such a situation can easily deteriorate and give rise to benevolent neo-colonialism and economic exploitation. To avoid the precarious situation and financial embarrassment the domestic economies and manufacturing industries should gravitate towards local raw materials and natural resources. The Government should make maize and sorghum the major raw materials for the local industries, especially the breweries. The

indigenization policy seems not to affect the canning and food processing factories. The people should learn the techniques of processing and preserving foodstuffs, meat, poultry, fish,¹⁰⁹ and vegetables for domestic and international markets. The price of national liberty is discipline, patriotism, dedication, and economic independence. The Government should set up a permanent relief agency to channel food aid to famine devastated countries of Africa and the world. With progressive development in agriculture only about 4% to 5% of the Nigerian adult population will be actively engaged in direct cultivation of the soil; about 35% will be connected with agro-based business or some allied agricultural enterprises.¹¹⁰ It is highly desirable that the new kind of farmers should be literate to blend the old values with the new but this is not a necessary nor a sufficient condition for undertaking agriculture. The Nigerian peasant farmers are not ignorant of the real forces oppressing them. They understand the economic system and can describe in detail the processes which economic oppression takes to frustrate their efforts.¹¹¹ The Government should reform the agricultural loan system and grant loans to people who really farm and not to giant pseudo-farmers who enter the door of power and enjoy political patronage. The Government

¹⁰⁹Business Times, September 3, 1984, p. 22. Mr. John Tobor, Director the Nigerian Institute for Oceanography and Marine Research (N.I.O.M.R.) confirmed that, of the 501,139 tonnes of total artisanal fish production in 1983, between 150,341.70 and 175,398.65 tonnes of fish were lost due to poor preservation methods.

¹¹⁰Land should be made available for private gardening.

¹¹¹Some social malaise: wage exploitation, money lending, ripoffs, bribery and kickbacks, and price discrimination.

should relax tight controls on the rural economy and let farmers reap profits from production as their counterpart in the civil service and industrial sectors. The Government should encourage farmers to reduce costs and use new production techniques along with the conventional ones through agricultural inputs and other incentives. These will go a long way of ameliorating the decline in agriculture.

A country's cultural factors and philosophy often determine its political, social and economic goals. To seek long-term solutions to problems endemic to the fabric of our national existence, we must endeavor to avoid quick fixes. The first place to start with is education, formal education. The Government should reform the educational system and give it a new philosophical orientation. The Federal authority should overhaul the total bureaucratic system of our government and relate both systems to the needs of the nation. Recent events in the oil market have clearly demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that it is not the exhaustible and volatile oil industry that is the cornerstone of the nation as signified by the national flag. Agriculture is the only industry that can build a good, solid and lasting foundation for the modernization of the entire economy. If Nigeria cannot feed her citizens, she loses her national integrity and honor. The Government should reactivate the

agricultural economy (or the "green industry").¹¹²

Strategies for the Fifth National Development Plan, 1986-90 Nigerian Institutes of Scientific Research¹¹³ should make their findings more relevant for national development. The Fifth Development Plan should depart widely from the four previous plans. Its basic objective of economic independence should derive its impetus from the philosophy of transcendental communalism. Self-reliance, integrity, and discipline (uprightness) were some of the chief characteristic virtues of the pre-colonial Nigerian. His society was not a consumerism society. Who is not aware of the famous aphorism: cut your coat according to your size? Nigeria must live within its

¹¹²Nigerian Observer, January 3, 1985, p. 3. The editorial: "Agricultural Dev and the Budget." See also, Financial Times of London, September 26, 1984, p. 36: The European Economic Community (E.E.C.) proudly entertained that their farmers were facing food over-production problem for the 270 million population. The National Institute of Agricultural Research in Paris and the Swiss-based Confederation of European Agriculture in Avignon will seek new outlets for the food surpluses.

¹¹³Nigerias 23 Research Institutes as coordinated by the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (F.M.E.S.T.): Lagos zone, I: Nigerian Stored Products Research Institute, Nigerian Institute of Oceanography and Marine Research, Federal Institute of Industrial Research Oshodi, Nigerian Building and Road Research Institute, National Institute for Medical Research, and National Institute for Industrial Property. Oyo zone, II: Nigeria Horticultural Research Institute, Nigeria Cereals Research Institute of Agricultural Research and Training, University of Ife, Moor Plantation, Forestry Research Institute of Nigeria, and Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria. Kaduna Zone, III: Leather Research Institute of Nigeria, Institute of Agricultural Research (ABU), Zaria, Nigerian Institute of Trypanosomiasis Research, National Animal Production Research Institute, and Agricultural Extension and Research Liaison, ABU, Zaria. Others, IV: Rubber Research Institute of Nigeria (Bendel), Nigerian Institute of Oil Palm Research (Bendel); National Veterinary Research, Vom (Plateau); National Root Crops Research Institute, (Imo); Kainji Lake Research Institute, New Bussa (Kwara); Lake Chad Research Institute of Nigeria, Maiduguri (Borno); and Project Development Institute, (Anambra).

means; and also shun profligacy in the administration. A diversification of Government revenue base is vital to the plan.¹¹⁴ Faulty plans make faulty execution.

The economic indicators and projections used by the Government planners for the Fourth National Development Plan were based on extrapolated estimates of national account data. In 1980, these data were only available for 1977. The last census data were obtained in 1963. For a comprehensive plan and management there should be a good statistical data base.¹¹⁵ Project feasibility study should take into consideration cost-effectiveness, plan implementation, plan priorities, maintenance of plan when completed and discipline. Regular monitoring of projects will ensure completion of projects.

Practical experience has demonstrated that Government involvement in projects has always been counterproductive. Abandoning its ideological concerns the Government should allow the private sector more than a few scraps. Private investment plays a crucial role both in long-term development and in the design of short-term stabilization programs. Projects should be economically and socially relevant to the people of this country. Closely allied to agricultural and industrial self-reliance is the gradual but radical import substitution program which will eventually eliminate non-essential

¹¹⁴Professor Adedotun Phillips, "Strategies for the Fifth National Development Plan, 1986-90," at Conference Centre, University of Ibadan, November 25-29, 1984, in New Nigerian, January 3, 1985, p. 12.

¹¹⁵Excerpts from V.P. Diejomaoh's paper: "Perspectives, Priorities for Fifth National Dev. Plan (1986-90) Part 3," in New Nigerian, December 18, 1984, p. 2.

import items save such necessities as high-technology, heavy machinery,¹¹⁶ and other items of international interests.

Towards Effective Implementation of Nigeria's Fifth Plan (1986-90)

The contribution of agriculture to the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) rose from \$7.31 billion to \$7.46 billion in the fiscal year of 1984/85. The agricultural economic indicators were positively turning round. For the successful implementation and promotion of agriculture and agricultural education in the Fifth Plan, the following imperatives are called for:

- (1) diversify the economy for greater income revenue;
- (2) allocate more funds to agriculture and rural development;
- (3) establish and equip agricultural schools;
- (4) adopt a more realistic population policy;
- (5) monitor and evaluate regularly development projects;
- (6) attach greater importance to research and statistical data collection;
- (7) endeavor to achieve greater cost-effectiveness in public investments;
- (8) shield agricultural investment programs and projects from ideological shibboleths;
- (9) set national priorities right: agriculture comes before industrial development;
- (10) de-emphasize cash crop production temporarily;
- (11) underscore the importance of food crops;

¹¹⁶ Abubakar Jijiwa, "Fifth National Plan: Give Us a Difference," in New Nigerian, December 16, 1984, p. 3.

- (12) improve or replace primitive tools and techniques of production;
- (13) develop intermediate technology;
- (14) introduce mass or adult education to eradicate illiteracy which leads to a slow rate of adoption of improved practices and change;
- (15) create a congenial environment for farmers; for an under-developed communication system and a lack of infrastructural facilities and supportive services hamper development;
- (16) permit little regional specialization to gain comparative advantages but, note, the duplication of efforts will result in loss of efficiency;
- (17) review the Land Use Decree of 1978;
- (18) use incentives to encourage young men to stay in agriculture since the farming labor force is increasingly getting old, tired and unproductive;
- (19) develop rural areas; and
- (20) check rural-urban migration by providing the basic social amenities in traditional communal societies.

The call to authenticity and modernity echoed in the text is not simply a nostalgia for a pre-colonial society or for idealized traditional educational practices. It is a clarion call for the evolution of a new Nigeria firmly rooted in the past and still relevant to the present scientifically and technologically. Education is a vehicle or transmitter of universal heritage of knowledge. The process influences and it is in turn modified by the cultures of

contact. The synthesis called for is of the most useful contributions of the past, mingled with the present; in this manner the goals of the future might be read in the past. The past had its own strengths and weaknesses. Give the nation a place to stand, and it will move the world. Thus new forms of life will spring from what is good in the old and the new alike and it will be seen by younger generations as a solid and real inheritance.¹¹⁷

Work, fundamentally, is an extension of man's existence on earth.¹¹⁸ Agrarian reform should be gradualistic and honestly executed to accomplish its objectives. A too rapid industrialization based on foreign materials and expertise can lead to social ills, disorder, and indeed retard national progress. After Nigeria's cultural and social contact first with the Middle-East and later with the West, the old way of life has been interrupted, undermined by a modernity that has influenced but not decisively transformed the people. City-states and the traditional economic structures gave way for a time to those of the colonizers who had invented new social and economic structures imposed, run, and, in the end, abandoned them. These are

¹¹⁷ Pope Paul VI, "Messages to the Hierarchy and People of Africa on the Promotion of the religious, civil and social welfare of Africa," October 29, 1967 (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, undated), pp. 3, 8.

Pope John XXIII: Encyclical: Mater et Magistra (Christian and Social Progress), translated by W.J. Gibbons, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1962), pp. 43-66.

¹¹⁸ Pope John Paul II, Encyclical, Laborem Exercens (On Human Works) St. Paul Edition (Boston, Mass.: Daughters of St. Paul, September 1981), p. 11.

disintegrating with a few surviving. In their place a new economic system and people will rise. The people will ultimately find their way to a new harmonious society of peace and progress within the comity of nations.

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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