

The Dynamics of Palm Kernels Marketing in Igala Area, Nigeria 1920-1956

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Abstract

This paper examines the development of palm kernel marketing initiatives in Igala land, 1920-1956. It notes that the British trade policies in Igala land were quite rapacious, exploitative and suffocating to the native producers of palm kernels. Although the native producers who were mostly women, produced palm kernels in large quantities, they were unfortunately hapless, and unable to determine the prices or even bargain properly with the buyers of their produce. This was because; palm kernel prices were fixated by British trading firms. The prices of palm kernel were skewed in favor of the trading firms and usually fluctuated. Reasons for fluctuations in prices were hardly explained to the native palm kernel producers and even when they are being poorly informed by buying agents, they had no powers or choices to influence or determine favorable prices for the produce. The trading firms had buying stations strategically located in different parts of Igala land. The trading companies in turn employed licensed buying agents who penetrated remote areas to buy palm kernels from the natives. the licensed buying agents were given money by their European employers and in some cases bicycles to ease their movement and transportation of palm kernels from interior hinter land of Igala land., in fact, this study discovers that the activities of the indigenous licensed buying agents further exploited the women and emasculated them by reducing the economic powers of the producers as they further paid lesser prices for palm kernels to natives in rural Igala land. The introduction of taxes by the colonial authority meant that the natives must continually produce cash crops in order to pay. Thus, this paper argues that the British Palm kernel marketing initiatives provided the opacity and conduit pipes for the smooth economic exploitations of Igala land of Nigeria in the 20th century. The research adopted the multidisciplinary approach while primary sources of data (archival and oral interviews) synthesized with extant literature were utilized.

Keywords: palm kernels, colonial rule, marketing, Igala

Introduction

Palm produce comprising of palm oil and palm kernels were the principal commodities exported from West Africa to Europe during the halcyon days of European colonialism in Africa. It is estimated that 'between 1865 and 1910, export of palm produce doubled from West Africa while Nigeria took the lead'¹ the increase in export of palm produce especially palm kernels in particular was as a result of the growing industrialization in Britain which was stimulated by the industrial revolution. Furthermore, the abolition of the horrendous transatlantic slave trade in 1807 following the Lord Mansfield law and the subsequent entrenchment and consolidation of legitimate commerce also created the fecundity for the meteoric increase in trades especially in palms produce between West Africa and Europe.² Palm kernel was highly needed in Britain because of its multifaceted industrial, economic, military and pharmaceutical potentials. For instance, palm kernels were used in the manufacturing of margarine, soaps, detergents, creams, and drugs. It was also converted into biscuits which many Europeans enjoyed consuming. In fact, palm kernel oil was used for cooking and also for making war equipments; the chaff was used as animal feeds.³ Apart from this, the growth of British nationalism in West Africa and desire to wade off trade competition with other European countries entails that Britain must have effective trade monopoly of the Nigerian colony. This was also in fulfillment of the agreements reached at the Berlin West African Conference of 1884/5 that laid down the parameters for effective claim of ownership of a colony by a European power. These factors provided the foundation for the growth and developments of British palm kernel trade in Nigeria and Igala land in particular. Thus, by 1900, adequate measures began to be made in order to ensure steady supply of palm kernel to Britain from Nigeria, adequate facilitative legislative, administrative and economic measures needed to be put in place.⁴

Although the development of palm kernel marketing initiatives in Igala predates the emergence of British colonialism, it was shortly after the consolidation of British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that its exchange became internationalized.⁵ The trades in Igala palm kernels were facilitated by the British trading companies in collaboration with their government. It was the trading companies that established buying stations. The buying stations were seasonal and located in few strategic centers in Igala land. By 1926, five British trading firms had established buying stations in different parts of Igala land.⁶ To an uninformed observer, the increase in number of trading firms would mean an increase in the economic development of the producers and Igala land in general. However, from this study, this was never the case. It is lamentable to note that these trading firms with support from indigenous middlemen/ licensed buying agents exploited the women, who were the major producers of palm kernels in Igala land. This exploitation was perpetrated through the arbitrary fixing and deliberate fluctuations in prices of palm kernels, monopolization of trade and taxation. Apart from these, further exploitation of Igala palm kernel producers were achieved through legislative fiats especially the restriction of trade in palm kernel Order of 1940 and the subsequent enactment of Palm produce ordinance of 1948. It is worthy to note that Igala land contributed greatly to the global palm kernel industry but this industry has not received scholarly attention. Although Noah Attah Echa pioneered a research on Igala palm plantations, his works did not cover this aspect⁷. It is hoped that this study will fill this perceived lacuna and also compliments

other literature in Nigeria palm kernel trade and economic history in general. The paper is divided into four sections, namely; the introduction which is on-going, geographical features and origin of palm kernel trade, section three examine the nature and dynamics of palm kernel marketing in Igala land and a conclusion.

Geography and Historical Background to Palm Kernel Trade in Igala Land

The Igala are located at one of the natural crossroads in North Central Nigeria, at the Niger-Benue confluence, they inhabit the entire triangular tract territory on the bank of Niger and Benue rivers⁸. Geographically, Igala land is located between longitudes 6°30' 0" and 7° 0' 50" East of the Greenwich meridian and on Latitudes 6°30' and 8° 0' North of the equator covering an area of about 13,150 square kilometers⁹. Furthermore, Igala land is located in a transition belt region of Nigeria oscillating between the high forest conditions of the coastal belt and the drier and more open savannah belt. It has an annual average rainfall pattern of 50 inches and this favorable weather and climatic conditions provides the fecundity for agricultural production and the growth of economic trees especially luxuriant palm trees in all parts of Igala land.¹⁰ The strategically location of Igala has also engendered inter group relations with her Neighbors. These relations date to the pre-colonial era, and cut across economic, socio-cultural and political strata. The impact of geography on the history of Igalaland and North central Nigeria has been addressed by Nyitse and thus need not detain us here¹¹. What is left to be stressed is the fact that trade in palm kernel in the area under survey was and still, is necessitated by geography.

Historically, the precise origin of palm produce especially palm kernel in Igala land and West Africa is generally problematic. This is due to the paucity of literature. However, few existing extant literature hold that palm trees had been in existence in Igala since the pre-colonial period.¹² During this epoch, palm wine and the use of palm fronds for building of houses were its principal usefulness. People could not use palm kernels for any major economic or commercial purpose at this time except as snacks or chewed alongside with maize. This is contrary to what was obtainable in the Niger Delta region where palm kernels were used as a requirement for paying bride price.¹³ Also, another version of oral tradition holds a counter view to the less usefulness of palm kernels during the pre-colonial era. According to Audu Abah and Andrew Samuel, before the arrival of white men, they native had independently developed the idea of extracting palm kernel oil through frying with locally made pots. The oil extracted is locally called *ekpo uno* or *enu* in Akpanya. This type of oil was used in making local creams and for traditional medical practitioners who used it a kind of ointment. In fact, it was an indispensable baby care lotion used by nursing mothers for new born babies. It is interesting to note that this is still practice in many parts of Igala land up to this contemporary era.

With the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, there began a transformation in the Igala economy which further altered the trade patterns between Igala and Europe. The emergence of legitimate trade in cash crops like palm oil and kernel, cotton, ivory, and other precious mineral thus replaced the hitherto opprobrious trade in humans. Consequently, there was a massive demand for palm kernels by European companies especially those located in

British industrial complexes in Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, and Bristol and in other places. According to Abdullahi Y.Musa, the entire Niger-Benue confluence areas including the Igalala experienced intense trade exchanges with European countries by the close of the seventh decades of the nineteenth century. The need to have a secured source of supply and a ready market even culminated to stife trade competitions and economic wars among the various trading companies. For instance, by 1832, the first European steamers named 'Quora' and 'Alburkah' had reached Idah. This trade expedition was led by Captains Macgregor Laird and Richard Landers. Upon arrival, they saw the economic potentials of the region especially in palm produce¹⁴. In order to ensure that British economic interest was realized; four British trading firms namely, West African Company, the company of African merchants, Holland Jacques and the miller brothers were amalgamated to form the United African Company (UAC) in 1879 and placed under the Sir George Goldie Taubman¹⁵. These companies among other things traded mainly in palm oil and palm kernels in Igalala.

The United African Company shortly after this, entered into signing of treaties with Local rulers to help stimulate good various trade relations with the natives. By 1879, Sir Goldie visited Idah to see the Atta Igalala and supervise the nature of affairs in the area. Palm kernels were exchange with made in Europe products like mirrors, jack knives, cigarettes, and guns while efforts were also made towards the promotion and production of cash crops. The company swiftly obtained certificates of occupancy in order to establish buying station.¹⁶ By 1900, the entire Igalaland and Nigeria communities came under effective British colonial administration which also heightened the tempo of trade in palm kernels.

With the emergence of effective British colonial administration palm produce began to receive greater attention from both the Colonial administrators and natives. They began to stress the high prospect of palms especially in transforming the economic fortunes of the people. In this perspective, attempts were made to develop palm plantation whereby the dividends associated with economies of scale could be enjoyed. The natives who had hitherto paid less attention to their wide palm grooves began to reconsider their attitudes. Traditionally, palm oil after been processed belongs to the head of the family (man) while the palm kernels were an exclusive preserve of the wife or wives. The men rarely had any say in palm kernel issues. In Akpanya area, it was a taboo to see a man processing palm kernels.¹⁷ Thus, palm kernels had immense effects on the wellbeing of Igalala women. They used the money generated from the sale of palm kernels to buy creams, cloths, pay thrift dues, medicals and in some cases, buy food ingredients.

The Nature and Dynamics of British Palm Kernel Marketing in Igalaland: Exploitation without Redress or Exchange?

The need for a steady supply of palm kernel from Igalala land to Britain was anchored upon an efficient and unhindered trade system.¹⁸ However, achieving this goal depended on a lot of interconnected factors. These were among others, a good transport network, a secured environment where laws and order are maintained, legislative and administrative factors were equally germane and imperative to the production and transportation of the produce to Europe.¹⁹

An efficient transport system was needed especially in the movement of people and palm kernel. Although rivers, head porter-age and packed animals had been major means of transports since the pre-colonial era, they were not adequately used especially in penetrating interior land locked parts. This further spurred the British colonial authorities to initiate steps towards the development of road networks. By 1926 the number of earthen roads in Igalaland had increased to nine. Communal labors were used. In the same year, the 29 miles Etobe-Ejule-Akpanya road was reconstructed.²⁰ By 1927, the Idah-Adoru-Nsukka road and one mile Idah-Onale roads were constructed.²¹ The eleven miles Ankpa-Adoka road was improved upon and made motor able. Forced and communal labors were employed. Both the British and native authority police were charged with the onerous task of maintaining consistent peace and tranquility along these roads and all parts of the region.

Palm kernel marketing in Igala land during the period under survey was spearheaded by imperial interests and designs. By 1926, the trading firms in Igalaland include John Holt and Niger Company at Idah, John Holt and Niger Company at Itobe, John Holt at Mozun, Niger Company at Bagana and John Holt at Amagedde. These firms monopolized trade in palm kernels and other cash crops. This monopolization affected the natives because it denied them the power to bargain effectively and was tied to the whims and caprices of the limited buyers.

In order to penetrate remote parts of Igalaland, the trading firms established buying stations. They also employed the services of indigenous middlemen and licensed buying agents. The indigenous middlemen were usually few individual with adequately financial standings who have established links with the trading firms to be supplying them with palm kernels these middlemen were locally called *Achanyama*. They purchase palm kernels at prices lower than the fixed buying prices at the buying stations. They often claimed that the cost of transportation from their houses or stores had to be paid for by the producers. Most of the early middlemen in palm produce in Igalaland were mainly non-Igala and because of the excessive profits made through exploitation emerged as a capitalist class of their own. They had trade union and new members were admitted after paying a stipend for registration. By 1955, the middlemen paid 24 pounds per tons for palm kernel instead of 28 pounds paid at Onitsha. They claim that the average cost of transporting a ton from Ankpa to Onitsha is 3 pounds. This profit is not small considering the large quantities been exported

Apart from the *Achanyama*, the licensed buying agents who traversed and penetrated the most remote parts of Igala land were registered ad-hoc employees of the trading firms. They moved from house to house making inquiries about the availability of palm kernels. They are known as *Faactors* in Igalaland or *Ndi Awuru aku* in Akpanya area where Igbo language is predominant. The *faactors* make advance payment to trust worthy customers. Some of the *faactors* who move with bicycles usually provide market information to the native producers especially when there is s abysmal fall in prices of kernel. If the *achanyama* were perpetrators of exploitation in Igala land, the licensed buying agents were smooth conduit pipes for exploitation of the highest order. They achieved this through the use of much more high measurement tool. It

should be recalled that scale was only introduced in Igala land in 1929. Before the introduction of scale and weight system of measurement, the licensed buying agents used baskets and plates for measuring or weighing the volume and prices of palm kernels and other grains. Oral sources across Akpanya area claim that they usually forcefully expanded the size of the plates (this special basket or plate using for measuring palm kernels is called *ochupu uno/elikwo*). The essence of this forceful expansion was to ensure that more than normal volumes of kernels were purchased at lower prices. They also paid lesser prices to customers especially those who may solicit for advance payment. This introduction of scale as a standard of measurement in Igalaland was rejected at inception by the native palm kernel producers. They resented the idea because of the age long exploitation of the British trading firms and their internal collaborators (*achanyama* and *faactors*) besides, due to the high level of illiteracy and ignorance in colonial Igala land, majority of the palm kernel producers did not understand the readings of the scales and equally doubted the sincerity of the readers or operators of the scale-buyers. In fact, a way out of this ruse was to measure the volume with local plates and baskets before taking it to the market for sale. This accounts for the high resentment that greeted the introduction of scale in Igala land.

During the era of great depression, 1929-1930s, the prices of palm produce and other economic crops dropped globally. Claude Ake had sufficiently adumbrated the consequences of the economic depression and should not detain us here; however, it is imperatively to briefly state that the European firms in Africa reacted to the depression by reducing competition amongst them by dividing the market and reduction of trade investment in Africa.²² The depression further culminated to cash squeeze. There was massive scarcity of British currencies in circulation in Africa and Igala land in particular. This unsavory scenario led to reduction in the prices of palm kernels which majority of the women depended on as a major ancillary source of income. A report from John Holt to the district officer, Idah division on 23rd December 1929 states that the reason for “the lower price paid for produce has we, think resulted in rather less cash being available”²³. Similarly at Ankpa, Captain Mercer, a touring officer reported in 1933 that:

There is a very shortage of currency in Ankpa and trade is conducted almost solely by means of barter and the substitution of brass rods for currency. These rods which had been hoarded for years are being dup and can be use in all the markets in the area; but it is noteworthy that a rod is worth only one penny now compared with five pence five years ago²⁴

This affected negatively the revenue drive of British colonial authority. Many people could not pay their taxes. Commenting on the poor tax return from Igala land in 1933, the district officer wrote that “the catastrophic fall in the value of palm produce and the lack of alternative crops is the chief reason for an estimated £3,600 uncollectable tax. Within in the three or four years, the prices of a ton of kernels has fallen from €3 to £4.10.0 at the latter price, it is not an economic proposition to prepare the nuts and carry them any distance for sale. In Adoru (odolu) market, a petrol tin of palm oil that fetched 5/ pence twelve months ago, today its value is 1/Id”²⁵

The world economic depression affected the economy of Igala land negatively. The native palm kernel producers out of frustration over the sudden demise of their major source of

income coupled with the unending threats of arrest and detention of tax defaulters by the colonial administrators in Igala land, the women began to add palm kernel shells and debris to the kernels to increase the quantity. This affected the quality and quantity of purchases by trading firms. John Holt, the dominant palm kernel trading company at Idah lamented thus” we are still getting a large percentage of shell and dirt which necessitates extra picking to bring the percentage within our purchasing limits. We would be glad if instructions could be given to District Heads that the produce be better picked before bringing in for sale.”²⁶ In fact, the slash in global palm kernel prices made some women to abandon their palm kernels and palm oil for months with hope that the prices would pick up. Many owners of palm trees in Akpanya would do not know how to climb palm trees but paid Igbo tenants to do climb had to abandon their palm fruits to wroth away in the farm.²⁷

The prices paid for Igala palm kernels during the 1950s were poorly fixed by the Northern Nigeria regional marketing board. The board prices oscillated between £34, £36, £34 and £34 per tons in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 respectively. According to Atta Noah, due to the activity of licensed buying agents in Igalaland and the northern region marketing board, there was an increase in quantities of palm kernels exported from Igala land to Britain. Thus, from an average of 6,000 tons per annum in 1945, the figure increased with a small fluctuation to 8,000 tons in 1951 and rose to 14, 467 tons in the entire Igala land by 1955²⁸. Although, data are hard to come by, the tonnages of palm kernel at Ankpa reveal preponderance in quantity between January and June. This was due to the buying agents who entered remote hinterland to purchase palm kernels. In fact, the European trading had no information on who the native producers were and how they were paid by their agents for their produce. They only remained at the evacuation centers and wharf to monitor and grade palm kernels before been exported.

The table below shows the quantity of palm kernels bought by Licensed Buying Agents, Ankpa-in tons

	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Jan	50½	96	66½	57	17
Feb	99	130½	102½	152½	60
March	122	224	103½	165	106
April	244½	287½	260	230	
May	372	439	271	220	
June	360½	407	321	162	
July	190½	317½	326	98	
August	97½	217	326	68½	
Sept	83½	207½	126I½	43	
Oct	100	167	118	49	
Nov	97	117	73	33	
Dec	47	132½	65½	19½	
	1,864	2,738½	57	1,896	1,298

SOURCE: NAK/LOKPROF/ 1580

In addition to the opprobrious activities of the Middlemen and Licensed buying agents, the trading firms contributed immensely to the disequilibrium in palm kernels trade between Igala and Britain. They provided the safety valves that sustained the exploitation of the palm kernel producers who were mostly women. Trading companies in Igala land by this era lobbied their government to provide them with monopoly rights over the buying of palm kernel in Igala land. This was to wade off competition from trading companies from other European countries. The British government positively swiftly yielded to their request following the Gazette No.36I83/S.9/24 entitled **Restriction of Trade in Palm kernels**. The effects of the order include:

declared the whole of the colony and the Abeokuta and Oyo provinces and the greater part of the Ijebu and Ondo provinces to be prohibited areas,...to prohibit the purchase of palm kernels for export in a prohibited area, except under permit; to prohibit the movement of palm kernels within a prohibited area, or from prohibited area to any other areas, except with permit; in all places outside the prohibited areas to limit the purchase of palm kernels during each month by firms and individuals to the average purchases by each in the corresponding months of last three years²⁹

These prohibitions were part of the usual arbitrary fluctuations that the colonial administrators used to manipulate and exploit the native palm kernel producers. In Kabba province which covers Igala land, the British authority reasoned that it was necessary to control the quantities of palm kernels purchased in different parts of Igala land. Adequate instructions were issued to the agents of trading companies and native authority administrators to ensure that strict adherence to this order are perpetually observed. The impact of this monopolization on the Igala cannot be overemphasized. The order led to a drastic reduction in prices of palm kernels in the entire Kabba provinces especially by John Holt. The table below shows the Average Monthly Palm Kernel Purchases over a three year period of 1937, 1938 and 1939 by John Holt.

John Holt Buying Stations:	Kabba	Ajaokuta
September 1939	5	23
October “	4	25
November	2	21
December	4	18
January 1940	56	24
February	42	24
March	18	30
April	17	36
May	40	62
June	24	47
July	13	42
August	7	27
Total	232	380

Source: NAK/LOKPROF/1580

Non- Inspection Buying Stations (UAC Buying Points)

Months	Etobe	Amaggede
September 1939	28	24
October	39	20
November	43	24
December	31	28
January 1940	27	40
February	24	44
March	27	65
April	55	127
May	68	145
June	57	97
July	43	62
August	36	40
Total	478	716

Source: NAK/LOKPROF/1580

This measure reduced the bargaining power of women and limited their economic choices. The problem associated with the rising incidences of taxation further blighted the economic prospects of the native producers. Because of the poor returns on prices of palm kernels, many women could pay their taxes. The economic hardship imposed on Igala was greatly responsible for the tax revolts and other civil disobedience movements in Igala land during the era of British colonial administration. For instance, the tax revolts at Ojoku, Ogugu, Dekina and Akpanya by 1926-1956 was due to the fall in prices of economic crops. Although the economic depression of 1929-1940s and the world wars played their own roles, it was the deliberate fluctuations caused by the trading firms that pitched the natives against the British government. Commenting on the incessant fluctuations, the secretary of John Trading company of Liverpool at Idah acknowledged the staggering proportion of this fluctuations when he stated that, “ the palm prices has fluctuated between £10-10-0 and £10-0-0. The bulk of the palm kernels at Idah come in from Ajaka and Adoru districts”³⁰ besides, while the prices fluctuated, the quantities supply seldom responded. This is because, unlike the palm oil that had a well established local market especially in northern Nigeria, the palm kernels had none or was at best limited. Thus, whether in good or bad times, native producers had to sell their palm kernels to the foreign firms agents in order to meet up their basic financial needs.³¹ For instance, by 1953 for instance, a total of 2186 tons of palm kernels were shipped from Idah wharf by John Holt while 5,208 tons was also shipped by United African Company to Britain. It is important to note that the supply of palm kernels from Igala land remained relatively high in spite of poor prices offered by trading firms. The reason for this was because of the unavailability of a viable local

market kernels and the monopolization of palm kernels trade by British which nipped in the bud any form of fair competition.

With the restrictions of trade in palm kernels in Kabba provinces, the tons of palm kernel placed for export dropped. In fact, some women began to abandon palm kernel processing for other economic ventures like farming, gathering of sylvan produce, ivirgia and prosopis Africana. Etobe Buying station was closed down in because of poor tonnage. This however, culminated to an increase in palm kernels tonnages graded at Ajaokuta to be increased but the tonnage at Ajokuta never exceeded the combined totals of the two stations during the month 1939.

The table below shows a comparative picture of palm kernels trades' trade in Kabba area as at November, 1940

Month	Kabba	Okene	Ibillo	Ajaokuta	Etobe	Lokoja
January	--	-	-	-	-	-
February	-	-	-	-	-	-
March	-	-	-	-	-	-
April	6	24	11	13	21	25
May	10	43	28	38	62	59
June	17	31	3	32	69	93
July	14	8	4	41	40	42
August	7	2	5	24	28	33
September	2	1	11	14	29	17
October	L	6	15	17	39	21
November	L	4	9	17	51	17
December	-	7	40	14	27	21
Total	58	126	126	210	366	328

NAK/LOKPROF/1580/

In addition, the growth quantities of palm kernels exported to Onitsha from Igala land by the middle at Ankpa in the 1950s increased because of their dissatisfactions with the poor prices offered by the Nigerian Palm Produce Marketing Board established in 1949 and later replaced in the 1954 by the Northern Nigerian Regional Marketing Board.³² Although the board was created to help in price stabilization, it ended up exploiting the local palm producers. The marketing board arrangement was overwhelming exploitative. This is primarily true because the board in collaboration with its buying agents paid the peasant producers a small fraction of the value of their products in the world market.³³ The board accumulated enormous profits through exploitation of the palm kernel producers which were used in the development of the northern towns of Kaduna and Kano to the neglect of the Igala land which was hitherto the largest palm producing zone in Northern Nigeria.³⁴ The capitalist system has an inbuilt mechanism which is often manipulated by bourgeoisies to exploit the proletariats. The analysis above on the Igala is a

classic example of exploitation the native palm kernels producers by British colonial trading companies with effective support from the British government. This scenario depicts clearly, from the caboose of history that development under colonialism was characterized by contradictions of unequal exchange and atavistic exploitations in all ramification,

Conclusion

The development of palm kernels marketing initiatives in Igalaland during the halcyon days of British colonialism helped in the exploitation of the native women who constituted the major producers of palm kernels. Through the integration of the economy to the global capitalist market, the prices of Igala palm kernels were tied to the vagaries of British market stage-managed by trading firms that had middlemen and licensed buying agents whose activities further retarded the economic prosperity of palm kernel producers. The impact of the great economic depression of 1929-30s and the World War II affected the prices of Igala palm kernels because of the workings of the imperial agents. This study asserts that with the monopolization of trade by the expatriate buying companies of John Holt and United African Company (UAC), the palm kernels in Igalaland were evacuated to Britain. At Britain the kernels were used in the manufacturing of numerous industrial, pharmaceutical, military and agro-allied products and exported to Nigeria at exorbitant prices. The production of Igala palm kernels in Igalaland during the era of British colonial administration did not translate into industrial development of the Igalaland because the philosophy of British colonialism was to create a ready source of raw materials for British industries and a haven for finished industrial goods. The dynamics of palm kernels marketing as dissected in this paper demonstrates from the caboose of history, the gimmicks and systemic capitalist mechanism that undergirded the production and marketing of cash crops in colonial empires.

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