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## A History of Land and Labour in Pre-Colonial Afizere Society, Nigeria

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### **Abstract:**

*The pre-colonial history of land and labour in Afizere society is synonymous to other ethnic groups in Sub-Sahara Africa. Communal mode of production encompasses the policy of land tenure system and labour organization. Their settlement pattern (nucleated and dispersed) defines their mode of production on hills and surrounding plains. That is why the economic history of the people in the pre-colonial times is important to place under scrutiny! Thus, it is on this premise that this paper attempts to examine the history of land and labour in pre-colonial Afizere society. The main objective of this article is to analyse the economic base of the society where land and labour as a factor of production defines their communal social formation. Findings of this study reveal that land was communally owned (absolute interests) and laboured by households using simple tools. It was also found that surplus generated was shared evenly according to household - distributed through gift giving - and also exchange through barter system. The paper adopted historical research as a methodology for qualitative research. Primary source materials adopted for the purpose of this research include: Oral interviews, archival materials, and gazetteer. While Secondary source materials adopted for the purpose of this research work include: Published and unpublished materials, as well as online (internet) materials. The paper concludes by way of examining the agrarian-economy activities of the Afizere people in the pre-colonial period.*

**Keywords:** Settlement pattern, land, labour, mode of production, social organization

### **1. Introduction**

This paper discusses the geographical description and pre-colonial economic history of the Afizere people of the present Jos East Local Government Area of Plateau State. It traces and examines the historical origin, migration and settlement pattern of the people. Haven migrated from Chawei to their present adobe the Afizere people developed a new form of social organization characterized by communal mode of production or sometimes called lineage mode of production. The settlement pattern of the people (nucleated and dispersed settlement) defines their method of land tenure system and labour organization, in which land cannot be estranged out of the tribe. In this sense, communal holding to some extent characterised the policy of land tenure system in the Afizereland.

Their communal mode of production defines their social formation or organization. Land is regarded as the joint property of the community and the ownership belongs to the cultivator, family, lineage, clan, and community, absolutely. This type of right is called 'absolute interest'. Land can be given to a member only by birth; this means that it cannot be alienated outside the patrilineal holdings. In each land-owing group there is a single traditional custodian of the group's rights, who exercise control over the land of the group and allocates parcels of it to members in accordance with the traditional law and custom.<sup>1</sup> The customary land-allocating authority is usually the chief or administrative head of the group, but he may be some other person, such as a respected elder or a direct descendant of the family which settled in the area. Any individual rights which a member of the group may have over a particular piece of land only continue for as long as he actively cultivates the soil of the plot in question. As soon as cultivation cease and the fallow period begin the land reverts back to the community, and at the end of the fallow period may be allocated to another individual.<sup>2</sup> This in it sense makes land in the pre-colonial era free to only members of a clannish or family.

It is on this background that this paper attempts to bring to fore the understanding of the agrarian mode of production in Afizereland in the pre-colonial period. The main thrust of this work is to examine the economic history of the Afizere people, where land and labour as a factor of production or economic base defines the super-structure (communal the social organization of the people).

### **2. Origin and Migration**

The Afizere people of the Eastern part of Jos believe that they originated from Chawei in Southern Kaduna. The findings of Thurstan Shaw, R. C Soper and Bernard Fagg, proved beyond reasonable doubt that the ancestors of the present indigenous populations of Jos and other parts of the State are directly linked with the pre-historic inhabitants of the Nok

<sup>1</sup>See details of land tenure system in Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980, (Published by Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1966), 331-332

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 333

culture complex.<sup>3</sup> The history of migration traces the origin of the Afizere people from Chawei located in Southern Kaduna in the then Zaria Province. According to this version, Fwatshak and Tangshak in a separate work argued that the ancestors of the Afizere people left Chawei due to population pressure.<sup>4</sup> Archival material also revealed that eight 'men' were driven out of Chawei by some unknown people. And those who were driven out of Chawei were Fobur (in Jaranchi 'Obarga'), Shere ('Agaran'), Federe ('Fudara'), Damshun (no change), Fursum (no change), Maigemu ('Faishan'), JarawanKogiZangam ('Achio'), and Naraguta ('Ogwom'). Although, some dispute the latter (Naraguta 'Ogwom'). According to some, all migrated at once, according to others Fursum and Zangam, to others Shere and Fobur left first. All were probable 'brothers', whose 'father' may have been one 'Funtun'.<sup>5</sup> Nyam observed that this historical account took three successive migrations involving three patrilineal family groups.<sup>6</sup> Nyam and Ajiji in a separate masterpiece are of the opinion that the first group to have migrated from Chawei were Shere and Fobur family group. In Ajiji main view, they two groups (Shere and Fobur family) migrated because they were mostly hunters and patriarch, they said to have left Chawei to look for land with abundant game.<sup>7</sup>

In the course of their migration, Fwatshak revealed that they passed through Pengana, Kafigana, Karamba, Toro and finally settle at the Shere Hills.<sup>8</sup> In the same analogy but different routes, Ajiji also examined that the migration passed through Kafingana, Piti area, Pengana, Toro and finally to Shere Hills.<sup>9</sup> Analysis of which is the right route is out of the scope of this research, I am only concerned in providing evidence to the fact that at a point in history, there was a migration of the Afizere people to their present location. Ajiji revealed further that the second group to migrate from Chawei were the Jarawan Kogi/Maigemu and the Fursum family group. The third and final group of the Afizere (Damshun family) migrated from Chawei also to meet their other Afizere kith and kins in Shere.<sup>10</sup> While at Shere hill, they groups experienced population increase and rapid 'muturu' (Local Bull/ in Jaranchi 'Inyak-Izere') expansion, as well as shortage of grazing and agricultural land, all the family groups broke off. Added to the above pressure (human, animal and shortage of grazing land), Shaw stated that the coming of agriculture, with its increasing sedentism, would have intensified the separation of the language groups.<sup>11</sup>

The Fobur 'patriarch' had to move southward to Afowozi and later to Fobur plains, and founded new clannish like Zarazon, Kerker, Rizek, Nubatong, SabonGari, Furaka, Wada, Nukes, FoburKaben, Kasiyer, Aware, Adubok, Rigin and KunitserKaben. While his Shere kin remained occupying what is now Shere district and founded clannish settlements like Kashidung, Zakim, ShereIsha, ShereDabo, Dayong, Fefur, Yelwa and Fezumung.<sup>12</sup> Gwisti and Afunitser left Fobur and founded Gwisti and Durbi respectively all added to Shere district.<sup>13</sup> The *second migrants* who left Shere hills were Fursum and Maigemu. The Fursum family group left Shere hills to settle in their present habitat (Fursum hills) and founded settlement like Naton, Fusa, Fewit, Kwanga, Fegwom, Nitseng, Niji, and Tere. The Fursum later expanded and spread to the plain Fursum area. While the Maigemu/JarawanKogi (Nashanang) moved eastwards and occupied the JarawanKogi hills. With time they got split into two major settlement patterns of 'Afefan' and 'Afugam'. While Maigemu, Fefur, Jali, Ferum, Kayarda, Rando and Godong are regarded as Afefan settlements.<sup>14</sup> And Nukku, Zangam, Gurgu, Lamingeltsafi, Saradan, Lengelage, FadanDabo, Firse and Nashanang are 'Afugam' Settlements. The *third group* is Damshun family group (Afudulek) migrated to Federe hills and later founded Zandi, Korim, Keben and Kereng settlements. These groups further expanded occupying what are now Febas, Kassa, Nabarkassa, ZabirKassa and Boto.<sup>15</sup>

It is paramount to note that among the eight men that migrated, The Naraguta ('Ogwom') group, out of the eight is excluded and two fell within the same major district, making it the total of five. Thus, this article shall focus on five major districts that formed part of Jos East L.G.A of Plateau State; (Shere, Fobur, Fursum, Federe and Maigemu). Shaw's analysis predicted the disintegration of language groups in Afizereland. Shaw saw this type of 'break off' as revolutionary, which usher man into a new face of civilization. He explained thus:

The change from dependence on hunting and gathering, to crop-raising and stock-keeping is the most important step which man has taken... It was spread over a long period of time but it was nevertheless a revolutionary step, in as much as it fundamentally changed man's way of life and brought with its momentous consequences. It not only radically advanced man's capacity for controlling his environment, but is set up the conditions necessary for the emergence of what we call 'civilization'. It made sedentary life possible as never before, the storage of food, the

<sup>3</sup> Plateau Indigenous Development Association Network (PIDAN), The History, Ownership, Establishment of Jos and Misconceptions about the Recurrent Jos Conflicts, (Jos Murtala Mohammed Way: DAN-SIL Press, 2010), 2

<sup>4</sup> Both authors examined the history of Afizere in a separate publication. S. U. Fwatshak, analyses the migration of the Afizere people in his book African Entrepreneurship in Jos, Central Nigeria, 1902-1985, (Published by Carolina Academic Press 2011), 100. While LarabAyubaTangshak, in an article 'Roles of Fundamentalism and Terrorism in Jos Crisis of 1994 and 2001', 171, in OlayemiAkinwunmi, Sati U Fwashak. and Okpoh O Okpoh Jnr, (eds), The Historical Perspectives on Nigeria's Post-Colonial Conflicts, (Lagos, Unmark Ltd, 2007),

<sup>5</sup> Jos Prof. 48277. 20/1/10, The Jawara-Reorganization Bauchi Province

<sup>6</sup> Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 11

<sup>7</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 79

<sup>8</sup> Sati UmaruFwatshak, 'A History of Private Indigenous Entrepreneurship in Jos Metropolis, 1902-1985, (A Ph. D Thesis in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Jos, Nigeria, 2002), 141

<sup>9</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 79

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 180

<sup>11</sup> Thurstan Shaw, 'Pre-History', in Obarokime (ed), Groundwork of Nigeria History, (Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Limited, 1980), 31

<sup>12</sup> Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 11

<sup>13</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 81

<sup>14</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 82

<sup>15</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 83

accumulation of wealth, and an increase in population; it led to division of labour, social stratification and new forms of social control.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Geographical Settings

The Afizereland of Jos East stretches from Jos metropolis to its northern limit a little beyond Rinjin Ganyi village which lies on the Jos-Bauchi road.<sup>17</sup> Arin, Dung and Vitta also noted that, with the proper demarcation and creation of Jos East Local Government area in 1996, the Afizereland of Jos East is bounded by Jos North in the West, Barkin Ladi in the South-West, Mangu L.G.A South and Tafawa-Belewa in the North-East of Bauchi State.<sup>18</sup> Afizereland lies between latitude 9° 40' 42" and 10° 01' 00" North and longitude 8° 55' 34" and 9° 08' 06" East. According to Ajiji the land occupies an area of approximately 1,935sq.km (1,935,000 meters) and the high plains comprises of 1,200 metres.<sup>19</sup> Nyam also confirmed that the land mass occupies an area of approximately 1,200 square miles. Going by the two figures from Ajiji and Nyam above, it would be assumed that the total land mass of the area is 1,935, 000m and the high plains 1,200m. If the high land of 1,200m is subtracted from the total land mass of 1,935,000m the low plains would be 735 metres of low land. This means that the Afizere land is mostly rocky with high hills characterised by mountains.

The Afizereland in Jos East L.G.A comprises of high plains of about 4000 feet above sea level rising to over 5,800 and 6000 feet in Shere Mountains,<sup>20</sup> the highest mountain in Nigeria. This gives the area a climate not less congenial than those of the temperate region of the world. The highlands owe their survival to the resistance of the younger granites of which they are mainly composed. The mountainous nature of the area has tended to impede communication through there has been river valleys, passes and narrow places in-between the hills which provide avenues of contact with the adjoining lowlands. The lowland areas include Toro Plain, Mangu Plains and a wedge of lowland lying between the Fusa and the Shere hills. This lowland provides suitable habitation for the Afizere people.<sup>21</sup> Archival materials pointed in line with the argument that the Hill Jarawa are a pagan people, who live in the hilly western half of the Toro District of Bauchi Emirate, on the fringe of Jos Plateau. The greater part still lives in five village areas split up by a rocky terrain, where they originally settled. These areas are roughly divisible into two, the northern half living in and around the pleasant and fairly fertile valley of the Jarawa River running north towards Toro and the remainder in the south living on the poor soil of the country indistinguishable from the bare, rocky Plateau proper.<sup>22</sup>

In respect to soil fertility, most parts of the Afizereland, have poor soil fertility. The evidence of soil fertility was captured by Abubakar. He noted that mountainous regions are generally not good farming regions.<sup>23</sup> In areas of poor soil such as in the north and east of the Shere hills and the area around Maijuju and Zandi Hills, confirmed the above archival source.<sup>24</sup> In the same analogy Nyam opines that the soil is poor and largely covered with a surface of ironstone. The weathering of the granite rocks however creates in place considerable deposits of alluvium and it is amongst this that the tinstone is found.<sup>25</sup> However, the interaction of the climate, parent materials, topography and time has produced series of soils that reflects the particular influence of parent materials, in terms of texture and nutrient status and topography of Jos East. On interfluvial soils associated with rock out crops are common. These grade down slope into deeper well to imperfectly drained, strongly motte soils, often with surface layer of yellow Aeolian loam. Down slope from rock, layers of gravel are common in the surface horizons. These soils form the main agricultural soils of the area.<sup>26</sup> The climate influences the typology of the soil which falls within Guinea Savannah region, it is thin capable of supporting tall grasses which are interspaced with trees. The soil is suitable for the cultivation of crops such as Maize *Zea mays*; Yam *Dioscorea* spp; Guinea corn *Sorghom* becolour; Hungry rice *Digitaria exilis*, among others. With the poor nature of soil, the people of Jos East turned the undesirable soil into desirable soil for the purpose of agricultural activities.<sup>27</sup>

### 4. Settlement Pattern

From available evidence, it is clear that the Afizere people had two main patterns of settlements.<sup>28</sup> That is the nucleated and dispersed settlement patterns. The Afizere people were innovative and good at adapting to their environment based on the settlement patterns. Their production systems are flexible to deal with the existing conditions on hills and the surrounding plains.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Shaw, 'Pre-History'...31-32

<sup>17</sup>Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 1

<sup>18</sup> Hassan Arin, Choji V. Dung and Wuyep S. Zitta, 'Groundwater Supply in Jos-East Local Government Area of Plateau State, Nigeria', in Journal of Environmental Science and Water Resource, Vol. 3(1), pp. 001-006, January 2014, 2

<sup>19</sup>Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 63

<sup>20</sup> C. G. Ames, Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Volume IV, The Highland Chieftaincies, Plateau Province, (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1972), 9

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 68

<sup>22</sup>Jos Prof. 48277. 20/1/10, The Jawara-Reorganization Bauchi Province

<sup>23</sup>Sa'ad Abubakar, 'Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau Before 1800', Groundwork of Nigeria History, (Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Limited, 1980), 184

<sup>24</sup>Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group...68-69

<sup>25</sup>Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), B-11

<sup>26</sup>Azi, 'Archaeological Survey, 21

<sup>27</sup>Oral Interview with AshomKazeAzi, 82 Years, Retired Farmer, Furaka, 20<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.

<sup>28</sup>Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 75

<sup>29</sup> Erik Green, 'Production systems in pre-colonial Africa' in The History of African Development, See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at:

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/306401173>, 2015, 1

#### 4.1. Nucleated Settlement on Hills

To begin with the nucleated settlements on hills: The hill Afizere communities in the Eastern part of Jos developed an effective farming system based on terracing for effective utilization of the hills.<sup>30</sup> They invented their own almost as effective method of building stone terraces, with cross-ties, which has the dual advantage of allowing crops to grow on what are almost cliffs in places, and checking erosion on slopes.<sup>31</sup> Green identified some of the methods the hill dwellers adopted to prevent the cultivated land from deteriorating over time. He revealed that some of these methods were terracing, manuring, mulching, and in a few places' irrigation.<sup>32</sup> Terracing was very paramount for the hill farmers to exploit the land on the hill slopes. Looking at the poor nature of the hill soil, the local dwellers understood perfectly well that an additional input both in terms of manure and labour were required to increase agricultural yields. As a result, the Afizere hill dwellers made use of different agricultural practices such as bush fallowing, shifting cultivation and the use of animal dungs as manure to maximise yield. Also, as a result of the infertile nature of the soil the Afizere especially the Shere section have over centuries adopted a highly develop method of terracing along the hill slopes.<sup>33</sup> Few farmers on the highlands took extra advantage of the many streams and rivers, they (Gwisti group) constructed irrigation canals to direct the water to their farmlands, ensuring that it was well watered throughout the year.<sup>34</sup> Nyam observed that the terrace agriculture has for a long time been well developed; most especially amongst the Hill-top dwellers in Afizereland. He opined that having (Afizere) migrated from southern Zaria the home of ancient Nok Culture; it is most likely that this art of terracing must have been inherited from that ancient civilization of Nok.<sup>35</sup>

Settlements on hills also served as a source of security. Azi noted that those on the hills were closely placed and fitted together, which provide security and defensive positions against their enemies especially slave raiders,<sup>36</sup> and also those embarking on Jihad expedition.<sup>37</sup> Ajiji support the view of Azi in regards to security that, there was the issue of safety from the marauders for slaves from the imperialist forces of the Jihad in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> Archival source present the hill Jarawa (Afizere) to be strong and well built.<sup>39</sup> Thus the Afizere people developed a tactics of warfare and security fortress just like any other hill communities on the Jos Plateau. Abubakar noted that the mountainous regions served as fortresses to which people resorted in time of danger, such as when faced with military attacks.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.2. Dispersed Settlement in the Surrounding Plains

Dispersed settlements on the surrounding plains were widely scattered. The surrounding plains provided good arable land and due to the abundance of land, the people practiced shifting cultivation.<sup>41</sup> Before colonialism, it is important to note here that most of the Afizere people maintained dual settlement pattern: on hills and on the plains. Ajiji observed that people spent short hours of time in the plain settlements during farming and returned to the hill sites soon after or returned to the hill caves in the face of danger. (The choice of site for these clusters of settlements or sub-units depended on the availability of rock-outcrops). Thus, settlements were initially limited to the rocks and hills but with the end of Jihad and coming of the British colonial administration, people migrated to the plains. It is worthy to note that settlements at the foot of hills and plains corresponded with peace time. It is at this stage that the idea of building mud houses became pronounced as it was necessitated by the absence of rocks and caves as is the case of the Shere hills.

Fences were built to serve as means of protection as well as give privacy to the household. These fences were either of cactus (*Izuzuk*), Mud Walls, (*Kubar*), Rock Walls (*Kutsah*) or even elephant grass.<sup>42</sup> A particular compound may comprise several huts depending on the size of the family. Generally, each wife was entitled to have her own personnel hut in the compound along with her kids. Granaries and animal huts were located in and around the compound which constitute the family unit. A compound may be occupied at a wider level by members of an extended family or by a man, his wife or wives and siblings.<sup>43</sup> Rearing of livestock and farming constitute very important occupations, since social status of a person was measured by the amount of food and number of animals possessed. The types of livestock reared were Muturu, sheep, goats, duck, dogs, and chickens. These animals were of great advantage because their wastes were used as manure.<sup>44</sup>

### 5. Land Tenure System

Tenure in land is dynamic and it changes with time and with situation. Under a communal set up in which was obtained a system of administration controlled by a council of village elders, land was always readily available as and

<sup>30</sup> H. A. Alahira, 'The Pre-Colonial Mode of Production and Labour Organisation among the Berom of the Jos Plateau In Northern Nigeria', in International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, (IJHSS) ISSN(P): 2319-393X; ISSN(E): 2319-3948 Vol. 3, Issue 5, Sep 2014, 83-94 © IASET, 83

<sup>31</sup> Jos Prof. 48277. 20/1/10, The Jawara-Reorganization Bauchi Province

<sup>32</sup> Green, 'Production systems, 7

<sup>33</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 93

<sup>34</sup> Green, 'Production systems, 8

<sup>35</sup> Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 2

<sup>36</sup> Oral Tradition with AziYakubu, 80 Years, Zarazong, 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> SNP 7/10/1778/1909-History of Certain Emirates, Bauchi, Borgu ETC Vol II

<sup>38</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 76

<sup>39</sup> SNP 7/10/1778/1909-History of Certain Emirates, Bauchi, Borgu ETC Vol II

<sup>40</sup> Sa'adAbubakar, 'Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin...183

<sup>41</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 76

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 77

<sup>43</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 78

<sup>44</sup> Oral Interview with Ada Galadimalsha, 89 Years, Fuzumung in Shere District, 25<sup>th</sup> January, 2019.

when needed. It had no owner; meaning that it had no scarcity value as a factor of production.<sup>45</sup> The value attached to land in Afizereland stem from the idea of land as the basis for agriculture, shelter, food and employment.<sup>46</sup> Although the details of the land tenure system vary from one community to another and there are therefore as many different land tenure pattern as there are ethnic groups, nevertheless all land tenure systems derive from a tradition of communal rights to the use of a prescribed area of land, which 'belong to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living, and countless numbers are still unborn.'<sup>47</sup>

The predominant land tenure system in Afizere society was the customary land tenancy where land holdings were owned by villages, towns, communities and families. Land was deemed not owned by individuals but by communities and families in trust for all the family members.<sup>48</sup> Any land system may portray categories of rights in land. This right is called 'absolute interests.' The absolute interests confer absolute ownership rights and as such allow for the highest scope of proprietary decisions as to the use and management of land.<sup>49</sup> The land ownership structure in Afizereland is based on the absolute right, which was mostly practiced during the pre-colonial era.

In line with the land tenure system practiced in Afizereland, Stobart revealed that the land 'belongs to the cultivator or community absolutely and cannot be alienated out of the tribe. We can boldly call it a 'Communal Holding'.<sup>50</sup> Stobart submission is in line with the absolute interest, which was dominant in the Pre-colonial period because his idea was influence by the social formation. Mabogunje also examined that, in this type of system, the ownership of land is vested in a 'collective' (whether a household, family, hamlet, lineage, clan or an entire community). Individuals in these group(s) can only enjoy the right of usage. The household head or the head of the 'collective' is vested with the power of custodianship of such land, which is to be held in trust for both present and future generations.<sup>51</sup> This group ownership under the indigenous system gives rise to some distinctive features. All members of the group, community, village, or family have an equal right to the land, but in every case the chief or headman of the group occupies a unique position in relation to the land.<sup>52</sup> Knetting regarded the pre-colonial household or productive unit, as the principal locus of the ecological process.<sup>53</sup>

The significance of land tenure system in Afizereland was observed by Ajiji where he opined that the system of land tenure was communal in which households had free access and security to land.<sup>54</sup> Ajiji's assertion is supported by Chigbu and Klaus who further pointed out that the various kingships also hold lands for their various extended family units. Decent and mode of inheritance transfer of land is patrilineal in all cases. As a result, patrilineages occupy different lands in the villages forming (kinships). Engels view regarding the concept of land tenure system is very paramount to bring forth. He posited that:

...with the separation of cattle keeping from agriculture and following the emergence of family, agricultural practice took place within the framework of kinship/lineage ties, which called into play the need for leadership and this manifested in elders assuming religio-political functions centering on agriculture and the settlement of dispute.<sup>55</sup>

These kinships are associated with land holdings (both farmland and building-land). The leader of a kinship is the most senior patrikin. Although kinships communally hold the lands, primary rights to land belong to men.<sup>56</sup> As a result, the male lineage is the medium for the cross generational transfer of land (countless numbers still unborn will inherit the system-as explained above). A male adult is entitled to a piece of land on which to build and farm. This share of land would normally come from his father's allocation from the kinship pool.<sup>57</sup> Mangwat explains this system of production in the following words:

Before the 1800, communal relationships were dominant. Land was communally owned and worked by households using simple tools. All able-bodied persons were workers and their surpluses were appropriated and stored in a central barn from which the household head distributed grains to the constituent families within the household based on the number of wives in each family, and not the number of mouths to feed. This was an unjust distribution system, which made women to open up their own fields. Which were cultivated for them by their

<sup>45</sup> Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe, 'the Administration of Land and Labour in Pre-colonial Kano' in Journal of African History Published for the Historical Association of Nigeria, (Benue Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2010), 23

<sup>46</sup> Uchendu Eugene Chigbu and Michael Klaus, 'Insecurity-Generating System of Land Tenure and its Impact on Rural Development: Evidence from Uturu, Nigeria', (FIG Working Week, Environment for Sustainability Abuja, Nigeria, 6 – 10 May 2013), 3

<sup>47</sup> See details of land tenure system in Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980, (Published by Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1966), 331-333.

<sup>48</sup> E. O Omuojine, 'The Land Use Act and the English Doctrine of Estate'. Journal of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors and Valuers. 22(3): 54-56, 55

<sup>49</sup> B. ONwabueze, Nigerian Land Law, (Enugu: Nwamife Publishers Ltd, 1972),

<sup>50</sup> Jos Prof 2/257/1914/ Anaguta and Jarawa Tribe of Bukuru District, Assessment Report on by Mr. S.E Stobart, Asst. District Officer

<sup>51</sup> Akin L. Mabogunje, cited in Daniel Ibrahim Dabara, Omotoso Kabir Lawal, Augustina Chiwuzie, Olusegun Joseph Omotehinshe and John Oyekunle Soladoye, 'Land Tenure Systems and Agricultural Productivity in Gombe Nigeria', Madridge Journal of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, ISSN: 2643-5500, (Madridge Publisher Sci.2019; 2(1): 51-59.), 52-55

<sup>52</sup> P Ehi Oshio, The Indigenous Land Tenure and Nationalization of Land in Nigeria, 10 B. C. Third World L. J. 43 (1990), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/twlj/vol10/iss1/3>, This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Law Journals at Digital Commons @ Boston College Law School. It has been accepted for inclusion in Boston College Third World Law Journal by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Boston College Law School. For more information, please contact nick.szydowski@bc.edu. 47

<sup>53</sup> NAK: SNP 17/7904, Jos Plateau Province, Assessment Report, para.24

<sup>54</sup> Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 93

<sup>55</sup> Fredrick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1948), 23-29. This quotation was cited in Monday Y. Mangwat (ed), A History of Labour in Nigeria, (Jos: Published and Printed by University Press Ltd, 1998), 5

<sup>56</sup> Chigbu and Klaus, 'Insecurity-Generating System...4

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 5

children and the proceeds they appropriated. The lineage/household heads were responsible for the maintenance of the welfare of their people by making marriage arrangements for adult male paying for repairs of agricultural tools and herbal cures.<sup>58</sup>

Fwatshak interpreted the above quotation by stating that the low level of development of the forces of production meant that surpluses generated were small and the trade was limited (in the early period) to bare necessities. In any case, the society was no longer egalitarian, as was the case in the era of primary communalism and for this reason some scholars prefer to designate this era as that of the kin-ordered or lineage mode of production, or even family mode of production.<sup>59</sup>

## 6. Agrarian and Socio-economics Structure

Agrarian economics is characterised by agricultural labour. Labour defines the scope of an agrarian socio-economic. An important aspect of agrarian debate is the agricultural labour question. This debate is based on the following fact;

- The rural farmers or producers have not been separated from the land
- A class of hired landless farm labourers or social classes have not emerged in the agricultural sector: and
- The family labour is still the most dominant form of agricultural labour.<sup>60</sup>

Subsistence agriculture defines the concept of agrarian-economics, where production is at the subsistence level. Pre-colonial farming in Afizereland is done using labour intensive methods and traditional hand tools (relations of production). Farmer and members of his family provide most of the labour. And land was used for the growing of food crops and rearing of livestock at the same time. July called this system of agrarian production 'ancillary' i.e. (growing of food crops and at the same time rearing of livestock as well as other activities). This term is taken to mean all the supportive activities in the matrix of a subsistence economy.<sup>61</sup> Ajjij observed the ancillary method of social formation and conclude that farming and rearing of livestock in Afizereland constituted very important occupation since the social status of a person was measured by the amount of food and number of animals he possessed.<sup>62</sup> An important fact to note is that rearing of livestock served as a supplement to food crop production because the Afizere society depended heavily on the production of food crops to in other to survive. Odey acknowledged this view by stating that, homestead livestock keeping was a common practice in all pre-colonial societies...It was perhaps the most important ancillary economic next, in importance, to the production of food crops.<sup>63</sup>

The rearing of livestock has a lot of significance. Apart from consumption, the purpose of livestock keeping in the pre-colonial Afizere society was to provide natural manure from animal dung. Netting captured the importance of this case by pointing the fact that, animal dung and homestead compost which is referred to as 'dung-cum-decayed-vegetation compost' provided the best method of pre-colonial fertilizer.<sup>64</sup> Given the importance of animals dung manure, Mikesell revealed that animal manure contains nitrogen, phosphorous and other nutrients that plants need to grow. Adding manure to the soils is an excellent way to increase soil organic matter. Soil organic matter contributes to overall soil health. This makes manure an ideal soil amendment for fields with low to moderate soil fertility.<sup>65</sup> Agrarian farmers in the pre-colonial Afizere society understood the secret and importance of animal dung manure and methods of application. They took the opportunity and used it to their advantage. Animals kept for the purpose of this were goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, dogs, ducks, and most importantly Mutura.<sup>66</sup> The main crops indigenous to the Afizere people include light grains such as Hungry rice (acha), millet, locust beans, guinea corn, beans, tamba, maize and root crops such as *Adom* (mostly water yam), sweet potatoes, Risga and cocoyam.<sup>67</sup> Farmers cultivated these food crops with the application of animal manures to increase yield to feed their families or household and also produced surplus for exchange through trade by barter. To lay a strong foundation to this argument, Ames recounted that agricultural products are exceedingly numerous due to the ancillary relationships.<sup>68</sup>

As mentioned earlier labour intensive explains the features of pre-colonial agriculture in Afizere society. The labour employed on the farm consisted basically of members of the household. What is very important to note in the productive unit or household labour is that sex and age determined the division of labour and specialization. Women were expected to join their husbands in the farms only after completing domestic routine. Men did the actual cultivation work which begins in the morning and ends in the evening. Women did the less rigorous aspects like planting and weeding while young once herding the cattle, sheep and goats until they reach adolescence when they began to participate in farm

<sup>58</sup> M. Y Mangywat, 'A History of Class formation in the Plateau Province 1902-1960, The Genesis of a Ruling Class', (Ph.D Thesis, History Department, A.B.U, Zaria, 1984), 6-61. This quotation was cited in S. U. Fwatshak, 'Pre-Colonial Labour System in Nigeria', in Monday Y. Mangyvat (ed), A History of Labour in Nigeria, (Jos: Published and Printed by University Press Ltd, 1998), 14

<sup>59</sup> S. U. Fwatshak, 'Pre-Colonial Labour Systems in Nigeria', in Monday Y. Mangyvat (ed), A History of Labour in Nigeria, (Jos: Published and Printed by University Press Ltd, 1998), 5

<sup>60</sup> Zakariya Damina Goshit, 'Agricultural Labour in Colonial Nigeria', Monday Y. Mangyvat (ed), A History of Labour in Nigeria, (Jos: Published and Printed by University Press Ltd, 1998), 57-58

<sup>61</sup> Robert W. July, Pre-Colonial Africa: An Economic and Social History, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970)

<sup>62</sup> Ajjij, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 94

<sup>63</sup> Mike Odugbo Odey, 'A History of Food Crop Production in the Benue Area; 1920-1995: The Dialectics of Hunger and Rural Poverty,' (A Thesis of the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Jos, Nigeria, 2001), 107

<sup>64</sup> Robert McC. Netting, Hill Farmers of Nigeria: Cultural Ecology of the Kofyar of the Jos Plateau, (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1968), 200

<sup>65</sup> Sarah Mikeell, The Scoop on Poop-Why is Manure Important?, (England: Published by Benchmark House, 8 Smithy Wood Drive, Sheffield, 2015), 1-8

<sup>66</sup> Oral Interview with Sambo Awayong, 68 Years, Tilde Fulani, 20<sup>th</sup> December, 2019

<sup>67</sup> Ajjij, Colonialism and Inter-Group...94

<sup>68</sup> Ames, Gazetteers of the Northern, 283

work.<sup>69</sup> Older men and women stayed at home to guard the house and look after young children.<sup>70</sup> Onimode in response to the unity and roles of sex and age grade in the division of labour expressed the view that division of labour was based on sex and age grade where mutual help, co-operative production, and obligation to the group governed production relations.<sup>71</sup> Added to division of labour and specialization with regards to sex and age grade within the family roles, Arin further expanded the opinion of Onimode by stating that the main occupation of men during wet season was farming or tilling of farmland.<sup>72</sup> While they men were busy on farmlands (both individually and communally), to provide food for the entire household. Women kept the field free of weeds and cooked the needed meals to supply the menfolk with enough energy to till the soil.<sup>73</sup> Women did not only cultivate small piece of private holding to produce her domestic vegetable needs. The sowing and weeding of farm, particularly handpicking of weeds from a field, as well as collecting the harvest from the farm to the family granaries, were exclusively the work of women.<sup>74</sup>

The children on the other part took care of animals during the day time and gave helping hands to their parents in the evening and at night.<sup>75</sup> As per the expected sexual roles, teenage boys shepherd the animals to protect the food crops from being eaten or destroyed by the animals. They also made thick smoke in nearby cornfield with corn-stalk or shrubs in order to drive out the birds and pests. The girls on their own part spent their time under-studying their mothers in the art of cooking and running domestic errands.<sup>76</sup> It is on this ground that Abubakar revealed that the social structure of the people of the Benue Basin and the Bauchi-Plateau were quite organised on a patrilineal basis, though some groups, such as the Mumuye, were matrilineal. The society according to him fell into two basic categories; elders and youths based on sex grade. Each category was subdivided into two classes according to age grade. In fact, for most groups age was the main determinant factor of social status. Thus, age-group association were common features in all groups no matter how large or small.<sup>77</sup> Lovejoy affirms the argument of Abubakar that the earliest references to kinship, for example, reveal that patrilineal and matrilineal distinctions were already well formed by the early sixteenth century in West Africa. His argument follows thus:

...those societies based on kinship have variously been described as ones characterized by 'lineage' or 'domestic' mode of production. This mode of production had the following feature: age and sexual distinctions were fundamental divisions in society, there being no class antagonisms.<sup>78</sup>

Religion also played a fundamental role in agricultural production. The Afizere like the Tiv 'was continuous with his community and his community in turn was continuous with the ancestor. The 'Abok' played a leading leadership role particularly in religious affairs and mediatory roles; leadership of the community was vested in the kinship. A group of extended families, tracing their common ancestor, settled as a hamlet or village from where the elders of these patrilineal families formed a kindred council with an elected chief at its head. The kindred chief appointed was more like the chairman of a committee who only gave voice to a group will.<sup>79</sup> Very little would be done without the advice of the chief.<sup>80</sup> For example, in the pre-harvest ritual the chief priest always took a plate of food and divided it into two. He threw one half of the food to the east and the other half to the west. This was an offering to the god ('Adakunom') in prayers for a bumper harvest. The significance of half piece of food given to the god by throwing it to the east represented the direction of where the sun emerged daily while the other half thrown to the west represented the direction of where the sun set (or rested) in the evening. The god ('Adakunom') was fed from the emergence stools (east) to his resting stool (west) in return for his anticipated blessing of the crops.<sup>81</sup> The evidence and importance of agricultural ritual in pre-colonial era was captured by Abubakar thus:

Agriculture was the main economic activity, especially subsistence farming. The rainy season was therefore a most important period in the lives of the different ethnic groups. The onset of the rains was of religious significance. Thus, clearing the bush, hoeing, sowing and the like were all preceded by religious rites performed by priests or chief. In fact, it was due to such functions that priests were looked upon for prayers, so too when heavy rains threatened to spoil the crops. After the rains, at the time of harvest, rites had to be performed by priest...the main crops vary from region to region.<sup>82</sup>

## 7. Labour Organization

Cooperative or communal farming can sometime be called free labour. Communal labour was most pronounced during the pre-colonial era, where an individual or group of persons offered their labour in return for others to offer theirs in each individual's farmlands. Imbua succinctly averred that pre-colonial rural farmers devise various means of acquiring labour. One of the basic means was through the organization of some co-operative labour unit. Through this arrangement, young people organised themselves into partnership units and provided reciprocal labour to one another, in rotation, on

<sup>69</sup>Ajiji, Colonialism and Inter-Group, 94

<sup>70</sup>Ibid, 95

<sup>71</sup>Bade Onimode, Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The dialectics of Mass Poverty, (London: Zed Press Publishers, 1982),11

<sup>72</sup>Yakubu Pate Arin, 70 Years, farmer, Zarazong, 20<sup>th</sup> November 2019

<sup>73</sup>Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 25

<sup>74</sup>Ibid, 22

<sup>75</sup>Ibid, 25

<sup>76</sup>Ibid, 24

<sup>77</sup>Sa'adAbubakar, 'Peoples of the Upper. 183

<sup>78</sup>Paul E. Lovejoy, A History of Slavery in Africa, (Cambridge University Press), 12

<sup>79</sup>Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa)...27

<sup>80</sup>Jos Prof. 48277. 20/1/10, The Jawara-Reorganization Bauchi Province

<sup>81</sup>Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 46

<sup>82</sup>Sa'adAbubakar, 'Peoples of the Upper Benue, 184

agreed term. Family was a dependable source of labour as members assisted one another in farm work.<sup>83</sup> According to Ayuba, this type of labour organization was practiced in most Afizere villages. He stated that his grand-father told him that the system of communal farming ('*Gayya*') was practiced by his (grand-father of Ayuba) father and grand-fathers.<sup>84</sup> From Ayuba's comments it's easy for one to draw an argument that communal farming had existed from generations to generations running through pre-colonial-colonial and post-colonial period up to the time of Ayuba.

Looking at the system in respect to time factor, it is clear that communal farming makes the working hour to be shorter when compared to an individual working hour. This is to say it reduces time wastage. Nyam revealed that individual land tillage was heavily subsidised by community tillage during which cow or goat (depending on the size of the farm) were slaughtered by the individual being helped by the community. The meat was used to prepare special meal for the community farmers after a day's hard work. In addition, the women prepared the famous local brew ('*Kugbere*') which was communally drunk in the night after completing the communal farm work.<sup>85</sup> Provision of native beer constituted a major attraction for cooperate communal labour in Izereland.

If labour is organized at lineage or village levels, it was carried out occasionally and rotationally among the lineages. This usually took place during the critical periods of planting, weeding and harvesting.<sup>86</sup> Communal labour that was organized on a large scale was open to the lineage-based community depending on how rich the farmer was and his willingness to supply the necessary beer for the workers. The type of agricultural tasks involved also determined the number of labourers required. The number of workers that can be used for specific tasks ranges from fifteen to ninety.<sup>87</sup> Azi-Gwom noted that the cooking of meat to make special meal and drinking of local brew is not applicable in all cases. Some people cooked local porridge ('*Gote in Hausa*' or '*Akare in Jaranchi*') or guinea corn juice ('*kunu in Hausa*' or '*Sirik in jaranchi*') to make the body light during farming. He added that not all people eat food cooked with cow or goat meat or drink local brew. One has to cook the food that all farmers would be able to eat and be part and parcel of the communal team.<sup>88</sup> Bukar posited in respond to the above that labour in pre-colonial Jos Plateau was divided into three major folds; he noted that:

Labour mobilization amongst the people within the political framework was done at three main levels. Basically, labour was mobilized at the household level by household heads on household farms. Labour was secondly mobilized cooperatively at the age grade level to tap the benefits that come from synergy. The third level was where the whole community or sections of it where mobilized on the farms of individual who could afford the material requirements for mobilizing this form of labour known in common parlance as *Gayya*.<sup>89</sup>

Cooperative labour in the pre-colonial period of Afizere was virtually free (free labour) apart from the feeding which an individual prepared for the community farmers. Communal or cooperative farming also comes with other exciting and enjoyable events, which makes it fun for young farmers to participate. Nyam observed that during such communal farming, rivalries over wives or magic ('*kukem*') were common.<sup>90</sup> The men competed fervently, each trying to excel the other by making more ridges than his rival. These tilling competitions by rivals often lasted the whole day (dawn to dusk); each rival refusing to break for food or even to drink water. Having tilled competitively for hours, the rival paused for a while to demonstrate their supernatural prowess. The commonest of these in Zandi district included striking the ground with a mystical string-like belt ('*Aguru*') which immediately transformed into a huge python. The farmer then held the conjured python by the tail and it (python) once more became the ordinary '*Aguru*' which he (farmer) now proudly tied round his waist. If his rival performed the same supernatural fete then his rival now tried some other tricks that left his rival flabbergasted thereby forced him (rival) to surrender the woman being competed for.

At these occasions (communal farming), the drummers provided rhythmic beats that kept the long line-up of farmers' hoes simultaneously up and down as if it were a single farmer hoeing. The use of drums for stimulating farming competitions, for 'stemming' up rivals' blood and for spurring men action during wars, was a common feature amongst the Afizere communities. The best farmer in the village or one that often excelled at communal farming was often honoured with the traditional title or '*barji*' and was responsible for organising communal farming.<sup>91</sup> Thus, in a nutshell, land and labour in Afizereland is jointly owned by all the social groups, this we can conclude that it was the major means of production

## 8. Agricultural Marketing and Medium of Exchange

Oral tradition revealed that there was trading relationship among the Afizere people themselves and also their neighbours. In the primitive society, the condition for human existence was based on each family providing for its entire needs with some level of division of labour among the family members. The existence of family ties within this small group made it possible for each member to contribute to the provision of their existence based on their individual ability and be

<sup>83</sup> David Lishilinimlembua, 'Colonial Rule and the Anti-Pawning Campaign in Obudu Division, 1900-1938', in Journal of African History Published for the Historical Association of Nigeria, (Benue Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2015), 77

<sup>84</sup> Oral tradition by Pate Ayuba, 40 Years, Farmer, 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2022

<sup>85</sup> Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa), 22

<sup>86</sup> Alahira H. A, 'The Pre-Colonial Mode of Production and Labour Organisation among the Berom of the Jos Plateau in Northern Nigeria', International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IJHSS), ISSN(P): 2319-393X; ISSN(E): 2319-3948, Vol. 3, Issue 5, Sep 2014, 83-94, 88

<sup>87</sup> NAK: SNP 17/7904, Jos Plateau Province, Assessment Report, para.24

<sup>88</sup> Oral Interview with Pate Yakubu Azi-Gwom, 35 Years, Farmer/Trader, Sherejankasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 2019

<sup>89</sup> Dan'azumi SharwaBuka, 'Disintegration of an Agricultural Infrastructure under the Weight of Colonial Domination: The Case of the Jos Tin Fields 1902-1950', International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention, ISSN (Online): 2319 - 7722, ISSN (Print): 2319 - 7714, www.ijhssi.org Volume 2 Issue 9 || September. 2013 || PP.01-06 (accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 2020), 2

<sup>90</sup> Nyam, The Afizere (Jarawa)...22

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 23

contented with whatever share that came to them. The egalitarian ideology of the communal formation meant that the surplus generated was appropriated by each family and utilized in obligatory gift-giving, which largely resulted in communal consumption.<sup>92</sup> As the need of the family begins to expand, limitations imposed by both nature and skill exposed the inability of a family to provide for all their needs. This brought about a peaceful intercourse between different groups of people in form of trade. As society continue along this line, specialization now emerged as people started devoting their time to the productions of goods which they believed to have an advantage in the production over the others. The man who devotes his time in the production of iron will have to exchange some of his item like hoes, spade for clothing or food which he cannot produce.<sup>93</sup> This medium of exchange of commodity for commodity or commodity and services is what is called 'trade by barter'.

This trade by barter was usually carried out among local women and the items for exchange were foodstuff like acha, maize, guinea corn, itili oil (olive) etc.<sup>94</sup> Since there were no any formal form of markets, this made the trade to be wholly domestic. In Afizereland for instance, if a woman in a household does not have acha but has tamba, she could trade the tambe for acha with another woman in a different household or compound who has acha but does not have tamba. This form of exchange was satisfactory to both the women.<sup>95</sup> Men were also not left out of the exchange system, for example, a man whose occupation was basically hunting can exchange bush meat for grains with another man whose occupation is solely farming. Exchange was carried out and both trading partners were satisfied with the term and condition of the exchange.<sup>96</sup> Exchange also takes place between a blacksmith and a farmer, or a blacksmith and a hunter. The blacksmith exchange farm tools for grains from the farmer or arrows and traps for bush meat, from the hunter, respectively.<sup>97</sup> Kudu confirmed this system of exchange as not only applicable to the Afizere people but also the Rukuba and other tribes in the Jos Plateau. He asserted that in Rukubaland there were exchange between food producers and craftsmen, which can be termed 'reciprocal' exchanges, because they involved exchanges of goods and services needed by both parties.<sup>98</sup> Kudu's view on 'reciprocal exchange' was also examined by Fwatshak, where he stated that:

Craft specialization led to exchange because not everyone knew and practices all the necessary crafts, though access to raw-materials was not restricted. For example, everybody in the community looked to the blacksmith for agricultural, hunting and war equipment. Blacksmiths were paid for their services either in labour service or in domestic animals, grains, piece of cloth, or smelted pieces of iron among other things. Not all blacksmiths could smelt iron so they needed the smelter's products; not all were carvers but all needed carvers' products: they also needed cotton cloths, which weavers made. According to him, production strategies for the purpose of exchange, adopted by each community led to the development of trade.<sup>99</sup>

The need to exchange excess agricultural, crafts and iron products between producers and non-producers is an act of reciprocity exchange that satisfying the producers and the consumer's need. To reaffirm Fwatshak's idea with respect to this exchange of reciprocity, it is easy to conclude that this exchange led to the development of more organised system of trade in Afizereland. That is why Stanton stressed the view that:

the need for marketing arises and grows as a society moves from an economy of self-sufficiency to an economy built around division of labour...(and) when people make more than they want or want more than they make, the foundation is laid for trade and trade (exchange) is the heart of marketing.<sup>100</sup>

Going back to the fundamental points on marketing from the definition above, it is very clear that the principle of exchange and satisfying consumers' needs was even present during the pre-colonial era, in Afizereland.

As far as external trade was concerned, this was limited and chiefly motivated by the desire to purchase salt, textile and horses. This exchange was promoted by the presence of Hausa, Kanuri, and Fulani traders who came from Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Zazzau around the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The major trading centres were located on the Dilimi plain where the traders had established settlements like RiriwanDalma, Badiko, Toro and Tilde Fulani. It was at these market centres that the people took agricultural grains such as acha, handicrafts like mats, pots, and baskets: honey and animal skins from goats, sheep, cows, lion and reptiles especially python.<sup>101</sup> For these, the Hausa exchange *bante* (locally woven pants), *Ogwodo* (a manually woven blanket), *Tozali* (antimony), *jigida* (beads worn round the waist) *kannwa* (natron) and other fascinating items such as mirror.<sup>102</sup> KakaAdiza stated that she grew up seeing her parents and elder ones carrying grains, honey, itili, basket, animal skins on their head to Delimi, Rinjin, Toro, Gani (Gada market) and Tilde

<sup>92</sup>Onimode, Imperialism and Underdevelopment...17

<sup>93</sup>Adofu, Ilemona, Adofu, Ojochogwu Sophia and Muhammed, Ibrahim Danlami, 'Barter System in a Modern Nigeria Society, a Case Study of BaganaBartermarket In Omala Local Government Area of Kogi State'Open Research Journal of Business Administration and Management, Vol. 1, No. 1, August 2013, PP: 01 – 06

Available online at <http://scitepub.com/Journals.php>, (accessed 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2020), 2

<sup>94</sup> Oral tradition with Ashom Aware Musu, 90 Years, JarawanKogi, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 2019

<sup>95</sup> Oral Tradition with Aboku (kaka or old woman) LadiAtako Musa, 80 Years, JarawanKogi, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 2019

<sup>96</sup> Oral Tradition with AshomKazeAgwom, 81 Years, JarawanKogi, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 2019

<sup>97</sup> Ibid

<sup>98</sup>AmangoAchadick Kudu, 'Colonialism and the Travails of Indigenous Technology on the Jos Plateau: The Rukuba Example'in Lafia Journal of History and International Development (LAJHID), Vol. 1, No. 3 (Kaduna: Summit Borderless Publishing House Limited, 2019), 70

<sup>99</sup> S. U Fwatshak, African Entrepreneurship in Jos, Central Nigeria, 1920-1985, (Carolina U.S.A: Corolina Academic Press, 2011), 81

<sup>100</sup> W. J. Stanton, see for instance, M. O Okuseinde, 'Internal Trade and Marketing Systems, 1900-1955' in G. O. Oguntomism (ed), Studies in Ijebu History and Culture, (Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd, 2002), 51. Cited in OlufemiBamigboyeOlaoba and Oluranti Edward Ojo, 'Influence of British Economic Activities on Lagos Tradition Markets, 1900-1960', in Journal of African History Published for the Historical Association of Nigeria, (Benue Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2014), 112

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 126

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 127

Fulani market to trade with the Hausas and Fulanis, in return they brought back salt, Jigida, Kannwa and mirror.<sup>103</sup>In regards to this Isicheopined that, the people of Jos Plateau sold surplus grain for items they could not well produce themselves.<sup>104</sup>

Tradition claims that, perhaps by the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, barter trade was replaced by the use of cowries' shells as a medium of exchange and were introduced by the Hausa and Kanuri traders. The extent to which cowrie shells were generally accepted as a medium of exchange by the various Afizere groups is not known, but it was evident that after its introduction cowries circulated as a currency mainly for external exchange.<sup>105</sup> Some explained the circulation of cowrie shells to other important social institutions addition to economic function. These included its use by witch-doctors in divination; these were considered fashionable, and could be used in circumcision ceremonies.

## 9. Conclusion

This paper has examined the geographical description and location of the people of Afizereland of the present Jos East Local Government of Plateau State. It analysed the origin and migration of the people as well as their settlement pattern (nucleated and dispersed settlement) in pre-colonial times. Thus, the settlement patterns define their mode of labour organization (lineage or family labour). Thus, it is clearly seen from the above discourse that the communal mode of production in the pre-colonial period was based on family/kinship/clannish/household labour. Surpluses from production were communally distributed according to household. With the passage of time the communal mode of gift-giving soon changed into trade by barter system, where household vs household and community vs community began to trade with other in internal and external trade respectively.

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