

# Traditional Economy In Nigeria Before Colonial Administration

**Frances Jumoke Oloidi**

(Ph.D) Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

---

## **Abstract**

The study was set up to examine the nature and structure traditional indigenous economies of the people of Nigeria prior to colonization. The study indicated that agriculture was the mainstay of the country prior to the visit of the British. Other economic and occupational activities that determined the economy included: fishing, blacksmith, mineral mining and manufacturing among others. The study argued that factors of production: land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship existed within 1500-1800 AD of Nigerian economy because without them production will not take place.

**Key words:** Colonial Administrators, Nigeria, Traditional Economy

## **Introduction**

The history of Nigeria has featured many waves of human travels from across the Sahara, which has never been a complete hurdle between the lands to the north and south of the desert. Archaeological evidences from various parts of Nigeria suggest that parts of the country have been settled by man since the Paleolithic or Stone Age period. According to the 1952/53 census, there were more than 200 distinct ethnic groups in Nigeria (now there are over 450), most of who have distinct customs, traditions and languages (Sa'ad, 1985). The large and dominant groups include the Yoruba (at the time of census was 10 million), the Igbo (7 million), the Hausa (16 million), and the Fulani (5 million). Other prominent but less numerous groups include the Edo, the Ibibio of the Cross Rivers state, the Tiv of the Benue valley, the Nupe of the middle Niger valley, and the Kanuri of the Lake Chad basin. The large concentration of the smallest ethnic groups in the Middle Belt where there are more than 180 different groups is a significant feature of the distribution of ethnic groups in Nigeria (Udo, 1980). Away from origin, great attention will be focused on traditional economy of Nigeria. Attention shall be given to production and distribution systems; and the usability and applicability of land, labour, and capital shall be explored.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century all the countries of the world relied on agricultural pursuits, however, towards the end of that century the transformation of human activities from farming endeavours to progressive industrial output had achieved striking success in Britain and the wind of change subsequently blew over Europe, North America and Japan in the Far East (Abayomi-Alli, 2014). The Nigerian economy, just like the general West African economy and the economies

of the other sections of the under-developed world remained agricultural and traditional. Significantly, this was the situation throughout the period between 1500 and 1800 AD.

The structure of the Nigerian economy in the pre-colonial period was chiefly in agricultural and non-agricultural productions and distributions of commodities and it also consisted of services. Generally speaking, in pre-colonial West Africa, practice of agriculture was pertinent for survival. It was basically based on subsistence farming, i.e., agriculture. More than anything else, the factor that sustained agricultural practices in pre-colonial Nigeria has been the initiatives and innovations of the farmer. Although unlettered, the traditional Nigerian farmer (with indigenous wisdom) had observed the changing seasons over the years and from his investigation he could reasonably predict the pouring of the rains and the coming of sunshine (Adedeji, 1969). Nigerian farmers thus determined the start and the end of planting seasons and harvested the fruits of his labour when it was time to do so

Agricultural production relied totally on availability of suitable land and labour. One important point to note is the land-labour ratio. The land was vast but the people were few. One of the explanations for this was the Trans-Saharan trade, and, on a much greater scale, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in which millions of Nigerians were forced out of the region. The result is that land became more abundant in relation to population than it would normally have been

The abundance of land had an important consequence. It allowed a system of cultivation that did not encourage restrictive use of land. That system is the 'shifting cultivation' which meant a shift from an already cultivated land that was becoming less productive to a virgin piece of land or land that had been left fallow for years to regain its nutritive values (Adedeji, 1969). Given the situation as it existed in the pre-colonial era, shifting cultivation was perhaps the most effective method that was devised for the maintenance of soil fertility and the eventual regular good supply. The system was not necessarily due to conservation but perhaps to what was regarded as the correct assessment of the prevailing economic situation.

Another significant change in agriculture was the cultivation of cash crops; some of which were, in fact, permanent crops. The cultivation of kolanuts, cocoa, coffee and oil palm required permanent occupation of land. That meant a large reduction in the amount of land required for food production. Yet, some other cash crops, such as groundnuts, cotton and tobacco were grown on the available land. There was a definite amount of land owned by a community because frontiers existed between one group and another. Since "necessity is the mother of invention"; it would appear that the above diction was also adopted in the use of implements by the Nigerian farmers during the pre-colonial era (Adedeji, 1969). No doubt, the Nigerian agriculture was characterised by low technological levels when compared with agriculture in more advanced countries, especially during the period of 1500-1800BC and even today (Adedeji, 1969). Nonetheless, a censorious study of Europe during our period of study shows that European states such as Italy had parallel agricultural developments. Given the situation as it was, the Nigerian farmers relied on simple implements such as the digging stick, the hoes, cutlasses and sickles.

Apart from the production of cotton, kolanuts, and palm oil; agriculture in most part of Nigeria meant food crop production. Food crops produced depended on rainfall, which in turn, determines vegetation and types of soil. Thus, in the grassland or savannah north where rainfall

is high and for about three to five months in the year – cereals and grains predominated. Sorghum, maize, rice and specially millet were among the most common food crops. In addition, cotton was widely cultivated. In the forest south of Nigeria, however, where rainfall is heavier, root crops such as yam, cocoyam and cassava were widespread. In addition, plantains, bananas, kolanuts, and oil palm also thrived luxuriantly.

These territorial specialisations bring to mind two related issues. First, the arrangement allowed for intra-regional exchanges. Crops that were grown in one area could be exchanged for those that were not cultivated in another but were needed. Second, the arrangement also allowed for self-sufficiency in food items. Each part of the region cultivated what the soil and climate allowed, and the people of Nigeria often confined themselves to whatever was readily available (Adedeji, 1969). Apart from agriculture, the county also had other activities that boost their economic prominence before the arrival of the colonial administrators. This study will critically cut across agriculture and economic activities which were regarded as the mainstay of economy.

## **Conceptual Review**

### **Traditional Economy**

Traditional economy is an economic system in which traditions, customs, and beliefs help shape the goods and services the economy produces, as well as the rules and manner of their distribution. Countries that use this type of economic system are often rural and farm-based. Also known as a subsistence economy, a traditional economy is defined by bartering and trading. A little surplus is produced and if any excess goods are made, they are typically given to a ruling authority or landowner. A pure traditional economy has had no changes in how it operates (there are few of these today Traditional economies are popularly conceived of as "primitive" or "undeveloped" economic systems, having tools or techniques seen as outdated (Anene, 1966).

Nigeria traditional economic structure is an economic system which is very constant and comprehensive and greatly improves the likely hood of a highly developed economy that is rich in culture, beliefs, and traditions. About 70 percent of all Nigerians were still living in farming villages in 1990, although the rural dwellers formed a shrinking proportion of the later force. It was among these people that ways of life remained deeply consistent with the past.

People lived in small, modest households whose members farmed, sold some cash crops, and performed various kinds of non-farm work for cash income. With the steady decline of export crop prices since the 1960s and the price rise in locally grown foods after the early 1970s, farmers shifted from export crops to local foods for their own subsistence and for sale to city consumers through middlemen. Most farmers used traditional hand tools in smallholdings outside the rural village. Houses in 1990 might have tin roofs instead of grass, and the village water supply might be a standpipe, or a hand pump. In our traditional society, various ethnic groups have different specialization and how they practiced their agricultural system among themselves.

Nigeria traditional economy is characterized various characteristics such as:

- The economy often base on one or few of the following; agriculture, hunting, fishing, gathering.
- Barter is often used in place of money
- Often there is little surplus produced. In other words most the goods and services are fully used.
- Society follows herds of animals in order to hunt and sustain those in the traditional economy.
- Many people progress from hunters to farmers where they can place a permanent structure and start a society.
- It was guided by tradition

Nigerian traditional economy was not based or ever came in contact with technology before colonialism emerged, the economy could not provide a vast and multiplication of agricultural produce, a large market for buying and selling, factories for production, processing and transportation for market purposes

Samuel (2015) reported that the advantages of traditional Nigerian economy include:

- Production of goods for people's survival: The economy is more about producing goods. This economic system supplies sufficient amount of foods to the people. It greatly reduces the amount of surplus or waste that typically would have occurred.
- Each person in the traditional economy understands what they are supposed to do or what their job is. Secondly. They need not to exert effort on a role which is not suitable for their skills and abilities, thus no duplication of role or effort is evident on it.
- Less Destructive: Since the economy is more on the culture and belief of the people, it will always sustain an environment friendly surrounding that aims to give the people their needs effectively and accordingly without affecting the nature of the environment. There is a less destruction to the environment because many of those traditional economies farm and use the lands in a positive manner.
- Harmony among the people: The economy promotes cooperation and harmonious relationship. It provides people with equal chances to practice work with other people harmoniously and with complete cooperation.
- Everyone is aware of the resources and how they will be distributed among the group. Each person is aware of the resources and what they will receive when doing their jobs and participating in the economy.
- The economic system is simple in people's lives who depends on products of nature to meet the needs of life. In this economic system, the household act as producers as well as consumers that every household are just trying to meet their needs.

Samuel (2015) also indicated the disadvantages of traditional Nigerian economy to include:

- It is a vulnerable type of economy: our traditional economy was more prone to vulnerability due to the continuous changes in the weather condition. This greatly affects the supply of the foods and services to the people. When this economy continues to become vulnerable, there would be a greater possibility of vulnerability not only on the foods and its services but also in its customs, beliefs and traditions.
- Capability to change: Since the traditional economy is greatly based on customs and other society's beliefs, there would be a greater chance for this economy to change as these

aspects also changes. All the aspects that were just taught by some of their ancestors would be the only important things that people would be using and they will no longer adopt new aspects in the society for their improvements.

- Lower standards of wealth and living of the people: People in the traditional economy are not highly specialized in living a wealthy life. Low standards that they are practicing can be seen when people are being asked to have a job which they do not like and beyond their skill and capabilities. This is because they are only relying on their ancestor's custom and tradition.

Nigeria traditional economy is very systematic in providing immense foods and even services to the people.

### **Colonial Administrators**

Colonial administrators are British men who adopted a policy of indirect rule in Nigeria. Colonial period officially started by 1914 in Nigeria. Essentially, local government was to be left in the hands of the traditional chiefs, subject to the guidance of European officers. Native institutions were utilized and interference with local customs kept to a minimum, although the British did not always understand the local customs. While this system had built-in contradictions, over the years the Nigerian system developed into a sophisticated form of local government, especially in the emirates and under the banner of "native administration," which became the hallmark of British colonial rule in Africa

Many changes accompanied British rule: Western education, the English language, and Christianity spread during the period; new forms of money, transportation, and communication were developed; and the Nigerian economy became based on the export of cash crops. Areas with lucrative crops such as cacao and peanuts (groundnuts) profited, while many people in different parts of the country had to migrate to work elsewhere as tenant farmers or use their newly acquired education and skills to work in cities as wage earners, traders, and artisans. Two tiers of government emerged, central and local. The central government, presided over by the governor-general and accountable to the secretary for the colonies in London, was more powerful but distant from the people. Local administration, where the colonial citizens typically experienced colonial authority, was based on the policy of indirect rule first developed in the north.

To prevent any united opposition to its authority, the British adopted a divide-and-rule policy, keeping Nigerian groups separate from one another as much as possible. Traditional authorities were co-opted in the north, where the spread of Western education by Christian missionaries was strongly resisted by Muslim leaders. In the south the British occasionally created a political hierarchy where there had been none before; in most cases they ruled through those who were most malleable, whether these people had held traditional positions of authority or not. Because Western education and Christianity spread rapidly in the south and not in the north, development was much slower in the north, and the growing disparity between north and south later caused political tensions.

### **Trends of Nigeria Traditional Economy Prior to Colonialism**

### **Gathering, Hunting, Fishing and Pastoralism:**

Agriculture was advocated to be the mainstay of the Nigerian economy prior to colonial period. However, activities such as gathering, hunting, fishing and pastoralism provided room for exchange of goods among people. Indeed, gathering and hunting are regarded as economic activities mainly because at a stage of development some people subsisted on them, but with time they became only supplementary to agriculture (Burns, 1955).

Hunting tools such as arrows, clubs and other weapons were used to kill animals. Apart from providing protein as food and animal skin as clothes, hunters were known to be path creators and settlement founders. Many of such paths later made roads and their settlements developed into villages and towns. Besides, hunters served as guardsmen in protecting people from attacks of dangerous animals. Thus, they provided security without which economic activities could not go on. A very important aspect of the economic importance of a hunter was in killing elephants whose tusks were ivory. Exportation of ivory certainly preceded the notorious exportation of human beings across the Atlantic. Writing in the early 16th century, Pereira (1956) noted that he and his party bought elephants' tusks in Benin. He also referred to the abundance of ivory in Igboland.

Like hunting, fishing could be a main occupation or a supplementary activity to farming. Also like hunting, it provided an important source of animal protein. In all cases, fishermen used more or less the same methods in catching fishes. Nets, traps of various kinds and sizes, spears, harpoons and poisons were used. All these instruments of catching fishes provided additional economic activities, usually for the fishermen themselves. But canoes which were essential capital for fishing were built by canoe-builders such as the Ijo on the Niger Delta and the Kede on the Niger. Therefore canoe building itself became a profession subsisting majorly fishing occupation and transportation of people, farm produce and goods. Smoking and selling of fish and its distribution were yet other economic activities connected with fishing. An interesting feature of fishing was in connection with migrations. There were itinerant fishermen such as the Hausa and Nupe who obtained temporary fishing rights from local heads for payment in fish (Dzurgba, 2007).

Pastoralism is yet another type of non-agricultural occupation in pre-colonial Nigeria. Although both hunting and pastoralism are related in the sense that both dealt with lower animals, pastoralism was, indeed more closely related to farming. Owing to the infestation of the forest areas by the tsetse flies and problems of available large grazing land, pastoralism was confined to the savannah region of Nigeria (Dzurgba, 2007). Among the great pastoralists were the Fulanis. Perhaps, their greatest economic importance lay in the production of cattle on which the forest dwellers relied on for their beef. In the same manner, the leather workers in Hausaland relied heavily on their livestock.

### **Mineral Working and Manufacturing:**

It can be strongly suggested that of all mineral works that took place in pre-colonial Nigeria, iron work was the most important to the overall economy. There was a close link between iron working, agriculture, fishing, hunting and political power. With iron smelting, iron tools gradually replaced wooden and stone implements for cultivation, carving and mining. Iron metallurgy not only brought economic revolution, it also put political power into the hands of

those who know and used it over those who did not. Iron war weapons (technology) such as iron pointed spears were produced.

Farmers, warriors and craftsmen depended on the smiths (iron/blacksmiths) for their swords, scissors, hoes, cutlasses, hammers, knives, spear heads, arrow heads and axes. They sometimes requested smiths to make certain implements they needed. It is important to note that there was also special category of smiths known as the migrant blacksmiths who moved about to areas where iron-ore was plentiful. For example, smiths from Akwa, the old capital of Zamfara, used to travel to Tureta; near Sokoto, spending two or three months there and returning home with their donkeys loaded with smelted iron before the raining season when there was high demand for agricultural tools. Serious historical study had shown that the Nok area, a village, in central Nigeria, north-east of the confluence of the Niger and the Benue rivers and south-west of the Jos Plateau were known for iron work.

**Salt** like iron was also of crucial importance in everyday life of the peoples of Nigeria. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the main southern terminus of salt trade was Katsina and later on, Kano. The other two types of minerals that were very important are **copper** and **tin**. Ile-Ife and Benin were reputed for bronze casts. Therefore it is apparent that the technology to produce bronze was known and available to the people. To make bronze there must be a combination of copper and tin. Tin deposit was even more restricted and its smelting highly localised. Extant literature confirmed that tin smelting was done around north of Jos, at Linmein Dolma.

### **Craftsmanship:**

It is certain difficult if not impossible to discuss fully the multifarious works of art and crafts which pre-colonial Nigerians engaged in, in the period between 1500 and 1800 AD. Among the most conspicuous ones are cloth weaving, pottery, jewellery and leather working. Textile production involved cotton growing, spinning, weaving, sewing, dyeing, and embroidery; although the last two were optional (Mabogunje, 1971). Cultivation of cotton and dyeing leaves were part and parcel of farming. Perhaps, Kano was the most important centre of cloth, weaving, dyeing and distribution up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Kano cloth was such of a high quality that there was demand for it as far away as Morocco. Cloth manufacturing was also common in Igbo land, Nupe land, in Yoruba land and in Benin. The use of woven cloth in Yoruba land is of considerable antiquity. This is indicated by the terracotta figures in Ife which have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is also known that the Ijebus were not only among the earliest Yoruba cloth weavers but were also great exporters of cloth. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, European merchants carried Ijebu cloths to Benin, the Gold Coast, Gabon, and Angola and by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ijebu cloths were being exported to Brazil (Olaniyan, 2003). Because Ijebu cloths were relatively cheap and durable, they were sought for from far and near.

Pottery is another important craft industry of a considerable antiquity in Nigeria. Jewellery was probably of less importance in Nigeria. The most notable centres for casting masks, heads and statues from copper, bronze and brass were Igbo-Ukwu, Ife and Benin. Excavation at Igbo-Ukwu, which had been radio-carbon dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, showed a considerable amount of beads and some glasses (Akinjogbin & Ayandele, 1980). Both Ife terracotta and the Nok sculptures portrayed lovely jewellery and ornament. Bead production was another indigenous industry and the Nupe were and still are the most popular producers in

Nigeria. Among other craft industries that existed in pre-colonial Nigeria were calabash making, basketry, leather work, woodwork and rope and mat making.

Leather work relied solely on animal skins. After tanning, leathers were used to manufacture buckets, mallets, bags, cushions, clothing, footwear, tents, furniture and arrow quivers. In some cases it was a substitute for basket, pot, woven cloths, calabash or woodwork. Although, the Nupes, Yorubas and some others engaged in leather works, the Hausas of Kano, Gobir and the Kanuris of Borno were noted for excellent leather works. Gobir, produced not just for local consumption but also for export. Gobir's sandals reached Timbuktu in the 16th century (Faboyede, 2010). The sandals were carried to North Africa and probably to Europe. Katsina was, eminently known for excellent leather. Borno too, produced excellent leather, part of which it exported in addition to slaves to North Africa in exchange for horses in particular. This had flourished even before the reign of the popular Mai Idris Aloma.

Woodwork involved making vessels, dishes, stools, mortars and pestles, trays, bowls, spoons, bottles, jars and lids, combs, sandals, musical instruments and beds, doors and windows and so on for home use; axe, and hoe handles, hoes and spades for agricultural practices; weapons for warfare, canoes for fishing and transportation and idols and statues for religion. The canoes made by the Kede in Nupeland and the Ijo in the Niger Delta were renowned.

### **Traditional Factors of Production of the Nigerian Economy (1500 -1800)**

Fundamentally in this study critically discuss land, capital, labour and entrepreneurship as factors of production within the context of indigenous economy of Nigeria between 1500 and 1800 AD.

#### **Land:**

Of all the factors of production, land was the only one that seemed to be in abundance. It was on land that survival of agriculture, agro-allied production and other productions lied. The other aspect of land as a factor of production concerns the land tenure system. Among both the Yoruba and the Tiv, for example, the land belonged to various lineages or small communities (Faboyede, 2010). The members of each lineage did not own specific pieces of land but could use any piece of land as long as it was left fallow and did not contain perennial crops (Sesan, 2013). They could also move about within the communities' land so as to take advantages of the best soil. However, the right of an individual to farm was inalienable. If there was conflict regarding the use of a particular piece of land the head of the lineage would settle the matter.

#### **Labour:**

During our period of study, land was not a constraint on development but labour was. It was indeed because the supply of labour was inadequate that land did not constitute a problem. Labour shortage was probably a reflection of the prevalent low life expectancy. Reasons for this could be that infant mortality rate was high, short life span, poor health care and the fact that the most virile and strong men and women of Nigeria were carted away in their millions during the obnoxious slave trade.

It was therefore both fashionable and desirable to keep large families. There was the vogue, among men, for polygamy apparently to have as many children as possible and indeed



touse both the labour of the wives and their children particularly in the busy periods of planting and harvesting. Thus, FAMILY LABOUR was convenient, not only because it was relatively readily available, but also because it could easily be managed and disciplined. In addition, slave labour force was adequately employed to cater for the shortage of labour. The production of palm oil, groundnut, coffee, cocoa and minerals, and their portage to large centres were executed with the use of slave labour.

In addition to the household and slave labour forces, there were other ways by which economic activities were carried out. One of these was the age-group or labour societies which organised reciprocal systems of getting things done. Basically, it was an arrangement, known in Yoruba land as **owe** or **aro**, by adolescents who had the feeling that a job could be more quickly and perhaps better done when two or three friends joined hands to work as a group. This was applied not only to farming but also to many other types of work. It was, indeed the only means by which houses were erected.

For public works such as path construction or clearing, construction of town walls and public houses, society labour or communal labour was relied on. Each lineage was required to contribute a number of workers and all met to do the work within a short time. For example, the Ibadan city wall was built this way.

### **Capital:**

Unlike labour which was badly needed although in short supply, capital which was scarce was not nearly as critical a need. Some of the things that rightly served as capital included: the farmer's seeds kept for future planting. Especially as standard currency did not exist, substitute currency like iron rod, rolls of cloth, bottles of gins, and other forms of commodity currency did present complex problems of conversion and divisibility (Bovill, 1968). Cowries and manila were also employed. Possession of horses, camels, houses, ornaments, etc also served as capital.

### **Entrepreneurship:**

The question that comes next to one's mind is who the entrepreneurs were during the period of our study. Simply, they were the rulers, chiefs, potentates, war chiefs and other influential men and women who had enough wealth and power to mobilise other factors of production (Faboyede, 2010). They had control over land, labour and capital and took decision over the employment of the factors optimally.

The contention, here, is that land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship existed within the period of this study (1500 -1800) of Nigerian economy because without them production will not take place.

### **Conclusion**

Traditional economy was organized in Nigeria. Different regions in Nigeria satisfy their needs with what they derive from their environment. The economy was mainly agriculture. Also, fishing, black smith, excavation of mineral resources, craftsmanship among others also played a huge of Nigerian traditional economy prior to colonization. The study concluded that factors

of production: land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship existed within 1500-1800 AD of Nigerian economy because without them production will not take place.

## References

- Abayomi-Alli, M. (2014). Pre-Colonial Nigeria and the European's Fallacy. *Review of History and Political Science*, 2 (2),17-27
- Adedeji, A. (1969). *Nigerian Federal Finance*. London: Hutchinson Educational Press
- Akinjogbin, A. I & Ayandele, E. A. (1980). Yoruba land up to 1800. *Groundwork of Nigeria History*. In Obaro Ikime (Ed.). Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books(Nigeria) plc. 130-140.
- Ayandele, E. A. (1966). *The Missionary Impact of Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*. London: Longmans.
- Bovill, E. W. (1968). *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Burns, A. (1955). *History of Nigeria*. 5th ed., London; Alien & Unwin
- Calvert, A. F. (1910). *Nigeria and its Tin Fields*. London: Edward Stanford
- Dzurgba, A. (2007). A Political and Social History of the Tiv of Central Nigeria: An Evaluation of Stereotypes in a historical setting. Being a paper presented at the International Conference in honour of Obaro Ikime, Department of History, University of Ibadan. 3.
- Faboyede, O. (2010). Trade and Markets among the Akoko Communities in the Pre-colonial Period. *Journal of Law and International Security*, 4, 1. Ekpoma: Department of Public Law, Ambrose Alli University.
- Faboyede, O. (2011). Elitism in Pre-colonial Akoko Society: It's Disorientation from Socio-cultural Value in Contemporary Akoko. *Lumina*, 22, (1), 250 – 252.
- Horton, R. (1972). A Stateless Societies in West Africa. *History of West Africa*, vol. 1. In Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowther (Eds.). London: Longman Publishers. 17.
- Mabogunje, A. (1971). "The Land and Peoples of West Africa." In *History of West Africa*. edited by J.F.Ade-Ajayi and M. Crowder. London: Longman, 1971
- Olaniyan, R.A. (2003). "Foreword" In *Northeast Yorubaland: Studies in the History and Culture of a Frontier Zone*, edited by A. Olukoju, Z. O. Apata and O. Akinwumi. Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication.
- Sa'ad, A. (1985). Political Evolution or revolution: The case of 'Kin Nupe' before the advent of colonial rule. *Evolution of Political in Nigeria*. In J.F Ade Ajayi and Bashir Ikara (Eds.). Ibadan: University Press Limited. 67-73.