

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Alcohol has various socio-economic and cultural functions among the people of southeastern Nigeria. It is used in rituals, marriages, oath taking, festivals and entertainment. It is presented as a mark of respect and dignity. The basic alcoholic beverage produced and consumed in the area was palm -wine tapped from the oil palm tree or from the raffia- palm. Korieh notes that, from the fifteenth century contacts between the Europeans and peoples of eastern Nigeria especially during the Atlantic slave trade era, brought new varieties of alcoholic beverages primarily, gin and whisky.¹ Thus, beginning from this period, gins especially schnapps from Holland became integrated in local culture of the peoples of Eastern Nigeria and even assumed ritual position.² From the 1880s, alcohol became accepted as a medium of exchange for goods and services and a store of wealth.³ By the early twentieth century, alcohol played a major role in the Nigerian economy as one third of Nigeria's income was derived from import duties on liquor.⁴

Nevertheless, prior to the contact of the people of Southern Nigeria with the Europeans, alcohol was derived mainly from the oil palm and raffia palm trees which were numerous in the area. These palms were tapped and the sap collected and drunk at various occasions. From the era of the Trans- Atlantic slave trade, the import of gin, rum and whisky became prevalent. These were used in ex-change for slaves and to pay comey – a type of gratification to the chiefs. Even with the rise of legitimate trade in the 19th century alcoholic beverages of various sorts continued to play important roles in international trade.⁵ Centuries of importation of gin into the area led to the entrenchment of imported gin in the culture of the people. No cultural events such as marriage, naming, burial, meeting of elders, peacemaking, incantation, libation, offering to the ancestors, and gifts to important

personalities took place without the use of gin. According to Ofonagoro, imported liquor was known in Igboland as *ogwo nnu oria* (healer of many diseases) because of the declared healing properties on the label of most imported gin.⁶ Gin was soon integrated into traditional medicine and was used for mixing various herbs and roots as remedies to various health conditions.

Furthermore, gin was used as collateral in business negotiations, for payment of fines in courts,⁷ as store of wealth, as measurements of wealth and as an alternative to currency.⁸ This was because since the produce of the area under study, consisted mostly of perishable commodities, it was difficult to store them as wealth. Agricultural goods were converted to forms that could be stored such as lands, slaves or alcohol.⁹ According to Isichei “the depreciation of Igbo land’s currencies meant that liquor was a useful way of accumulating wealth.”¹⁰

Generally, during the early colonial period of Nigeria, the importation of alcohol played a major role in the economy. For instance in 1899, liquor accounted for about 90 percent of customs revenue in Nembe, Brass and Niger Coast Protectorate valued at £645,517.¹¹ Explaining the importance of alcoholic liquor in Nigeria, Bishop Tugwell cynically remarked:

The greater the imports of spirits the richer the treasury: and the richer the treasury, the more rapidly we can advance in matters of reform. We import spirits for the purposes of revenue. How is the railway being built? By gin. How was the Carter-Denton bridge built? By gin. How is the town lighted? By gin. And now, if it be asked, how is the Town to be drained, or how are we to secure a good supply and good pure water, the answer is, with gin.¹²

There was a multiplicity of alcoholic drinks imported from Holland, Germany and Britain. By the early 20th century, the popular brands included *Queen Yak*, *Bettoler*, *Anice* and *J.J.W. Peters*. An oral source indicates that in the 1950s, alcoholic drinks such as Anice were

cherished for their acclaimed medicinal value with the labelling which stated as follows: “If you have it as wine, it will intoxicate you. But if you have it as drug, it will cure you.”¹³

Centuries old importation of alcohol had impact on the economy, society and health in southeastern Nigeria. Missionaries petitions on the existence of widespread alcoholism which was seen as a hindrance to Christianisation and the civilising mission not only in southeastern Nigeria but in West Africa as a whole led to the Brussels Pact of 1890.¹⁴ This pact attempted to restrict the sale of alcohol; whereby alcohol should not be sold to colonies where it had not yet been introduced. With this development, Northern Nigeria was exempted from alcohol trade while the trade intensified in the South which had been exposed to alcohol trade for centuries. With this pact, there was increase in import duties making gin very expensive and resulting in the importation of poor quality gin. As a result of the Brussels Pact, there was an increase in import duties as follow: 1891 – 1892 (8d), 1893 – 1894 (1s), 1894 – 1896 (2s) and 1899 – 28th February, 1905 (3s).¹⁵

As from the 1920s, this increase in import duties resulted in the importation of methylated spirits which was blended and sold as alternative to gin. Although cheaper, methylated was more injurious to health. While methylated was 25 shillings a gallon, gin was 35 shillings a gallon.¹⁶ Later, the import duty on methylated spirit was increased hence people sought alternatives. This marked the beginning and intensification of the distillation of indigenous gin popularly known as *ogogoro*. Indigenous liquor impacted greatly on the colonial economy in the southeastern Nigeria. It led to a loss of income to government making the government to brand it illicit. It also led to the shortage of copper pipe and scarcity of sugar.¹⁷ By 1932, local gin had so gained in popularity that people refused to renew their liquor licence.¹⁸ Due to the loss of income, the colonial government started to clamp down on gin production without much success.¹⁹ Hence, local gin production and consumption continued even till date.

To contest with local gin, attempts were made to produce gin industrially in West Africa. Another attempt to domesticate alcohol production in the colonial economy was the production of lager beer. In the early colonial period, assorted beer was imported into Nigeria by different trading companies such as Gros and Dupuy. After the Second World War and with the import substitution policy of the colonial government, some companies including United Africa Company (UAC), Compagnie Francaise De L'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO), and Societe Commerciale De L'Quest Africain (SCOA), came together to establish the Nigerian Brewery Limited (NBL). Their aim was to produce beer of international standard in Nigeria. From July 1949, NBL manufactured its lager beer at Iganmu Lagos. From then on and with the growth of cities, beer became a fashionable drink among the elites and urban workers.²⁰ In the post-colonial era, the beer industry witnessed a boom providing employment and contributing billions in taxation.²¹

Alcohol was used as a barometer of measuring social status in southeastern Nigeria. It was believed that the social status of an individual determined the type of drink he drank and the type of drink offered to him.²² The greatness of a party and ceremony was measured by the amount of and types of drink offered. People of eastern Nigerian extinction through years of brainwashing through advertising came to prefer imported brands of wine and gin to those produced locally. Whether locally produced industrially or by indigenous distillers or imported, there was an increase in the quantity and diversity of alcoholic beverages available for consumption in eastern Nigeria throughout the period of study. The impact of alcohol on the socio-cultural and economic lives of the people of the area is central to this study.

Statement of the Problem

Alcohol is well entrenched in the culture of the peoples of southeastern Nigeria playing different roles at different historical times and acquiring various meanings. Drinking of alcohol beverages is so embedded in the economy and social life of the people of south

eastern Nigeria that not much thought has been given to its consumption and impact on the society. Given centuries of large scale production, importation and consumption of alcohol, the role of alcohol in the economy, socio-cultural usage, entertainment, social cohesion, diplomacy, conflict, gender and class relations and cultural creations in the history of eastern Nigeria has not received much scholarly attention. Much of the existing literature on alcohol in our area of study has focused almost entirely on the importation of foreign liquor as well as prohibition of indigenous liquor manufacturing during the colonial period. This work addresses this problem and gap on the subject both by exploring issues relating to the impact of alcohol on society both positive and negative up to 2010. It also addresses the question of why not much has been done to tackle the negative impact of alcohol on societies even though the effects are well known.

The colonial era presented new resources and opportunities to strengthen the role of alcohol in economy and society during our period. Although consumption clashed morally with the civilising mission of the missionaries, the financial exigencies of the colonial government led to the intensification of the importation of alcoholic drinks on which high import duties were placed. Attempts of the colonial government to control the type of alcohol that was consumed produced new forms of entrepreneurship among the people of south eastern Nigeria. The impact of colonial alcohol policies on indigenous socio-economic lives, endeavours and actions and reactions of indigenous people to these policies are significant to this study.

The growth of cities during the colonial era and the rise of elite and urban workers heralded the rise of modernity which was expressed in different ways including the consumption of alcohol such as lager beer became a mass commodity. The intersection between modernity and alcohol and its impact on the economy and society, especially after the Second World War remains unexamined and is of interest to this study.

In post-colonial Nigeria, the alcohol industry has remained among the higher income earning sectors of the economy for the government and individuals. The increase in incomes expansion of festive and celebrative occasions and general entertainment, increased the opportunities for the consumption of alcohol with impact on the economy and society. Alcohol consumption has been indicated as underlying factor in the development of many social vices in post-colonial Nigeria including southeastern Nigeria. It has been claimed that alcohol consumption has reached an alarming stage both in the urban and rural areas with obvious consequences. While it has boosted the economy in many ways, it has impacted negatively on society through accidents and alcohol related illnesses and death. Although in many parts of the world, the alcohol industry is controlled in Nigeria due to the huge income from the industry, government seem to lack the political will to initiate policies on alcohol consumption. There seems to be no minimum legal age for alcohol purchase and consumption as under-aged youths freely engage in alcohol consumption. The sponsorship of many events by alcoholic drink promoters, even in the educational sector and among the youths gives alcohol a form of legitimacy as people tend to forget the harmful effects of its use. It becomes imperative to examine the historical connections between government, the governed and the consumption of alcohol in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial south eastern Nigeria.

Significance of the Study

The study is significant because it investigates the changing socio-economic role and meaning of alcohol and its consumption in eastern Nigeria. It highlights the impact of colonial alcohol policies on the socio-economic development of eastern Nigeria. The study also interrogates the relationship between alcohol, inter-group relation, power relations, gender and class in southeastern Nigeria. It draws attention to the connection between alcohol advertising, notion of modernity and alcohol consumption. It brings to light the inadequacies

of government policies towards the production and consumption of alcohol and analyses the historical impact of alcohol consumption on society.

Such a study would be useful to social and health workers, government agencies, policy makers, planners, historians, economists, students of cultural studies, sociologists, non-governmental organisations and all those interested in socio-economic development of Nigeria and social change in the field of alcohol and society and socio-economic history in general.

Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the period between 1890 to 2010. The year 1890 is significant because it was the year of the Brussels pact condemning traffic in spirituous liquor to colonial territories was signed. Although the Pact was meant to reduce the importation of liquor to colonial territories; it inadvertently had the opposite effect in southern Nigeria. This study covers the various colonial policies on alcohol such as the licensing Ordinance of 1908, the Distillation of Spirit Ordinance of 1909, the Liquor Prohibited Area Ordinance of 1912, the Liquor Townships Ordinance of 1917 and 1945. Also by this study covered is the continuous effort to regulate the production and consumption of alcohol in Nigeria till 2010. Within this period change and continuity in the history of alcohol use, control, entrepreneurship and impact in south eastern Nigeria are articulated.

Geographically, the study covers the former Eastern Region. Presently states included in this area are: Imo, Anambra, Abia, Ebonyi, Enugu, Beyelsa, Rivers, Cross River, and Akwa-Ibom States. It is made up of the following ethnic/cultural groups; Igbo, Ibibio, Efik, Ekoi, Ogoja, Ogoni, Ijaw, Kalabari and Oron among others.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to examine the socio-economic history of alcohol in south eastern Nigeria from 1890 up to 2010. Specific objectives are to:

1. examine the role of alcohol in the economic and social activities among the peoples of eastern Nigeria societies in pre-colonial time beginning from their contact with Europeans to 1900;
2. study colonial policies towards alcohol and their impact on eastern Nigerian economy, society and culture from 1900 to 1949;
3. investigate the role of modernity and its impact on alcohol consumption and alcohol related economic and social activities between 1949 and 1960; and
4. investigate the impact of alcohol on social and economic development of post colonial southeastern Nigerian societies.

Research Questions

The following research questions will guide this study:

1. what role did alcohol play in the social and economic life of the people of south eastern Nigeria during the pre-colonial period?;
2. what were the colonial policies towards alcohol importation, production, distribution and consumption and what were the social and economic impacts of these policies on south eastern Nigerian society?;
3. what was the relationship between the rise of modernity, alcohol consumption and socio-economic development after World War II?;and
4. what was the impact of alcohol on the social and economic development of post-colonial southeastern Nigeria?

Operational Definition of Terms

Alcohol as used in this study generally to refer to liquor or intoxicants such as spirit, palm wine, beer, rum, brandy, whisky, and *ogogoro* (local gin) formed by the fermentation of sugars.

Liquor refers to any liquid alcoholic drink fermented or distilled for consumption. It is used in this study to refer to any form of intoxicant.

Rum is an alcoholic brand which was first introduced into Nigeria by the Portuguese around 1600s. It was imported into the region from England during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and colonial period. Traders also brought a cheaper version from Antigua and Jamaica during the colonial period.

Whiskey is used in this study to refer to alcohol brands distilled originally from Ireland and Scotland, which contain ingredients from malted barley, maize, potatoes and cereals. During the colonial period it came into Nigeria as inferior and cheaper alcohol brand when compared with the Dutch gin.

Gin, in this study refers to intoxicants distilled from imported grains especially from Germany and Holland as well as palm wine distilled locally as *ogogoro*. It also refers to imported alcoholic brands such as schnapps also from Holland which was so cherished and was used as currency.

Palm wine refers to alcohol brands obtained from oil and raffia- palms known as *ngwo* in Igbo land and *ukot* in Ibibio, The chemical composition shows that palm wine when freshly collected, contains sugar solution and when fermentation sets in after three hours of collection, the sugar content which was initially at 6.80% drops to 0.58% while the alcohol content which was *ab initio* at 3.78% rises to 6.70%.

Ogogoro is an alcohol brand made locally from the distillation of fermented palm wine. It is also known as *kai kai*, *crim kena*, *akpuruachia*, *ufofop.etc*

Distillation is a process of decomposing a substance into vapour by strong heat in a retort and the collection of volatile liquids from the substance in a different boiling point. It involves the

process of separating, concentrating, or purifying liquid by boiling it and then condensing the resulting vapour as alcohol for consumption.

Fermentation is the chemical conversion of sugar into simpler substances such as the breakdown of fresh palm-wine into intoxicant by micro-organisms before distillation.

Theoretical Framework

This study utilises the theories of dependency, leisure and social constructionism. *The* aforementioned theories are used to explain the impact of alcohol on the socio-cultural and economic lives of the people. Dependency theory emerged in the 1950's when Raul Prebisch, as the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission of Latin America advocated that economic activity in the richer countries often led to economic problems in the poorer countries.²³ Other scholars such as I. Wallerstein and Andre Gunder Frank have widened the frontiers of knowledge with regard to the dependency theory. Dependency is a situation in which the economy of certain countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. Andre Gunder Frank is generally considered as the leading exponent of dependency theory. In his book, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*; he argues that the underdevelopment of the third world is as a result of the mode of its articulation of the colonies in the world capitalist system. Such a relationship of exploitation and dependency, can be traced back to the 16th century when great powers such as Britain, France and Spain conquered Africa, Asia and Latin America and made them part of their world empires.²⁴ Such colonies supplied the colonial powers with cheap food and raw materials and in turn acted as new markets for the industrialised country's manufactured goods. Colonialism universally adopted a practice of tying the colonised territories to the apronstrings of the coloniser to the effective control of politics and economy. The two predictions from dependency theory are that foreign economic penetration leads

to: the slowing down of the rate of economic growth in the dependent countries and to inequality among the citizens.

On the argument that dependency retards economic growth the major tenets of the school include that: dependent countries suffer from direct exploitation. Foreign firms repatriate profits overseas rather than reinvest them in the domestic economy thus limiting the growth that can be achieved. Second, foreign supplies and economic interest tend to 'dump' outmoded equipment and technologies on poor countries so that they cannot compete effectively in international markets or grow very fast. Third, dependency on foreign interests and foreign penetration keep the state weak and prevent it from effectively playing its necessary role in protecting domestic industries and fostering economic growth in the home economy. Fourth, dependency leads to vulnerability and susceptibility to price manipulations in the domestic and overseas markets. The domestic market becomes flooded with imported consumer goods while exports to pay for them are harmed by the instability of world demand and prices. The result is often trade deficits, growing indebtedness, and less capital to invest in economic growth. Fifth, dependency causes such economic growth that occurs to be confined to small enclaves and the domestic bourgeoisie in the enclaves are committed to foreign economic interest than domestic ones. Linkages with the rest of the domestic economy are minimal and these reduces the multiplier effects of foreign investment. The result is unbalanced development or economic dualism with a division between a small modern economic sector and the remaining backward parts of the economy and encourages reliance on dependency on foreign aid and credit which reduces the domestic capital formation resulting in a lower rate of economic growth.²⁵

On the argument that dependency produces heightened economic inequality, the major tenets of this school include that: dependency fosters imbalanced development,

economic dualism and privileged enclaves, all of which lead to deterioration in economic distribution, between traditional or new elites and labour aristocracies generally benefit disproportionately. Second, indigenous elites are opposed to income redistribution and they use their influence over the government and their clout with foreign interests to forestall any government redistributive effort. Thus even while a strong state in present; it may work in the interest of the existing elites, rather than foster equality. Third, imported and domestically produced goods penetrate rural markets and undermine and displace domestic economic activities. This deprives rural families of importers sources of supplementary income and fosters inequality. Fourth, foreign firms keep important parts of their organizational structures oversea, or bring in their own skilled and technical personnel. Because of this, they do not foster the development of any middle class and middle level managerial and bureaucratic occupations that would tend to even out the income distributions. The importation of foreign alcohol brands created questions of imbalance development with elevated status placed on few privileged enclaves. It is obvious that before 1949 in Nigeria, factories for the manufacturing of alcohol was kept overseas. Few indigenous distributors of alcohol brands also benefitted thus resulting to income inequalities. Furthermore, economic growth suffered retardation because of the prohibition placed on indigenous liquor production, which ordinarily if allowed to thrive could have led to technological development among the colonized people. Hence, the colonial policy on alcohol did not provide a platform for commercial and industrial development in Nigeria.

The various legislative ordinances on liquor in 1917 and 1945 saw that only imported alcohol brands were sold as the colonial government declared indigenously produced gin as illicit and unfit for drinking. To a large extent, the colonial government in Nigeria benefitted immensely from import duties from alcohol as its major source of revenue. However, this

policy also subjected the people of south- eastern Nigeria to alcohol dependency from imported ones. It is in this context, that this study examines the socio-cultural lives of the people of south- eastern Nigeria with regard to dependence on foreign brands of alcoholic products.

The theory of leisure revolves round social consumerism based on class. With this theory, of the leisure class, Thorstein Veblen argues that as industrial society evolved, conspicuous consumption became the most practical way to demonstrate one's wealth. The leisure class is expected to consume the best in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, amusements, and so on. This leisure class stands at the pinnacle of the stratification system, and as a result it is incumbent on all classes that rank below them to emulate their way of life.²⁶ This theory provides ample opportunity to show that the importation of various alcoholic brands such as *Anice*, *Queen yak*, *Bettoler*, *J.J.W Peters* etc to a large extent widened the gap between traditional chiefs and their subject, elites and non elite because of its exorbitant price. The colonial substitution policy, which saw to the domestication of beer brewed in Nigeria as part of modernisation agenda, succeeded in making the people's cherished *ogogoro* gin to be viewed as the commoners drink while beer became the drink of the elites and the working class. The adulteration of imported alcohol brands was to accommodate the lower class of the society into drinking habits in a manner the would like them to emulate the affluent who drank original imported gin. Thus, alcohol consumption and class are inseparable in examining the alcohol culture of the people of south eastern Nigeria

More related to this study is the social constructionism theory which is adopted to explain the socio-economic history of alcohol in south-eastern Nigeria. The leading proponents of this theory Berger and Luckmann²⁷ maintain that social constructionism uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the creation of their

perceived reality as shaped through a system of socio-cultural and inter personal process. It involves looking at the ways social phenomena are created, institutionalised and made into traditions by humans. Social construction is seen as an ongoing process by which reality is reproduced by people on their interpretations and their knowledge of it.²⁸ Hence, alcohol, the drinking culture and the meaning of drinking and what one drinks have different meanings and significance in various cultures and historical epochs. The nature of alcohol drinking and use in various cultural functions such as marriage, ritual, libation, oath-taking, are mere artificial transformation into local cultures. The socio anthropological status of south eastern Nigeria, especially its republican status to a large extent was responsible for the adaptability of some aspects of European alcohol culture. The continuous relationship between the power elite and the drinking culture and the grass root people trying to partake in the drinking culture continuously creates and recreates meanings and significance in cultural usage of alcohol. Hence, the meaning attached to brands of gin and *ogogoro* as well as other forms of alcoholic beverages by the the peoples of southeastern Nigeria can be interpreted as product of social construction, which has evolved into a tradition from many historical and social transformation processes. This constant reinterpretation of the role of alcohol and its usage provides a major economic field for the formal economy, informal economy and government.

Methodology

This study utilizes the historical method for the collection of data. The historical method involves a careful collection of data from various sources, assessment, and interpretation of data and synthesis of information, which is then used for historical analysis. Data were collected both from primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected from the archives especially the National Archives of Nigeria at Enugu and Calabar. Other primary data were collected from the archives of some breweries in the area of study including the 33 Consolidated Breweries, Golden Guinea Brewery, Champion Brewery and the Nigerian

Brewery Plc. Information was also collected from the Federal Medical Centres in Owerri and Umuahia.

Furthermore, primary data in the form of oral evidence was collected during field work in the area of study between October 2008 and 2010. Identified knowledgeable persons in local histories in the area both men and women were interviewed. A total number of 150 people were interviewed individually and in groups and some of their views and ideas have been integrated into this study. Key informant (KI) interviews were also carried out. This involved an indepth interview of experts or people known to be very knowledgeable in a particular subject. For this study, ten key informants were identified and interviewed. These included: two local gin brewers, one in Trugbene (Bayelsa State) and another in Patani (Delta State). These areas are known as centres for the brewing of the best local gin. Other key informants were Managing Directors of Champion Breweries in Uyo, Nigerian Breweries in Enugu and Life Brewery in Onitsha. Others were the Chief Medical Directors of the Federal Medical Centres at Owerri and Umuahia. The rest were elders in Calabar, Port Harcourt and Enugu. Interviews were recorded on tape and later transcribed. Also personal observations were made through the visits of drinking bars and social events in which alcohol was freely served both in the urban and rural areas during the period of the field work. Such events provided opportunities to engage in random interviews on the issue of alcohol consumption and the changing roles of alcohol in the economy and society over time.

Secondary data were collected from the University of Lagos Library, National Library Owerri, Ebonyi State University Library, University of Uyo, University of Calabar and University of Port-Harcourt Libraries. In these libraries, books, journals, theses and conference papers on history, socio-economic and cultural studies relating to alcohol were consulted for relevant information. The internet was also used to locate relevant materials. The google search engine and Jstor data bank proved very useful. Information collected from

various sources were collated, assessed, compared, interpreted, analysed and used for the writing of this thesis using the historical narrative style.

Literature Review

To this study, there are earlier studies, which provide pertinent information. They are reviewed below in a thematic method under the following headings: traditional drinking pattern/people's reaction to imported alcohol, alcohol and colonial prohibition; and alcohol and modernity.

There is a paucity of information on traditional drinking pattern/people's reaction to imported alcoholic brands. Nevertheless, Ofonagoro's *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria 1881 – 1929*²⁹, deals with the economic history of southern Nigeria in the early days of British imperialism. The study examines the machinery of colonial government in creating infrastructure for the operation of European enterprise in the hinterland of the Bights of Benin and Biafra. It also examines the British oligopoly in banking and the shipping industry. Liquor trade in southern Nigeria, which constituted the greater discourse in the second chapter, is related to the present study. The exchange of palm oil and palm kernel as well as the importation of alcohol in Nembe-Brass as well as the competition of various European firms such as Van Hoytema, Netherlands Distillers and Eastern Trading Corporation in Liverpool were also discussed. Nevertheless, the author points out the reason for indigenous liquor distillation which included the importation of cheap spirits as well as liquor adulteration. The Socio- cultural change using imported alcohol in rituals ceremonies and festivals were discussed as products of external contacts such as slave trade and colonialism. The book associates patronage of imported alcohol to the advertisement of the medicinal properties advertised on gin label. In Eastern Nigeria, alcohol in the form of gin became a major component of traditional medical preparations consumed by the people. Ofonagoro's work is relevant due to its analysis of liquor trade which is of interest to this study.

In *A History of the Igbo People*, Isichei highlights relevant themes in Igbo history, culture, external contact as well as issues of origin, migration, warfare, inter group relations, and resistance to colonial rule, boundary adjustment, Christianity, education, urbanization, and Igbo quest for survival in the Nigeria polity during the first republic. The author makes mention of alcohol importation in southeastern Nigeria in places such as Nembe- Brass and Niger Coast Protectorate during the colonial period. She x-rays the relevance of such importation to colonial economy in Eastern Nigeria. She also examines the medicinal value of alcohol to the people and equates it with milk of *magnesium*, *mentholatum* and *epsom salt*.³⁰

Latham's *Old Calabar 1600 – 1891: The Impact of The International Economy Upon A Tradition*, focuses on the social and political history of the Efik from evolution to the foundation of slave trade and palm oil trade. The book discusses the beginning of the importation of spirituous liquor and its role in tradition. In this book, great emphasis is laid on the importation of spirits by early nineteenth century which the Europeans offered as gift and in exchange for one trade favour or the other.³¹ Furthermore, the author claims that with the opening of steamship line from the Clyde(England) in 1869, cheap spirit flooded Calabar with appreciable impact on the social and economic lives of the people.³² Dike in his *Trade and Politics in The Niger Delta 1830 – 1885*, concurs with this view, pointing out that in the days of the slave trade and throughout the nineteenth century rum was an important article of trade on the coast because it was much easier to transport than a bag of salt.³³ This view corroborates the claim by Stanley Jose Curto that by early 1600s alcohol had assumed a prominence as an important commodity in the acquisition of Slaves.³⁴ Futhermore, Stanley Alpern in his paper *What Africans Got for Their Slaves* listed more than two hundred European trade goods which were exchanged for slaves to include Alcohol. According to him, various alcohol brands such as brandy, rum and gin first got to the Gold coast around

1660s.³⁵ The works of Latham, Dike, Curto and Alpern demonstrate that liquor importation was part of the European bargaining mechanism during the Trans- Atlantic Slave trade and the legitimate trade era.

Van den Bersselaar's "Modernity Rejected? Marketing Schnapps and Gin in West Africa, 1945 – 1970"³⁶ argues that gin was imported into West Africa in great quantities between 1880 and 1914. Subsequently, schnapps was transformed into a commodity that signified became part of the people's tradition and local culture. Today, imported schnapps has high status because of its importance for ritual and as symbol of the status of chiefs and elders. Be that as it may observations would show that the drinking of schnapps is not only confined to rituals and elders, the youth drink from vendors who hawk it at all corners of villages and towns. Bersselaar explores schnapps in connection with, how imported goods acquire specific local meaning. This analysis of consumption and marketing of gin contributes to our understanding of patterns of consumption, rejection and appropriation within the processes of identity formation, elite formation and the redefinition of culture and community in colonial and post colonial West Africa. Bersselaar highlights the exploitation of African consumer's cultural beliefs about "tradition" and "modernity" in the promotion of the business interest of foreign entrepreneurs through the sales of alcoholic goods. Bersselaar's work provides tools for the analysis of socio-cultural imaging of alcohol in southeastern Nigeria societies.

Talbot's *Life in Southern Nigeria*, focuses on magic, beliefs, and customs of the Ibibio people of Southern Nigeria.³⁷ As an ethnographic and anthropological survey, alcohol was mentioned in issues relating to marriages, funerals and in naming ceremonies but not in details. However, the author gave an instance of the use of rum in pouring libation by canoe passengers across the Akwa Yafe River. According to Talbot, whenever the canoe grew heavy and waterlogged, the only means of making it move was by pouring libation into the

water to appease the water gods. Nevertheless, the book is of great importance in understanding life of antiquity and thus serves as a basis for comprehension of the traditional uses of alcohol in Ibibio society in Southern Eastern Nigeria, a society in which alcohol consumption and utilisation were well embedded.

In his “Spirit and spiritually: Enslaved persons and Alcohol in West Africa and the British and the French Caribbean,”³⁸ Smith reveals the use of alcohol among the slaves of Akan, Igbo, Kongo and Aja Fon extraction, a practice which the enslaved brought with them to the Caribbean plantation.. For instance, the religious practice of Obeah by slaves in the Caribbean has been linked to the Igbo *dibia* (native doctor) just as the use of alcohol in oath taking became a common feature in slave uprising and conspiracies in the British Caribbean. This study is relevant to the present research because it discusses the role of alcohol in pre-colonial West African societies and cultures including part of southeastern Nigeria.

Alcohol and colonial prohibition is a relevant theme to this study. Heap’s A “Bottle of Gin is Dangled Before the Nose of the Natives”³⁹ reveals that it was the colonial presence that led Southern Nigeria to develop the habit for potent breweries. This paper examines the use of gin as currency for the exchange of goods and services before 1919. The relevance attached to gin was immense that it replaced existing currencies such as cowries and was used in the payment of court fines. The Post First World War policies which brought coin currencies helped in so many ways to suppress this vital role of alcohol in the colonial economy. Nevertheless, the paper is deficient in its claim that Nigeria as a whole did not brew liquor except with its contact with the coming of the Europeans. This claim repeated itself in another publication by the same author titled “Those Who are Cooking Gins.”⁴⁰ This is historically incorrect. Historical evidences show that drinking heavily, mostly *burukutu*, was one of the agenda that propelled the Jihad in 1804 in Northern Nigeria.

The claim that the distance between Nigeria and European distilleries in Hamburg and Schiedam as well as the attitude of the colonialists towards technology transfer led to local gin distillation in the 1930's is entirely ahistorical. Rather the view of this study is that the exorbitant price of imported alcohol brands paved the way for indigenous distilled alcohol, a view much more supported by existing records. Korieh's "Alcohol and Empire: "Illicit" Gin Prohibition and control in Eastern Nigeria" is another study which examines the significance of alcohol in the socio-economic life of the people of Eastern Nigeria. It also discusses the colonial prohibition policy. He sees alcohol consumption as a contested terrain as well as site for local resistance against prohibition. The author examines the impact of alcohol importation in the social fabrics of the people but concludes that locally manufactured spirit provided cheap alternative to imported spirit during periods of severe economic depression. Furthermore, he notes that laws made to control importation were designed to keep alcohol under colonial control, satisfy temperance elements and protect the economic benefits derived from taxes and tariffs. Thus, for him, laws became tools for defining power relationship which led to rural agitation and anti-colonial sentiments.⁴¹ Korieh, however, did not discuss the entrepreneurship which colonial prohibitions of alcohol engendered in Eastern Nigeria, which is of interest to the present study. Nevertheless, Korieh's work provides ideas on the significance of colonial alcohol prohibition laws, which are of significance to this study.

Olukoju's "Rotgut and Revenue: Fiscal Aspect of the liquor Trade in Southern Nigeria, 1890 – 1919," examines the relevance of liquor to the Nigerian economy during the colonial era.⁴² The author notes that by the 1880s, liquor had become an acceptable medium of exchange and thus a lucrative business for European merchants. Even the 1890 Brussels conference's major decision was that liquor should not be allowed to spread to areas where it was not yet established. The economic importance of alcohol was so well defined that the

amount of money derived from import duties could not be surrendered without dislocating the economy. Hence, between 1900 and 1909, spirits constituted nine percent of total import yet custom duties yielded 68 percent of the total revenue. The 1909 Commission of Inquiry, which investigated Liquor Traffic in Southern Nigeria, chaired by Sir Mckenzie D. Chalmers, reported that the revenue of the region depends largely on import duties on liquor. The Commission dashed the hopes of the liquor trade abolitionist movements especially the church missions as the Commission saw no correlation between alcohol and diseases or crime or even its impact on the people. The colonial fiscal policy continued to depend largely on liquor importation for its revenue until the outbreak of the First World War when the colonial government decided to make its fiscal policy dynamic. This was because shipping during this period became scarce and trade relations severed because most of the liquor came from the enemy camp. Thus, colonial government had to find other sources of revenue by intensifying the export of goods such as cocoa, palm oil and palm kernel. It also increased railway freights and levied poll tax which was generally not accepted like in Egba land in 1918.

Another study of interest is Heap's "The Quality of Liquor in Nigeria during the colonial Era", which provides an insight into the various qualities of imported alcohol in the colonial period with regards to its poisonous nature.⁴³ He made mention of some impurities and other dangerous substances discovered in imported alcohols. In spite of that, vendors tried to dilute imported alcohol in order to maximise economic gains. Heap insists that most indigenous liquor had little or no intoxicating power. He notes that exorbitant price of imported liquor encouraged the distillation of indigenous liquor. The paper argues that indigenous liquor was more available to every Nigerian unlike the imported alcohol. It is argued that *ogogoro* served as a class drink for the low income earners as imported drinks served as a class drink for the affluent minority. This justifies Okorie's account that indigenous gin was cheaper, healthier and more moderate than imported gin in colonial

Eastern Nigeira.⁴⁴ This work helps the current research because it increases the understanding of the possible effects of the consumption of poor quality gin on the health of Nigerians. It also helps in understanding the nexus between alcohol and class formation in south eastern Nigeria.

In his paper ‘‘Namibia and The Heritage of Colonial Alcohol Policy’’⁴⁵ Harri Siiskonan reveals that Namibia lacks alcohol policy since independence as the existing ones are still appendage of South Africa colonial periods. The author decries that no adequate structure is in place to accommodate victims of alcohol as the rate of mass unemployment and poverty has increased the number of alcoholics. The writer insists that the Brussels Conference of 1890, which deliberated on the sale of alcohol to Africa, failed because colonial powers had only very limited resources to suppress the growing alcohol trade. As South Africa took over the affairs of Namibia after the First World War, the mandate agreement included a non-alcohol policy which prohibited the supply of intoxicating beverages to the indigenous people. This development continued with the Odendael Commission that made it possible for only a few African shop keepers to fulfil the requirements of licensed alcohol dealer. Thus, this led to the establishment of *cuca* shops, a name derived from Portuguese beer for the selling of alcohol beverages especially *Omoggongo*. Siiskonan argues that the stationing of South African army in north Namibia in the 1970s increased the economy of the region as well as the demand for alcohol. He concludes that the withdrawal of both troops did not affect the demand for alcohol. Effects of alcohol abuse prevalent in the area according to the author include: immortality, malnutrition, and children as well as teenage pregnancies, which became rampant. Siiskonan also notes the correlation between alcohol and crime committed in the country. He calls attention to environmental pollution due to alcohol bottles and sachets. This work is relevant to the

present study because some of the social conditions associated with alcohol consumption which he examined have also been noticed in southeastern Nigeria.

Willis' *Potent Brews* breaks new ground in analysing the different functions of alcohol in pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial contexts. Willis focuses particularly on alcohol in the process of authority making, contending that "for people across East Africa, talking about people drinking and contrasting past drinking with present drinking, have been ways of arguing about proper behaviour within their own societies". According to Willis, in pre-colonial East Africa, senior men had monopoly of access to breweries and thus to alcoholic drinks using their monopoly to bolster their authorities through their regulations of alcoholic drinking.⁴⁶

Indeed, until the 1940s, this restriction of alcohol was extended to include bottled beer. The transfer of authority to new African political elites improved the access of the elites to alcohol through access to products of modern breweries. The search for revenue by government led to the popularisation of industrially brewed beer. Willis' narratives provide insight into the role of alcohol in the exercise of power in pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial societies in East Africa. Willis' work is of use to the present study because it provides perspectives for analysis of the role of alcohol in the social construction of power in Eastern Nigeria.

Also in the discussion of power relations, Akeyampong's "Drinking: Power and Cultural Changes" focuses on social history of drinking and points out the importance and relationship of blood, water and alcohol in social life among the *Akan* people of Ghana. In his view, drinking is an aspect of male culture, because of peer group socialisation. Young men gathered after work to drink together and for some to escape the tension of an oppressive work situation. He points out the significance of drinking culture to nationalist movement in Ghana. According to him, Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP's) mobilised support

in *akpeteshie* bar. In spite of the CPP's patronage of the *akpeteshie* culture, the social divide grew after independence. The new elite drank at home and in comfortable hotel lounges and disregarded the voices of the people from *akpeteshie* bars. Akeyeampong also deals well with gender questions. Though, women produced and sold alcoholic beverages, they rarely drank until recently since drinking was a male culture. What is not clear about Akeyeampong's discussion is why women did not drink. Nevertheless, Akeyeampong's work like Willis' work will help in the understanding of alcohol and power relation.⁴⁷

In the *Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842 – 1914*, E.A. Ayandele⁴⁸ examines the reactions of Nigerian people to missionary activities. While the objective of the Christian Missions was spiritual success, Nigerian people sought for other gains such as Western education for the improvement of their social and material standing. However, paramount to this study is the 10th chapter titled “the Triumph of Gin”. Alcohol is seen here as an inhibitor to the missionaries civilising mission. The book unravels that by the nineteenth century, several concoctions of potatoes spirits were brought into Nigeria as spirits. The colonial administration was not responsible for the importation but made great revenue from taxation on liquor. The moral defence of the colonial authority on liquor is that the higher the taxation, the less the quantity of alcohol to be imported. The social significance of alcohol taxation was that road and railway construction, and maintenance of law and order were made possible from revenue generated from alcohol. For Tugwell, gin importation was morally questionable as it undermined religious and social progress of Nigeria. In fact, to him the Brussels Pact of 1890 had been highly politicised. The politicisation of the pact saw to the continuous inflow of alcohol in Southern Nigeria because the colonial fiscal policy depended largely on it.

Consequently, Tugwell mobilised chiefs and people of Abeokuta, Ibadan Oyo and Ogbomosho against the liquor traffic. But there was lack of cooperation by the chiefs, because they saw such movement as a move against the colonial administration. There was

also lack of cohesion among the churches namely the Presbyterian Missions, the Roman Catholic Mission, Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society in the 1901 conference on liquor traffic held in Britain. Ayandele's work is relevant to the study because of the analysis of the moral implications to importation of gin.

The theme of alcohol and modernity is very vital to this study. Simon Heap's "Before Star: The Import Substitution of Western Alcohol in Nigeria 1870-1970"⁴⁹ takes a look at the relevance of alcohol to the political economy of colonialism. According to him, the revenue realised from alcohol during the colonial period played vital role in policy formulation. The end of the Second World War saw a reform in colonial economic policies leading to period branded import substitution policy. This necessitated the need for beer manufacturing by the coming together of multinational companies operating in Nigeria led by U.A.C under the title Nigerian Breweries in 1946 .The first bottle of beer,was manufactured in 1949.This development was backed by aggressive advertising. Of great relevance of this study is Ikpe's *Food and Society in Nigeria*⁵⁰, which examines drinking as part of the culture of eating. She notes the interrelationship between drinking and the idea of success and participation in modern culture and consumption especially in the era of oil boom. Although she establishes a relationship between wealth, drinking and modernity, her work deals with these issues superficially and generally but raises other issues, which the present research wants to pursue.

Akerele in his "Supply of Alcohol: A Major Determinant of Alcohol Consumption and Abuse" examines the economic factors responsible for increasing consumption and abuse of alcohol in Nigeria.⁵¹ The survey shows that the high rate of beer consumption in the analyzed period was influenced by the opening of new beer production enterprise in many states of the country. In 1978 alone, 6 new brewery plants were opened while 9 such beer enterprises were built between 1981 –1985. By 1986, however, there were already 30 brewery plants in Nigeria with production capacity of 16.12million hectolitres of beer and

related drinks. This situation explains the sudden upsurge in beer consumption to the tune of 10.6 hectolitres in 1986 but it crashed to lower level of 7,135.5hl in 1987, as a result of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Recommendations were made for necessary steps for the minimization of alcohol abuse.

In his work, "Drinking Problems and Position of Women in Nigeria" Ikuesan highlights the problems that arise for women who misuse alcohol in Nigeria.⁵² The roles of Nigerian women are circumscribed and these women are least expected to engage in certain socially unacceptable behaviours. According to this report, women who misuse alcohol in Nigeria suffer enormous psychological and social damage, beside the physical complications experienced as a result of alcohol misuse. They are considered as social misfits. The nature of help available to such women is discussed. This study has raised issues relevant to the present study especially on the gendered question in alcohol consumption.

Although some works have been written on alcohol in Nigeria, the majority are concerned with colonial prohibition of the local distilling of gin. Others give useful information of various aspects of alcohol production, distribution and consumption all of which, to different degrees, are vital to this study. Be that as it may, there is no existing study of the socio-economic history of alcohol in Eastern Nigeria which is the focus of the present study. The connection between alcohol, social and economic development in south eastern Nigeria remains unexplored and is of interest to the present study.

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CHAPTER TWO

ALCOHOL IN PRE-COLONIAL EASTERN NIGERIA UP TO 1900

The nature, type and pattern of a people's food consumption and drinking habits is a direct reflection of their overall culture and behavioural ethics. Restricting the peoples culture specifically to drinking, production and consumption, available evidence show that the people of eastern Nigeria like any other cultural group in different climes of the world, relished in alcohol usage, which in the area of study composed of palm wine from the oil palm and raffia palm, known respectively in Igboland as *nkwu* and *ngwo* while the Ibibio call it *ukot* or *mmin* and *ukot eyop* for wine from the raffia-palm as well as distilled gin which is generally referred to by the people as *kai-kai*, *ogogoro*, *akamere* etc. The three categories of drink served their peculiar social and economic functions and they proved to be lucrative business, which provided employment to a large segment of the populace who found their livelihood in it either as wine tapers or distillers of gin or even marketers of the products or in translation of them into other industrial usage.

It ought to be noted that in the pre-colonial era, brewed bottled beer as we know it today was unknown among the African peoples. What suffused were their traditional drinks which among the Igbo, Ibibio, Efik and a host others of the eastern parts of the Niger were the different varieties of palm wine which were used for variety of purposes. In this study, it may be pertinent to separate the three kinds of drinks and examine them individually. By doing so, effort will be made to show-case their peculiar social functional usages, their chemical and biological properties, their economic viability and nutritional values. Before that, however, effort will be made to delineate the area of study, an exercise which would throw more light on why, for instance, palm and raffia-wine and

their derivatives form the predominant alcoholic beverages produced and consumed in the area.

Oil -Palm Wine and Raffia -Wine

Research has shown that there are four major wine yielding types of palms in Nigeria. These include the oil palm (*elaeis guineensis*), raffia palm (*venifera*), dele palm or phoenic dactylife and *cocos mici fera*. Of these four, it is however, *elaeis guineensis* and the raffia equivalent that are the primary sources of palm wine and these are found in very large quantity in the area of study. The chemical composition shows that palm wine when freshly collected, contains sugar in solution. Fermentation sets in after three hours of collection from the source tree and this chemical process is a function of the action of micro organisms, which are picked up from the surroundings. The effect is rapid build-up of carbon dioxide, which alters the chemical composition leading to steady reduction of sucrose concentration and gradual increment of alcohol and acetic acid content. This change continues on the same progression until after about twenty-four hours, the wine becomes thoroughly sour, the sugar content, which was initially at 6.80% drops to 0.58% while the alcohol content which was *ab initio* at 3.78% rises to 6.70% and the acetic acid increases likewise above 0.57% level. Palm-wine, in addition, generally has a large dose of yeast, which in effect gives it the whitish colour. It is this yeast content that is also responsible for carbon dioxide, which causes the bubbling effect if cocked or stored in air-tight containers. Palm wine is of course rich in vitamin B and the rich yeast ingredient makes it high in protein.¹

Palmae families of trees, generally belong to the class of monocotyledons because of the fact that their seeds have only one embryonic leaf which is usually thick and very hard. The *elaeis guineensis* and the raffia *verifera*, which are varieties under

consideration in this study, are branchless trees with a crown of pinate or fan-shaped leaves, which are used as token of rejoicing or victory.² In the area of study, they were, and are still served for various economic, social and religious functional usages such as in masquerading and as font of authority. It is for instance placed in disputed farm lands as a measure to stop the disputed parties from gaining entrance into it until judicial settlement has been effected. It was also used to welcome important dignitaries as the practice today when, for instance, an ecclesiastical Bishop visits a community.

The palm tree on its own has columnar stems, which at the crown is adored with elegant feathery or fan-shape outspread leaves. It grows to a height of about 100 - 130 feet high and for those that grow in rich moistened soil such as in family compounds, they are beautifully shaped and exceptionally elegant with the stems growing fat as indication of blossomed health. Those in bushes or forests, however for the fact that they compete severely for moisture with other trees and vegetations, have very slender stems which are stiff and erect or prostrate and may grow higher than the 100 – 130 feet³ mark as mentioned above to beat their competitors. The raffia-palm on the other hand does not grow to that height. Their stems are very rough with sharp reed, which covers the entire surface.

Palm-wine is a milky fluid containing about 13 per cent sucrose.⁴ Apart from serving as refreshing drink, it is an aphrodisiac as well as medicine. Its high yeast content makes it particularly useful in the medical sphere. During the colonial era, even as late as the 1960s and 1970s, medical practitioners and white missionaries recommended it for high school students because of its high vitamin content and clear vision effect.⁵ Palm-wine is obtained by tapping the inflorescence oil palm tree, which naturally produces high quantity of alcoholic beverage whose alcoholic content as already noted increases appreciably if left to ferment further, say two or three days in

which case it gives off a vulgar sour taste. Palm- wine, however, does not intoxicate like our modern beer or gin, if taken fresh and even when left over night, in which case the alcoholic content increases, it still does not show much intoxicating effect provided it is consumed moderately.

Like palm-wine, the alcoholic content of the *raffia* palm variety is much less but in addition more sugary. It is at its best when consumed fresh. This milky substance is obtained from the *raffia* palm in similar production process with wine from oil- palm tree. Unlike palm tree which is ubiquitous in every location in the study area, the *raffia* palms are concentrated in marshy areas near streams and rivers, and though occasionally, they grow in up-land environment even in residential areas where grooves and marshes thrive. Among the Ibibio it is planted consciously in residential areas.

The palm-tree is indigenous to Igbo land and other ethnic groups sharing the eastern part of the Niger. The tree was plentiful in the area and even today, in spite of urbanization and the clearing of hitherto bushes and farmlands for human settlement and for industry. Until the plantation economy of the 1950s and 1960s, the trees were not necessarily planted by man but sprouted by themselves by the process of seed dispersion whose agent could be man, animals or naturally by the dropping of over-ripped seeds from its bunch. Palm trees are ubiquitous and scattered everywhere, both in the forests, and areas of human habitation including family compounds. The tree has several functional values, which makes no part of it uneconomical. The trunk, when felled, is axed into wood struts to serve as roofing members in building construction or in such other ways as may be deemed useful. Thus they could serve other useful functions such as furniture making, fencing of compounds in which case they serve as columns while the palm- leaves cover the spaces in between them. They are used to build yam barns and other barns for food storage and to prevent goats and other

domestic animals from having access to them. The leaves of the tree serve as fodders for feeding animals and for roofing of houses. Broom sticks are also produced from it. The stalks are used in craft making such as baskets, trays or they could be used in staking yam tendrils. The most useful function of the palm tree is oil from the seeds as well as palm kernel, a functional value, which made it the most useful export value of the eastern Nigeria from the pre-colonial period to the late 1960s. It is, however, from the trunk composed wholly of fibre that palm-wine is obtained. Nevertheless, some ethnic groups in eastern Nigeria such as the Ibibio never tapped the oil palm due to its economic value. Oil palm was only tapped if pulled down by the wind. So most of the wine consumed in the area came from raffia-palm.

The celebrated missionary to Igbo land, Basden aptly described the process involved in climbing the palm tree to obtain wine, in the same process the palm heads, which bear the nuts are brought down to be processed into oil. According to Basden, two common methods are followed by professional climbers, one requiring a single climbing rope and the other two.⁶

As regards the first method, some stout line creeper canes are selected and these are plaited into a rope from 8 – 10 feet in length. The central part is heavily sheathed with grass carefully bound on this increases the diameter to three or four inches. The fashioning of climbing rope is the work of professional craft-makers, who design it in such a way that it does not break. For this reason, the materials consist of reed threads stretched and entangled together in three or five big strands. At regular intervals, the user sprinkles water on the rope to prevent it from becoming brittle. The rope has the central part where the climber rests on. It is designed in sizes to suit the body size of the user. The climber is trained on the use of the rope and generally he must be skillful in the rigorous exercise of climbing palm tree. Every step he takes must be cautiously

done and care is taken not to chaff the rope. Usually, the tree trunk surface is rough through regular lopping and continuous tapping for palm wine. The trunk is composed of fibre on which often grow mucus. For this reason, the rope is made large enough to enable the user to slide it up and down the rough surface of the tree.⁷

The operation starts by the climber, circling himself and the trunk with the rope at the base of the tree while he is still standing on the ground. Then he knots the two ends of the rope. Usually, he carries his machet in his girdle or alternatively if he has no girdle, he holds it in between his chin and shoulder. The rope is grabbed firmly with both hands and as he pulls it up, he at the same time throws his whole weight back up it. The exercise entails positioning himself this way, assuming an angle of about 45° , then ascending by himself along with the rope upward about two feet each time. For proper balancing, his feet must be rigidly and firmly pressed against the tree and he uses the hands to achieve forward lift up, pulling it up at the same time taking the strains off the rope and sliding the rope up the trunk before relaxing again in the reclining position on the central part which is made for this purpose as already noted. The exercise as described above appears separate and distinct from each other. However, the dexterity of the climber makes it to appear as if it is one movement. When he has reached the top of the palm tree shortly before the crown which does not take time to achieve, he stops climbing further, then brings out a chisel tied to his cloth or carefully put away in the pocket and with it he hammers into the trunk to make a hole. Having done this, he hammers in a pebble or a reed through which the palm wine drips into a gourd or gallon, which he fastens to it using a strong rope which holds it firmly. All is done while he continues to stiffen his legs and pressing backwards on the rope. This makes it possible to exercise a free use of his hands in order to accomplish his desire.⁸

This is also the process by which the cutting of palm- head or bunch for extraction of palm fruits is done. In the same stiffening positioning of his legs pressing or reclining on the rope, his hands work freely round the trunk as he proceeds to cut the branches of leaves for exposition of the palm-fruit bunch, which he finally cuts down after the branches have been cleared. Having accomplished his task, he starts the process of climbing down, the difference, however, being that he makes a downward descending movement until he reaches the base of the tree.

The other method, the double rope style is quite different. It is more intricate and it equally looks dangerous. It consists of two ropes each with looped ends measuring about 5 feet in length. The climbing process starts when the climber casts one rope round the tree and treads one loop through the other and pulls it strong enough so as to prevent its slipping. In an intricate climbing style, his left leg is made to pass through the dangling loop up to the middle part of the rope, placing the thigh on it. He does same operation on the second rope, but in this case, it is somewhat in lower position on the trunk some 18 inches lower than the first rope. Unlike the first operation in which the thigh is used to achieve the balancing act, this time it is the sole of the feet that passes upon the loop. The intricacy of this method as opposed to the one rope strategy is that the weight is altered from one rope to the other as the climber leaps up or down, each rope is in turn slipped higher or lower. The disadvantage, however, is that it demands greater balancing power. To achieve this, the climber assumes an upright position and by pressing back with his foot and leg, he keeps the loops from slipping. In no distant time, he arrives at the top of the trunk of the tree and without much use of his arms as he is adequately balanced, he gets out to perform the business of tapping the tree-trunk to get the sap or bringing down the already filled up wine pot, using his palms to wipe away flies or bees that perch or fly around the place. In the

same fashion which he climbs up, he begins to climb down, alternating the ropes until he descends to the base of the tree and frees himself of the rope as he touches the ground.⁹

There is no gain saying the fact that both methods of palm tree climbing are in themselves dangerous and could occasionally, and though rarely, result in fatal fall. That is why it is not a business for all comers. A lot of professionalism, accentuated by adequate training and self discipline, is required. More importantly, well-knitted ropes must be used and these are fashioned only by professional craft or rope-makers who must use the right quality materials so as to prevent the rope breaking while in operation. In today's circumstance, the traditional fibre-rope is being replaced with metal types, which has the advantage of not breaking, though the advantage of the former still holds since it is softer than the metal type. In any case, the type notwithstanding, the climber is trained to concentrate on the operation as missing his grips or slipping or breaking of ropes could be very fatal. However if in the event of break of rope or missing of grips, nature has made it that the climber tries desperately and instinctively to save himself by throwing his arms round the tree. By this way, he could save himself if he is lucky; otherwise he slips down the trunk. There are instances of accidental loss of grip in which case the climber is wounded by the rough edges of the tree, which tears his flesh in agonising manner. In any case, he might still manage to save himself from fatal fall. There are, however, cases of mortal fall when the climber losses hold of the tree altogether and lands on the ground.¹⁰

As already noted, the two climbing techniques were used in the area of study and it seems that the method of climbing has not changed. While the single method is preferably used in the northern Igbo areas of Nsukka, Enugu, Awka among others, the double method is used in southern Igbo zones of Ihiala, Orlu, Owerri, Okigwe among

others. Both methods are applied in the climbing of palm trees, either principally for harvesting of palm fruits for production of oil and kernel or for tapping of palm-wine. Climbing of palm-trees could be resorted to for the purposes such as cutting the palm fronds for the use of the leaves in house roofing or to serve as canopy for sheltering guests at social functions such as marriages, *ozo* title ceremonies or for festivals such as new yam celebrations or some other important occasions such as funerals.

It is important to note at this juncture that it is not all palm trees that produce palm wine. There is one spectacular tree known as oke-nkwu or male-palm. It produces no fruits. It does produce a cluster of flowers, which unlike the female tree, dries up and remain on the tree for a considerable time until they drop by themselves after a long time. It is this tree that is tapped at the position immediately beneath the bunch of flowers. Using the climbing method described above, the climber taps it, using chisel to hammer deep into the trunk from which is derived sweet powerful sap known in the area of study as “up-wine”. It is so called for two related reasons. It is tapped from the top part of the tree and it is of stronger alcoholic content compared with the milder “ngwo”, which is not a drink for men.¹¹

It may be imperative to note that drinks from all trees do not taste alike. This had to do with the species from which the sap was tapped. Some are of more refreshing sweetness than others while others are of higher alcoholic strength and lower market value. This is particularly true of wine derived from felled trees which is called *iti* and which, as expected, is considerably less in nutritional and market values. As already noted, the natural method of extracting the sap is by tapping the standing tree near the crown, but out of sheer laziness or put in another way, to avoid the laborious task of climbing, some trees are felled with the sole intention of making them yield palm wine quickly.

Although palm trees are very ubiquitous in Ibibioland but was never felled for tapping; the same does not apply everywhere in eastern Nigeria. In most places in eastern parts of the Niger on the other hand, where the trees are not as ubiquitous as the other western side as a result of dense human population, which translates to infrastructural development, felling down the trees could mean killing the goose that produces the golden eggs.

The *Ngwo* or *Raffia* Palms

The plentiful supply of up-wine notwithstanding, it is the *raffia* palms that in reality provides far abundant supply of the sap. The supply comes from *raffia* palms known as *ngwo* in Igboland and *ukot* in Ibibio, whose drinks also bears the same name. Unlike the palm- trees which are some what ubiquitous in the every location in the study area, including family compounds and farms, the *raffia* palms are concentrated in marshy locations near streams and rivers or in similar locations in the forest. They are however occasionally found (though in insignificant quantities) in areas of human habitation or settlement particularly in rich moisture soil or in natural or man made grooves where the seed can easily sprout and thrive. The tree has the advantage of not being as tall as palm tree, which makes climbing it not as rigorous and pain-staking but it equally has its own side effects. The trunk is clustered with entanglements of reeds, which have sharp edges that constitute the most discomfort to the climber for which reason they prefer the use of ladder, which the indigenous bamboo stems serve excellently well. The Ibibio still use ropes for this. Those who climb it with ladder are considered as amature.

Another disadvantage is that constituted by the marches and the fact that the trees are often situated in streams and in very lonely locations, which could lead to the attack of wild animals. However, there were no recorded cases of attacks by such beasts or if

there were any such incidents they were of rare occurrences. An indept discussion and interview conducted on this issue with a veteran palm wine taper, Nze Vincent Ezeaka Iwuozor, shows that case of attack by wild animals or pilfering of the wine by thieves was unknown throughout the over forty years he engaged in the trade. He agreed, however, that since the river is a lonely place and their trade took them there in the wee hours of the day, they were usually armed with matchets, more so they were sometimes accompanied by their sons or relatives usually apprentice young men or fellow tradesmen.¹²

Having got to the top of the trunk just beneath the stalks and leaves, the tapping operation commences. It is similar to that of the palm tree, in the use of chisel to open up a hole on the trunk from where copious wine drips via a reed or wood holed into it and connected to the calabash or large gourd. In one night, a single tree could produce as much as four gallons of wine, which, freshly produced, tastes very sugary, sweeter than palm- wine but like palm- wine, it gradually loses the freshness and acquires the sour taste.¹³

Gin

In this area of study, gin has since the contact of Africans with the white civilization, come to be used side by side with palm wine in social, religious, diplomatic and economic spheres of life. Known as *kai kai*, *ogogoro*, *krim kena*, *akpeteshi*, *akpuru ashi*, *akamere*, *ufofop* and such other epithets, it is distilled from fermented palm wine in a simple industrial setting. It is most probable that the people of eastern Nigeria just like their counterparts from other parts of Africa, were not conversant with gin or brandy or rum consumption but came to know them through contact with the white man in the course of the Trans Atlantic Slave trade. Heap captured the reality of the situation when he noted that “Nigerians had fermented low alcoholic drinks for ages. While the south

had palm wine, cereal and grains provided the basic ingredient for various food-like northern brews fermented without yeast”. Heap clarified further that: “in spite of the fact of Nigerians consuming huge variety of indigenous liquors, they did not know how to brew lager beer or distil alcoholic spirits. Their expertise was restricted to tapping palm-wine or fermenting grain beers. The Atlantic Slave Trade, which encouraged the purchase of slaves with rum and whisky, fostered the import of liquor. However, the imported drinks did not completely displace the local beverages because they co-existed, complemented and competed with the imported varieties”.¹⁴ From this exposition, it could be deduced that contact with the white man altered this age long custom of palm wine as the drink of the people. The introduction of imported liquor taught the people that their indigenous wine lacked something, which the new drink that is more intoxicating and more refined and blended than palm-wine or *burukutu* or *pito* could afford. From this moment, the equilibrium of social, cultural and economic life changed. Heap captured the reality of this when he commented *inter alia*;

“The imported liquor trade irrevocably disrupted the previous drinking equilibrium of Nigeria, by changing the manner in which local wines and beers were produced and consumed, and by introducing new alcoholic beverages hitherto unknown to the Nigerian people. While beers and palm wine were produced locally from local plants, and trees, the processes by which these stronger spirits were made was unknown.....”¹⁵

It is possible that the desire for gin consumption grew out ingeniously out of necessity to measure up or in imitation or in competition with the white man’s variety. It is also possible that the people came to learn the technology from their white friends and associates. An attestation to this is the fact that, although much later era in November 1931, a defendant arrested and charged with illegal distillation of spirits in

Afikpo under Ogoja Division attested having learnt the trade on a ship at Calabar. He testified that himself as well as some others were taught by a white man- an American who showed them the business at a cost of £2.10.0.¹⁶

Analysis of the time frame when gin distillation started among the people of Eastern Nigeria is still shrouded in uncertainty. Some analysts tend to believe that it started as early as the 18th century when rum and other liquors were first introduced into the zone via the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.¹⁷ Others contend that it must have started in the later part of the 19th century and well into the 20th century when gin had widely established itself as a drink of choice following its widespread penetration into the hinterland accentuated by the colonial government's use of it in heavy economic revenue generation. In spite of its high cost, the drink was able to permeate into the nooks and crannies of the Protectorate by the establishment of retail outlets, which afforded the masses the opportunity of buying in very low currency denominations. It was probably the huge gains recorded both by the government and licensed dealers (both wholesalers and retailers) that must have woken the ingenuity of the people towards local distillation in an effort to match up with the imported variety and or to fill the gap created by the latter's high cost of purchasing it.

It could be argued further that it was the abolition of slave trade and the emergence of legitimate trade that popularized liquor consumption, causing the trade to reach the large volume it created for itself in the second half of the 19th century. In addition, the demand for imported liquor in Nigeria grew to a large extent in tandem with the growth and expansion of British control over the territory from the 1860's onwards. At the time of amalgamation in 1914, Nigeria imported over forty million gallons of gin, rum, whisky etc.¹⁸

It could be argued, therefore, that it was at this point that the technology for gin distillery commenced as a result of popularity, which the new drinks carved for themselves. It is possible that the foreignness and superiority complex induced by the new drinks caused the people to learn the technology of a gin distillation, perhaps, through their white friends and associates. The fact that the available source of information about the acquisition of the new technology happened much later in 1929 and 1931¹⁹, that is sixty-eight years after the colonial government had established itself, shows that it must have most probably been a later event in Nigerian history and definitely not in the era of our forefathers of the 18th century or thereabout as often assumed.

Whichever is the case, the fact is that the rapid expansion of liquor trade that grew from its small beginnings during the slave trade era and reached its greatest volume between 1880 and 1914, satiated the people's taste buds bringing into being the burning desire for local production to beat the high costs of imported gin. This ushered in the technology of gin distillery, which grew to height during the colonial era calling for the severe ban placed on the product, which earned it the name, "illicit gin".

It is important to note that the knowledge of the distillation industry by the people notwithstanding, it was indeed the imported variety from Europe and elsewhere that took the centre stage and still does so today especially among the rich and others of disproportionately high and middle class socio-economic status. Indeed, it is most probable that the distillation of the product by the Africans was of a much later development, sometime during the colonial era when the importation of gin was given new colouration perhaps, as a result of the use of it for heavy economic revenue generation. At the earlier stage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it could be safely said that the people had not become accustomed to the cottage industrial set up

which since the 20th century assumed a common feature of our local manufacture, which was battled to a stand still by the colonial administrators. For one thing, it was not every body that drank strong alcoholic drinks. It was still reserved for a few in Southeastern Nigeria, as most people in Nigeria still preferred their palm-wine and corn-beer. To such Africans, spirituous liquor was considered a superfluous and dangerous luxury, which they did not want, no wonder; they somewhat though unsuccessfully resisted its easy 'push up' into the hinter land.²⁰

Religious Significance of Alcohol in Southeastern Nigeria Belief System

African religion displays dynamism in all its ramifications and this also applies to the Igbo society. Like other African ethnic groups and cultural system, the Igbo are deeply religious and believe in the existence of the spirit world. To the Igbo man, the spirits of the departed ancestors still have direct link with the living. It is the ancestors that protect the living from evil malevolence of other spirits and from curses inflicted by evil spirits who masquerade as humans or as agents of such dangerous groups.

Among the Igbo just like any other group in Africa such as Yoruba, Akan, and Buganda etc a myriad of spirits who have lost their humanness abound. The African world view is generally characterised by this ontological loss of humanness occasioned by death but they continue to live their life in its fullest in the world beyond. It is chiefly through libation, offering of food and other items, offering of prayers and observances of proper rites towards the departed and instructing, appeasing or appealing to them that the living continues to gain the assistance or intervention of the dead in times of emergencies attempts at averting calamities. The great missionary, Mbiti illustrated the weight of this belief by citing the example of an experience of Tema near Accra, Ghana. During the construction of a new harbour at that town, building materials and equipment began to be stolen mysteriously. The reports reached Neal, an English man who was a long standing

chief investigations officer until 1962. But it was revealed that one particular tree was giving the workers headache and its presence was associated with not only the mysterious loss of materials but a wholesome unfathomable development in the construction work. The tree was standing alone in a large compound where all other trees and shrubs had been cleared. It was a small tree. A traditional priest (diviner) was invited on the recommendation of some people. For him to carry out some sacrifices, he asked for three sheep and an offering of three bottles of gin to be given to him and £100 as his payment. After the sacrifice, the mischief maker not only showed up but the mysterious events stopped happening.²¹

The belief in the presence of spirits or the belief that the dead still lives on, and continues to take active interest in the affairs of the living descendants has led to the erection of ancestral monuments where it is believed they are housed. In some Igbo communities, such as Ohafia, both male and female ancestors are recognised and are contrasted by the type of monuments erected for them. The belief was so strong that unlike other parts of Igbo land where the cult or ancestral objects and fetishes were routinely destroyed by the missionaries, the Church of Scotland Mission had no choice than to adopt a more tolerant attitude towards the “heathen” beliefs and practices.²²

It is for this reason that the dead are communicated with on daily basis. Whenever things seemed not to be going on well, it was the spirits that were responsible and so had to be appeased. This took the form of libation and offering of sacrifices. Libation and the giving of food to the departed are tokens of fellowship, hospitality and respect; the drinks and food so given are symbols of family continuity and contact. African religions do not end at the level of family rites of libation and food offerings. They are deeper and more comprehensive than this, as evident in the reasons for communication with the spirit are as follows:

There are relations who had recently died and whose spirit are believed to be still hovering around. These are called the living dead. They are believed to hear what we say, to take part in our discussion and daily activities, the difference being that they are not physically seen with the naked eyes. For this reason, articles of food, wine, kola nuts, water, in addition, the persons favourite articles of trade or food items are regularly placed at conspicuous locations where they can see them. In most Igbo societies, this was done on daily basis, in any case in modern days; they are no longer in vogue due to the permeation of Christianity into the lives of the people. However, the belief still persists. In widowhood for instance, it is assumed that the spirit of the departed husband is still hovering around and could harm such widow. She was therefore, subjected to a period of mourning for one year called *iru uju*. In some other places like Nibo of northern Igboland, it is called *ino na njita*. During this period she was expected to hold a kitchen knife while at home, or matched while outside the compound if compelled for any reason to leave the house. With this, she was expected to defend herself against the spirit of her deceased husband which was believed to be still hovering around his family. Having had contact with *ozu*, the corpse of her husband, the widow was considered unclean. During the period of mourning, or seclusion, series of rituals were performed ranging from shaving of her hair, throwing away to the stream the items used for the seclusion and cooking for the Umuada -the female relatives of the late husband. Others include: cooking for the *dibia* or medicine man, re-introducing her to her economic activities e.g. farming or trading, *izu afia uchichi* and *izu afiambu ego* (mock buying and selling), *ikuchi nwanyi* – remarriage of the widow, *Icho di*-ritual involving the searching for deceased husband in the forest.²³

All these rituals involved food and pouring of libations and consumption of drinks by all involved. The widow was in some areas expected to go out through a hole made in the wall of the deceased compound through which she was expected to go in and out of

the compound in order to prevent her from coming in contact with the main house, where it was believed the spirit of her deceased husband still hovers around. Such deceased husband is offered food, beverages or drinks to make his soul rest in peace. Words accompany such offerings in the form of prayers, invocations, instructions or commands to the departed. These words and libations are the bridges of communications. Failures to observe these acts means, in effect, that the living have completely broken off their links with the departed and have, therefore, forgotten the spirits. This is regarded as extremely dangerous and disturbing to the social and individual conscience. People are likely to feel that any misfortune that befalls them is the logical result of their neglect of the spirits, if not caused by magic or witchcraft.²⁴

Drinks are also offered to spirits, which are not associated with particular families - spirits which have communal functions or are owned communally in which case they exist in communal shrines or are under the custody of priests. The communal symbol of authority called *ofò* are believed to be at the protection of such spirits. If a person is afflicted by mental derangement or insanity, it is believed that it is the communal spirits that are responsible. Called *agwu* in some places such as southern Igbo or *akali ogori* in northern Igbo, the spirits are appeased with items of sacrifice, which include palm wine, brandy, rum or other spirituous drinks. The *juju* priest calls on them and the dead ancestors to please forgive the patient and allow him or her to conduct normal peaceful life.²⁵

There are yet other spirits, which have their peculiarities such as water spirits, caves, forests, hills etc. Water spirits for example are known to afflict people and cause them to have spirit spouses, for which reason they are unable to live normal marital and sexual lives. Such people lose their lives immediately they got married or as in the case of women, die during child birth. Women who committed adultery and were involved in one

form of abomination or the other, were likewise subjected to absolution. This must be done by making libation of drinks and food concoctions. The drinks are poured on the alter and the spirits of the dead are invoked and elaborate offerings are made to get them free. After absolving him or her, the pertinent is asked to offer sacrifices called *ichu aja*. This is done by placing articles of food and wine, eggs, bananas, cloth, white chalk among others on some major roads or cross roads. In modern times, bottles of soft drinks such as coca cola, sprite, and fanta are used whereas in remote period, it consisted of palm-wine served in calabashes or cups or small gourds in addition to other liquors such as kai-kai or ogogoro.

Intiation rites: In initiation into the *mmonwu* cult, secret societies, puberty among others, a person must necessarily be initiated into these new stages of life by an elaborate ceremony. If an ogbodu or uninitiated person wishes, or is compelled for any reason to be initiated or admitted into the *mmanwu* society, he is required to bring certain items for that purpose. Principal among these must include palm wine, *kai kai* or *ogogoro*, brandy or other forms of drinks acceptable in the locality..This practice rhymes with the Akamba tribe in Kenya where a person, no matter how old he is, so long as he was not initiated, was despised and still considered a boy or girl. The ceremony which takes place at yearly intervals attracted public rejoicing with dancing, singing, drinking of beer and making libations of drinks and offerings of food to the living-dead. It is by renewal of the link between the human beings and the departed and between the visible and invisible worlds that the initiated gets trusted upon with the great responsibilities of belonging to the clan, village or town.²⁶In most Igbo societies; this is done at the age of fifteen or thereabout at the outset of puberty or manhood. As it applies to the males, the females also get initiated into woman hood after they had passed a period of probation, which is characterized by exclusion for about three months during which period they are

fattened and made ready for marriage. The fattening period is brought to an end in a glamorous ceremony in which prospective suitors come from far and near to take a close look at the maidens who are gorgeously dressed and paraded for all to see. This ceremony involves a lot of feasting in which food and palm wine feature prominently. Each of the maiden's families makes extensive preparations and cooks fabulously in expectation of august visitors among whom were friends and relations, in-laws and acquaintances domiciled far and near. Large gourds of palm wine and other drinks were provided for merriment.²⁷

In cleansing of abominations and purifications, materials or items of drinks also played significant role. The Nri diplomatic priests and ritualists, who presided over such functions, were given assorted types of drink in accordance with their request. These itinerant priests traveled from one town to another in performance of such rites. Their font of authority covered the western Igbo areas across the River Niger such as Ogboli-Ibusa, Ogboli-Isele Ukwu, Agbo, Owa, Uteh-Ogbeje, Okpanam, Asaba, Illah, Abala, Akuku among others. The same applies to the Aro settlements of Ufuma and Ajali to name a few. It was also the Nri diplomats that propitiated in chieftaincy ceremonies such as ozo initiation ceremonies as done in Nimo, Enugu-Agidi, Nawfia, Awka, Adazi, Agulu, Oraukwu, Abacha, Abagana, Nnewi, Ifite Dunu, Ifite Ogwari²⁸ among others. These priests were paid by every *ozo* titled man they installed and the ceremony was marked by large scale celebration during which large quantities of palm wine were consumed. Indeed the material means of an *ozo* man was and is still determined by the quantity of drinks and food consumed during his installation ceremony. For this reason, only the wealthy few could undertake such ceremonies and these increases with the hierarchy of the title.²⁹

Oath and ordeal rituals also involved the use of drinks. There are different types of this: claim of innocence in grievous accusation such as murder, theft, or adultery. Others include war-oath, medicine-oath or agreement or business oath in which case, one offers not to break his own side of the bargain or offers to die if he does otherwise. In other words, if the perjurers fail to live up to the oath obligation he is to lose his own life at a given sign. An illustration here is murder accusation. The grave of the deceased, who the oath taker is accused of having killed or poisoned, is dug and the coffin, or in severe cases the corpse is exposed. The accused is made to go inside the grave and stand on the coffin or lay his hands on it and swears ever killing the person through poisoning or any other diabolical means. Libation is poured before and after the ordeal and some rituals are performed in this regard. The settlement of internecine or inter- clan wars was resolved this way and large quantities of palm-wine or gin as well as kolanuts, pepper were provided by the petitioners. In Igboland generally, settlement of quarrels between two people or groups of people or people of the same moiety or opposite moieties called for presentation of large gourds of palm wine and gin by both parties.³⁰ After the adjudication, the party that was found guilty had their drinks retained by the adjudicators and elders in addition to imposition of fines and sanctions while the innocent parties were allowed to take their drinks back.

Marriage Ceremonies

It is, perhaps, in marriage ceremonies that the importance of palm wine appears to demonstrate itself most. From its beginning to the end, almost every step in the discussion of marriage proposal and its consummation is done with palm-wine, and the absence of palm wine supposed to be brought by the prospective suitor was an indication of unseriousness. Even at that, the owner of the house to whom the visit is made has the responsibility of presenting palm-wine and or other drinks to his quests after the initial

offering of the traditional kolanuts and offering of prayers to the Almighty God and to the spirits and ancestors. Beginning therefore from the first visit called introductory visit or *Iku aka*, the prospective suitor and his family members present a large gourd or gourds of palm-wine, telling the father of the maiden and his relatives who are sent for, that they had seen a very appetizing and magnificent ripe fruit in their garden and would wish to plug it to enjoy. From this moment, if the drinks are accepted, the marriage proposal has commenced. The next stage is the conduct of inquiry and appointment of a go-between person or liaison who facilitates the marriage process. Having accepted the proposal in all its ramifications, the suitors are expected to come and know the conditions of bride price payment and the next stage, which is inquiries regarding the profile of the bridegroom to be and the family and the actual traditional wine carrying ceremony, which has palm-wine as the dominant item of the occasion for the day. The quantity of palm-wine presented by the suitors demonstrates their manliness, virility and wealth. An apt illustration could be drawn from Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*.³¹ The novelist recorded that on the day Obierika, a title holder and Okonkwo's friend was to celebrate his daughters Uri - a marriage ceremony, which came up after the greater part of the bride price had been paid and on which the suitor would entertain not only the brides family and relations but the entire *umunna* made up of the wide and extensive group of kinsmen, the in laws made it lively with their several gourds of palm wine. Starting with the earlier part of the afternoon, the first two pots of palm wine arrived from Obierika's inlaws.

These were used to entertain and to encourage the women, who were preparing food for the occasion. Achebe notes that drinks were duly presented to the women who drank a cup or two each, to help them in their cooking. Some of it also went to the bride and her attendant maidens, who were putting the decoration features on her. The expectations of the inlaws in terms of the quantity of palm wine they presented usually

roused excitements. This was also true on this particular occasion and it was the conversation among the elders, who had already arrived early enough at their friend's house in expectation of the august visitors. Okonkwo and his friend, Ogbuefi Ezenwa, were discussing it, with the latter voicing it out that though their soon to arrive inlaws came from a village known for their close-fistedness; they ought to have known that Akueke, the bride of the day, was one for a king. To this, Okonkwo made his expectations of the inlaws known - they ought not to come with anything less than thirty pots of palm-wine. The pots of wine were carried by young men and boys in a single file, each carrying a single pot. On the whole, fifty pots were brought and these were displayed at the centre of the compound of the chief host and circled by both the suitors family, relations, friends and invited guests as well as those of the bride family members, kinsmen and well wishers. When the occasion had taken off with presentation and breaking of kolanut and prayers, the drinking of palm wine commenced, accompanied with the serving of food. Usually, groups of four or five men sat round with a pot of wine in their midst and it was so well organised that it went round equitably. From Chinua Achebe's story, the focal and significance point is that the presentation of palm-wine is *sine qua non*. The second significant point is that the status of the bride, measured sometimes in the social economic status of her family, in addition to those of the suitor and his family, was determined by the quantity of palm wine presented. The fact of the elders taking out time and interest to count the pots as they arrived showed the weight of culture on the quantity of palm-wine a suitor presented. Usually the suitor himself accompanied by the elders of his family, arrived after the last pot bearer.

It is important to note, however, that in marriage ceremonies like other serious traditional engagement and festivals, it is strictly the palm wine that is used in officiating them and not *ngwo* or the raffia variety. The explanation has to do with the process and

technique of extracting the drinks from the trees. In tapping the palm tree to obtain wine, the life span of the tree is not in any way threatened or shortened. It will continue to yield bountiful supply of the sap so long as the tapper wishes. The hole dug on the fibrous trunk does not in any way constitute danger to the life of the tree. This is not true of the *raffia* palm. The hole is dug on the very spot from where new shoots of palm fronds emanate, meaning that the life of the tree is cut short. While the palm tree yields its wine endlessly unless cut off from the base, the *raffia* palm is tapped once and once it begins to yield drinks it lasts only for a short while and withers off.³² This disadvantage of *ngwo* against *nkwu* is, however compensated, by the ubiquitous way by which the *ngwo* nuts scatter in the area of domain to sprout into new trees. In other words, there is always plentiful quantity of *raffia* palms in its base area. Indeed, much of them sprout right beside the parent tree, although all of them may not survive the competition. This explains the numerity of the palms in every stream, pond or marshes in the area of study.

Marriage is a sacred institution ordained by God as the Igbo see it. It is expected to last the partners' life time. It is not something brief or ephemeral. This explains why *Nkwu*, which is obtained from the somewhat life time palm tree is preferred in the marriage rites and not *Ngwo*, whose life span is brief like a whirlwind. It is for this reason that the elder who conducts prayers at any marriage ceremony mentions it specifically and significantly stating that the marriage must be like *nkwu enu* that is palm -wine or up – wine and not *ngwo* because *nkwu* is permanent while *ngwo* is ephemeral. He also states that like wise the marriage he is officiating must be like *uzo mmiri* and not *uzo nku*. The way to the river or stream (*uzo mmiri*) is usually permanent (as the river does not dry up) and does not change while that of fire wood (*uzo nku*) alters in accordance with the person's wish. Marriage is, therefore expected to have permanence or long lasting

attribute like palm-tree and its corollary path way to the river or stream as the case may be.³³

Another cultural significance is that in the course of transporting the drinks, should a pot of the palm-wine fall down and break, it is usually taken as an ill omen and the marriage is advised to discontinue. It is the belief of the people that the gods and ancestors did not sanction it. Experience has shown that marriages, which still went on after a demonstration of such evil omen, usually ended sadly. In some cases, it is expressed in premature death of either the bride or the bridegroom or some other calamity could befall them.³⁴ This is why the pot-bearers, or in modern days, the driver of the vehicle are cautioned to be careful in their conduct while transporting the items. Observation of elders has shown, however, that in most cases of spilling of drinks occasioned by the breaking of the pot or jar or gallon, it was usually unavoids, as if pre-arranged by the gods who did not sanction the marriage *ab initio*. On the other hand, marriages that were destined to be successful never experienced such distasteful or dangerous omen, even if the pots were carried by playful youths or transported along excruciating terrain such as slippery clay sand or hilly and undulating path ways or riverine creeks.

As mentioned earlier, wine from a standing tree, tapped in the method aforementioned is the sweetest and most valued drink. When freshly tapped its taste is very sugary, most refreshing but within three hours, it starts to add the tartish taste and for the next twenty-four hours or the next day, it achieves a complete souring taste, which makes it the drink for the elderly people. Even at that, the elders know they have to dilute it with fresh drinks to make it pleasant and acceptable to the taste buds. Drinks tapped at the middle of the tree or any position outside the crown are of higher alcoholic content but less nutritious and of course less in demand in the market value sense of it. Such

drinks is known in the study area as *iti*. It is usually obtained from the trunk of felled palm trees, tapped at the crown.

Alcoholic drinks obtained with this method are of lesser market value, though they are of stronger alcoholic content. They yield higher quantity than those tapped from the standing tree. It may be necessary at this juncture to explain that palm wine itself is the nutritive sap on which the tree, comprising the roots, leaves, flowers, fruits, and the trunk depend for sustainability. As for the trees reserved for wine tapping, the owner or the tapper takes care to observe when it is about putting on flowers-called, *izukalahi* in the local parlance. It is at this stage that tapping operation starts and it stops it from subsequent conception and blossoming of offspring's (that is palm fruits). It is for this reason that the little flower it puts on is cut short and having aborted it, the palm nuts are prevented from coming into being which causes the flowers to dry and wither, and continues to remain on the tree until a very long time when it falls off. The trees on the other hand that are not tapped are allowed to be made fertilized by the bees or other insects in the process of pollination from which they bear fruits.

The Place of Alcoholic Beverages at the advent of Colonialism

The consumption of alcoholic beverages is as old as human existence itself. The Stone Age societies relished in beer and wine production, albeit in small quantities and lower qualities than what came to be used in later ages. It was however in the 9th century that a Muslim alchemist was said to have discovered that steam from heated wine had a higher alcohol content than the original liquid. Thus, through condensation of the steam, a more potent form of alcohol was produced.³⁵

In eastern Nigeria, alcohol was used before the arrival of the Europeans. This was also the picture in other parts of Africa where the consumption of alcohol predated the arrival of the white man whose intervention in the lives of the people transformed into

the notorious Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. The account of a white trader, James Welsh, who, writing in the early sixteenth century, shows that the Igbo found pleasure in drinking palm wine. According to him, in the Bight of Biafra, “there are great store of palm trees, out of which they gather great store of wine”.³⁶ This explained why the Europeans found no other drink in the Igbo zone except palm wine which the slave trader Derrick Ruiters rightly observed that there were two types of sour palm wine in the region.³⁷ Alcoholic drinks featured in cultural ceremonies such as the Igbo yam festival in the same way the *Akan* and *Ga* of Ghana used it to celebrate *adwira* and *honowa* festivals respectively. More important, however, was the use of drinks to facilitate communication with the spiritual world, which Akyeamong reported was prevalent among the Igbo just as it was observed in the religious practices of the Akan, Kongo, Arada, and, indeed, all other parts of West Central Africa.³⁸ There is, therefore, the water-tight evidence that the use of alcohol was in vogue in the area of study before the earliest contact with western civilisation. Like elsewhere in the West African sub-region, alcoholic beverages were produced from a variety of sources: honey, plantains, various species of millets, palm-tree and its *raffia* equivalent.

The case of the Akan, Igbo, Kongo and Aja –Fon (called Arada by the French traders) shows that wine played symbolic role both in trade and customs. The report shows that among the Akan, intoxicating alcohol was used in the burial of kings in the ancient Ghana Kingdom before the seventeenth century. Studies have shown that this was not so among the Igbo during the same period owing mainly to the fact that the later had no elaborate kingship in addition to the fact that the area was saturated with great store of palm trees from which they gathered sufficient quantity of wine, which, by chemical composition is less intoxicating than other types of alcoholic beverages including *pitau* and the stronger and intoxicating brandy.³⁹ The less seeming non intoxicating

composition of palm wine was what Olaudah Equiano had in mind when he noted that his people were “totally unacquainted with strong or spirituous liquours; their principal beverage being palm wine”. He described it as wine from the sap of the oil palms of delicious sweetness which if left unconsumed in a few days acquires a tartish and more spirituous flavour but in spite of this, he had never seen any one intoxicated by it.⁴⁰

In the pre-colonial traditional economy, palm- wine tapping and gin production were lucrative businesses that offered employment to a wide range of the population even as a good percentage of others were afforded gainful employment through their trading and distribution of the products. At this point in time, the present derogatory or low social status symbol, which the palm-wine tapper seem to assume today was unknown. At that time, he was a respected professional in the same way farmers, an iron-smiths or craft designers were regarded.

Considering the fact that palm-wine was highly desired or demanded in all occasions, be it the numerous festivals, rituals, marriages or even in personal need such as entertainment of friends and visitors, palm wine tapping was respected as a lucrative business that kept the tapper busy all year round. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the practice of producing *iti* started – to meet up quickly with the high demand resulting in the felling of some palm trees to obtain quick yielding supply of drinks. Indeed, there was no function among the Igbo, Ijaw, Ibibio, Efik, or Ekoi without a good quality of palm wine to the guests.

Apart from entertainment, *nkwu-elu* (up-wine) and later gin became widely used in medicinal preparation. Medicine men or herbalists (*dibia*) generally demanded it from their clients for the mixing of concoctions, which included roots, shrubs and leaves or other medicinal properties. It is believed that alcohol acted as catalyst in extraction of pharmacological properties for which reason, they were preferred to water. The novelist,

Nwapa recorded in *Efuru* that when the chief character of the novel, Efuru, took in and developed swollen legs, some medicine were brought to her, which mixture consisted of some leaves and some palm-wine. Having cooked it in a clay pot, she was instructed to routinely warm it over a slow fire every morning and night before drinking it. She was in addition instructed to pour fresh *nkwu* to it when the concoction was about to finish and not *ngwo*. The efficacy of the medicine showed that after taking it religiously as instructed, Efuru discovered that she started urinating more and her legs and feet were no longer swollen.⁴¹ Alcohol also acted as aphrodisiac, no wonder it was commonly desired by young men who had just married new wives. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe records that in one of the meetings called by Okonkwo to discuss his proposal to raise his first seed yams as a father, from Nwakibie, a wealthy yam farmer, the dregs of palm-wine was reserved for Igwilo, Nwakibie's son on account of the fact that he was the newest married man in the midst.⁴² It is believed that the dregs contained the most nourishing part of the sap, good enough in *spermatozoa* production. No wonder, newly-married men were usually offered or advised to drink palm wine particularly the dregs which forms the thicker part of the liquid left at the bottom of the keg, calabash or container. In like manner lactating mothers knew that they must drink palm wine to achieve free flow of breast milk. Thus one of the essential gifts offered to a woman who had just delivered particularly those who had delivered to their new babies but whose breast milk was not flowing sufficiently, was fresh palm wine, whether *ngwo* or *nkwu enu*. As for distilled gin whether local or imported variety, they were known largely as medicine for the relief of cold, *rheumatism* and abdominal pain. It is a stimulant for the relief of cold for fishermen who must keep it at all times as well as any one who was exposed to rain or whose profession predisposed him often to be outside in the cold.

In the social sphere, the offering of alcohol to a visitor was an expression of love and hospitality. The next crucial item to offer a friend or visitor after the traditional kolanut was food and drink. It was not important how often the friend visited. In so far there was palm wine or gin left in the cellar or family bar, it was customary to offer it as an expression of love and appreciation. Likewise, it was given out freely by the host in ceremonies such as new yam festivals and naming ceremonies. In marriage ceremonies it was the *sine qua non*. *Nkwu enu* formed the major item. The marriage ritual took place the moment when the father of the bride or the eldest man in the extended family, poured out wine (*nkwu-enu*) into a cup and offered it to the bride to give to her suitor or bridegroom.

Having accepted the drink she locates him, among the crowd, kneels down before him takes a sip and offers it to him and the man in turn accepts and drinks it, and offers the rest to bride. He then leads her (the bride) to give back the cup to the elder from whom the drink originated, usually with some money stuffed inside the cup. At that moment the marriage has automatically been sealed by both the humans and by the gods. It is at this stage that the generality of the people are free to drink. Again, Nwapa notes that when Adizua came to marry *Efuru*, the latter was shown the wine brought by her suitors and her father asked her if they were free to drink it. She affirmed by drinking the cup of wine offered her by the groom, Adizua, who sipped first and offered her. And having bent down to drink it, to the gaze of the people, she left and the people became free to have their drink.⁴³ This is the crux of the matter. In other words, all other events that preceded or followed this ritual are ceremonial issues in outlook belonging to the realm of social functions and not ritual or religious.

In naming ceremonies, alcohol was used in offering prayers to God Almighty and to the guardian deities of the clan or family, asking them to protect the life of the new

baby, to direct his or her paths in the right direction in accordance with the earthly mission destined for him or her. As Njoku remarks that alcohol features prominently in birth and funeral ceremonies among the people of eastern Nigeria. Njoku further illustrated an example common in many parts of the southeast littoral where a new born baby was given alcohol drinks to wet his throat and as a sign of welcome to a new world from the spirit realm – to receive ancestral blessing etc.⁴⁴

In funeral ceremonies, such as wake keep (*ida abani*) liquor was used by young men to keep awake. Like any other social gathering, individual and group consumption of alcohol provided a kind of liberating power that enabled the individual to overcome sleep or fear and to overcome obstacles to social discourse. This paved the way for the promotion of social commitment, cohesion and shared identity. Finally, marketing and distribution of alcohol provided employment to the women-folk, who it was their business to sell it. While the men did the wine-tapping and gin distillation, it was left to the women to market it, making it reach the target audience..

The Impact of the Arrival of European Slave Traders

The arrival of Europeans on the coast of West Africa and the subsequent trade on humans across the Atlantic Ocean acted as a catalyst that radicalised and altered the sociology of African life in the general sense of it, imparting on the people, a strong alcohol consumption habit. The reports of white slave traders showed that the importation of foreign gin into Africa in the course of initial contact with the white slave dealers had disastrous effects leading to the excessive drinking habits and accompanied social devastation. There is no doubt, therefore, that alcohol and its consumption were in vogue in the African continent prior to the arrival of the whites. However, with their coming, they took new forms as illustrated in the lives of Akan and Igbo, and indeed the entire people of West Africa.⁴⁵ This was what Atkins had in mind when he wrote that alcohol

was readily available among the people at the different trading regions along the West African coast. The only exception according to him was, perhaps, the northern stretches of the slave trade where Islam was strongly entrenched but even so, the Muslim controlled areas demonstrated the extensive use of alcohol. An apt example is the Wolofs, a partially Muslim group from the Senegal region whom the Portuguese traveler, Valentine Fernandes, described as “great drunkards who derive pleasure from our wine”.⁴⁶

The Europeans used alcoholic drinks for a myriad of motives. First, as gifts to kings, chiefs and subordinate rulers, using it to influence them into securing people who they turned into slaves for export to the new world. Second, was to secure for themselves preferential treatment against other competing European traders of differing nationality. The slave trader, Barbot reported that the Dutch led the way in this regards using gifts of alcohol to chiefs to edge out the pioneer Portuguese, who they worked hard to expel from all the places of trade where they had hitherto possessed. But the black Africans had become so entangled with the Portuguese having become acquitted with the relationship, which could not easily be broken, hence the use of alcoholic gifts and other material items to turn them away from their erstwhile friends.⁴⁷

The report of Frederick Smith, shows that the gifts of alcohol had become a *sine qua non* in the trade protocol. The reason was that the African had become a great lover of strong liquors and would expect their *dassy* (strong liquor) before any negotiation would commence. Anyone therefore who intended to trade with them must humour them with drinks, else he would not expect to get even one elephant tusk. Also called *dashee*, *bizy*, and other epithets, the gifts involved elaborate rules, which was implemented to appease state leaders and integrate even peripheral African social groups into the Atlantic trade. This was the views of Atkins who wrote that the African trader “never cares to treat

with dry lips".⁴⁸ The third role of rum and alcoholic beverages was *per se* an item of trade. In the 1720s, brandy was reported to be one of the principal commodities imported by the French.⁴⁹ Available records also shows that by the late 18th century, slave traders from new England and Brazil were each annually exporting about 300,000 gallons of run to West African and West Central Africa.⁵⁰

The over influencing effect of the alcohol traffic, reaching alarming proportion was the *raison d'être* for the imposition of tight restriction by some metropolitan governments and later colonial administrators. The Cuban anthropologists, Fernando Ortiz, maintained that rum was always the cargo for the slaves return trip, for with it human cargoes were bought, local chieftains bribed and the African tribes corrupted and weakened. Part of the European nefarious trick was to induce the Africans so heavily with drinks that having been made drunk, they would lose their reasoning and at that time the bargains would start and the Europeans would strike a deal.⁵¹ The implication was that rum and other alcoholic beverages thus became the standard articles of trade along the African coast and as gifts dispensed prior to trading or business engagements.

Smith captures the reality with Atkins remarks that the African trader "paid much premium to a gift of rum".⁵² In a similar report, Bosman noted that Africans at Whydah were great lovers of strong liquors, who expected their *dassy*, and "he that intends to trade here, must humour them therein, or he shall not get one tooth (elephant tusk)".⁵³ The implication as noted by Thornton⁵⁴, was that gift giving which often involved elaborate rules, was implemented to appease state leaders and integrate even peripheral African social groups into the Atlantic trade. The result was that the new found love for alcohol by African leaders percolated down the mainstream population leading to high demand of the intoxicating product. The net-effect was relative enlargement of the importation and

distribution of the product in the Western African zone in the period between the 1680s and 1780s.

A study said to have been carried out by David Eltis and Lawrence Jennings shows that in the decade of the 1680s, the volume of the trade in alcohol stood at 12.5% of imports into West African ports and a century later the figure stood at 9.7%.⁵⁵ indicating that in spite of intervention by the metropolitan governments restricting the export of alcohol, the volume did not significantly change. The study shows that all the major slave trading nations were guilty of this malady. For instance, the French traders at the slave trading port at Whydah during the 1720s had brandy as one of their principal commodities imported into the area. Likewise, available evidence shows that the Dutch traders has more than 10 percent of their trading cargo consisting of alcoholic beverages.⁵⁶

As it were, local chiefs were induced to forment troubles with their neighbours and wars ensued for which slaves were captured and sold to the white slavers. On this note, Williams observed that;

“Rum was an essential part of the slaveship, particularly the colonial American slave ship. No slave trader could afford to dispense with a cargo of rum. It was profitable to spread the taste for liquor on the coast. The Negro dealers were plied with it, were induced to drink till they lost their reason and then the bargain was struck”⁵⁷.

Susan Diduk elaborated the truism in this position when analysing the European alcohol trade with West Africa in the pre-colonial era. According to Smith, she noted that German commercial trade houses were already exporting approximately 45 million litres of spirits to sub-sahara Africa in the mid 1880s even before the 1884 Berlin West African Conference and subsequent partition of Africa. Undoubtedly, trade spirits had

become the most important German export to West Africa. The significance of this matter is illustrated by the fact that Hamburg, which at that time was the second largest port in Europe after London, exported half exports of alcoholic spirits coming there from between 1874 and 1888. Diduck noted further that after 1884, spirits made up of two-thirds German exports of over 12 million marks of bottled schnapps destined for Africa long before Hamburg and Bremen merchant houses used them as items of commerce, Schnapps and fire arms were preferred by European traders as exchange items on the West African coast. German spirits were also exported from New England to Africa in the late 1770, the exports of rum were “four-fifths of the total (American) colonial exports of that year.⁵⁸ It was like a mighty call was made in Europe and America to manufacture alcohol and export them to Africa as the experience of Liverpool, England of the 18th Century where distilleries sprang up in rapidity with African markets as targets clearly shows the reality of the situation by illustrating inter alia;

“Bottles of alcohol served as practical trade items because they could be transported relatively easily and were readily divisible. To obtain slaves and ivory, traders and businessmen needed commercial items of exchange. Beads, cloth, guns, gunpowder, and alcoholic beverages especially schnapps, were typical commodities. These were bartered and circulated along indigenous exchange routes. In the context of the West African coastal slave trade, alcohol became so important that one traveler observed that rum-carrying coastal vessels, seemed like “one long barroom”. Even after the official abolition of slavery, a special commission sent to Nigeria in 1895 by the Foreign Office wrote that without spirits, “trade in the Delta is at present impossible” because liquor was the most popular currency”.⁵⁹

Trade in alcohol progressively increased in volume on account of the following reasons. Firstly, the white traders and later, colonial administrators drank, the liquors regularly. It was in reference to this assertion that Pan noted that Europeans in Africa consumed sizeable amount of alcohol and frequently the better quality liquors imported into the zone. Although liquor exported to Africa was targeted at indigenous peoples, they were also consumed by the relatively few Europeans residing among the peoples. There is no doubt therefore that the indigenous peoples developed the habit of drinking gin in imitation of the white people. Even though imported liquor was expensive and unaffordable, the fact of the price of the imported liquors being expensive and unaffordable paved way for the generality of the people to look out for cheap brands. Henceforth, the people developed the habit of purchasing the spirits as little as a penny or a few cowry shells, and in this way it was able to reach the poorer strata of the Nigerian society.⁶⁰ Imported liquor gradually carved a niche in the market-place and dangerous drink were sold under its umbrella. With time, it even supplanted indigenous brews as the prestige drinks of choice. This is true of Igbo land as well as other parts of eastern Nigeria where imported gin gradually assumed a position of prestige as gift-giving at celebratory events, in preference to the indigenous palm wine. This habit has proved to be the standard pattern of the elite through whom it percolated down to the middle class and to the downstream so-called masses.

The second explanation is that with the abolition of slave trade, in the later part of the 18th century, the importation of alcohol along with cheap textiles and iron goods became articles as part of the legitimate trade regime. Alcohol, on its own, assumed a particularly important trade article in the absence of standard European currencies. This was evident when by 1928, gin currency had almost replaced cowry currency in Lagos. Gin was also to replace iron bars as legal tender. Indeed, spirits had become so

entrenched as a currency that as late as 1930, they continued to be the preferred for bride-payment. By the end of the 18th century, the ports were dominated by alcohol. Little wonder alcohol became a store of wealth, indeed a measurement of wealth and an alternative to currency. It was preferred to agricultural products because the latter consisted of perishable commodities and it was difficult to store them as wealth. To be converted in forms that could be stored, alcohol became acceptable according to Isichei because the depreciation of traditional currencies in Igbo land meant that liquor was a useful albeit fragile way of accumulating wealth”.⁶¹. The antiquity of the import of liquor was noted by a 1917 report as follows:

Spirits have been imported into Calabar for nearly 300 years and into Badagry and Lagos for about 150 years. They were in use in Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, and river ports at the time of the cession of Lagos in 1861.⁶²

To him “the eighteenth century in West Africa was the Age of Rum, the nineteenth century the Age of Gin and the twentieth century the Age of Whisky”.⁶³

In as much as the precise origins of liquor trade remains unknown, it is indubitably clear that it became a concomitant part of the regions import-export trade soon after European traders arrived on the Atlantic coast. It was from the Calabar port that the liquor items obviously spread into the hinterland and to other parts of eastern Nigeria. With it also came firearms intended for victorious purposes. These, henceforth, became “alluring commodities that have since then never failed to find a market”.⁶⁴

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have been able to demonstrate that in the pre-colonial era, the different ethnic groups and peoples of eastern Nigeria relished in the consumption of palm wine and gin. While palm wine which is derived from two sources; oil palm *elaeis guineensis* and raphia palm were indigenous to Africa, local gin was most probably derived from

imitation or adaptation to the white man's variety introduced in the area of study in the course of the Atlantic Slave Trade. The entry of the Europeans into Africa - first the Portuguese and supplanted later by the Dutch, British, French, Americans and others radically altered the culture of the peoples as far as the consumption of alcoholic beverages was concerned and this impacted on the overall custom, tradition, politics, economy, diplomacy, social and inter-group relations. In comparison to the indigenous palm wine, which was less intoxicating, the imported schnapps had a very high alcohol content and no doubt "irrevocably disrupted the previous drinking equilibrium of Nigerians by changing the manner in which local wines and beers were produced and consumed and by introducing new alcoholic beverages hitherto unknown to the Nigerian people".⁶⁵

For one thing, the imported liquor was a desirable objects of trade. It rhymes with the imperialist ideology whereby the indigenous peoples were intimidated by the importation of superior culture, which supplanted their hitherto desirable one. The Europeans visitors consciously or unconsciously imparted this culture on the peoples by their use of it in official or unofficial festive celebrations such as celebration of success at the annexation of territories or colonies. An instance was on 17 August 1884 when the German flag was raised at Bimbia in Kamarun when that country was annexed as colony of Germany. The Consul General was said to have distributed schnapps during the celebration and billed the liquor to his metropolitan government.⁶⁶This fleeting event represents the commanding metaphor of importance to which the imported spirits hitherto unknown among the peoples came to play in their lives. It brought in its wake, new status symbols, new elite power structures and changing social relations between those who could afford the new liquors and those who could not afford them. These alien drinks which included among others; rum, genever, cognac, gin, and eau de cologne were

obviously in the eyes of the peoples superior to their indigenous varieties of locally breed corn and guinea corn beers or their locally tapped palm or raffia wine.

Like the Cameroon example cited here, the trade in spirits grew in bounds and although it did not supplant the indigenous alcoholic beverages, it did compete with it favourably leaving in its trail, enormous damage to the culture and custom of the people. While formerly drunkenness and other associated indisciplined behavior due to alcoholism was controlled and checked by well known social sanctions, the new found friendship and intervention of the western culture into the fabrics of the people's lives brought new changes which permanently altered the worthwhile behaviour of the peoples. A pointer to this fact is that gin alongside with other drug altering- effects such as *marijuana* is highly patronised by deviants, and men of the underworld because of its effects on the individual consumer which somewhat liberating power that enables him overcome fear.

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CHAPTER THREE

ALCOHOL IN COLONIAL EASTERN NIGERIA UP TO 1949

The abolition of slave trade and subsequent resumption of legitimate trade, set the stage for colonial rule in Nigeria. Following the intense rivalry and competition among the European powers for spheres of influence in Africa, a development, resulting largely from the economic recession in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, the rulers of the different nations found it necessary to come to terms on how to divide up Africa among themselves.¹ This was happened at a time Britain was the leading industrial state, and with the other European nations looked to other was to meet the expanding needs for raw materials for the Industrial Revolution. There arose a keen competition among the European countries to find new sources of raw materials.²

In order to avoid military confrontations over the partition of Africa, the Berlin West African Conference was held in 1884 – 1885. Thus, colonialism in the belief of such men as Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and even Karl Marx became the political, economic and cultural domination of weaker peoples by stronger and technologically more advanced peoples.³

In the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 19th century capitalism in Europe logically led to imperialism⁴. This was how the Lower Niger earlier explored by the Lander Brothers in 1830⁵ came under British control. Between 1900-1960, the British left political, legal, social, economic and cultural legacies that shaped the lives of the peoples in their various manifestations. This chapter undertakes to examine the British colonial policies which influenced the production, distribution and consumption of alcohol and the ripple effects of such policies in the socio-economic development of the eastern Nigeria. It ought to be emphasised however, that the variety of alcohol in question are spirits comprising brandy, rum and champaign and later brewed beer. The indigenous alcoholic

beverages of oil-palm wine and raffia-palm wine earlier examined in chapter two, have not much bearing with colonial policies other than sanitary regulations of palm wine bars. Likewise, the area of study comprises the south eastern Nigeria, which is made up of the following ethnic groups: Igbo, Ibibio, Efik, Ijaw, Ogoni and their Ikwere contiguous littoral communities. Prior to the advent of Western imperialism and the peripheral incorporation of Nigerian economy into the global capitalist system, alcohol was already familiar to generations of the peoples, who made use of their indigenous palm wine and grain based beer. With the introduction of the foreign and imported spirits, the indigenous drinks did not dissipate but came to be consumed side by side with imported spirituous liquor - a major item of European merchandise both during the slave trade and legitimate regime. With the foisting of colonial rule on the peoples of the regions, the trend came to be that both the indigenous drinks and the foreign liquor came to complement and to compete with each other.

As already noted in Chapter 2, Nigerians had drunk low alcoholic beverages for ages. Alcohol consumption among the people like any other part of the globe was a multifaceted affair, communal and ritual affairs. Alcohol was therefore, a part and parcel of life of the people ranging from naming ceremonies, entertaining quests at weddings, new yam festivals chieftaincy installments and funeral obsequies to pouring of libations to the ancestors.⁶ Nigerians had no rum, whisky, brandy or any when other such strong spirits to consume except the arrival of Europeans on the coast. The acquisition of the southern Nigeria as British protectorate gave encouragement to further spread of the liquor trade into the hinterland and by the second half of the 19th century, the liquor traffic which started in Calabar, Bonny and Brass with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th century, expanded tremendously because of the dramatic availability of the new drinks

made possible by new transport network. The new liquor commanded some advantages over the existing indigenous drinks.

Their stronger intoxicating effect gave them an edge over palm wine and grain beer and this is explained by the fact that the average Nigerian was given to bitter taste as illustrated by their regular chewing of kola nut. In addition, the foreignness of imported liquor made them assumed exotic attributes particularly in a cultural context. More importantly, the indigenous drinks continued to remain relevant because some of the imported drinks were reported to be injurious to health. It was reported for instance by the media in April 5, 1881, that an English firm imported a kind of gin into the colony and that such gin was so potent in the destruction of human life that the people termed it '*Erebe*', in reference to its razor like action on the liver. There was no doubt that many people perished in the process of drinking that abominable compound of turpentine.⁷

In an uncontrolled milieu of liquor traffic, it was not unexpected that some of the drinks were truly poisonous substances and once the rumour went round, especially in an environment where facts were hardly cross-checked, they came to assume an element of truth among the local peoples, who felt that the devil they knew was better than the angel they hardly knew. In addition to poisonous attributes of some imported liquor, drunkenness and misdemeanor was frowned at by the people. They had their traditional sanctions and other means of controlling undesirable behaviour. Palm-wine and *pitau* or *burukutu* generally did not induce drunkenness in comparison to gin, no wonder the new drinks were scorned by some of the Africans. It is for these reasons, that the imported drinks did not completely displace the local beverages. Instead they coexisted, complemented and competed with each other. Foreign alcohol became more wide spread when it became cheaper selling at 4.5d per litre.⁸ This means that with few shillings a

drinker could sit at one of the numerous bars and drink to his fill. This cheapness made it affordable in small affordable quantities. Hence many peoples had access to it.

The Position of Alcohol Importation and Consumption at the outset of Colonial Rule

The study of colonial policies in European liquor trade in the West Africa has elicited considerable interest among historians. This is evident in Hopkins and Olukoju's works. For instance, remarking on the trade, Hopkins to refer to it as a "profitable subject of future research".⁹ The liquor trade dates back to the first contact of Africans with the Europeans in the 15th century and was a major article of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. At the end of the iniquitous trade in the mid 19th century and the start of the palm oil trade, a century or so later, imported liquor was Nigeria's largest external trade. The liquor trade expanded rapidly from its small beginnings during the slave trade era and reached its greatest volume between 1880 and 1914. The trade was overwhelmingly in spirits while beer played a minor role.¹⁰

Liquor trade assumed a new role in the extractive economy of Nigeria and served as transnational currency, the chief source of taxation revenue and an object on which the colonial economy rested. The imported liquor trade, however, had the effect of irrevocably disrupting the previous drinking equilibrium of Nigeria, by changing the manner in which local wines and beers were produced and consumed, and by introducing new alcoholic beverages hitherto unknown to the Nigerian people. While beer and palm-wine were produced locally from local plants and trees, the processes by which these stronger spirits were made were unknown. Imported liquor was an alien substance and as such, in the eyes of Nigerians, a desirable object of trade.¹¹

In as much as the drinking of alcohol among the Nigerian people was a personal and individual affair, the commodity, however, tied the nation into the world economy through trade as well as providing money through taxation on which the colonial regime

depended and post-colonial governments obtained revenue. Strident campaigns were in the course of the trade carried out by a consortium of international humanitarian and religious organisations as well as governments, to stop the trade because of its counter-productive effects both on the health, moral and religious sensitivities of the people and also on direction and value of trade, but these effort were largely ineffectual as would be deduced from this chapter. Some external factors, such as the World War I and the Great Depression, had the deleterious effect of making the spirituous liquor scarce and enhancing its price, hence, the desire by the local people to learn the technology of distilling it. The conflict engendered there from, led the colonial government into banning the practice. However, the resolve of the people to continue to distill gin, led to enactment of legal policies against what the colonial government termed illicit gin. It also led to colonial propaganda against the consumption of the local distilled gin.

In the eastern Nigeria, spirits were imported into Calabar dating back to nearly 300 years, much earlier before Badagry and Lagos.¹² The liquor trade was therefore of considerable age and had become part and parcel of the people's custom and habit. It was an alien substance, and in their eyes a desirable object to buy. This led to the altering of old customs and fashioning new ones to accommodate the use of imported alcohol.¹³

In as much as liquor was an article of trade along side with other goods, and like them served as item of barter such as cloth, beads, guns and gun powder, it nevertheless stood above others because it served in addition as a preferred transitional currency in many transactions.¹⁴ Anecdotal evidence suggests that alcohol found its own special, highly-regarded niche in Afro-European economic transactions.¹⁵

As ought to be expected in the behavioural ethics of the people, once an alien item circulated and was found acceptable particularly among the rich and influential, it often not become widely accepted and demanded by the generality of the people. This was also

true of the imported liquor, whose taste turned into a habit and Nigerians demanded continual supplies. The importance accorded liquor trade is illustrated by the fact that it competed with firearms as best-sellers in Africa. This was what Groves, in his *Planting of Christianity in Africa* had in mind when he noted that fire-water which included Mars and Bacchus, intended for leisured ease and white man's gun for victorious aggression became alluring commodities that never failed to find a market.¹⁶ Thus, gin blossomed into a significant trade and according to Mcphee, became the key to unlock many doors.¹⁷

However, with the political annexation of Lagos in 1861 and confirmation of the Lower Niger into the Protectorate of Nigeria, colonial rule became established and the area under consideration came under a new economic environment under British colonial regime. Traders, henceforth, found themselves subject to colonial regulations through customs duties, licensing systems and the like. Gradually colonial conquest extended into the hinterland and as it did so, its paraphernalia of trade accompanied it as African middle men helped to push trade into the new conquered areas ahead of the slower process of political annexation. By the first decade of the 20th century, "the sinful spirits as liquor became termed by its abolitionists, accounted for about one-third of all Nigeria's purchasing power spent on imports."¹⁸

It was popular, exceeding trade equation on other "useful", "legitimate" and "civilized" goods such as cotton, cloth, bicycles and umbrellas.. Far from that, colonial Nigeria as at that time operated a free and open economy, not a captured market, and so non-British imports gave the British manufactured goods a good dose of rivalry. It was in this regards that German potato-spirit and Dutch grain spirit manufacturers provided Nigeria with most of its imported liquor.¹⁹

By 1907, of the £385,505 worth of spirits imported into southern Nigeria, Germany represented £139,890. A number of factors made the German and Dutch

ascendency possible. Firstly, German and other continental European manufacturers came with inferior, cheaper spirits.²⁰ With their cheap manufacturing base, they were able to lead in the trade for quite many years. Secondly, the German government as at the 1890s gave a generous bounty equivalent to five pence per proof gallon to its liquor manufacturers. The British counterparts did receive bounty but at a much lower percent not comparable with their German rivals.²¹ This made it possible for the Germans to deliver their spirits to Lagos at between 9 and 18 pence a gallon. Because they enjoyed a lion's share of the liquor trade and profit, the Germans were able to dominate the palm kernel export trade in Lagos and the Southern Protectorate. Their usurpation of the trade gave them an edge to bargain in a stronger position in the palm kernel business. This explains the constant stream of ocean going vessels gravitating from Germany to Nigeria. Welsh demonstrated this by citing the fact that in the period between July to September 1903, 45 Nigeria-bound ships, equal to one ship every two days left Hamburg port.²² This also explains why German spirits accounted for 97.46 percent and 90.54 percent of 1899's and 1903's total imports respectively.²³

The virtual monopoly of German imports into Nigeria was what made an English commentator to complain that his country bore the odium of the liquor trade without gaining any economic benefits. In his words, "whilst England incurs the disgrace and bears the injury which results from the iniquitous traffic, other countries, and especially German, enjoy the lion's share of profit".²⁴

Gin As Currency

A major reason for the importance of gin was the fact of its role as currency, a factor that gave birth to the "gin currency" syndrome. It is in this use that D.C. Price, the District Commissioner for Brass reported *inter alia*:

“Trade spirits, especially gin are not used merely for drinking, but are in some parts of the country employed as a substitute for currency and large quantities are stored as accumulated wealth... The people are still in the barter stage, and for various reasons gin furnishes the most convenient standard of value.”²⁵

Gin was only an item of trade among a host of other import products. However, for a number of reasons, it served as convenient means of trade by barter. Firstly, unlike other delicate articles of trade such as cloth and tobacco, gin did not deteriorate over time even as its transport was less cumbersome than bulky, *manillas*, heavy cowries and brass rods. The use of liquor for commercial transactions was made more convenient by the fact that every case of liquor was divided into smaller units and divided into twelve constituent bottles. This method of transaction rhymed with the British system of monetisation for when the colonial monetary system was eventually introduced, it became a case of twelve pence to one shilling, which equaled what was hitherto in vogue. The third explanation has to do with the government ban of *manilla* imports in 1902. In addition to this, other alternative modes of currency such as brass rods were less favoured and the high degree of suspicion which greeted the sterling notes and coins when they were introduced, went a long way in boosting the use of gin as alternative currency which lasted until the end of the first World War.²⁶

An illustration of this fact is the statement credited to Chief Cookey Gam of Opobo who stated that the ban on manila and copper wires made him to equate money with gin.²⁷ Finally, and the last but very crucial, is the popularity accorded gin as a mode of exchange across the land indubitably encouraging traders to stimulate the gin traffic thereby making it the major product of the economy. Gin became measured as symbol of wealth. Perishable agriculture commodities were easily converted into land, slaves or gin. The nature of the economy made cash unnecessary as a “big man” was measured with the

economic and social values he possessed, which was measured in gin. Even the graves of a deceased person was decorated with empty bottles of gin, the quantity displayed showed how wealthy the man was when alive.²⁸

The importance of gin currency is appreciated by the fact that it was accepted as legal tender in the payment of court fines in some areas. This development did not go down well with the foremost abolitionist Bishop Tugwell who made some accusations against the government accusing it of moral and financial bankruptcy. This led the colonial government into instituting a thorough investigation on the matter and found substantial evidence to back up Tugwell's accusation. It was discovered that 90% of the fines in the Native Courts of the Brass District, which included; six towns of Amassoma, Ekow, Nembe, Ogbayan, Sabagreia and Twon, were paid in gin currency, which goes to substantiate Tugwell's accusation against the local District Commissioner. Litigates were reported to have deposited gin as security for a court payment which was converted into cash by the court clerk at the rate of ten shillings per case before being written up in the court's ledger²⁹.

This practice continued unabated because the clerk made some personal profit as the market price of gin was a couple of shillings higher than what he collected as price for the fine. Even when criticisms against the transaction led to its modification, not much changed because litigants simply exchanged their gin with cash supplied by merchants who regularly attended court business because of the conversion business. In other words, instead of the clerk selling the gin to the trader, the litigant sold to the trader directly. When the slur associated with the nefarious practice caused the government to stop it in 1908, acting in accordance with the Southern Nigeria Rule No.2 of 1901, litigants had already been so used to gin currency that they still paid their fines with money raised from converting their bank account of gin cases into cash.³⁰ The prevailing situation not

withstanding, the government made concerted effort to stop the gin currency syndrome. Its effort was bolstered with monetisation policy, which sought to introduce widespread use of paper and coin currency. But the effort was rebuffed by the people who had become used to the gin currency. It is on this note that the Native Courts could not have done anything to help the situation because if they stopped receiving gin as form of payment, the courts would otherwise stop functioning. The indigenes recognized no form of exchange other than gin. It was likewise that they rated their articles of trade. Any sudden reversal of gin exchange to monetary system would dislocate trade in the entire zone and complicate administrative mechanism.

In any case, the people composed overwhelmingly of peasant farmers grew suspicious of government's intention. Asking them to substitute their hard-earned products with unappreciated pieces of paper and circles of metal, was like asking for the impossibility. Even at that, the coins were too high in value and too scarce in circulation to serve as an extensively functioning currency. Coins could easily be lost, and their paper equivalent could be soaked in water, stolen or subjected to heat and humidity of weather or burnt by fire, or eaten up by insects or, rodents. Dubious people could take advantage of the people's ignorance and cheat them as illustrated in stores where people were palmed off with telegraphy envelopes because their colour looked similar to that of paper money. The worst happened when the West Africa Currency Board introduced coins with palm tree motif, the rumour went round that the government was intent on nationalizing their palm trees.³⁰ In short, as far as the people were concerned, the coins were simply raw materials for ornamental jewelry and as for the paper money, they were inconvenient for the people's handling as they possessed no purses, wallets, bags or pockets to put them safely.³¹

The colonial government was, however, undaunted and went ahead with its monetisation policy. In the spirit of doggedness, it introduced nickel-bronze pennies and its aluminum equivalence. Through public enlightenment and supply of enough coin currency to go round, it hoped to find favour with the people in a gradual way. With time the policy began to yield fruits. In the whole of Delta region, particularly Cross River and Brass areas where the gin currency economy was the highest, appreciable changes began to take place when the new currency began to compete against other currencies such as manilas, cowries, *iron-rods, wires, salt, copper, brass rods, cloth, tobacco, palm oil* and gin. In as much as these continued to be astonishingly used as currencies, even as late as 1948 when *manilla* was abolished, their circulation had become severely circumscribed and the switch over to the legalised monetary equivalent had become a huge reality. Two factors made this possible. First, was the high importation of new special currency as illustrated in the period under consideration when southern Nigeria imported eight million pounds of the new currency to finance economic transition, which was taking place at the time. The second factor causing the retreat of the transitional currencies was the impact of the World War I, which led to drastic reduction and scarcity of imported trade spirits import during the four agonizing years. By the years 1916 and 1917, produce trade had almost completely been carried out in the region with cash, and chiefs began to hoard their wealth in coin rather than gin. By 1919, gin was out- rightly banned putting a death knell on its continued use as currency.³²

Opposition to the Liquor Traffic

The Liquor trade, did not, however, go unchallenged. Opposition was registered from a number of quarters, which : missionaries, humanitarian organizations, political and imperial administrative leaders of the colonial state, each group or persons registering

opposition based on his or her frame of references. Thus, while the first group saw the liquor trade as constituting the chief obstacle to their civilising mission in Nigeria, Sir Taubman Goldie of the Royal Niger Company sought to employ opposition to the trade as strategy to dislodge the Liverpool traders of the Niger Delta, who were the chief challengers of his company's trade monopoly regime in the area. Even when it was clear that his oppressive commercial and administrative policies were responsible for the 1895 attack by the Brassmen on his company's premises at Akassa, Goldie held on the pretentious argument that it was antiliquor policy that caused it.³³

In reality the liquor trade constituted the biggest challenge to British imperialism because it was organised by rival European countries and the trade was disrupting the British trade in textiles, hardware and other acceptable, wholesome goods. Unlike these "legitimate" articles of trade, fire-water, did not improve the people's standard of living and being detrimental to their well being, they posed obstacles to the expansion of British trade.

The opposition was expressed in rallies, conferences, and synods both in Nigeria and England and their views were articulated in articles published by the *Times of London*. The public opinion generated by these anti-liquor movements had the effect of receiving support from the British House of Common and the German Reichstag, which on April 24, 1888 and May 4, 1889 respectively made declarations in disfavour of the iniquitous trade. It was to this effect that the Brussels Conference of the European powers in Africa was convened to discuss the liquor issue. Unexpectedly, however, to the chagrin of the abolitionists, the Conference upheld the liquor trade regime, merely restricting it to areas where it was already established but discouraging its further spread to areas where it had hitherto not made impact. The Conference, for instance, did not see the feasibility of

imposing tariffs of more than six pence (6d) per gallon since such a measure would go a long way to liquidating French and German trade with Africa.³⁴

The development did not discourage the abolitionists and by 1895, the Aborigines Protection Society (A.P.S) collaborated with the Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee to circulate the 'Poison of African Papers' which outlined in a series of publications the evils and catastrophes of the liquor trade. The abolitionists won a partial victory with the appointment of Sir William Macgregor as Governor of Lagos in 1899. He had in a similar position in New Guinea, employed high tariff to deal with the liquor traffic but in Nigeria, it was a different ball-game as the conditions were markedly different. Macgregor was only able to affect a slight increment in the duty on liquor as a wholesome fight against it, like in Guinea, could result in killing the goose that laid the golden egg. In any case, the efforts of the abolitionists continued to yield fruits, an instance being in 1909, when the government set up a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate their complaints.³⁵

The government was obliged to end the gin trade because the Native Courts, which were indicted in the illegal practice, proved to be the most visible sign of British authorities in the rural areas. It was to this effect that the international anti-alcohol movement, which began in British Churches earlier in the 1880s and spread to Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy and Belgium, began to mount boisterous campaigns against the shameful iniquities, giving rise on the part of the government that something must be done. The colonial government in Nigeria could not but give attention to the calls of the missionary and temperance societies, especially when their membership across the various countries composed of highly influenced personalities as illustrated in the case of Britain, which Anti-Liquor Traffic Committee had its president in the paper of the Duke of Westminster.³⁶

Colonial Government Policy 1890 – 1909

The colonial government relied exclusively on indirect taxes and customs duties because at this stage of its existence, poll tax was unknown in southern Nigerian and the option was rarely thought of. In order to continue being self-sufficient, the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria relied on tariffs solely as fiscal policy but not commercial policy. To this end, trade was made open to all nations and on all items with the possible exception of kola nut trade. To operate hostile tariff was tantamount to scaring away traders particularly from non British origin and this would have precipitated large scale smuggling across the porous borders with the French colony of Dahomey (now Republic of Benin)

By the 1880s, custom duties remained relatively low not exceeding 4% *ad valorem*. In 1891, the duty on spirits was raised to 6d per gallon. However following the expansion of the Lagos Colony into the hinterland in the 1890s, the government fiscal commitments increased phenomenally necessitating an increase in import duties to meet up with the new challenges with average annual expenditure amounting to £137,000. It was to this end that new changes were recorded on the duties on spirits calculated per gallon increasing phonemically as follows: 1891 – 1892 – (8d), 1894(Is); 1895 – 1898 (2s), 1899 to February 1905 (3s).³⁷

The gradual increment as noted above, which continued to rise till 1914 was a child of necessity. The government was put in a dilemma. In as much as it had no interest in the continued trade in spirits, at the same time it had no intention of using high tariff to scare away traders. It resorted to the increment to secure the necessary revenue to meet up with its recurrent expenditure. The situation notwithstanding, a new phase was added as from 1805 when duties came to be imposed based on quality and strength of spirits and not uniform tax as was hitherto the case. From March 1805, the duties were effectively

raised to 3 shillings and six pence but for those whose alcoholic beverages or concentrated spirits were in excess of 12.5% alcohol, their duty attracted additional one-half penny. The excess was calculated based on proof as determined by Sykes hydrometer measured on the broad range of 50 degrees Tralles per gallon.

One effect of this increase in duties and the regulation of the quality and strength of imported spirits was a general weakening of the imported spirits³⁸. The overall average of the decade was 10.65 percent of total imports and 65.53 percent of total customs revenue³⁹. This meant that the quantity of imported liquor *vis-à-vis* other goods never exceeded 68% of the total revenue mark of 1900. It ought to be noted that the new regulation was not as a result of effort of the abolitionists nor a concession to their anti-liquor crusade but a fulfillment of the State's effort to extract as much revenue as possible from the liquor trade.⁴⁰

Alcohol Control and Regulation

Alcohol is an organic compound, which, when consumed in excess induces drunkenness, intoxication, dizziness and social misbehavior. Its health related hazards are enormous, ranging from liver diseases, respiratory malfunctioning, brain damage, cardiovascular and gastrointestinal diseases. Psychologically, it induces anxiety and to some people its hazards need not have to do with excessive consumption. Apart from health hazards many do not consume alcohol due to moral and religious obligations. It is for this reason that no by-laws are required to regulate alcohol usage. It is incumbent upon individuals to exercise self-control and self discipline over the use of the substance. Above individual level, the society demands an expected modicum of behavior from its members. In pre-colonial African societies, customary practices were used to regulate the social behavior of the citizens for which reason, any one was free to produce alcoholic beverages, be it palm wine or grain based beer, and sell to whoever that wished to buy any quantity

demanded by the customer. The same rule applied to distribution or marketing of the product. For the simple fact that all communities produced the alcoholic beverages known in the communities, it did not require inter-clan distribution net work. Every community, in other words, was self-sufficient in the basic necessities of life, including alcohol consumption, which was part and parcel of retail centres or bars. These bars were established for people who bought in small quantities and who used the social gathering of communal drinking to while away the time after the day's work or to be informed of the latest news in town. Even when foreign strong liquors were introduced, courtesy of the globalised Trans-Atlantic Trade, its consumption was equally regulated in accordance with the informal customary practices, which explained why there were no widespread alcohol-induced social vices.

The few isolated cases of alcohol-induced behaviours were handled by social sanctions such as fines or social ostracism. In some Igbo communities, the masquerade in its role as judicial organ of the society, was used to adjudicate or administer punishment to obvious or established cases of alcoholism to serve as deterrent to others especially the youths. In spite of this, there was no by-laws regulating the production of alcohol beverages, distribution or consumption.

The advent of colonial rule brought in its wake, marked changes in the social regulation of alcohol use. The British colonialists brought the Western notions of the use of alcohol trade to generate revenue for the government and to that effect, the rules relating to licensing and other fiscal policies regulating the sale of liquor to the rural population. The colonial authorities for sure were aware of the inherent dangers of alcohol usage based on experiences in Europe where the hard spirits hitherto unknown to the African, were manufactured and consumed. Its social vices of violent behaviours, crime inducement, rape incidents, accidents at work and traffic accidents were obvious

concern to the administrators calling for regulation and order. Liquor was only one out of a litany of other articles of trade imported into Nigeria from Europe. However, unlike cloth, household utensils, building materials among others, items such as alcohol, guns and cars posed potential public menace, which called for their fiscal control in terms of licensing and usage.⁴¹

It is for this reason that comprehensive rule regulating the sale of alcohol to the populace was enacted. This included the hours of sales, the minimum age of drinkers, the orderliness of business premises and the penalties for disobeying the laws. The government in effort to enforce the laws, set up regulatory bodies such as Licensing Boards, while asking the general public to help the police enforce compliance with the new laws.⁴² In its alcohol control of the colony and protectorate of Nigeria, the colonial government divided Nigeria into three zones according to various regulations governing the distribution and consumption of alcohol. These zones included:

Prohibited, Licensed and Restricted Zones. Only the Northern provinces fell within the first category. The area fell within the alcoholic imperial partition of Africa which the Brussels Conference of 1890 declared prohibited to the import of liquor because the inhabitants were mostly Muslim and the authorities did not want to offend their sensibilities as their religion forbade the use of alcohol.⁴³

In its unrelenting pursuit of liquor policy, the government, in 1909, constituted a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the liquor traffic in Southern Nigeria. Headed by Sir Mackenzie D. Chalmers, a retired barrister-at-law as chairman, the Commission had four other distinguished personalities as members. It was tasked to investigate among others crucial issues, the nature and sources of the spirits imported into Nigeria, the drinking habits of the people, the position of the imported liquor *vis-à-vis* the indigenous fermented alcoholic beverages, the position of the spirit trade in relation to revenue

derived there from and above all the licensing and sales of the alcoholic liquor. The commission, which sat from April 26 to June 6 1909, submitted its report in October 1909. The report showed the evidence of revenue accruing to Southern Nigeria was derived principally from custom duties levied on liquor. It did not see evidence of alcohol misuse, criminality or disease caused by it on the native population. It also showed that expert advice from England did not adduce any complaint regarding the quantity of alcohol imported into Nigeria.

There is no doubt that this report fell short of the expectations of the abolitionists who out rightly dismissed it as a farce. As for the colonial government, the report was a welcome development and it immediately took steps towards its implementation. This, it did by the adoption of customs duty in such a way as to encourage the importation of spirits exceeding the strength of fifty degrees by Tralles alcoholmeter.⁴⁴ In this respect, liquorous drinks in excess of fifty degrees attracted additional duties, whereas those that proved weaker than fifty degrees were given reduction relative to its weakness. In any case, a minimum duty was imposed on every gallon. The essence of the new tariff regime was to discourage the importation of high percentage alcohol over and above fifty degree Tralles mark. The result was that more than 90% of the liquor imported after the new tariff regime of 1909 was of lower alcohol content of between thirty to forty-five degrees Tralles. Another effect was triple increment the revenue accrued to the government which was determined to exact the maximum benefit from its indirect taxation on liquor trade.⁴⁵

The Effect of World War I

The outbreak of the World War I which saw the armies of the Allied nations combined against the Axis Powers led by Germany signaled an end of trade with the enemy nations from where virtually all trade spirits originated. The war equally dismantled shipping activities making it difficult to get supply of foreign goods generally. This led to the

progressive decline in the importation of foreign spirits into Nigeria during the period. The development gave Lord Lugard the opportunity he had been craving for, to kill the trade out-rightly, and, in 1918, he pursued this policy by increasing the duty on the available, less than 2% liquor out of the total imports that managed to arrive. He was helped further by the signing of the Convention of St. German-en-Laye in January 1919 by the colonial powers which prohibited the importation of liquor into Africa. This was affected in Nigeria by the Customs Tariff Ordinance (1916) of 25 March 1919.⁴⁶ However, it would appear that the Conventions, which Nigeria was a signatory related to non-British manufactures and did not affect goods originating from Britain *per se*.

By the outset of the war, Lugard happened to become the Governor-General of Nigeria following the amalgamation of the two halves of the country – the north and south into one country. Now, in total control of the helm of affairs, he sought the opportunity of hitting the final nail on the coffin of liquor traffic, which revenue accrued therefrom and which he described an “undesirable source of income”.⁴⁷ He readily accepted the proposal of a local representative of the West African Brewery syndicate, who put up the arguments for beer to serve as substitute for spirits. The beer option had its attraction on the grounds that the African elites, preferred it to liquor and this was demonstrated by the fact that while they choose to offer liquor to their guests, they drank beer. Moreso, as noted previously, average African had the natural inclination to bitter stimulant. However, the beer-for-spirit proposal did not sail through due to the fact that beer did not yield sufficient revenue compared to spirits for while a gallon of spirits fetched a duty of five shillings, the highest that could be taxed from beer per gallon was four and half pence.⁴⁸

The colonial government derived a lot of revenue from alcohol that the only alternative to abandon such policy was to impose direct taxation as Lugard had done in the

north. However, the idea of taxation of the natives was an issue not to be canvassed, which caused some of the ardent abolitionists back out in 1908 when it became apparent that the abolition of liquor trade would give rise to poll tax as a substitute for revenue generation. It was the same reason which made the abolitionists to attack Tugwell when he advocated direct taxation as measure to kill the liquor headache. The direct tax proposal pitted the missionaries and colonial officials on the one hand against the African abolitionist and natives on the other hand. While the former argued that it was the practice in civilised societies, for the populace to pay tax, they saw with chagrin the refusal of Africans to live up with this civil responsibility. The literate Africans, on the other hand argued that it was unnecessary and uncalled for because the revenue derived from the customs duty was used to keep the Europeans in comfort instead of using it to develop the colony. They argued that these Europeans were recruited to do the work, which literate Africans were capable of handling and even at that they were paid far and above their African counterparts. The opposition to poll tax did not stop its introduction in Oyo province in 1916, Abeokuta and Benin provinces in 1918 and other southern provinces after the World War I.⁴⁹ Not unexpectedly, the tax question, in addition to social grievances were the cause of civil disturbances, which broke out in Iseyin and Okeiho in 1916 and Egbaland in 1918.⁵⁰

An additional effort to use taxation to kill the liquor trade necessitated in the surtax of 25 percent imposed on most imports in 1916. In 1918, it was increased to 30% and applied also to railway freights. Between 1917 and 1918, it generated the sum of £108,000 and £126,700 respectively.⁵¹

Local Distillation of Alcohol

The tax imposed on the imported liquor had the deleterious effect of making the people think of alternative solution. Like the situation in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), where the

same conditions prevailed and temperance interests secured restrictive liquor legislation raising the tariffs on imported liquor, so was it in eastern Nigeria.⁵² Here, the new tariff regime since the period of the World War I, brought drastic changes. The tariffs were not different from the previous duties on liquor so as to perturb both the people and the government. The difference however was that it coincided with the Great Depression of 1929-1939 which hit the world in the post World War I era, making the purchasing powers of the people grow lean.

The difficulties associated with the importation of liquor continued to raise some pertinent questions. The products of the liquor trade were manufactured outside Nigeria, over thousands of miles away in Europe and transported to the South Eastern cities of Onitsha, Owerri, Enugu, Port Harcourt among others. The Atlantic trading network proved not only long, but time-consuming and expensive. Why not manufacture it in Nigeria itself and gain the savings in shipping freight, the cheaper work force, and avoidance of customs duties?⁵³

It was this scenario that led to the practice of distillation, which swept the protectorate in the 1930s, making of drinks comparable to imported spirits –what the British called ‘illicit gin’ and the locals gave many names – *Ogogoro*, *Kaikai* “*akamere*”. Expectedly, the local made drinks caught the fancy of the people. Its wide availability, cheapness and the fact of being “home made” produced the patriotic appeal, which the economic down turn of the era helped to propel into the social and economic life of the people.⁵⁴

Relating this development with the technology transfer theory the famous, historian Daniel Headrich,⁵⁵ is said to have set out the guiding principles to show that technology transfer is associated with both resistance and support. Successful transfer is, therefore, hinged on the ability and willingness of the importing society to accept the

technology than on the support of the exporting society. The fact that *ogogoro* or *kaikai* gave a large dose of competition to the imported drink, substituting them, yet unlicensed, without yielding tax revenue to the colonial administration, made it to attract the ire of the government. At this juncture one may ask, how did the enigma of local distillation start? Available evidence shows that it started with one Stocky James Iso, a 35 year old Kwa native of Calabar. Iso had in 1923 sailed to New York via an American Cargo ship as a fireman. On abroad, he worked for a year as a houseboy for three families. At that time, the Volstead Act, which made the prohibition of liquor was already on the statute book causing the Americans, during the four 'dry' years, to devise the ingenuity of illegal liquor distillation. Iso had visited the traffickers 'den' and learnt the art of distilling 'moonshine'. On his return passage the following year in 1924, also as a fireman, Iso had gained the technical knowledge of liquor distillation. However, he did not put the knowledge into practice, having settled down to work for a couple of European firms in Calabar. In 1929, he committed the crime of stealing £95 from his employers and was jailed for two years. He eventually regained freedom on 18th April 1931. The poser has always been, "why did it take Iso seven years from the time of his return from New York to start selling the secret of gin distillation, which fetched him £25 per interested client who learnt the trade from him?"⁵⁶

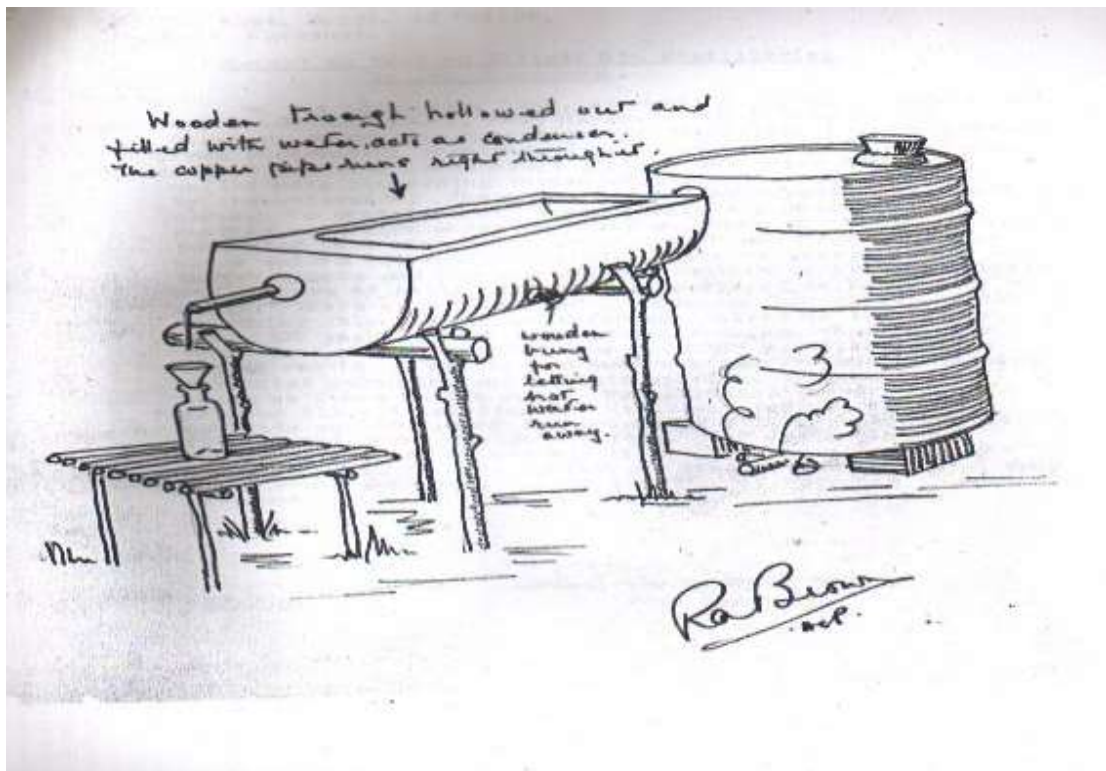
The answer is clear. By 1925 when he returned, the expanding cash crop sector of the economy was fetching consumers enough income to revel in liquor consumption. By 1930s the economic down-turn generated by the Great Depression was fetching farmers and business men low prices even as the import duties on imported liquors had jumped to astronomical heights, leading not only to high cost but relative scarcity of the items. Having been released from jail and with no job at hand, Iso took to the survival strategy of using what he possessed - his expertise to gain the material well being he lacked.

The so-called illicit gin distillation thus found its first clients and recruits in Calabar Province, which became the designated “birthplace of illicit distillation”. The Calabar Province, thenceforth, became notorious for its boot-legging propensities and with time, spread first to Egwanga, Oron, Ekot Ekpene, Aba, Owerri and Aloada areas.⁵⁷ From these contiguous areas, it spread to other parts of eastern Nigeria.

The Local Distillation Industry

The raw materials for the distillation of liquor differed from one locality to another depending on the type of resources available for it. In the northern Nigeria for instance, guinea corn, cassava flour and roots of some trees served the purpose. Sugar and potassium iodide were used to add colouring. In eastern Nigeria, it consisted of fermented fruit juice or palm wine and sugar. The apparatuses include; two bottles or calabashes and a metal worm. In the absence of metal worm, a hollow stick of sufficient length such as bamboo was also used.⁵⁸

According to Chima J. Korieh, the process involves fermenting the palm wine and boiling it in a metal drum. The drum is connected to a copper pipe, which is passed through a wooden trough that is filled with water. The water acts as condenser just as distilled liquor is collected at the other end of the copper pipe.⁵⁹



An Apparatus Showcasing Indigenous Liquor Distillation
 Source: National Archive Enugu RIVPROF 2/1/17

This process is better described in a letter from the District Officer, Degema Division to the Senior Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt. He described the process as follows:

“...The process of distillation is simple in the extreme, requiring only fermented fruits juice or palm wine, and sugar, two bottles or calabashes and a metal worm. In the absence of a metal worm, a hollow stick of sufficient length, such as a bamboo, will do equally well. A perfectly good plant can be made out of local materials. The process is always carried on in the bush or the swamps, at some distance from human habitations, and the product is hidden until required for consumption or sale”.⁶⁰

The immediate and lasting effect of the new found technology was that it drastically shifted the peoples’ interest away from the European variety and making the

local gin sell like hot cake. This development is attested by a letter from J. Crawford, the Assistant General Manager of the United African Company Limited to the Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police, Port Harcourt, dated 4th October 1940. Relaying the report from his company office in Akassa, it showed that English gin and whisky were not selling as a result of price increase, making the natives to make do with illicit spirits which they could buy at the local markets for 6d per quart bottle. In the same vein, there was little or no demand for sugar as the natives were using sugar-cane and other “concoctions” in the manufacture of spirits.⁶¹

Strategies adopted by the Government in Enforcement of the Prohibition Order on “Illicit” gin distillation, distribution and Consumption

The first of the strategies was the use of spies and informants. Following their intensive campaign in all parts of the region where the ‘cooking of palm wine’ was reported, the police resorted to the use of informants who were designed to be paid generously for information they relayed to the authorities leading to convictions of offenders. In the Calabar Province, the following amounts were usually paid, regulated according to the degree of useful information garnered from the informant⁶²:

			Aims
a.	Information leading to capture and conviction of persons in possession of 1 bottle liquor.	3/-	To stimulate him towards bringing information towards captures and skills.
b	Up to ½ doz. Bottles	5/-	Ditto
c	Over ½ doz. Bottles	10/-	And more according to the locality, circumstances of capture and probable future value of the informer and information disclosing a regular traffic route should naturally be well paid.
d	Complete piping still.	£2. 10/-	Also according to the circumstances of the case past and probable usefulness of the informer.

The need to pay informants well was acknowledged by the authorities so that they would take the trouble of collecting information and facing the inevitable risks involved. It was also noted that in the effort to police the region effectively with a view to suppressing the illegal trade, it became obvious that not so much the consumer of the liquor or persons found in possession of small quantities that must be dealt with, but the manufacturers and traffickers by land and water, who were at the root of the trade. As time went on, the authorities also resorted to the use of informers – persons or so-called criminals who had been convicted of the same illicit distillation offence and released. This category of people proved was of great asset because they were knowledgeable in the nitty-gritty of the thriving business. The use of informers became inevitable because it was noted that intensive campaign, by the police in one area, resulted in forcing the offenders to another location thus making it difficult to make arrests. The use of

informers, however, had their troubles. Firstly, there were cases of detection by the town's people which was caused by the attitude of the very persons involved. Secondly, the informers were under paid. The result of this situation was inadequate information, which gave the false impression that the menace of gin distillation was under control. Another danger was that the informers became vindictive, and adopted the strategy of "planting" the liquor themselves for police to find.⁶³

Perhaps, the poor enumeration of the informants was a factor inducing them to bring less information and instead resorted to blackmailing the distillers, which fetched them higher returns. This caused the distillers who in effort to avoid being detected, adopted new and more subtle methods of distilling operations. The inadequacies associated with the dirty work, of spying such as being detected by ones own people or the fact that some of them grew tired of the work led to their adoption of "planting" technique which entailed the manufacture of evidence that was not usually shared with the original or actual bush informer but which fetched the so-called "professional" middle men informer higher pay by reporting to the police. The method of planting was unpopular and unacceptable even by the authorities, particularly the courts, which usually detected unsatisfactory features attached to a case. This necessitated the use of selected plain clothes constables to obtain information; the men were routinely changed on their duty areas so as not to lead to abuses. In some cases, it was the wives and friends of the police constables that obtained specific detailed information.

Intelligent constables, who proved their mettle in the work of detecting illegal distillation, were recommended for award after some successful exploits. The government also made use of other informants such as court clerks, messengers, chiefs, personal staff, and school boys. These people were interviewed secretly and "employed" for the services as well. It was noted that the bark of *Cinnamon* tree was sometimes used to flavor the

liquor and any such tree seen in any area having its bark removed was watched to know who did so, and the fellow was carefully followed. Another useful category of informants were the town chiefs, who as it were, had it incumbent upon themselves by virtue of their appointments by the government, to report illicit distilling and drinking of liquor in their areas of jurisdiction. General warnings were regularly sent to the chiefs that they would be liable to lose their appointments if cases were found in their towns.⁶⁴ Their representation of the Native Administration and Clan Organization was to be true if they assisted the government in suppressing crime. Such were the warnings given to the Clan Council Heads in the Opobo Division in 1932⁶⁵ for instance, it was also suggested that useful information on illicit distillation may be obtainable from court clerks, messengers, chiefs, personal staff, school boys who should be interviewed secretly. Futhermore, clan heads were warned on the possibility of loosing their positions if they don't help to curb the menance of illicit distillation.⁶⁶ Futhermore, other measures suggested included government increase on the duty of sugar, withdrawal of import duties as well as a reduction of the cost of liquor licence.⁶⁷ Other views expressed include the amendment of the Liquor Ordinance to allow the imprisonment of offenders to a maximum of ten years. Futhermore, that a sum of £300 should be made available for payment of informers and that the importation of copper and piping materials contravenes the law.⁶⁸

Raid Operations

Through the aid of the informers, incessant raid operations were carried out throughout the Eastern region with reference to areas suspected to have the local gun production. An instance is Azumiri area in Port Harcourt Zone of Owerri Province. The report of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, M.K.N. Collins, shows that, as a result of continuous information about the activities of the distillers and also of a gang of counterfeiters, he planned for the raid of 23rd July 1938 in the reported areas. The operation was headed by

Inspector Egbuson, who had with him 16, rank and file police personnel, an informer and three warrants acting under Section 4 of the Liquor Ordinance (No 16 of 1934). The raid party went through the swamp to a hut and having surrounded it they found a local distillery operation going on there. Their arrival at the scene, therein, attracted the attention of occupants of several other adjoining huts who there upon began smashing up their utensils used for the same purpose. A further search by the police in the area, shows in all, fifteen huts in which were found twenty-seven stills and large quantities of local gin in all stages of manufacture and materials such as spare pipes, sugar and all the ingredients and materials essential in distillation. The team was able to arrest three persons even as the village elders were unwilling to give useful information beyond the names of the owners of the twelve stills.⁶⁹

The search also involved seizure of stills and other apparatuses and materials, which were used as exhibits and the destruction of others that could not be carried away or not required by the law enforcement agents. Periodic visits were paid to the areas in search of wanted persons to ensure that their activities were not resuscitated. The picture painted above was replicated in all places where the illegal distillation was alleged to be operational. This was true of Brass where the prohibited liquor was plentiful even as police detachment was too small for detailed work required of the constables. Others included Port Harcourt, Aba, Degema, Ahoada, Oweri Okigwi, Umuahia, Bende, and Orlu.⁷⁰

A similar raid was organised in the Imo River area by the Assistant Superintendent of Police Port Harcourt, Mr. Brown, on 18th November 1947. In company with him was the Chief Inspector, Anyaegbunam, Sergeants Benson Orakwe and Clarence Aghanya and 25 constables in 3 ton police lorry and a kit-car. The team was joined later by a strong reinforcement from Owerri. The raiders discovered thatch shelters, in two of them were

containing two stills, numerous bottles, jars and gourds of gin and numerous jars containing fermented palm wine. Arrests were made and the apparatus were removed into a large canoe used for the operation .Items such as wine, gin, jars and gourds were destroyed.⁷¹

In another operation at a village called Okoroma, also in the lead of an informant, they saw the still operational. At a warning by a look-out man, all the people fled leaving everything as it was. Mr. Brown who went to the scene saw an organise distillers, with ten very good stills with fires lit and gin dripping into the bottles. Other materials at the scene included 3 wooden troughs, 52 gallons and petrol drums, numerous bottles, jars and pots of illicit gin and fermented palm wine. 12 canoes were left showing the working strength of the factory to be about 30 or more. The houses were new and one was under construction. Information shows that the workers had moved into the place about fine months earlier from an area called Leopard and indeed started in a big way. A conservative estimate shows that between 200 and 250 gallons of illicit gin were seized or destroyed, about 800 or 1000 gallons of fermented palm wine were destroyed and 47 complete stills were seized or destroyed. It was learnt also that many more of these “factories” were still functioning. Their use of water side (though hidden in the bush) made it easy for transportation by canoe, and for condensation and for washing containers.⁷²

The firm determination of the people to engage in the distillation business was what Korieh had in mind when he noted that “the sentiments expressed by colonial officials and traders suggest that the call for prohibition of local distillation was indeed an attempt to protect the fiscal interest of European liquor in an emerging competitive labour market.⁷³ It was against this hegemonic imperial interests that the people reacted by the doggedness in indigenous gin distillation as demonstration of anti-colonial interests as

well as patriotism and nationalism. A demonstration of the patriotism is shown in the use of native gin by some independent Christian churches for Holy Communion in areas such as Asaba, and Urhoboland to show that the domestic made alcohol was not entirely wrong when used as a spiritual food.⁷⁴

The Reactions of the People

The public in general greatly resented the prohibition of home-made distilled liquors, and viewed on it as an unwarranted interference with their legitimate activities. The District Officer in Degema noted in his letter to the Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt, that on two occasions in 1938, there were clashes between the police and the public arising out of searches for local liquor.⁷⁵ The people were unconvinced that their gin was harmful or posed health hazards. As far as they were concerned, the liquor was genuine and served for medicinal value for rheumatism, colds and similar complaints.⁷⁶

The people questioned to know what they had done wrong to merit the court fines or jail terms imposed on them as provided in Section 10 of the Liquor Ordinance. What was criminal about making some gin out of ones own palm wine, they questioned? It was on their inability to get convincing answers to these questions that they rightly or wrongly accused the colonial government of being hell-bent on allowing the European firms a monopoly of the importation and sale of gins at exorbitant prices.

This is what the District Officer of Degema reported, when in a confidential letter to the Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt, 30th December 1938, he noted *inter alia*:

“...The public in general greatly resents the prohibition of home-made distilled liquors, and looks on it as an unwarrantable interference with their legitimate activities. On two occasions recently, there have been clashes between the police and the public arising out of searches for illicit liquor. It is only fair to say, however, that most people are not aware of the harmful nature of illicit liquor, and in fact,

many people purchase it in the genuine belief that it is of medicinal value for rheumatism, colds, and similar complaints”⁷⁷

In spite of the arrests, jailing, and incessant destruction of the stills, the people remained adamant, increasing their expertise in the business. The pertinent question then is, if the people were very committed to the gin distillation and consumption and given the abundance of the raw materials for spirits and also the market, and cheap labour, why did the colonial authorities not find it necessary to set up local industries in the area of study for the manufacture of spirits? Would such industries not meet up with the international required standards and obviate the “extremely dangerous to life and health” sing-song of the government to explain its ban order of the locally manufactured equivalent?

Health Implications of *Ogogoro*

The colonial administration, of course, had its answers to the labour questions and also its official defence of the ban order, pointing to its usual health reason as follows:

There is no ulterior motive underlying the propaganda (against illicit gin). It is not intended in any way to help the firms who have licences to sell liquor but to prevent the use of a form of spirit which is extremely dangerous to life and health. It may be pointed out that all spirits legally sold in Nigeria have been kept maturing in bond for at least been kept maturing in bond for at least three years and the impurities removed before the spirits are offered for sale.⁷⁸

The above cited circular of the District Officer, Degema Division, dated 27th October 1940 on the subject of illicit gin somewhat lends credence to the fear of the indigenous people. Part of the circular clearly admitted the fiscal reasons behind the ban but went ahead to adduce the medical *raison d’être*.

Therefore, locally produce gin appeared detrimental to health according to government policy statement. Government chemists found serious metallic contamination in spirits analysed, so much so that the metal of the condensing apparatus could be ascertained. Copper gave rise to chronic poisoning, while the later use of lead piping constituted an even graver menace to health. The health implications are even appreciated all the more when it was realised that over 8,000 gallons were consumed according to Soku Madu of Aba.⁷⁹

Such anxieties provided a basis with which the colonial government could attack the industry. Through the use of propaganda, it was announced at court premises and other avenues that the crude liquor could make people go blind, become paralysed and incapable of producing children.⁸⁰ A circular distributed at Agbor, on 20th September 1932, listed local gin's noxious side-effects as follows: "it is a poison"; "it causes a wild state of drunkenness leading to death or insanity, and it can lead to wasting away, total blindness and impotence ... small amounts taken over a longer period of time could lead to *peripheral neuritis* (losing the use of legs); *gastro-enteritis* (damage to the stomach lining); optic - neuritis (blindness); *urethritis* and *prostatitis* (sterility) and increased risk of tuberculosis."⁸¹

In addition to these were other diseases such as liver diseases, respiratory malfunctioning, brain damage, cardiovascular ailments and gastrointestinal disorders. Psychologically, it induces anxiety and agitation, compulsion to drink more, malaise and lethargy, depression, confusion, disorientation, hallucination and paranoia. The social dislocations are equally disturbing. These range from occupational, financial, legal and miscellaneous problems.⁸²

In sharp contrast to the above mentioned health hazards that surrounded the locally distilled gin, were the health qualities ascribed to the European imported gin.

Ofonagoro remarked on these astonishing health properties infested into the people's mind as follows:

Although very few gin and schnapps consumers could read the advertisement, the benefits claimed were passed on by word of mouth. In a society where the demand for European goods was practically non-existent, but a society, all the same, which was developing considerable respect for western medicine, these claims encouraged widespread local belief in the "medicinal" qualities of schnapps was, to use a local idiom *ogwo nnu oria* or curer of all ills helped to sustain local demand for this alcohol beverage.⁸³

If the European gin possessed the ubiquitous health benefits, why denigrate the locally produced variety? Thus was the question constantly on the lips of the people. It was against the backdrop of the inability of the colonial authorities to convince the people on the distinction between imported spirits and the locally distilled variety that made the moral and health arguments of the authorities sound unethical in the views of the African peoples. To people on the authorities, many years after the consumption of the so-called illicit gin, no health hazards, as feared or anticipated, were observed thus working the colonial authorities to reexamine their warnings and conclusions that illicit gin was poisonous after all.⁸⁴

It was against the inability of the authorities to continue to find health-related reasons for the continued ban and prosecutions that the Secretary of the Southern Provinces agreed that it was left to the medical department to be able to determine whether there were sicknesses attributed to locally distilled alcohol.⁸⁵ The irony of the matter was that in spite of the non-proof of associated sickness, the jailing, arrests and destruction of the stills continued unabated. This gave credence to the superior argument

that the whole charade was, in effect, an effort to protect British trade and the customs revenue generation.

The comment of the District Officer, Degema Division, lends credence to the people's belief. It states *inter alia*:

The principal argument against illicit distillation, apart from the fiscal are, is the danger to health caused by it. But it is almost impossible to convince the public of this. In fact, many people buy it in the belief that it is good for rheumatism and kindred complaint. I believe that all sections of the public except the most enlightened condone or encourage the trade... How greatly the public resents the prohibition the manufacture of spirits is shown by the fact that police executing search warrants are frequently assaulted and obstructed. The manufacturers are in fact not regarded as enemies of society, but as its benefactors, as in America during prohibition. It was not until the gangsters became a real danger to the public that a real effort was made to suppress them.⁸⁶

In the circumstances of inability to convince the populace, the best the government could do was to continue painting the locally produced drinks bad and no doubt it achieved a large measure of success by creating class distinction. It also created by the psychological gap that existed and still continues to exist between the imported liquor and the locally made. The ascribed names *ogogoro*, *kai kai*, *akamere*, *push me I push you*, *ekpeteshi*, etc, all indicate inferiority. Thus, it is instructive to note that the Igbo word *akamere* literally denotes improperly distilled use of bare hands to produce as against European machine made or industrially distilled gin.

The Role of Churches

The churches were also a party to the campaign at putting a stop to the practice of local distillation.. The churches comprise the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Mission, the

Qua Iboe Mission, the Church Missionary Society and the Niger Delta Pastorate. The Eastern Regional Committee (ERC) of the Christian Council of Nigeria was a body set up by the churches to monitor the alcohol question. In a letter from the Diocese of the Niger to Owerri province, it was noted in part that:

At the recent meeting of the above committee... the E.R.C. views with alarm the rapid increase of the Drink Traffic in Nigeria. The distillation of illicit gin is more widespread than ever, and in cosmopolitan towns the numerous drinking bars are a menace to the physical and moral well being of the people. We are aware that some controls have been attempted, but the control at present operating is not nearly adequate enough. Illicit gin can be procured almost at any time in the villages and towns, and the drinking bars in townships are evading the regulations as to cleanliness and the drinks permitted. We strongly urge that bars be permitted to open only at stipulated hours, as in England, and that they be made to conform to the regulations regarding the drinks supplied". We recognized the special part the churches have made in educating our members and in creating a public opinion on this problem, and we went on to discuss how we could do our work more effectively. We felt, however, that we should also draw your attention to our experience of the trouble that is being caused".⁸⁷

Continued Measures to contain the Illegal Distillation Business

The disbelief of the people regarding government's ultraistic intentions notwithstanding, the government did not relent in the campaign against illicit gin distillation. It, therefore, adopted some new measure to halt the growing menace as it interpreted it. According to W.F. Hint, Secretary, Southern Province, as at 1932, the government explored three measures following the failure of police raids and imprisonments aimed at stopping the

illicit gin business.⁸⁸ The first was the licensing of spirits. But this had its associated problems because:

apart from the fact that Article 5 of the Convention of St. German-on-Laye prohibited distillation in West Africa, the difficulty would lie in the impossibility of control except in well secured licensed premises with an excise officer on the spot and these requirements would make the spirits so comparatively expensive that the demand for the cheaper illicitly prepared one would not be affected.⁸⁹

Thus, every strategy adopted by the government to maintain its ban order, the people found avenues to circumvent. Firstly, the resort to court fines had little deterrent effect in the face of flourishing trade. The people saw the sense in paying up promptly the fine and in keeping out of jail; they continued the business of distilling. Secondly, the government resorted to strict controls on the import of copper pipe, the possession of which without cogent reason, became a culpable offence. However, the people devised alternatives by using other metal pipes such as umbrella sticks bent in such a way as to improvise for a good tube.⁹⁰

In a similar way, the hollow shafts of steel golf clubs proved ideally suited for stills and even at that, it became scarce as a result of high demand. By 1933, distillers resorted also to use of wooden pipes made from the hollowed out reeds and baked until hard to be used for the same purpose. The third method used to stamp out the illegal distillation was found convenient in forcing sugar-importing firms to keep sales of the product open to regular police inspection. This strategy failed to work because the government instruction was on large scale purchases of sugar. To circumvent it, distillers resorted to buying in retail from as many as different stores as possible. Thus, a distiller who needed as much as fifty pounds weight of sugar could go round the market on different days buying a packet at a time from fifty different sellers without evoking any

suspicion. In related case, when the government increased the duty on sugar (an invaluable-ingredient in the fermentation of palm wine before distillation), to make it unaffordable to local distillers, they resorted to the use of the bark of an indigenous tree called *nche*, in Igbo language, as an alternative.

Yet others used pineapple juice as alternative to sugar.⁹¹ The fourth strategy of using plain clothed policemen proved effective initially but with time, the villagers came to suspect any such stranger in their mist. The fifth method of the use of informers likewise, worked, at the initial stage but soon fell into disrepute. The disadvantage was that Informers were also involved in the same business and as such one could use such police contact to chase other competitors away from the business and so, that the trade continued to boom. Some informants simply collected money from the police and absconded with it. Yet some others used it as opportunity to make quick money. Their devise was to double as agents by informing the distillers of police surveillance and how to beat them. The last strategy of singling out some notorious areas for intensive campaign by the police did not, after all show excellent results.

The inability of the police officers and recruits to handle such operations admirably led to instances of communal attack against the police raiders and subsequent bad blood between the people and the police authorities, which has survived today. In any case, such raids had the effect of making the people shift their operations into the interiors, sometimes into the creeks, bushes and swamps inaccessible to the police. Even when the police raided an area, it gave neighboring communities the opportunity to supply the desired product. And for the raided community, the illicit trade activity resumed in earnest as soon as the raid was over. An illustration with Amassoma is apt. To use the “sugar index” as working guide, the police swooped on the village in 1933 capturing 43 illicit distillers. The news spread like wild fire. People began to hide their

apparatuses in the bush and threw the packets of sugar into the river. It was to an extent that one refused or feared to be identified with empty sugar case.⁹² However, the Amasona people gave the raid palaver only a little time to subside and within six weeks, the demand for sugar had returned to normal. The event taught the people the need not to take things for granted. It was against the resolve by the people to go on with the business in spite of all odds and the increase in the patronage by the populace that caused the government to adopt three measures to reduce the illicit gin distillation. These included the licensing of distilled spirits, a reduction in the existing duties on imported spirits and increase in the duty of sugar.⁹³

These measures did not all show success story. The police continued to face enormous challenges and constraints in the detection of liquor criminality. First and foremost, the chiefs and clan councils refused to give the necessary cooperation. Secondly, the expression of an anonymous writer who accused the Chief Inspector of Police of collecting high tip (bribe) from illicit liquor suspects was made to gain wide circulation and publicity which had the effect of dampening the moral of the authorities.⁹⁴ The third constraint was the well known fact that many police constables also consumed *ogogoro* as illustrated in the case of a constable at Ibagwa hill described as maniac drunk.⁹⁵

**Data Supplied by Resident, Oweri Province 19/1/39 Illicit Distillation Return for the
Half Year, Ended 31st December 1938**

Stations	No. of Persons Involved	No. of person persecuted	No. of persons convicted	No. of persons acquitted	Remarks
P. Harcourt	12	6	5	1	6 persons are awaiting trial
Aba	28	28	26	2	
Degema	25	14	13	1	11 persons awaiting trial
Ahoadá	1	1	1	-	
Owerri	-	-	-	-	
Okigwi	-	-	-	-	
Umuahia	2	-	-	-	2 persons awaiting trial
Bende	-	-	-	-	
Total	68	49	45	4	19 persons are awaiting trial by court

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Data Supplied by J.B. Carr, Resident, Oweri Province 20th July, 1939. Illicit Distillation Return for the Half Year, Ended 31st June 1939.

Stations	No. of Persons Involved	No. of person persecuted	No. of persons convicted	No. of persons acquitted	Remarks
Aba	39	39	23	16	
Ahoadia	8	8	7	1	
Bende	2	-	-	-	2 persons awaiting trial
Okigwi	-	-	-	-	
Orlu	-	-	-	-	
Owerri	-	-	-	-	
P. Harcourt	9	6	5	1	3 persons awaiting trial
Umuahia	10	8	8	-	2 persons awaiting trial
Total	78	68	49	19	10 persons awaiting trial

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The Establishment of Modern Breweries

The outbreak of World War II opened a new vista on Government fiscal policy on alcohol. Beer had been imported into the colony and protectorate of Nigeria by the various trading firms to satisfy the growing demand of Europeans and their counterparts, the African elite domiciled in the cities. The World War II brought in its wake, the presence of a large number of foreign soldiers swelling the local demand for beer at the same time supplies faltered as a result of economic dislocation caused by the war. This development brought to the fore, the folly of Nigeria's reliance on imports from Europe. The bureaucratic cabinet became filled up with files of unfulfilled requests from Nigerian colonial officials for beer supplies to their Congolese, Gold Coast and South African

counterparts symbolising a much wider lack of a term, industrial plan, in Nigeria. This happened at a time the government was battling with the untaxed illicit gin trade. The government was also faced with meeting up with the demand of the abolitionists and temperance groups on a drastic reduction of alcoholic content of drinks consumed by the people. It was the above factors that raised the pertinent question if the effort by the government to collect excise duties from the beer import had become traumatic, and if also the supplies had ceased as a result of the war, why not clear the coast for the establishment of a beer import substitution industry? The new thinking in line with the Keynesian economic theory, was what motivated the government into putting, into place, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940. The Act, as it later proved, gave birth to a Ten – year Development Plan and a Department of Commerce and Industries to oversee this spirit of the new idea of achieving development and relieve the dependence on external sources for consumer goods. The Act also aimed at discouraging the drinking of spirituous liquor in favour of the milder beer thus giving rise to a switch from commerce to industrialization came into being.⁹⁶ The result the establishment of lager beer brewing in Nigeria.

The idea for a brewing industry was mooted on a consortium of foreign merchant firms who came together under the title of the Nigeria Brewery Limited (NBL) in November 1946. They included: UAC (United Africa Company); John Holts; G.B. Ollivants; PZ (Paterson Zochons; UTC (Union Trading Company); CFAO (Compagnie Francaise de l'Alfique Occidentale) and SCOA (Societe Commerciale de l'Quest African). The Dutch firm of Herneken acted as brewing advisor. The belief of these trading companies that a profitable long-term future lay in domestic production rather than continued imports was what gave birth to the star large beer, brewed for the first time on 14 July 1949, at Iganmu, Lagos. By the late 1950s, the NBL had produced over

ten million gallons of beer, thus saving Nigeria the agony of importation. From Iganmu, the company spread to other parts of Nigeria such as Aba in 1957, and Kaduna in 1963. This humble beginning in 1949 was what has translated to the success story of the Nigeria brewing industry of today.⁹⁷

Conclusion

The chapter has been able to demonstrate the ban on illegal distillation as one of the setbacks of colonial rule on indigenous technology in the south-eastern Nigeria. The people comprising the Igbo, Efik, Ibibio, Ijaw, among others, are known for their doggedness and enterprising spirit. The ingenuity of Biafra in the manufacture of indigenous weapons of war during the Nigeria Civil War, working under extreme and excruciating circumstance and using local raw materials, is a case in point. Like the Federal Government of Nigeria which killed the ingenuity after the war, instead of using them to achieve nation building, the British authorities instead of promoting this ingenuity, took the other way round in suppressing them. The British policies on alcohol also showed a marked discriminatory attitude adopted *ab initio* to bifurcate the two halves of Nigeria into hostile groups which *modusvivendi*, has come to stay till today. Thus, while it prohibited alcohol in the northern region of Nigeria, the southern half became the dumping ground of alcohol importation and sales. In an effort to continue generating revenue from the alcohol sales and to keep the factories of Europe busy in alcohol distillation, the colonial administration sought to employ every strategy at its disposal to kill the initiative of the people towards indigenous gin production.

There is incontroverted evidence, therefore, that the mission of the British colonialists in south eastern Nigeria, like else elsewhere, found its platform in the *raison d'état* of imperialism *per se* – a merchantlist policy whose primacy was the reconstruction

of the colony in a trading economy, supplying the raw material needs of the industrial Britain in exchange for her manufactures. One may conveniently employ the so called theory of comparative advantage to explain this. By this theory, Nigeria was to concentrate perpetually on raw materials production while the metropolitan Britain was favoured to specialise in the production of industrial and consumer goods. To this end, the colonial authorities strove to dismantle the local economy and to kill the skills associated with them even as it proved unwilling to allow modern factories to flourish. This unequal trade relationship made the colonised people recipients of luxury goods from the metropolitan cities of Europe and stifled the zeal to produce for themselves. This policy laid by the colonial government and adopted on independence has continued to survive today, making Nigeria a perpetual “developing” economy.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN BREWERIES 1949-1960

Introduction

This chapter examines the beginning of beer manufacturing from 1949 and the effects of this development on the culture of drinking and the socio-economic life of the people. It examines the establishment of breweries such as Nigeria Brewery Limited (NBL), Guinness Breweries, Life Breweries, Consolidated Breweries, Golden Guinea Brewery, Premier Brewery, Safari Brewery and Champion Breweries in eastern Nigeria. Also it discusses the impact of beer on the economy. The chapter also looks at the impact of government policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programmed (SAP) on the brewing industry. It examines the relationship between alcohol consumption and the idea of modernity such as the change and continuity in the use and consumption of alcohol in eastern Nigeria. In this chapter, emphasis is also placed on how advertising shaped the cultural imaging of alcohol and its impact on the consuming public in south eastern Nigeria.

The use of alcohol among Nigerians is a product of many historical transformations. It is on record that many Nigerians had fermented low alcoholic drinks for ages. Hence, with huge variety of indigenous liquor to consume, Nigerians did not know how to brew lager beer or distil spirits.¹ Nevertheless, not necessarily in our area of study, beer drinking and production well known in many Nigerian cultures such as kofyar² and the Tiv³.

The Nigerian brewing industry is one of the country's most dynamic, with beer the most popular drink by far, accounting for an estimated 96% of the total volume of alcohol sold in the country in 2005.⁴ In 2009 Euro monitor International's market report on alcoholic drinks in Nigeria, beer accounts for the majority of alcoholic drinks sales in

Nigeria. The report also upholds that beer industry continues to thrive in spite of the harsh economic conditions in the country, with sales increasing during times of political and economic stability.⁵ This view concurs with Obot's view that increase in per capita income has nothing to do with alcohol consumption since is phenomenal among some group.⁶

The end of the Second World War in 1945 ushered in a new vista on Nigerian socio-economic history of alcohol. Although prior to this era, modern alcohol such as lager beer was imported alongside brandy, gin, rum, and whisky the demand for beer was relatively at increase.

The Importation of Beer into Nigeria

As early as 1900, Heineken was exporting small quantities of beer to various African countries. British West Africa, which included countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone, was particularly an attractive market. At the end of the 1930s, the brewer was shipping approximately 6,000 hectolitres to Nigeria and Ghana annually. However, at that time, the most important brands were the German beers, Bergedoff and Becks alongside English brands such as Tennents, Allsops and Jeffreys.⁷ In 1939, beer consumption in Nigeria rose to 70,000 crates and 900,000 crates by 1954. The market share of the various beer brands was then as follows: 270,000 crates of the local star beer, well over 200,000 Becks were sold while others imported brands such as Bergedoff, Guinness, Tennents, and Allsops together sold approximately 225,000 crates. Sales of Heineken were concentrated in the capital city of Lagos and Western Nigeria. In Ghana, the picture of Heineken was even rosier. In 1939, 80,000 crates were sold, while in 1954 this quantity had risen to 550,000 crates. The distribution of sales across the various beer brands in the same year was 125,000 crates of the local beer and well over 300,000 crates of Heineken while Guinness, Bergedoff, Becks, and Allsops amounted to 125,000 crates.⁸

Between 1956 and 1960, Heineken saw its market share in Nigerian beer imports increase from 30.7 to 34.5 percent, while Beckers share receded from 40.2 to 16.4 percent.⁹ By 1960, Heineken was the market leader. In that year, the brewery exported 100,000 hectolitres of beer to Ghana alone, making it Heineken's most important export market. However, there was an unexpected end to the golden export story. Ghana gained independence in 1957 with Nigeria following suit in 1960 and in 1961. The governments of the independent states strove to achieve rapid industrialisation. By so doing, they intended to save hard currency on imports and also improve employment opportunities for their own populations. Industrialization therefore often started with the production of goods, which, up to then, had been imported. Such goods included: textiles, cigarettes and beer. In order to profit their own industries and employment opportunities against competitions from cheap imports, the government increased their import duties—often substantially. In 1961, high increases of more than 125 percent and economic difficulties brought Heineken exports to Ghana to a complete standstill. The same occurred in Nigeria in 1965.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the UAC and Heineken developed plans for the construction of a new brewery in the country. In 1957, Nigerian Breweries opened a second brewery in Aba and in 1963 a third was operational in Kaduna. These new breweries were funded entirely from the profits of the Lagos brewery. New breweries were established in other countries of West Africa as well. Unilever and Heineken employed the same trustworthy division of tastes and applied the same financing policy in Lagos. Breweries were successfully opened in Kumasi Ghana in 1960, Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1962 and Moundou Chad in 1965. These local breweries made a considerable contribution to the brewery profit and compensated the absence of Heineken exports.¹¹

Imports of Spirits and Beer into Nigeria, 1930 – 1939

(quantities in gallons)

Commodity	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930
Brundy	2,715	3,977								
Gin	50,546	68,002	139,225	100,484	77,437	59,312	81,595	107,276	127,494	350,896
Cordials	-	-	658	836	709	583	992	534	1,097	1,957
Rum	288	303	610	347	230	289	381	773	1,636	4,777
Whisky	30,703	30,537	30,837	2,555	28,340	28,691	28,414	27,168	35,626	50,005
Unremunerated	3,386	3,563	6,210	1,991	2,6001	2,211	2,581	2327	2,929	4,304
Beer & Alco	129,639	470,277	405,761	32,474	389,006	346,215	271,174	301,221	476,071	716,640

Source: PRO Co/554/123/18 “Liquor Policy” Cited in Chima J. Korieh, Alcohol and Empire: “Illicit” Gin Prohibition and Control in Eastern Nigeria, *African Economic History*, No. 31 (2003), p.117.

As illustrated in the chart, the period between 1930–1939 witnessed an increase in the multi-national companies operating in Nigeria thought of producing beer in Nigeria.

At this point, import substitution was a colonial policy. Heap argues that:

Beer brewing in Nigeria was initiated not as part of a planned or conscious effort to develop the economy but as part of the effort of some foreign merchant firm to protect and promote their interest in the growing domestic market.¹²

Beer imports and local production, Nigeria, 1948 – 70

Year	Imports			Local production		
	Volume liquid gallons)	Customs duty (pounds)	Customs tariff (per gal)	Volume (liquid gallons)	Excise duty (pounds)	Excise rate (per gal)
1948	1,192,123	146,857	2s 6d	0	0	1s 9d
1949	2,387,681	297,615	2s 6d	158,400	13859	1s 9d
1950	2,580,128	321,628	2s 6d	371,760	32,529	1s 9d
1951	4,289,479	533,714	2s 6d	514,950	45,050	1s 9d
1952	3,661,586	450,810	2s 6d	620,800	54,323	1s 9d
1953	5,090,253	740,705	2s 6d	1,406,900	123,100	1s 9d
1954	4,766,841	714,176	2s 6d	n/a	n/a	1s 9d
1955	5,675,440	851,509	2s 6d	1,762,000	159,321	1s 9d
1956	6,559,638	1,245,382	4s	2,233,000	262,573	2s 9d
1957	6,160,007	1,241,089	4s	2,407,000	385,274	2s 9d
1958	6,270,803	1,274,528	4s	3,060,000	453,875	2s 9d
1959	6,832,229	1,990,576	4s	4,455,000	845,211	2s 9d
1960	7,171,929	2,312,465	7s 2d	4,459,000	1,107,245	5s 6d
1961	7,141,423	3,921,226	7s 2d	5,043,700	1,387,024	5s 6d
1962	5,000,000	2,375,000	9s 2d	5,300,000	1,909,607	6s 8d
1963	1,832,370	889,498	9s 2d	10,737,800	3,579,278	6s 8d
1964	1,644,000	525,000	15s 0d	12,000,000	4,189,782	7s 0d
1965	433,000	324,750	15s 0d	12,781,280	4,473,448	7s 0d
1966	360,157	267,534	15s 0d	13,902,331	4,843,200	7s 0d
1967	245,763	111,774	15s 0d	13,157,000	4,604,952	7s 0d
1968	254,479	40,375	15s 0d	14,027,668	4,909,684	7s 0d
1969	207,662	75,007	15s 0d	19,316,000	6,430,485	7s 0d
1970	299,992	23,105	15s 0d	23,344,000	7,878,410	7s 0d

Source: Simeon Heap, “Before “STAR”: The Import substitution of Western Style Alcohol in Nigeria, 1870 – 1970”, *African Economic History* 24 (1996) p.83

From the data above, even up to the 1970, the demand for imported beer was still high just like the excise duty increased as well. Obot rightly observes that as late as 1976 more than 132 million litres of beer was imported to complement the quantity produced locally.¹³ The reason for this development was that the Nigerian Brewery Limited monopolised the beer production sector in Nigeria for a long period. The establishment of Independence Brewery, Umuahia, in 1962, which brewed the Golden Guinea “Lager and Eagle stout and West African Breweries Abeokuta which produced “Top Lager”¹⁴ brought to an end the monopoly of the Nigerian Brewery later called Golden Guinea domiciled in southern Nigeria provided the consumers alternatives to star and Gulder. In his study of Drug Abuse in Nigeria, Odejide recalls that the period after 1977 period also witnessed a sudden increase in alcohol production and availability. According to him, beer breweries increased from seven in 1977 to thirty four in 1985.¹⁵ Since the second republic, apart from private investors, state governments also invested in breweries. Apart from the cases of Golden Guinea brewery owned by the government of Eastern Nigeria since 1962, there were Eastern Breweries later turned Consolidated Breweries Awomama, Cross River Breweries later called Champion Brewery Uyo, and even the Gongola Brewery, which gulped about N10 million naira in 1984. The company’s share was as follows: 51 percent Gongola State government, 30 per cent for Jos International Brewery and 10 percent for the Cereken Danish Food Ltd.¹⁶ Furthermore, Odejide noted that, in addition to beer breweries, there were four distilleries and nine wine producing centres as the volume of wine and imported spirits increased from 1.0 million hector- litres in 1982 to 3.9 million hector-litres in 1983.¹⁷

Before this era, according to Stapleton in 1963:

Six breweries were now in operation; new comers were in Kaduna, Umuahia and Abeokuta and the Guinness Plant at Lagos. Nigeria Fermentation Industries is in

production, blending and bottling schnapps, gin, vodka, whisky and brandy from imported concentrates and alcohol.¹⁸

However, notwithstanding the increasing effort to domesticate home brew beer and other liquor in Nigeria, most of the ingredients for production were on imported and even at that, large quantities of beer were imported from Germany, Holland, Denmark and United Kingdom.¹⁹ There existed, and still exists, many breweries in south eastern Nigeria. They include:

- (i) Nigeria Brewery Limited, Aba and Enugu;
- (ii) Golden Guinea Breweries, Umuahia;
- (iii) Guinness Breweries;
- (iv) Consolidated breweries, Awomama; and
- (v) Safari Breweries, Arondizuogu.

However, the aforementioned breweries seems to present a peripheral view of what constituted brewing industry in Eastern Nigeria but due to the fact that most breweries listed above did make severe impact, they are thus discussed in details. This does not imply that breweries not mentioned above are not relevant to the present study. Nevertheless, they are discussed in passing.

Nigerian Breweries PLC

The history of brewing in Nigeria dates back 1946 when notable beer importing firms such as the United African Company (U.A.C), John Holt and Company, G.B. Olivant, Paterson Zochonis (P.Z) limited, Union Trading Company (U.T.C), Compagnie Francaise dels Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and societe commercial del' Quest Africain (SCOA) came together in 1946 to form the Nigerian Brewery limited.²⁰ Hence, from 1946, the Nigerian Breweries Limited became the pioneer and largest brewing company with

STAR Lager beer which was first produced in Lagos in June 1949. Other breweries subsequently commissioned by the company include Aba Brewery in 1957, Kaduna Brewery in 1963 and the company acquired its fifth brewery in Enugu and in October 2003, its sixth brewery was sited at Ama in Enugu.²¹

Nevertheless, there were several attempts to start alcohol manufacturing in Nigeria. It was Messers Gros and Dupuy that pioneered efforts at establishing an alcohol manufacturing business in the first decade of the twentieth century even though the company could not start production²² Hence, the primary motive of UAC's initiative was market protection as the company's beer trade was displaced in Ghana (1932) and the Congo (1935) because of the establishment of local breweries by Swiss entrepreneurs. Thus, the UAC took into account merchant interests to invest in Nigeria.²³ The Heineken director, Strikker, and Unilever had several meetings after the Second World War in 1945 to the possibility of a joint brewery project in Lagos. The draft plan was based on brewery production of 20,000 hectolitres and an investment of 2 million guilders. Heineken became a major shareholder in two Egyptian breweries namely Societe de Bieres Bomonti and Crown Brewery in Alexandria. It was hoped that hundreds of thousands of guilders held by Egyptian breweries will be used to finance the Nigerian project. Thus, on November 16, 1946 Heineken signed a contract with UAC for setting up the Nigerian Breweries. U.A.C was made responsible for the commercial aspects while Heineken had technical control and Nathan, a Swiss company provided technical brewing installations.²⁴ The manufacturing of Star beer by Nigerian Breweries Plc was not left out without challenges. Thus, after initial technical difficulties with fermentation and temperature control, the main problem was one of countering the unfavourable demonstration effect of the European community prejudiced refusal to drink what the dubbed as "chemical beer".

This negative factor was overcome by intensive “men of distinction” drink star beer advertising campaign.²⁵

However, it is on record that between 1949 when star beer was produced and 1952, the Nigeria Brewery Limited fought immensely to make sure their product gained market acceptance which was achieved by 1952. Hence, in order to minimise the chances of a competitor, a second brewery was opened in Aba in 1957 and a third plant in Kaduna in 1963.²⁶ Remarking on the opening of the Aba plant, of the Nigerian Breweries, Floyd noted that:

Aba is known as the high population density area with with rail communications which are important for outward distribution and inward return of bottles, was one of the reasons Aba was selected in siting a factory by the Nigerian breweries. In the distribution of its products the aim of Nigerian Breweries has been to preserve price stability throughout the Eastern Provinces. By delivering free to all the main centres of the region, the company ensures that its products are bought at the same price.²⁷

Notwithstanding the establishment of Guinness Brewery in Lagos in 1961 and the Golden Guinea, Umuahia, by Eastern Nigeria government in 1962, which posed serious competition, the Nigeria Brewery limited did not relent in its effort to gain wide acceptance among the consuming public. The reason for the proliferation of many breweries has been attributed to many factors. One of such factors, according to Kilby who argues was:

The labour skills required in operating a modern brewery are likewise modes; beyond a relatively small number of senior technicians (malsters, brewers, production engineers, bottling managers).²⁸

Furthermore, Floyd maintains that domestic production of beer required considerably less tariff protection than cigarettes.²⁹ Between 1955 to 1966, the Nigerian Breweries limited increased its profits margin as shown in Table II.

Table 1

The Nigerian Brewing Industry 1966

Start up	capacity	investment (m.gal)	Employment (Em)	
NBL Lagos	1949	5.0	{	{
Aba	1957	2.5	{3.5	{1,700
Kaduna	1963	1.4	{	{
Guinness	1963	5.0	2.0	650
Independence (ENDC)	1963	1.0	1.0	380
West African Breweries	1964	1.2	1.0	250
Domestic Production	(m.gal)	16.1	7.5	2,980
Imports	(m.gal)	5.3(1962)	12.0(1964)	13.9(1966)
Equity, capital reserves long term debt		5.0	0.7	0.4

Table II

Star beer: Prices, output, profit

	Price per gallon (shillings)	Output	Before tax profits
	1950 – 100	(100 gal)	(£0005)
1955	118	1,762	-----
1956	130	2,233	-----
1957	130	2,407	-----
1958	133	3,060	-----
1959	155	4,445	745
1960	174	4,459	709
1961	179	4,932	987
1962	192	5,323	359
1963	192	6,822	685
1964	198	7,120	673
1965	205	7,477	1,235
1966	.....	8,590	1,598

Sources for Table I and II: Peter Kiby, *Industrialization in an Open Economy: Nigeria 1945 – 1966* Cambridge University press 1969, pp. 97, 98

Nigerian Brewery and Expansion

The Aba Brewery was established due to the commercial and strategic importance of the city in terms of connecting and distributing of the product to other parts of the region. The construction of the brewery began in 1955 and was completed in 1957. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil war 1967–1970 halted its operation.³⁰ The outbreak of the war halted the take off of Aba Brewery.

As part of its expansionist policy, a third brewery was needed. Hence, by 1959 construction work began. It was successfully completed in 1962 but operation commenced in 1963. The establishment of Kaduna Brewery supported the Lagos brewery immensely due to the breakdown of the Aba Brewery as a result of the Nigerian civil war.³¹

After the Nigerian Civil War, there was an effort to establish a fourth brewery. Hence by 1976, the possibility of establishing a brewery in Ibadan was encouraged to suit modern global standard at that period. On 5th May 1982, the production of star beer in Ibadan brewery began. In its drive for expansion, another brewery in Eastern Nigeria was sought for even though it raised serious disagreement before it received approval. Hence an opportunity was readily made available with the acquisition of the Diamond Brewery in September 1993. The operation of the brewery in Enugu did not start until 1996. This is because it was argued that the southeast zone already had a brewery situated in Aba. In 2003, the most modern brewery by the Nigerian Breweries plc was established in Enugu. It is Ama brewery. The brewery gulped \$300 million and has an installed capacity of three million hectolitres per annum.³² Hence the establishment of the Ama brewery led to the closure of the former brewery in Enugu.

Nigerian Breweries and Social Corporate Responsibility

Nigerian Breweries has tried to demonstrate social corporate responsibility. Nigerian Breweries Plc has a socially responsible in the area of education, the environment and sports, among others. It is on record that in 1994, the NBL established an Education Trust Fund of 100 million naira to enable it participate in the funding of educational and research in higher institutions all in an effort to provide and encourage academic excellence. This is in addition to its secondary and university scholarship programme for children of its employees.³³

It is in the policy of the company to engage in project that is beneficial to its host community. For instance in Umungais, Aba, 1000KVA transformer was installed for the community. The company's public water supply system to link Alakia cost N1 million while N3 million was invested for the construction of dormitory accommodation for the students in the school of the physically challenged persons, which was commissioned in 1996.³⁴

In 2009, the Nigerian Breweries sponsored a workshop in collaboration with the Federal Road Safety Corp, in Enugu, Lagos, Ibadan and other cities in Nigeria tagged Operation Don't Drink and Drive(DDD)' where they educated motor cyclist riders and their passengers on the need to ensure safety on the roads. The company also donated 1500 helmets in each of the cities.³⁵ The Umuezeani community, where the Ama Breweries was located has also benefitted from the company. They community received 10 million naira scholarship fund, a farm fish pond, and e-learning centre.³⁶ The entertainment industry has been empowered from the Star Trek, where the winners annually receives recording deals and the Gulder search a live TV programme, has also served as part of the company's corporate social responsibilities.

Guinness Breweries Plc

Originally, Guinness extra stout was imported from Ireland. With time, it gained acceptance and popularity among Nigerian consumers. This led to the establishment of Guinness Brewery in Lagos in 1962. The brewery Nigeria is the first Guinness Brewery outside United Kingdom and only the third in the world. It has succeeded in Nigeria with three breweries and also a popular brand of beer known as Harp.³⁷ Guinness Nigeria is a subsidiary of the prestigious Diageo Plc of the United Kingdom.³⁸ The Guinness Nigeria came into existence in the year 1950 with the sole aim of importing and distributing Guinness stout from Dublin for eventual sales in Nigeria. Due to the success of the

product in the country it gave rise to a decision to establish a small brewery in 1962. The foundation stone of Guinness was laid at Ikeja on the 31st of January 1962 by Arthur Benjamin Francis Guinness. The building of Guinness brewery in Lagos was done in conjunction with UAC at an estimate of 2.4 million naira at Ikeja. Hence in 1965, Guinness Nigeria limited became a public company and was one of the first companies to be quoted in the Nigeria Stock exchange with shares being offered to Nigerians shareholders. Following this development, 1200 Nigerians held 20% of the equity.³⁹

Guinness Nigeria produces the following brands namely: Foreign Extra Stout(1962), Guinness Extra Smooth (2005), Malta Guinness (1990), Harp Lager beer(1974) Gordon's spark (2001), Smirnoff ice(2006) Satzenbrau (1995,2006).⁴⁰ As a result of its expansionist drive, other branches were opened. In 1971, a decision was taken to build a new brewery at Benin city at a cost of 12 million naira, to brew lager beer and with the completion of the Benin Brewery in 1974, about 4,000,000 shares were sold to Nigerians thus throwing about 40% of equity into the hands of 14,000 Nigerian shareholders. By 1980, there was a decision to build new lager beer brewing at Ogba in Lagos at the cost of 57 million naira and production of harp beer commenced in 1982.⁴¹ Furthermore, by 1983, Guinness Nigeria Limited accounted for about one fifth a total beer production in Nigeria and had a turnover of N240 million, employed 4,339 workers and paid N105 million in company tax, excise duty and import duties.⁴² Beginning from the middle 1980's, breweries in Nigeria suffered immensely as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP), which banned the importation of brewing ingredients especially barley. The Guinness brewery is not the only industry that suffered in this regard. Nevertheless, Jernigan and Obot admit in favour of Guinness that:

the companies size enabled them to weather the economic storms of the 1980's which forced the

closure of many smaller Nigerian breweries, and today they dominate Nigeria's beer industry. They are, however, fierce competitors, and this is exemplified in the unique and ingenious ways they have developed of marketing and promoting some of the country's most popular alcoholic beverages. Many of these activities are oriented towards young people.⁴³

As a measure to tackle the problem of raw materials, for brewing there was joint venture for commercial cultivation of barley in the Lake Chad irrigation area in 1985. This development was between Guinness Breweries Limited and the Nigeria Breweries, covering about 30 hectares of land.⁴⁴ Apart from the challenges of raw materials of the 1980's, middle 1960's was not pleasant market wise as a result of competitions from Nigeria Brewery, Golden Guinea and West African Breweries, makers of Top Lager Beer. The Nigerian Brewery produces legend stout at the same time Golden Guinea was already producing Eagle stout.⁴⁵ In spite of these challenges posed on the Guinness brewery, one would have ordinarily think that there would have been need to situate one of its factories in southeastern zone in order to compete favourable.

The post SAP era has been described to be more competitive for the Nigerian industries especially the brewing sector. According to Amalokwu *et.al* available evidences research on Guinness breweries shows that economic liberalisation associated with SAP nurtured an open economy which minimised the hurdles of getting raw materials because of the unprecedented changes in the business environment, which led to increased competition both in domestic markets and imports into the country.⁴⁶ Hence, in order to suppress the tempo created by the structural Adjustment Programme, Guinness adopted aggressive marketing strategies by the end of the 1980's. Hence, Guinness stout dominated alcohol advertising in Nigeria during the period of study. According to Obot:

Guinness, a major producer of stout, is known as for associating beverage with virility and power. In its latest billboard and print media advertisement, a javelin thrower is poised for action, wearing a vest with the word Guinness splashed across the chest, under the banner headline STRENGTH “Guinness,” the message continues, “is good for you” And in real life many people especially women, who need a good reason to be seen drinking, actually believe that Guinness medicinal properties.⁴⁷



Source: *West African Pilot* Saturday, December 16 1967 P.2

To buttress this further, Jernigan and Obot note that Guinness was associated with strength and sexual virility and that lovers of the drink called it black power or viagra among many other suggestive names.⁴⁸ In 1999, the Guinness breweries used Micheal Power as the point man and hero in series of mini-adventures on radio, and television which reveals the good quality of the product namely: strength, friendliness, intelligence, responsibility, and reasonableness.⁴⁹ Beginning from this point, Micheal Power became

the leading salesman of Guinness Extra Stout, even though his identity is not much known except that he is an actor model of African descent. In 2003, a film titled critical assignment was released for free by Diaego. Having spent 42.4 million dollars, however, Guinness stout was used throughout the film as prominent brand. In addition, the opening of Guinness TV showcases great Africans who have triumphed over adversity is another major step in its advertising tendencies.⁵⁰

Apart from advertising, the Nigerian Guinness contains some indigenous ingredients that makes its products unique especially the stout. This is intention:

Nigerian Guinness brewed with maize and sorghum, an indigenous crop of Africa, is produced in Nigeria, Kenya, Leosotho, and other areas throughout the continent where the growing and importation of barley is restricted by the African government. This restriction has been launched in an attempt to support the African grain industry and strengthen its weak economy.⁵¹

The Guinness breweries have embarked on much social corporate responsibility on several communities in Nigeria. This include projects such as Water of Life Initiative, which provides portable water to over 500,000 Nigerians spread across from northern to southern Nigeria, scholarship and Guinness eye hospitals in three cities in Nigeria.⁵²

Golden Guinea Breweries

Golden Guinea brewery was incorporated in 1962 as government owned company belonging to Eastern Nigerian Government during Michael I. Okpara administration as the premier of the region. It had a share of £100 dividends into £100 ordinary shares of £1 each its two hands of products included Golden Guinea Lager beer and Eagle stout. However, it was until 1978 that the Imo state government gave a go ahead order for the company to be listed in the Nigerian Stock Exchange. Subsequently, about 15,000,000 ordinary shares of 50k each were offered to the public and through this public leading to

an increase in the company's share capital up to N7, 500.000. This development contributed to a huge profit taxation of N6,044,000 in 1981 by the company against N1,864,000 in 1980. Furthermore, an installed capacity of 600,000 hecto litres per annum was realized with the building of modern brewery which was completed in 1981.⁵³

In 1983, the company offered 8,032,500 ordinary shares to the public and 7,717,500 shares in its existing shareholders at a price of 70k per share of 50k. Second, a total of 9,254 valid applications for 11,021,350 shares were received in respect of the public offer which was thus subscribed 1.37 times. Third, a total of 2,210 valid applications for 5,143,642 shares were received in respect of the right issues, which was, thus, only 0.67 subscribed.⁵⁴ It should be recalled that about 99.9 percent of the entire staff of the Golden Guinea breweries were shareholders of the company.⁵⁵ However, between 1980–1984, the company's turnover, profit, shares and dividends were outlined as follows:

Years	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	N000	N000	N000	N000	N000	N000	N000
Turnover	12,098	24,766	42,972	47,941	42,858	47,926	41,444
Profit before taxation	1,864	6,044	13,590	11,693	12,400	11,355	9,255
Exceptional item	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	2672
Taxation	931	2,475	6,177	5,416	5,625	4,492	2601
Profit after Taxation	933	3,569	7,413	6,277	6,775	6863	3,982
Dividends	650	1,575	1,575	3,544	3,780	3,780	2362
Earnings per share	2.00k	7.5k	15.7k	13.3k	14.30	-----	-----
National Economic Recovery Levy	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	333	-----
Retained profit	283	1,994	5.838	2,733	2,995	2,750	1620

Source: see privatization of Golden Guinea Breweries, Nigeria Statesman, Newspaper, Monday September 9, 1985, p.5, Summary of Results for the year Ended 31 December 1986, The Guardian Friday August 21 1987, p.4

The company's major expansion was triggered by major increase in production by other firms in 1984 like 3.3ml per annum by the Nigerian Breweries limited compared to Guinness 2.5ml hl per annum. ⁵⁶ Hence with this development, the company offered to sale most of its equipment because of major expansion as such obsolete equipments could afford a capacity production of only 150,000 hectolitres per annum. The equipments include:

1. Krones labeling machine
2. 18 station orthmann and herbst bottle washer
3. A60/10 orthmann and Herbs bottle filler/crowner
4. Sander Hansen and Co. pasteurizer 14 x 52
5. 2 No. Krones Universell fully automatic labeling machine
6. Automann Air compressor
7. 3 No. Hoppmann 8 cylinder Ammonia compressor
8. 2 No. Loos Gunzenhauser Horizontal tubular oil fired boilers, capacity 6 tons each;and
9. 3 No. water treatment tanks for above boilers.⁵⁷

In 1979 – 1980, the government guaranteed a loan of N645,301.24 to Golden Guinea brewery while in 1982, the company received a loan of N3,060,000.00 while equity investments in 1987 shows that the number of shares was replaced at N12,048,750, nominal value per share of N50, valued at N6,024,375 with percentage holding of 25.5 and date of purchase was placed as 22 September 1962.⁵⁸ The tables 1, 2 and 3 of the reports of the Accountant-General of Imo State of Nigeria 1983, 1987 and 1989 shown below accounts for the aforementioned records.

In 1984 alone, Golden Guinea paid over 18 million to Imo state Government as taxes and maintained on her pay roll 950 members of staff. The effort of the company in improving

social and living conditions of the people was manifested in youth development. The establishment of Golden Guinea football team was remarkable not only in mental and physical development but as a means of gainful employment.⁵⁹ The Eagle stout in its adverts demonstrates strength and happiness.



Source: *Nigerian Statesman Tuesday September 1984 p.31*

Furthermore, the Golden Guinea Brewery was not left out without challenges especially in the area of industrial and personnel harmony as well as the sales of its stocks. Thus in 1985, Imo State government admitted that:

After an exhaustive investigation, no illegal impropriety was discovered. The shares stocks of Golden Guinea were publicly offered for sale and any Nigerian was qualified to buy. After all applications were submitted for subscription, shares were allotted to individuals and corporate investors by allotment committee comprising offices of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Stock Exchange. Government has no cause to doubt the integrity of this committee because the

23 years of life of the Stock Exchange has been devoid of scandals, shock or crash.⁶⁰

Furthermore, in response to the decision of the government stated above, the National Union of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Employees released a communiqué of their Branch triennial general meeting of their branch held on 17 August 1985 as follows:

- (vi) calls on workers of Golden Guinea Breweries limited to put up their best in the discharge of their duties for enhancement of productivity;
- (vii) calls on the board of Directors of Golden Guinea Breweries and share holders to treat the Newspaper report in respect of K.O Lawrence outburst as non-issue, as the junior workers have no conflict with the management of Guinea Breweries Limited; and
- (viii) commends the management of Golden Guinea Breweries Limited for setting a panel to look into affairs of junior staff co-operative society and productivity bonus.⁶¹

Hence, the company in its policy adopted measures in selecting its management trainees through setting internal examination in order to curtail large number of applicants and select carefully most qualified applicants.

Consolidated Breweries

Consolidated Breweries belonging to J.M.A Poizat is located in Awo-Omamma town. It produces 640,000 bottles of beer annually.⁶² The Consolidated Brewery was incorporated in 1980. It has a 9.5% market share in Nigeria and is the number three brewer in the domestic beer market, employing 1050 people, with a turnover of Euro 40.5 million in 2003. Together with the main brand, “33” Export, which is brewed under license, and the Hi-malt brand, consolidated Breweries covers the low price segment of the beer market

and operates two breweries in Ijebu Ode, South-west Nigeria and in Awo-Omamma, Southeast Nigeria. The sale in 2003 was 965,000 hectolitres.⁶³

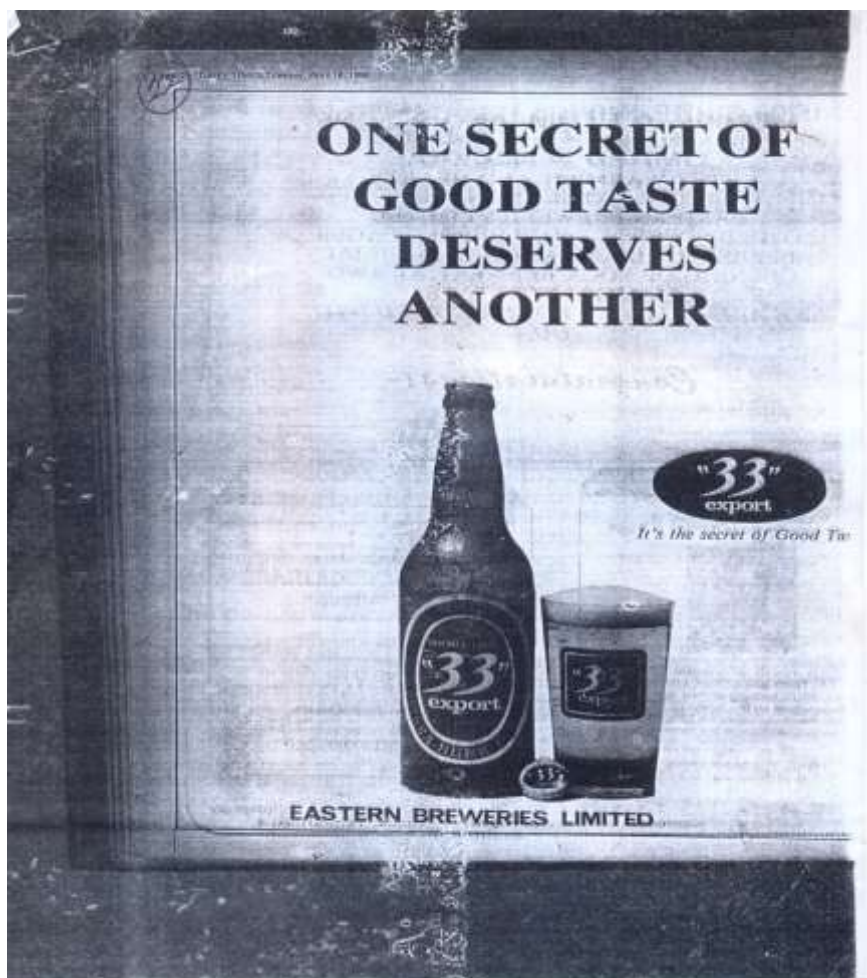
The Ijebu Ode factory was established in 1977 as Continental Breweries limited while that of Awo-omama was established as eastern breweries in 1980. Both merged in 1990 to become Consolidated Breweries owned by Leventis Nigeria. However, production in Awo-omama started in 1982. Remarkably on 13 April 1985, Brigadier Ike Nwachukwu (then Governor of Imo State) opened the ultra modern Brewery in Awo-omama Imo state owned by the Eastern Breweries Ltd. The company is a follow up of the continental Breweries Ltd, Messers A.G Leventis and Brasseries et Glaciers International decided to establish a second brewery in the eastern states and Eastern Breweries Ltd was incorporated on May 26 1980. The contractors who successfully executed the project were Technip Nigeria Ltd (Main contributor), Tapol Nigeria Ltd (Engineering), Civil Works Sing Nig. Ltd. and Mechanical installation and Trindel Nig. Ltd Electrical Engineering.⁶⁴

However, within six months the product '33 lager beer' was launched into market, it gained wide acceptance by consumers having taken a significant share of the market. According to a report: "Part of the secret lies in our careful selection of the ingredients and of strict control of quality throughout the brewing and bottling operations."⁶⁵

The production and building of the plant for the production of 33 export Lager beer gulped a sum of about N40,000 (forty thousand naira valued in 1984). The project was executed under the overall control of technical consultancy division of Brasseries Glaciers internationals owners of trade mark '33 export' and other contributors such as Continental Breweries Ltd, A.G Leventis & Co. Ltd and BGI together with other local investment interests.⁶⁶ The board of directors was constituted and was headed by Chief J.O Udoji and other members include Chief K.K Ogba, H.C Omo, A.A David, P.C

Mbadiwe, Chief Joe Bazuaye, H.S. A Adedeji, O.A Odutola, G.M Chanut and Chief A.E Ilodibe.⁶⁷

In Awo-Omama alone, the staff strength of the Consolidated Breweries is about 400. However, the company over the years has embarked on a lot of social responsibility to the host communities in terms of electricity supply, water supply, scholarship, sponsorship of events .Additionally, the company has a policy of giving out third party contracts to indigenes in the area of cleaning and maintenance.⁶⁸



Source: *Daily Times April 16 1985,P.20*

SAFARI BREWERIES NIGERIA LIMITED ARONDIZUOGU

The company was incorporated in 1981, just as factory erection commenced in 1982 and production started in November 1983. However, Safari Breweries (NIG) Limited is a

mutual corporation between Safari Investment and Properties Ltd and Otto Wolff and Huppmann companies in Germany. The initial installed capacity of production was 120,000 bottles per day, which was later increased to 240,000 bottles per day. The company was situated at NIPROC factory road, Arondizuogu, Imo State Nigeria.⁶⁹

The constitution of the company including plant and machinery installation was handled by Huppmann of Kitzingen West Germany a leading manufacturer of brewery equipment. First, the company installed a borehole of 1,400 feet to be sure of water. It also installed high grade stainless steel for the entire brew house, malt mill, beer filler and labeler, the pasteurizer and other materials that have contact with the beer. Hence the production of Hercules Lager Beer in November 1983 was a huge success recorded by Safari Breweries Ltd. However, in order to maintain a standard in a rising competitive beer industry, German experts were employed and in order to avoid contamination during sea passage, efforts were made to put the raw materials for Hercules beer into containers. Hence, an old brewing method was adopted, were letting out beer to ferment for 8 days and Lager beer 28 days was the practice.⁷⁰

With the inception of the Safari brewery industry, efforts were put in place to employ distributors to help get the product to the consuming public. The form for distributors as of November 1983 was N100.00 (hundred naira) non-refundable fee.⁷¹ In the *Nigeria Statesman* of 30 Monday, September 1985, there was an advert of vacant position for salesmen, housekeepers, cooks, and Nanny as a way of demonstrating the company's expansionist drive.⁷²

Brewing Industries and the Bottle Crisis

It has been accounted for that bottling components constitutes 13% of the total direct production costs of beer.⁷³ A research conducted in the 1980 greatly reflects this claim. Below is a table which provides a useful insight.

TABLE 111		
Direct Production costs of a Typical Lager Beer		
	# Per hl	%
Duty	28	52
Brewing Materials	12	22
Packaging Materials	7	13
Distribution	4	7
Services	3	6
	54	100

Sources: Brian T. Little, ‘‘Inputs of the Bottling and Brewery Industries and the prospect of Local Substitutes’’ in J.K Onoh ed. Industrial Potentials of Nigeria Raw Materials, Owerri: Imo State University Press 1986, p.159

It is on record that the largest single input purchase in beer production is glass bottle which was estimated to about £850,000 in 1963.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, bottling problems accrued to the beer sector pushed the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation (ENDC) to commission Cutinho Caro to establish a £1.2m turnkey project in Port Harcourt, taking advantage of the area natural gas and suitable sand resources to establish a glass factory.⁷⁵ However, limitations in supply as against huge demand saw used bottles being sold at 2d to meet 70% demand and probably local made new bottles selling for 6d to meet 30% to the demand. The reason for this abnormality has been attributed to the Port Harcourt factory equipment, which was poorly matched that one out to the two beer bottle moulding machines was uneconomically. Furthermore, the general strike of 1964 which led to the use of inefficient hand trucks instead of a gravity operated silo and the difficulties of poor quality gas did not augur well for the beer bottling industry in Nigeria.⁷⁶ It was this development that led Mid Western government to pay the sum £1.3m to Coutinho Caro to build a bottle manufacturing plant in Ughelli in 1964.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, this additional effort could not address the lingering bottle crisis. Hence, in the same year, there was growing scarcity of bottles which forced the breweries in the country to introduce a deposit system. By deposit system, customers paid a deposit on both cartons and bottles to ensure their return of containers. Deposits were collected back after transaction.⁷⁸ This development lingered on for a long time after the 1980's. The uniformity in beer bottle created an atmosphere of adulteration and mutual suspicion among brewing industries in Nigeria.

The Brewing Industries and The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The relevance of beer to the economy cannot be over emphasised. It is on record that by 1966, beer industries provided employment for about three thousand employees.⁷⁹ Hence, Justin Willis rightly observes that the domestication of beer into the social fabrics of the people was a step towards embracing modernity. He adds that:

Breweries and distilleries have provided investment, a rather small number of jobs and a good source of tax revenue, and they have provided the kinds of drinks which colonial. Experience and post colonial practice had taught all to regard modern, superior and safe.⁸⁰

Thus, embracing the drinking of beer, appears to be synonymous with embracing modernity, thus people of Eastern Nigeria seems to have succumbed by this action to the Darwinism based notion which states that Western civilization had a duty to protect Africans.⁸¹ Of course, beer drinking is associated with modernity, a view shared by Gireh and Dimah to be readily affordable in urban areas.⁸²

Beginning from 1977, available statistic shows how many hectoliters of beer were consumed in Nigeria. Nevertheless, while we utilize the relevance of the data below in

understanding heavy alcohol consumption, greater analysis will be deduced from the statistics of beer industries operating in Southern Nigeria.

Consumption of Beer and Soft Drinks in Nigeria, 1977 – 1979 (000 Hectolitres)

+Year	Beer (including Stout)	Soft drinks
1977	3,250.8	1,968.8
1978	4,926.6	2,115.9
1979	5,005.3	1,558.9
1980	7,467.9	4,967.4
1981	10,689.1	5,151.1
1982	8,375.9	5,331.3
1983	7,515.7	5,527.6
1984	7,354.7	5,799.7
1985	7,397.7	4,928.4
1986	10,160.0	3,520.4
1987	7,135.5	6,328.4
1988	9,546.8	6,576.9
1989	9,220.6	6,867.0

Source: Federal office of statistics publication cited in A.O. Akerele, ‘‘Supply of alcohol: A major Determinant of Alcohol consumption and Abuse’’ in I.S obot (ed) Epidemiology and control of substance Abuse in Nigeria, Jos: CRISA 1993, p. 47.

Excess availability of alcohol has been ascribed to the existence of many breweries .It has also been associated with the oil boom of the era. Nevertheless, the decline in oil prices of the 1980s accompanied with the drastic changes in government policies through the introduction of structural Adjustment Programmed (SAP) by 1987 which led to the ban of many food products not excluding imported barley used for beer

production. This development accompanied with economic down-turn led to the closure of many breweries in Nigeria.⁸³ Remarking on this development, Adedayo who notes that:

The progress recorded during the first phase of Nigeria's structural adjustment fell far below the expectations of its authors and exacted a heavy toll on the working people as well as the productive sectors of the economy. The free fall of the naira had the effect of substantially increasing the costs incurred by manufactures for importing their essential inputs leading to the closure of many factories established in the hey day of import substitution industrialization. The deregulation of interest rates which saw interests rising as much as 60 per cent served as a further disincentive to manufacturers who found it hard to source fund at such exorbitant rates.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, worthy of mention is the fact that post oil boom of the 1970's witnessed huge turn out of many breweries, which the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the 1980's could not suppress totally. As already mentioned, between 1970 and 1986 saw to the establishment of many breweries in Nigeria up to about thirty. Little concurs with the view that the brewing and bottling industries form significant segments of the Nigerian economy. According to him, accurate statistics are not available but about 30 breweries are in operation with the ability to produce in the region of 12 – 14 million hectoliters per annum.⁸⁵

However, the Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida administration in September 1986 decided to adopt IMF/World Bank initiative rejected by its predecessors as a way of securing external support towards rescheduling of its medium and long term debt. In 1987, the administration adopted a home-grown adjustment programme instead of IMF loan and though IMF provided the stand by facility which was not enough. Also, Nigeria embarked on the foreign exchange option of free interplay of market forces of demand and supply.

This idea was aimed at minimising the inflationary impact on devaluation but the reverse was the case as naira witnessed a position of near parity to the dollar in 1985. The naira fell in the official foreign exchange market to N5 to the dollar, and the N10 to dollar and later N18 to the dollar. As of the end of 1993, it stood at N22 to the dollar. The corresponding licensed *bureau de change* and illegal parallel market rates, as the end of December 1993, were between 45–48 naira to the dollar.⁸⁶

Hence, the idea of trade liberalisation encouraged dumping activities on the local consumer market thus undermining local factory production and many foreign investors took advantages of trade liberalisation and flooded the local markets with all kinds of imports to the detriment of local producers.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the fall of the naira had the effect of substantially increasing the costs incurred by manufactures for importing their essential inputs leading to the closure of many factories established in the hey day of import substitution. Besides, the deregulation of interest rates made borrowing difficult for manufacturers.⁸⁸ With this development, breweries in Nigeria witnessed untold hardship that led to the closure many of the breweries. Obot *et al* observe as follows:

A combination of factors, the most significant of which was a significant slide in economic fortunes, led to the closure of many of these breweries by the middle of the 1980s. The regional brands, owned by the state governments and individuals were particularly hard hit. About 3 in 4 of these disappeared from the scene by 1996. Less than 15 breweries survived and have been operating since then. Though the volume of beer produced in the country showed some increases between 1984 and 1994, the level of production was well below installed capacity.⁸⁹

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) did not augur well for the brewing industry in many respects. In 1987, import license became a major problem. It was difficult to get these licenses to import. Also, important duties and other taxes rose as the

government sought to grapple with the world-wide recession of the late 1980s. Each budget was a source of some anxiety to the industry. There was increase in import duties from 12% of 15% depending on the items imported. Thus, the overall impact of these taxes and duties was that the running cost as well as the cost of replacement of equipment and machinery became extremely high and this affected the company's profit margin because the increased cost could not be transferred to the consumer.⁹⁰ By 1989, the inflation rate reached 51% and the Nigerian Brewery Ltd. was so affected that the company not only spent more on personnel bills, but also on their party distribution due to the government's unwillingness to grant company's request to import vehicle.⁹¹

In addition, SAP was responsible for the ban on the importation of malted barley on 1st January 1988. As a result, breweries in Nigeria sought alternative measures by embarking on agricultural projects of cultivating locally most of the brewing crops. Attempts were made to find local substitutes for barley. The Nigerian Breweries Limited and Guinness Nigerian Limited joint venture to commercial cultivation of barely of about 30 hectares in the Lake Chad irrigation area in the 1980's was a litmus test of the outcome of the research, even though the absence of malting facilities to convert barely in Nigeria seems to be a limitation to such productive ingenuity.⁹² This ingenuity has been faulted by Peter Kilby who argues that on the basis of present agricultural knowledge and techniques, the potential for the local production of malt is not very priming. As he added, grown on the Jos Plateau but it is of a poor quality and the yield per acre is about one fifth that of Europe.⁹³

Considerable research effort has also been carried out also in Nigeria under the auspices of the Brewery Research Committee and the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry to see the possibility of producing sorghum, as an essential beer ingredient. Unfortunately, as it stands, Nigeria has not been able to produce sorghum to meet its

demand as staple food. This stand was made clear from the litmus test of the committee to look on the possibility of producing sorghum in large quantities after financing a micro malting plant FIIRO and a pilot brew house at Nsukka out of the funds provided by the brewing industry. However, other brewing ingredients such as hops, sugar, additives, stabilising agents, filter aids, cleaning and sterilizing agents are imported even though they proved difficult during the period of the Structural Adjustment Programme. Nevertheless, other components of beer bottling including labels, bottles, crown, crates, sundries etc were produced locally even though specialised papers for label manufacture or tin plate for crowns are mostly imported.⁹⁴ This was the dilemma that struck the brewing sector until 1991 when the idea of SAP was dropped by the federal government of Nigeria.

Other Beer Brands Consumed in Eastern Nigeria: An Overview

Most of the beer drinks consumed in south eastern Nigeria since 1970 – 1987 include: Star Lager Beer, 33 Export Beer, Life Continental lager beer, Baron Lager Beer, Skol International Lager Beer, Golden Guinea Lager Beer, Top Quality Beer, Gulder, Champion Lager Beer, Monarch, Premier Beer, Gold de Kanterbrau Lager Beer, Mackson Stout, Grand Super Lager Beer, Rock Lager Beer, Double Crown, and Hercules Prime Quality Beer drinks. One could draw a conclusion that the era in question was indeed a boom in the brewery industry.



Source: *Nigerian Statesman*, Friday, April 1982, p.12



Source: *Daily Star Thursday May 1982, p.5*

It is important to note that most of these products were not manufactured in south Eastern Nigeria, but are mentioned because of the consuming public domicile in our area of study. Furthermore, the quality of beer produced in Nigeria up to 1987 attracted a lot of international recognition. For instance, the Baron Lager Beer produced by Associated Breweries situated in Agbara Industrial Estate in Ogun State started production in 1978 as part of the expansion programme of West African Breweries Limited. The new plant first started production with Top Beer, which was produced within six months of its commencement of production. Later Vita Malt and Baron Lager Beer were produced in March and November 1982 respectively with a plant capacity of about 8.5 million cartoons per annum for both. However, since Top beer was the first to be produced, questions were asked on why the product could not win such an award as Baron. Hence it

was not surprising that Baron was being sold for 72 kobo at a time leading Star Beer was sold for 68 kobo. Thus, it was as a result of its quality that it achieved such feat in September 1985 at the fourth international Gold Medal Quality for beer, wine and spirits held in Madrid, Spain. It is on record that among 63 participants from 30 countries World wide, Baron Beer took an outstanding position in quality and taste. Thus, standing remarkably as internationally recognized classy brand made in Nigeria. The reason for the feat achieved by Baron Beer has been scientifically attributed to the organoleptic differences in the two products. ⁹⁵

Another brand of beer produced in Eastern Nigeria in post civil war era, was Dubic Special Lager Beer. The chairman and the general president of the company was Mr. Dike Udensi and the brewery was opened by Chief Samuel Onunaka Mbakwe (the then Governor of Imo State) at Crystal Park Hotel Aba on 2nd April 1982. ⁹⁶

Furthermore, the Life Breweries adds to the list of breweries that operated in Eastern Nigeria in our period of study. Life Breweries Company limited was incorporated on the 10th October 1979. Brewing started in July 1983 and Mother Life Lager Beer became a well-established brand. Initially the available capacity of production was 275,000 hectolitres per annum. In 1994, Montgomery Ventures incorporated Switzerland acquired about 96.5% of the company's share capital and has recently increased to 97% and also supports the company with technical management. ⁹⁷

As part of its corporate social responsibility, the Life Brewery sponsorship of many programmes such as Omere Eme which is a popular programme broadcast in Delta Broadcasting Corporation. It is aired every Monday at 10pm and deals with the social problem facing Nigerians and has a very large viewership. Furthermore, the company made it possible through financial sponsorship on 5 September 1984 for the quarter final of Africa Cup competitions which was played in Yaoundé Cameroon between Rangers

Football club of Enugu and Canon Sportiff Foot Club of Cameroun and ATAV Channel 50 in Nigeria.⁹⁸

Another brand of beer that is produced in eastern Nigeria is the Champion Lager Beer by Champion Lager Breweries Plc. It was incorporated as a Private Limited Liability Company on the 31st of July, 1974. Its original name was south east Breweries. Later the Company's name was changed from south east Breweries Limited. The latter name, Champion Breweries Limited was changed to Champion Breweries Plc on the 1st of September, 1992 in accordance with Public and Allied Matter Decree of 1990. The 24th day of November 1974 was a turning point in the history of brewing in the south eastern State of Nigeria as an Agreement was signed with Messers Haase Brauerie GMBH of Humbury ("Technical Partners") for the supply and construction of a Brewery in Uyo with a capacity of 150,000 hectolitres.⁹⁹

The foundation stone of the brewery was laid on the 19th of March, 1975. Hence by the 11th day of December 1976, the Brewery was officially commissioned and its products, Champion Lager Beer launched into the market with success. The second expansion, which incorporated more sophisticated machinery, was completed and was put to test on September 1979 and was officially commissioned on the 11th of December 1979 with enhanced capacity of 500,000 hectoliters per annum. The same year the Company's products, "Champion Lager Beer" and "Champ Malta" won silver medal for quality at the 16th World Selection for Beers and Non-Alcoholic Beverages in Luxemburg. Consequent upon pressure of demand for its products, the Company took a decision to double its capacity to one million hectoliters. This third expansion, which gulped substantial resources, could not be realised. The non-completion of the expansion programme coupled with lack of working capital and inadequate maintenance of the plants forced the company to close its doors for business between 1990 and 1991.¹⁰⁰

However, all subsequent reactivation attempts did not yield the desired results. With the advent of democracy in Nigeria in May 1999; the government of Akwa Ibom State made the reactivation of the brewery a cardinal activity. Consequently, the Akwa Ibon State Investment and Industrial Promotion Council (AKIIPOC) was charged with the responsibility to reactivate the company. In pursuant of this mandate, AKIIPOC, in conjunction with the Board of Director of the company, went to the market to solicit for Core Investors/Technical Manager. In the process, Montgomery Ventures Incorporated of Panama (with offices in Geneva, Switzerland) was identified and brought into the company as Core Investors/Technical Managers after a memorandum of understanding was signed. Based on the memorandum, a Reactivation Committee was set up by the board of the company to work with the Core Investors/Technical Managers for the revamping of the company. The reactivation process, which commenced in February, 2000 lasted about nineteen months. Now, the plant has been revamped and restructured to use one hundred per cent locally- sourced raw materials. The brewery is now fully operational and the capacity is 500,000 hectolitres per annum. The reactivated brewery was officially commissioned on the 23rd of October, 2001. The second phase of reactivation programme has begun already. The aim is to diversify the company's product base and bring the capacity to 1,000,000 hectoliters per annum.¹⁰¹

The Advertisement of Alcohol in Colonial and Post Colonial Time

Advertising has been defined as a form of communication through media and about products services or ideas paid for by an identified sponsor. It was derived from a Latin word-Advetere meaning to draw attention to.¹⁰² The various types of media adver include: (i) print: newspapers, magazine, booklets, pamphlets, leaflets ,poster ,(ii.) broadcast: these include radio, television, and cable satellite; (iii.) direct mail; (iv).out of home: signs, billboards, transit advertising, and (v) film or or celluloid, which is presently under

utilised.¹⁰³ In all the aforementioned advertising techniques, alcohol has been showcased in virtually all of them in various historic epochs except direct mail. Advertising in Nigeria has been traced to have originated in 1879 in the *Iwe Irohin* the first newspaper in Lagos published by Rev. Townsend. Similarly, before 1914, the Royal Niger Company played the role of a forerunner in advertising in Nigeria, exhibiting European finished goods. Although radio broadcasting which started in 1932 and the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Services in 1955 did not begin with commercials,¹⁰⁴ alcohol advertising was carried out in newspapers such as *West African Pilot* in the 1940's. Further, cinema was heavily utilised for advertising from 1950's but was later taken over by the popularity of celluloid film in 1960's. A company called Pearl and Dean pioneered cinema advertising production in Nigeria and its commercial footages, especially its cartoons-character animation, remains evergreen for such adverts highlighted below:

1. The West African Airways Corporation press with the pay-off "YOU TOO CAN FLY"
2. The Star Beer Press and outdoor ad series with questions like "who stopped the fight?" and the ready answer. "I DID, SAYS SAMMY SPARKLE IT'S TIME FOR STAR!";
3. The Raleigh bicycle press and outdoor ads with the reassuring illustration of a gleeful Raleigh rider outspacing a roaring lion;
4. The mobil oil immortal radio ad with the horn sound-effects: peep.peep.peep.peep. MAKE IT MOBIL";
5. The Heineken promotional gramophone record with its lingering tune assuring you that wherever you may be, by land or sea, Heineken was best;
6. The Volkswagen Beetle cinema commercial animation, with Aduke's suitor and her father's baritone NO! to the one who didn't own a volks; and

7. The perpetually fresh Guinness stout omni media ads pay off: "GUINNESS IS GOOD FOR YOU".¹⁰⁵

A study of alcohol advertising involves methods adopted publicly in order to persuade people to buy or use it. In any case, our emphasis is placed on how advertising shapes the cultural imaging of alcohol and its impact on the consuming public in South Eastern Nigeria. This is against the view expressed by Caffé and Duffy that there is a lack of conclusive evidence that alcohol advertising increases levels of aggregate consumption among adults or young people.¹⁰⁶

To start with, alcohol advertising was not a prominent feature among traditional people before the onset of colonial rule. Odejide attributed the upsurge in alcohol production, distribution, and consumption to the presence of Europeans. According to him, the factors that contributed to this development include free trade and free markets, which globalised alcohol markets and dismantled traditional alcohol control measures such as restriction of alcohol use by women and adolescents.¹⁰⁷ As Dike rightly observed, slave dealers spread a taste for cheap liquor on the coast, not only because it provided a means of giving little for the men but also because it was a convenient form of currency. A bottle of rum was much easier to transport than a bag of salt.¹⁰⁸ However, most of the display of liquor products by early European merchants was not necessarily for the exchange for slaves alone. Rather palm- oil as illustrated in the poster below was also used to exchange for gin produced by WH & C (William Haskamp & Co of Scheidam, Holland)



Source: W.I. Ofonagoro, *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria 1881 – 1929*, p. 123

In any case, the inflow of alcohol would have started with direct advertising of the imperialists to the palaces of prominent chiefs in exchange for slaves or goods or even contacts with the early middlemen on the coast. It has been accepted that the early form of such adverts was the astonishing medicinal promises, which were pasted on the bottle of alcohol in drinks. However, in spite of the literacy level of the society only few gin and schnapps consumers could read the advertisements, the benefits claimed were passed on by words of mouth. These claims encouraged widespread local belief in the medicinal qualities of schnapps as a panacea for all physical maladies.¹⁰⁹ The case of van Telman and E. Kiderlen's schnapps has been used as reference points. The label of Van Telman brand reads as follows:

J. Van Telman's pure scheidam schnapps. A tonic, diuretic anti-dyspeptic and invigorating

cordial specially patronized and recommended for medicinal purposes by leading continental and American physicians. A safe and reliable remedy for dyspepsia, Liver complaints and constitutional debility; and infallible cure for fever and ague and other periodic disorders; valuable in diarrhea, colic, cramps and choleric maladies, and a superior and bilious and tonic medicine for general family use ... These schnapps by their excellent tonic properties have ever maintained an enviable reputation as a life giving panacea to the weakly and debilitated and enfeebled constitutional. A trial is all that is asked by the proprietor and a few days is all that is needed by the most skeptical. People whose constitution has become so nervous and debilitated through sedentary habits and close confinement to office and other duties, will find in these a tonic possessed of intrinsic virtues, able to establish a healthy standard and bestow a new lease of pristine health, cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit so necessary of the happiness of men.¹¹⁰

Similarly, E. Kiderlen's Schnapps label reads as follows:

Kiderlen celebrated aromatic schnapps, supplied throughout the world. E. K is highly recommended as a medicinal tonic for family use and periodic disorders and to those suffering of (sic) gravel, cramps, gout stone of the bladder, kidneys, chronic inflammation, dropsy, general debility. Also as a blood purifier, and to used to increase appetite, kiderlen's schnapps is very best obtainable. To avoid substitutes insist on seeing the signature on the label. (signed) E. Kiderlen.¹¹¹

Hence, the aforementioned adverts have been discussed extensively by leading academics as fraudulent and misleading. One of such academics insists, while recalling Euro-African relationship in liquor trade, that: in the course of this commercial intercourse, Africans discovered that commercial frauds pervaded every aspect of trading transactions with the European firms in particular. The liquor trade, gin and rum were

extensively adulterated with water and was later sold in West African markets to make Africans drunkards.¹¹² However, the brain behind this idea was to encourage Africans to make appropriate consumptive choices. Thus colonial economies also steered African consumption, through the marketing of cheap versions of commodities for Africans only.

The importation of relatively inexpensive commodities for sale to Africans dates back to the pre-colonial period and initially reflected a demand for goods that were affordable to African agricultural producers with limited cash. During the colonial period such cheap commodities acquired additional meanings, reflecting racial difference and domination. Throughout colonial Africa, the availability of specific commodities was one of the ways through which racial superiority was constructed.¹¹³ Furthermore, another aspect of the commercial fraud was the practice of deceptive bottling liquor was imported in cases and rum in demijohns which were larger than the contents required to deceive the prospective buyers and make them believe that they were buying more than their money could get.¹¹⁴

In recent time, the targeted groups for alcohol advertising are the youths. Jernigan in his study of alcohol advertising and its impact on the youth notes of course that:

Sports are not the only events receiving sponsorship dollars from Alcohol producers. For example, the two leading breweries in Nigeria one controlled by Guinness/Diaego, the other by Heineken-sponsor the National Annual Essay competition, fashion shows and beauty Contests on university campuses, university sporting events, musical segments of radio call-in shows about particular alcohol brands.¹¹⁵

The bottomline of this situation was that with such media and aggressive marketing efforts, alcohol consumption has witnessed tremendous increase.¹¹⁶ In most cases, pictures of healthy and successful people in entertainment industry are used in

gracing such bill boards and posters of alcohol, products thus vindicating Barbor's view that:

In modern times two new factors have emerged as major determinants of drinking customs: the concentration of production in multinational corporations, and the internalization of drinking practices through advertising and social modeling. The increasing use of sophisticated advertising techniques to market beverages has greatly encouraged the adoption of new drinking practices by youth and women, especially in developing nations.¹¹⁷

In most cases, stake holders in the health sectors met and marshaled out policy statements against alcohol advertising. One of such gathering was convened by Royal College of Psychiatrists in November 1987 in London. In its communiqué, it was recorded as follows:

Advertising at present often contravenes existing guidelines. The scale and content of alcohol advertising, both direct and indirect, such as sponsorship, should be stringently monitored by independent assessors. Further curtailment may be necessary if the guidelines continue to be contravened.¹¹⁸

In December 2006, Members of parliament of the European Union debated and enacted a law that covers advertising of alcohol on television in the European Union. It was ratified that alcohol adverts could not be shown before 9.00 pm. It is assumed that teenager's access to television at this period will be minimal. Specifically, article 15 of the document states as follows:

- it may not be aimed specifically at minors or, in particular, depict minors consuming these beverages.
- it shall not link the consumption of alcohol to enhanced physical performance or to driving;

- it shall not create the impression that the consumption of alcohol contributes towards social or sexual success.
- it shall not claim that alcohol has therapeutic qualities or that it is a stimulant, a sedative or a means of resolving personal conflicts;
- it shall not encourage immoderate consumption of alcohol or present abstinence or moderation in a negative light; and
- it shall not place emphasis on high alcoholic content as being a positive quality of the beverages.¹¹⁹

In the Nigerians case study, even when there are attempts, serious efforts have not been made to sustain the regularisation of alcohol advertising. Odejide in his alcohol policies in Africa accounted that:

In line with this view point in Nigeria, there is the regulation against alcohol advertisement on radio and television night time (9pm Nigerian time). However, the implementation of the regulation was not sustained for long before the media reverted to alcohol advertisement at any hour of the day.¹²⁰

Often the government through the consumer protection agencies or the Standard Organization on Nigeria (SON) gives order but breweries do not seem to have adhered to their instructions. For instance, it is specified that a minimum ethyl alcohol content of 3% for lager and a maximum of 6% for stout but a typical beer has about 4% and even 5.8% ethanol.¹²¹ On this note, Omigbodun and Babalola observed that:

There is no restriction on alcohol advertising in Nigeria. In the advertisements for cigarettes and alcohol, people who drink and smoke are portrayed as sexy, manly and Sophisticated Advertising of alcohol in Africa focuses on the youth, strength and nutritional values. This has a facilitating role for adolescents who are still trying to find their identity.¹²²

The beer industry in Nigeria seems to be leading advertisers in alcohol marketing and thus is done through mass media channels. Lager beer and stout are by far the most popular type of beer in Nigeria. They are manufactured by Nigerian Breweries, and Guinness Nigeria. Alcoholic drinks competition is very intense in Nigeria. This is made possible by the consumption of alcoholic drinks, which is very much a social activity in Nigeria and most people rarely drink alone. However, the majority of spirits and wine sales are made via supermarkets/hypermarkets and open markets since such products tend to be consumed in the home during parties or informal social gatherings.¹²³

Furthermore, beer advertising and marketing in Nigeria, dominates volume sales, hence the two leading companies, Nigerian Breweries and Guinness Nigeria, accounted for 77% of total volume sales in 2007.¹²⁴ Such is the dominance of these companies, which can be attributed to the strength of their brands have built up through creative and aggressive advertising and marketing strategies. In addition, the fact that both companies have efficient national distribution networks also further raises the entry barrier for new entrants.

Alcohol Advertising 1949 – 1960

The year 1949 marked a new dawn in the social history of alcohol in Nigeria. It saw the birth of Star Lager beer, which has been discussed extensively in the previous chapter. Suffice to say that this home brewed beer would not have achieved this feat without qualitative advertising. Historically, post-1945 nationalism was geared towards decolonialisation and this reflected in the various products within the period that connotes the idea of independence. According to Dmitri:

Dutch distillers had to consider the possible challenge of local production. The economic strategy of import substitution that the post colonial governments were likely to adopt could possibly lead to new import restrictions, or to subsidies for local competitors. It was

therefore, imperative not just for the trading companies but also for the producers of foreign commodities to use advertising to convince African politician and consumers that they should not be seen as hang over from colonialism, and that they-through the commodities they sold were aiming to support and contribute to the new and prosperous independent Africa.¹²⁵

However, before the domestic manufacturing of beer in 1949, beer of various kinds namely: Tennents, Becks, Heineken, Bergerdoff, Allsops and Carlberg were imported yet most of them were not seriously advertised. Thus, the management of Nigerian Breweries capitalised on this loophole to ensure that Star Lager Beer was properly advertised. The efforts of the Nigerian Brewery limited from 1949 – 1960 towards advertising is discussed here. The first primary assignment of the Nigerian Brewery Limited towards advertising in 1949 was to make a distinct packaging of its product in a manner that the size of their bottle was larger than the bottles imported by other companies and this had to be done in order to outsmart the already existing imported beer, which was brought packaged in a wooden case containing 48 bottles each.¹²⁶ In any case, the first step of advertising by the Nigeria Brewery Limited was to embark on consumer advertising with every degree of seriousness. Star Beer was born in an era of mobile cinemas between the 1940s and 50s, and the company maximised the use of this medium in promoting Star brand. As a matter of necessity, Nigeria Breweries bought mobile cinema vans, which moved from town to town advertising the product.¹²⁷ The use of appointed salesmen to advertise in hotels, clubs, restaurants and canteen and prominent place such as Kingsway and Levenits stores was employed.¹²⁸ Furthermore, the company employed the services of an advertising agency the West African Publicity outfit known as Lintas.¹²⁹ There was also an effort to advertise the product on

Newspapers with various captions such as ‘Beer at its best’, ‘the perfect beer’, and ‘Star beer a good start for the weekend’.¹³⁰

However, all these efforts illustrated above were geared towards creating awareness of a suitable tasteful beer produced locally. Most of the tones exhibited in the adverts portrayed a message to show that it is patriotic to drink made in Nigeria beer. Hence barely two years in the market, Star lager participated in the British Commonwealth beer competition in 1953 and won a second prize in its category of bottled beer. The following year, the brand participated in the same competition.¹³¹ By this time the products brand managers, and the company advertising agency, Lintas, had created an immensely successful advertising campaign weaved around a hilarious character named Sammy Sparkle, an animated star that has the capability to excel in practically everything it does, be it football, boxing, racing, cricket, dancing courtroom, parade ground, among other activities. Sammy Sparkle communicated to every class of Nigerian. Even school children who were not of beer drinking age fell in love with Sammy Sparkle antics as they would often repeat his line unconsciously, Sammy Sparkle’s message was simple: a man who works hard need to unwind with a bottle of star;¹³² and the message stuck.



Source: *Sunday Renaissance Sunday, November 17 1974 P.6*

By this advert, brand managers sought to capture the growing rank of professionals at the time the lawyers, doctors, engineers, academics, military. And did it succeed? Of course, it did, because the sales figures increased, which was a testimony to the effectiveness of marketing and the gradual gaining of more market share *vis-à-vis* imported lager. As a result of this upward mobility of sales, NBL was able to make profit within two years of production and paid its first dividend for the year 1951 ended.¹³³

Nigerian Breweries came to appreciate quite early in business the strategic nature of advertising and marketing, and maximised the advantage, even when there were no real local competitors. The brand interest in advertising and marketing did not end with Sammy Sparkle campaign. The product advertising ran along with such other stimulating themes such as “Enjoy Life with Star”, “Star people enjoy life”, and “Be a Star Girl”,

which was created to show that Star is equally good for female consumers. Also there were other campaigns such as: “You’re brighter by far on STAR’ and There’s Life in a Bright foaming “STAR”¹³⁴



As the product became a regular spectacle in the media and children sang-along with the melodious jingles, the brand branched into bar promotions. There was the “Star Night” held in different hotels across the country. The promotion involved various competitions and the winning of attractive prizes. This also increased the popularity of the brand as well as sales. The marketing activities orchestrated around the brand till date has largely been responsible for the success of the brand. And rather than slow down on marketing the brand, handlers have over the years, intensified brand oriented activities to an all time high pitch level.¹³⁵

Alcohol Advertising since 1960's

The decolonisation campaign was anchored on the slogan of modernity. Hence, all spheres of life at that period projected the idea.



There has been relevant examples drawn from editorials of a popular newspaper in the colonial period, the *West African Pilot* owned by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe whose caption was to create a modern society.¹³⁶ As we argued in chapter three, it was the exorbitant price placed on gin as well as the importation of cheap spirits that encouraged native gin distillation (which colonial authorities call illicit). This development encouraged Dutch

distillers to establish manufacturing companies for the production of gin such as Gross and Dupuy in Nigeria in order to compete with local gin manufacturers.¹³⁷

These Top Prizes must be won

1st Prize
A new car

2nd Prize
A color TV set plus a set of Bolo in Key Schnapps

3rd Prize
A stereo system plus a set of Bolo in Key Schnapps

4th Prize
A refrigerator plus a set of Bolo in Key Schnapps

Buy Bols or Key Schnapps and enter this draw

Plus 200 consolation prizes of
• Table fans • Parker pens • Wrist watches • Food flasks

How to enter

- Buy a bottle of Bols or Key Schnapps from any supermarket nearest to you.
- You will find attached to the bottle a numbered lottery ticket.
- Fill in your name and address and send the detached duplicate to the Marketing Manager.

West African Distillers Limited
Plot 9, Block C, U.I. Industrial Scheme,
P. O. Box 4091, Ikeja, Lagos.

Rules

- The competition is open to everyone except the employees of West African Distillers Limited and Adomark Limited and their immediate descendants.
- The raffle draw will take place on the 28th February, 1983 at the Head Office of West African Distillers Limited, Plot 9, Block C, Oshodi, Lagos before an invited audience.
- The judges' decision will be final and irrevocable and no correspondence will be entertained.
- Winners' names will be published in National Newspapers shortly after the draw. Winners will be required to submit their names on a separate form with their full name and address on empty bottles of Bols or Key Schnapps.
- The competition closes on the 31st September, 1982.

Hurry now! Enter this draw and win as many prizes as possible

West African Distillers Limited
Distillers to the nation

Source: *Daily Times* Wednesday October 1982, p.34

Unfortunately, Schnapps distillers have been aware of the importance of their products for African rituals since the 1920's but did not seize the opportunity in developing the awareness of sales. Instead, when Europeans advertised on the newspapers and other advertising medium in West Africa from the 1940's they aimed to position their schnapps gin as modern and international drink of choice for successful members of the middle classes. This view seems to make sense because decolonialisation period was a time when African consumerism was expanding.¹³⁸ This view could not sustain the tempo

created by Nigeria's independence in 1960, thus advertising of imported commodities tended to explore ideas of modernity, progress and individual success, expressed in the language of the Western middle class. The adverts were aspirational and look towards the future. A vivid example is the "UAC's Men of Tomorrow" advert, which portrayed Henkes Schnapps gin as an attribute of middle class modernity, which showed successful smiling African males dressed in European clothing relaxing with a glass of Henkes gin.¹³⁹ Furthermore, there was the effort by Dutch distillers to respond to the local people's understanding of gin. To this aim, Dutch schnapps gin was also advertised as relevant to African rituals beginning from the 1960' in order to gain market acceptance.¹⁴⁰



Source: *Daily times* Monday September 29 1986 p.7

Unfortunately, the connection with middle class modernity did not work for Dutch gin. While advertising that emphasised the purity and medicinal benefits of Dutch gin correlated with local African understandings, the attempt to position Dutch gin as a commodity that gave entry to modernity clashed with local knowledge of gin as being connected with traditional power and ritual.¹⁴¹ The schnapp drinks in its adverts has

always been associated with tradition, a reason why its patronage has received minimal attention except during festivals. Although efforts have been made to put most alcoholic drinks in satchet, the notion of tradition and parochialism could be responsible for its low patronage. The Guinness Stout since its production in Nigeria in 1962 has continue to lay emphasis on the health benefits of its product even though the Legend Stout from the Nigeria Brewery and the Golden Guinea stout has also posed enormous challenge. The use of bill boards in the entrance of major cities has been a remarkable feature in alcohol advertising in Nigeria as illustrated with the bill-board below:



Post- Colonial Palmwine and Indigenous Gin Production

The palm-wine industry has continued to provide a veritable means of livelihood for several people in southeastern Nigeria uptill date. Ogo in his research on *Palmwine Tapping in Onicha-Igboeze* observed that: “At average, a hardworking palmwine tapper makes an average of a thousand (N1000.00) naira daily and about N30, 000 monthly, an amount far above the N18, 000 minimum wage that the government workers are battling to be paid monthly.”¹⁴² Justina Eze a palmwine seller from Uburu maintains that palm-wine business is very lucrative especially during festive periods. According to her, during the Christmas period in 2012, a gallon of palmwine sold for N800.00 naira at the cost price of less than N250 naira as against N500.00 as against a cost price of less than N150.00 naira per a gallon of about 8 litres. She, however, reveals that palm-wine business does not boom mostly in the rainy season as demands appears very low.¹⁴³

Unfortunately, palm-wine tappers in southeastern Nigeria are viewed as people belonging to the lower cadre of social stratification. However, Benjamin Okonkwo and Nnoyerem Obinna from Akata and Nnepi, respectively, differs from this assertion. The duo went for greener pasture in Lagos and stayed for years only to return home to pick up the business of selling and tapping palmwine. Benjamin at the point of interview is a proud owner of two cars and his first son is in the higher institution with money derived from the palmwine industry.¹⁴⁴ Obinna reveals that more money is being realised from the oil palm –wine *Nkwuenu*. According to him, a gallon of *Nkwuenu* costs between N800, N1000, and N1200 in non festive-periods but cost between N2000.00 to N3000.00 during festive periods. He argues that his business has no cost price but all gains since the palm-wine and oil- palm which he taps, is an inheritance from his father. Like Benjamin,

Obinna is married with Children and he enrolled as student with the National Open University.¹⁴⁵

The distillation of Indigenous gin has continued till recent times. Communities such as Oku Iboku in Akwa Ibom State, Patani , Bomadi and Ukwagbe in Delta State and Trugbene in Bayelsa State are excellent centres of local gin production. A visit to Patani and Trugbene reveals that Bomadi and Ukwagbe gin producers carries their product to Trugbene for sale. Till date, distillation of gin in these areas takes place in the bush. Prominent distillers in Patani include Amasoma, Rebecca, Sylva and Monday while in Trugbene, the prominent gin distillers are Marbel, Esther, Awele, Rose and Grace.¹⁴⁶

The gin sellers going to Patani can easily go by land as against that of Trugbene, which is mainly through the water transport. Gin distillers in Patani sells in gallons but are always in constant fear of police harrasement. This is because instead of distilling with palmwine, many people do mix ethanol with water to form gin thus creating room for suspicion and police harrasement. However, the difference between ethanol made gin and palm wine made gin is very clear. Palmwine made gin is colourless, inflammable and can evaporate while the ethanol chemical mixed gin brings foams, burns the heart, it is very harsh and smells badly.¹⁴⁷ In Trugbene, there exist two markets namely the bush market and the Trugbene market. The presence of ethanol mixed gin is very minimal. The rise of militancy in the Niger Delta reduced the number of distillers since it has been a lucrative venture especially the amnesty funds which is being provided by the federal government of Nigeria. However, those who were not appropriately absorbed are gradually reintegrating themselves back to the original family business which is the local gin distillation.¹⁴⁸

In Trugbene, local gins are sold in drums containing about 10 gerry cans. It goes for N30, 000 to N32, 000 naira per drum. After purchase, buyers can travel with 300 drums

to Onitsha and Anieze depending on destinations. Each buyer most times can buy 10 drums only to return back to Trugbene in couple of days. A gin seller can maximise a profit of about N5000 naira per drum. This provides basic means of livelihood for many people who prefers it to joining the civil service.¹⁴⁹ A trip to Trugbene from Onitsha through the inland water transport takes a minimum of two days. It is challenging and hazardous. Nevertheless, inland water transport to and from Onitsha since colonial period has been addressed in relevant academic discourse.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have demonstrated that the rise of modern breweries in 1949 made beer most readily available in Nigeria. In spite of the rise of alcohol intake which has resulted in several health hazards, the breweries in Nigeria have in no small measure provided a sustainable means of livelihood to many people in Nigeria either as staffs, distributors, promoters or traders of various beer products.

The rise of breweries provided an avenue for revenue generations by the government through taxation and import duties. It has also helped in widening the economic frontiers of many breweries and relevant agencies such as Federal Institute of Industrial Research, Oshodi (FIIRO) which embarked on extensive agricultural production of maize, barley and sorghum as essential beer making ingredients locally. The stock exchange as well as the host communities enjoyed benefits from the brewing companies from their social corporate responsibilities package. The various media outlets and advertising agencies are also principal benefactors. Nevertheless, there exist policy lapses in alcohol advertising especially targets on minors and time of advert. This chapter also dismissed the claim that the language and content of advertising has no correlation with drinking habits.

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CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPACT OF MODERN BREWERIES

Introduction

The intersection between alcohol, power, religion, gender, health and society has been discussed¹ but greater emphasis by scholars seems to be more on the nexus between alcohol, gender relations and class. In our area of study, little or no recorded success has been made in scholarship to address the intercourse between alcohol and inter play of power. Elsewhere, Awason recorded about urban palm wine drinking to be a place not only for leisure but for entertainment, news, rumours, politicking and dating.² In south eastern Nigeria during the colonial period, effective policies to determine where, how and what should be done for enabling environment for drinking to take place was carried out. The colonial legislation through liquor license monitored the sanctity of the environment where alcohol was being sold. Hence, colonial government made it possible for an emerging class predominately from the urban areas to take charge of beer parlor not as a mark of identity and status but most importantly as a sign of modernity. The health question of alcohol since pre colonial times has aroused a lot of research and critical inquiry. Hence while alcohol is viewed from the perspective of causing severe health hazards, a lot of health benefits are also attributed to it, thus making it enigmatic for appropriate alcohol control measure to be put in place.

Alcohol, Religion and Power

Alcohol in south eastern Nigeria in traditional setting was associated with masculinity as men drank themselves into fuddled state.³ However, alcohol production in traditional setting especially palm wine was a men affair. They were involved in the whole process of tapping and collection of alcoholic drinks. Alcohol served useful purpose as a rallying

point for meetings. Since alcohol was to some extent not a women affairs , there was no room for women to sit and participate in the meetings where decisions are made. Little wonder, Willis pointed out that alcohol advertising is associated with maleness and nationality as well as upholding elite.⁴ Elsewhere in traditional societies, chiefs and elders used schnapps for libation and when they decided cases. And it has always been the norm that when visiting a chief, a bottle of schnapps is presented as a gift.⁵ Libation as an aspect of Igbo culture is of great antiquity, thus Equiano an Igbo ex-slave recorded the place of libation in Igbo culture in his interesting narratives. This aspect of exercising power as Mbiti noted is best handled by adult members and heads of families who used some drops of beer, water, milk or some beverage on the ground for the spirits of the family.⁶

With the coming of the Christian missionaries to Nigeria, there was a serious ideological and cultural face-off between the colonial authorities and the clergies on the moral question of gin importation. Unfortunately, while the Brussels Pact of 1897 advanced for the banning of gin importation to British colonies, its implementation became difficult because of the revenue the colonial administration derived from alcohol. Notable clergies such as Bishop Tugwell, had their challenging times with colonial authorities. Ironically, it has been in the orbit of African historical studies to accuse the Christian Missionaries enterprise in Africa as harbingers of colonialism, but the availability of excess European liquor in southern Nigeria during colonial period saw the colonial authorities in disagreement with the missionaries over the need to ban alcohol importation into Nigeria. This shows that it was all circumstance that the missionaries promoted colonial agenda. It is in cognisance of this view that Dmitri recalls as follows:

Nowadays, a born again Christian movement, which perceives itself as belonging to a sphere of international modernity, rejects the consumption of gin, which it regards as a

symbol of local, traditional Africa ritual. In the late nineteenth century, both Christianity and gin were new to West Africa and associated with the popular European style and fashions. They played different roles in West African societies: mission Christianity turned against both gin and African tradition, while imported Dutch gin was quickly integrated in African rituals.⁷

In Igbo culture, after baby-sitting (*Omugwo*), the mother-in-law occasionally returned home with wrappers, money, many food items and just a bottle of drink from the son-in-law for the father-in-law. This form of gift is male gender unfriendly, yet its appropriate interpretations shows that it is a symbol of authority. Alcohol expresses power in so many other ways. Elsewhere, precisely Ghana, Akyeamong recalls the role of *Akpetshie bars* (local gin bars) as a platform in check-mating the excesses of the Convention People's Party (C.P.P) and as anti-government protesting agents as follows:

As CPP rule became corrupt and authoritarian in independent Ghana, drinking places became active centres of resistance to CPP rule. In 1961, a general strike fomented in drinking bars broke out among railway workers in Sekondi-Takoradi.⁸

In any case, drinking bars can serve as a platform of sampling opinions and meetings. In southeastern Nigeria, notable hotels serve in no small measures serve as centre of decision making. Most of these hotels include: Empire Hotel, Umuahia, Concorde Hotel, Owerri, Ikenga Hotels, Awka, Presidential Hotel, Enugu and Ebonyi Hotels, Abakaliki. In post immediate Nigeria's second Republic precisely in 1984, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon was shown a special brand of champagne said to have carefully brewed and bottled in France for the chairman of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) chief A.M.A Akinloye. Idiagbon lamented on the luxirous life-style of the Second

Republic politician and the same brand of drink was also shown to media executives. The label on the front side of the exquisite bottle read:

“the champagne in the bottle is of the very finest available from France. Produced in limited quantities, it has been selected and bottled in France and is now especially reserved for Chief A.M.A Akinloye”⁹

During the Second Republic, champagne drinking became a sign of political success and Champagne was served in parties organised by the ruling party, NPN. Hence, Champagne was associated with state power and political success. It became a drink of the political elites. Customised bottles were made as shown by the one made for Akinloye the Chairman of the NPN.



Source: *Nigerian Statesman* "Akinloye's Special Champagne" Thursday, September 22 1984, p.1

Alcohol, Gender and Class

Class consciousness as a by-product of urbanism is associated itself with the use of alcohol use and consumption. Thus, in general terms, thus, noted a report: imported or 'foreign' drinks have a higher status than 'local' beverages. Hence, the choice of alcohol beverage is also a significant indicator of social status.¹⁰ In 1908, Mr Ransome-Kuti at the Anglican synod held in Abeokuta made mention of two burials where about £128 was spent on liquor. He added that, the outcome of these costly funerals was that thousands of their sons and daughters had to be pawned to liquidate debts which had been incurred by the use of trade spirits.¹¹ It has been observed as far back as 1921 in South Eastern Nigeria that in many parts, notably in towns such as Onitsha, palm-wine was being rapidly replaced by foreign drinks, making gone almost invariably offered whiskey, gin or some other imported liquor.¹² This is not surprising because, as far as back as 1906, Rev. Anyaegbulam of Onitsha observed the effects of Liquor Traffic on the Niger and even methods adopted to convey spirits into prohibited zones.¹³ The reason for this development has been attributed to the growing scale of entrepreneurship and large scale importation of liquor then. In a similar development, alcohol consumption can serve as a mark of symbolising status and value of the individual person. As Babor rightly pointed out:

One should not underestimate the symbolic function of drinking customs. Advertisers are aware of the symbolic value of premium beers, fine wines and expensive whiskeys. Both the choice of alcoholic beverage and the way in which it is consumed communicate a great deal about the personality and tastes of the drinker or at least the image the drinker would like to present to the world. Men may learn to project a macho "image by drinking a certain beer, while women may communicate an air of sophistication by ordering an exotic drink or special wine.¹⁴

Alcohol also served as a means of measuring value or storage of wealth. Basden

recalls that:

In evidence given before the liquor Traffic Commission mention was made of the practice of purchasing gin to hold as treasure. This may be the case in some parts, but it mostly certainly is not so in the districts with which I am acquainted. There are huge stacks of gin bottles sometimes hundreds together but they do not contain Liquor; they are merely records of what once existed.¹⁵



Source: Photograph taken on 11 September 2010 in Front of Late Chief Idike's compound of Ebeleagu Ezza in Abakaliki

During the field trip for this study, we saw at the entrance of the compound of a prominent warrant chief Idike, in Ebeleagu Ezza, Abakaliki bottles of expensive alcoholic drinks displaced to symbolize the status of the wealthy man of his era. Remarking on the relationship between alcohol consumption in pre-colonial time with masculinity, Toner notes that, in a cross-cultural context, drinking venues have long been associated with the construction of masculine identities due to their separateness from the domestic sphere and the consequent ability to obscure male dependency on female relatives.¹⁶ Basden too, notes that pre-colonial Igbo society, festive periods afforded great opportunity for alcohol consumption. On this note he remarked that:

Enormous quantities of palm wine and, where procurable, Gin are consumed, very often both. The amount these men are able to drink is prodigious. Equally astonishing is the rapidity with which the liquor disappears. The one who cannot drink his four to six consecutive bumpers of palm wine, or a measure of neat gin at one draught, is regarded as unworthy to mix with men; he is still in the apprentice stage. I have been present at assemblies and have watched the men range themselves around the pots and demijohns of wine.¹⁷

Nevertheless, our focal point in South Eastern Nigeria demonstrates that the parochial structure of the society creates an atmosphere of looking at women alcohol users from the perspective of social stigmatisation. Male alcohol misuse may be acceptable in Nigerian society, but alcohol misuse by female is, generally, not tolerated. The Nigerian woman alcohol misuse, apart from having alcohol related problem, which she shares in common with either her female or male counterparts from other parts of the world, may also have to deal with some special problems generated by the socio-cultural uniqueness of the Nigerian environment.¹⁸

In south eastern Nigeria, differences in age, class, status, aspirations and affiliations are frequently expressed through choice of beverage. The most consistent and widespread use of alcohol as a social ‘differentiator’ is in the gender-based classification of drinks. Almost all societies make some distinction between ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ beverage; even where no other differentiation is found, this primary division is likely to be evident, and, often to be rigidly observed.¹⁹ There is a saying among the Igbo that: *Anwuna ngwo na nkwo na abia* “don’t drink palm wine” which literally means: wait for raffia palm drink. The raffia palm wine is sweeter but even when it gets soured women are excluded from drinking it. The reason for this could be attributed to the female gender friendly nature of the Igbo society. Basden maintains that old men frankly despise *ngwaw* wine as being too weak and fit for only women and children; they have to continue drinking so long before they feel that they are making any headway. The wine procured from the oil palm wine is much stronger; it is likewise extracted by tapping, and is called *nkwo-enu* (up wine). It is quite different in taste from *ngwaw* and has more powerful effect upon the drinker.²⁰ Elsewhere, it has been cited that gender differentiation encompasses the social context of alcohol consumption. Although many women enjoy drinking in private, the public consumption of alcohol is predominantly a male activity.²¹ Also worthy to be mentioned is the central role of alcohol in matrimonial and child rearing among the Igbo of south eastern Nigeria. Hence, two notable Igbo novelists Chinua Achebe and Flora Nwapa respectively capture this essential role of alcohol in their works. Achebe in his ‘*Things Fall Apart*’ captures the importance of palm wine in procreation, when he gave an instance with Igwelo the son of Nwakibie in this manner:

Everybody agreed that Igwelo should drink the dregs. He accepted the half full horn from his brother and drank it. As Idigo had said, Igwelo had a job in hand because he had married first wife a month or two before the thick dregs of

palm wine were supposed to be good for men who were going into their wives.²²

In any case, palm-wine, in Achebe's view as buttressed above, plays central role in enhancing sexuality especially in the production of *spermatozoa*, which is a much needed recipe in procreation. Hence, it has been recorded elsewhere that men took the dregs in the belief that it augmented and improved their sperm content and sexual potency.²³ In her own account, Nwapa recalls using Efuru to reinstate the use of alcohol by women whose breasts were not full during lactation. She made reference to the central role of Ajanupu (sister-in-law to Efuru) who insisted Efuru should take more palm wine to demonstrate its relevance to women during breast feeding periods.²⁴ Even though this claims has not been scientifically substantiated, it appears not to be a falsehood. In pre colonial times, a lot of factors were responsible for women less-drinking habit. It ranges from biological, to social constructed parochialism. Hence, in evaluating women's place in Igbo drinking culture, several constraints which denied women easy access to alcohol will be considered. Commenting on this issue, Hanson notes that:

Women are affected by alcohol more rapidly because they tend to have a higher proportion of body fat than men. As fat cannot absorb alcohol, it is concentrated at high levels in the blood. Women also have less gastric or stomach enzyme (dehydrogenase) that metabolizes or breaks down alcohol when it enters the blood stream. Because of this, women absorb up to nearly 30% more alcohol into the blood stream than men of the same height who drink the same amount of alcohol.²⁵

In their consensus statement of 1987 at the Royal College of Psychiatrists, Association of Royal Medical Colleges asserts that medical opinions agrees abstinence or no more than an occasional drink during pregnancy.²⁶ Also, worthy of discussion, is the fact that mothers who drink alcohol regularly and in large quantity are likely to give birth

to offspring with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) is a cluster of abnormalities that appears in the offspring. The abnormalities include facial deformities and defective limbs, face, and heart. Most of such children are below average intelligence and some are mentally retarded. Due to the danger it poses, it is advisable that pregnant women do not take alcohol at all.²⁷

In Igbo culture, it is an abnormal to see women consume excess alcohol. The traditional setting provides room for alcohol consumption merely on ceremonial basis. In similar view, Ikuesan recalls that:

It was considered an absurdity for a woman to drink and female alcohol intoxication was unheard of. Only in very special circumstance, such as traditional religious festivals, christenings and similar social functions where alcohol was considered culturally appropriate for all present to partake.²⁸

However, the traditional setting did not create room for alcohol abstainer by the women-folk rather mild and moderate drinking was encouraged thus justifying Hanson's view that women who drink alcohol (beer, wine or distilled spirits) in moderation tend to perform more in terms of concentration, psychomotor skills, verbal associate capabilities, oral fluency, and memory than abstainers.²⁹

The 1970's, especially the oil boom era, saw the expansion of the beer industries thus making alcohol more readily available. Women's involvement in alcohol consumption has increased and thus could be a way of feeling the gap in gender inequality. The increased rate of women drinking in southeastern Nigerian urban areas is always accompanied with cuisines such as *nkwobi, ugba, isiewu*, pepper soup and efforts has been made to feminize most alcohol drinks.³⁰ Isichei et al, insist that the increase in female use of alcohol is as a result of progress in emancipation and financial independence.³¹ These writer's view seems to uphold that excessive women alcohol

consumption is a product of change just like women's demand for power. As against the restrictions created by traditional structure, the increase use of sophisticated advertising techniques to market alcoholic beverages greatly encouraged the adoption of new drinking habit by youth and women, especially in developing nations.³² In spite of the various strategies put in place to encourage women into drinking, contemporary adverts seem to portray more of masculinity than showcasing women drinking culture.

Alcohol and Health

During the colonial period, there was a general outcry over the harmful effects of the uses of alcohol. For example, in 1908, Mr Ransome-Kuti lamented in the Anglican Synod held in Abeokuta that:

The effects of drink on their people was simply piteous, and called for sympathy and prompt action. Their women, the mothers of their country, were physically weak and could not procreate as in days of yore; men's physique was not what it used to be. Weak parents produce weak children, and instead of strong, robust, healthy children and looking happy, they had weaklings. A multitude of infants died annually from the effect of drinking parents and want of proper care; in one word, the 'manhood' of their country was gone. Their young men could not stand hard work as their ancestors before them; female sterility, general debility and insanity threatened the whole country; there was despair everywhere. Their courage, bravery, and hardihood were now no more; who would deliver their country from ruin?³³

He was not a lonely voice in that struggle among the clergy men of that era. Bishop Tugwell was also added a voice on the negative effects of liquor on innocent Nigerians which he described as fire water.³⁴ In our area of study, Ikpe and Ekpo embarked on a historical excursion and made serious claim that: "The consumption of

large quantities of schnapps gradually entrenched itself in the indigenous culture in most parts of southeastern Nigeria.’’³⁵

The mass importation of alcohol in southeastern Nigeria cannot be neglected as not having effect on mental health. Nevertheless, the role of alcohol in health maintenance seems to remain one of the contradictions between orthodox and herbal medicine. Against its harmful effect, we shall highlight some of the health benefits of alcohol consumption. It is important the reader is informed that alcohol consumption can be advantageous to health when consumed moderately. According to Hanson:

Moderate drinkers tend to have better health and live longer than those who are either abstainers or heavy drinkers. In addition to having fewer heart attacks and strokes, moderate consumers of alcoholic beverages (beer, wine or distilled spirits or liquor) are generally less likely to suffer hypertension or high blood pressure, peripheral artery disease, Alzheimer’s disease and the common cold. Sensible drinking also appears to be beneficial in reducing or preventing diabetes, rheumatoid arthritis, bone fractures, osteoporosis, kidney stones, digestive ailments, stress and depression, poor cognition and memory, parkinson’s disease, hepatitis A, Pancreatic cancer, macular degeneration (a major cause of blindness) angina pectoris, duodenal ulcer, erectile dysfunction, hearing loss, gallstones, liver disease and poor condition in elderly.³⁶

Still on the benefits of alcohol, Glaser maintains that it can serve useful purpose in cuisine by serving as a higher calorie ingredients. Other health benefits from alcohol could be attributed to the absence of nitrate, being caffeine-free and absence of cholesterol.³⁷ This has been further strengthened by Hanson’s publication that beer is better than milk. According to him, not only do wine and spirits all have fewer calories and less sodium than milk, but none has fat or cholesterol, with which milk is loaded.³⁸ He used the chart below to justify his view:

Milk		Wine	Beer	80 proof distilled Spirit
(One cup regular milk)		(Glass)	(Can or bottle)	(1.5 oz shot or jigger)
Calories	148	72	145	97
Sodium (mg)	120	8	18	0.4
Fat (g)	5	0	0	0
Cholesterol (mg) ³⁴		0	0	0

Source: David J. Hanson, “Beer is better than Milk” <http://www2.potsdam.edu/hansondi/Healthissues/105512101.html> Cited US department of Agriculture (USDA) nutritional tables and people for Ethical Treatment of animals (PETA)

In pre-colonial times, and even as one writes, palm-wine is widely used as antidote against all forms of ailment particularly when it is suspected that one has taken poisonous substance. Once palm-wine is given to the victim, there is a general belief that, if indeed he has taken poison, he is likely to vomit it. In addition most of the traditional herbs for different types of ailment are mixed with palm-wine.³⁹ However, the act of giving poison among the Igbo is of great antiquity and this view has been largely shared by Equiano in his interesting narrative. Additionally, palm-wine is mixed with other local herbs and other medicinal fractions to treat a myriad of pathological conditions ranging from measles, chicken pox to hypoprolactinaemia in puerperal women.⁴⁰ Before the introduction of formaldehyde, the people of south eastern Nigeria used *ogogoro* in embalmment. This method of preserving the dead requires a lot of expertise. Also women used alcohol, (hot drinks) during early child birth to dissolve tissue in the body. It is mainly used during menstrual period. As Hanson notes:

Hormone change during the menstrual cycle Can also affect alcohol metabolism adversely Increasing the impact of alcohol.⁴¹

Nevertheless, apart from the health benefits of alcohol, there exist negative effects of alcohol consumption. Boom et al, insist that irregular heavy drinking is associated with physiological mechanism that increase the risk of coronary heart disease (CHD), sudden cardiac death and other cardiovascular outcomes.⁴² Holtzer maintains that alcohol disaster can result to the following:

1. children born as a result of an unplanned conception as a result of intoxication;
2. those suffering Foetal Alcohol syndrome which is a major source of mental illness and behavioural disorder;
3. those close to the drinker may experience pain and suffering, abuse, violence, injury and death; and
4. the public at large who may experience pain and suffering, violence and death including from motor vehicle accidents.⁴³

Excessive intake of alcohol results in a neurological disorder known as wernicke's encephalopathy which may at times lead to memory loss and confabulation.⁴⁴ *Wernicke's encephalopathy*, manifests as a result of acute *thiamine* deficiency.⁴⁵ At this height, chronic use of alcohol produces cerebellar syndrome which also causes ataxia.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, malnutrition can also lead to *wernicke's encephalopathy*, a disease most commonly associated with heavy alcohol consumption although patients with psychiatric disorders often have poor dietary habits, malnutrition and also high prevalence of alcoholism which exposes them to *wernicke's encephalopathy*.⁴⁷ Taking care of people with Alcohol problems in Nigeria have posed a lot of challenges. Ikuesan reveals that in terms of treatment, no definite alcohol health policy exists.⁴⁸ In their study of alcohol and public health, Room et al note of the inconsistency of alcohol treatment when they remarked that:

Although the benzodiazepine have played a key role in the treatment of alcohol withdrawal and

disulfiram, an alcohol sensitizing drug has been in clinical use since the 1940's. Pharmacotherapy has not yet had a demonstrable impact on the treatment of alcohol dependence. During the past decade, however, medications have begun to play a more important part both to the treatment of co-morbid psychiatric disorders in alcoholics and in the rehabilitation of alcohol dependence.⁴⁹

In an oral interview with Luke Nkwocha at the psychiatric unit of the Federal Medical Centre, Owerri, he reveals that alcohol induced psychiatry was formally treated with Antebus. He maintains a position that over the years, the drug has not been in use because of its challengess. First, it will make the patient vomit in a manner that when perceived the odour of alcohol, he/she will develop nosir not to drink alcohol. However, the constraint of using antebus is that the patient can vomit and die in the process. As a result of this negative implication emanating from using the drug, the psychiatric unit of the Federal Psychiatric Hospital, Owerri, thus uses psychotherapy, mannerism, and habit- formation which are psychological methods of rehabilitating the patients.⁵⁰ Ejikeme notes in a similar study carried out in the psychiatric unit of University of Jos Teaching Hospital as follows:

The main method of treating psychiatric disorders at the psychiatric unit in 1984 were Chemotherapy (drug treatment) and Electroconvulsive therapy (ECT). Psychotherapy, behavioural modification and social case work were hardly used as methods of treating mental illness at the unit in 1984 and in the rare instances they were applied to some hospitalized mental cases, they were administered, not by the psychiatric unit permanent staffs but by Msc Clinical psychology and sub degree social work students or practicum in the psychiatric unit that year.⁵¹

Furthermore, the author notes that in the long run psychotherapy which was recently introduced as method of dealing with psychological aspect of mental illness at the hospital, was rarely used.⁵² The absence of a clearly unified method of curing alcohol induced psychiatrists among experts is a subject of another study.

Alcohol, Violent Crimes and Drunk- Driving in Eastern Nigeria

Alcohol is always associated with violent crimes.⁵³ Caleb observed that the use of alcohol is constructed in some societies to include an element of risk, especially when consumed in large quantities. According to him, it is possible that women are more risk averse, or that men derive more enjoyment or social benefit from risk taking behavior.⁵⁴ It has been recalled that most military coups especially the aborted Gideon Orkar's coup was carried out under the heavy influence of alcohol.⁵⁵ Scientists and non-scientist alike, have long recognised a two-way association between alcohol consumption promotes aggressiveness, but victimisation may lead to excessive alcohol consumption by weakening brain mechanisms that normally restrain impulsive behaviours, including inappropriate aggression. By impairing information processing, alcohol can also lead a person to misjudge social cues, thereby overreacting to a perceived threat. In addition, violent criminals who drink heavily are more like than less intoxicated offenders to be caught.⁵⁶ Babor argues that alcohol alters brain receptors and neurotransmitters and that several pharmacological effect of alcohol, increase the probability of aggressive behavior and as well affect cognitive function.⁵⁷ Easton outlined four models of alcohol and crime to include:

- I. the pharmacological model in which intoxication encourages the commission of crimes which otherwise would not have been committed;
- II. the economic means model in which crime are committed to fund alcohol consumption;

- III. the system model involving the illegal economy, as in unlawful brewing or distilling or sale of liquor;and
- IV. the substance-defined model, where actions are defined as being criminal by laws which regulate drug use, such as drunkenness in a public place, supplying underage or drunk people (if that be illegal) and drink-driving.⁵⁸

Alcohol, Popular Culture, Leisure and Entertainment

The popular culture of a people reflects their society, place and time.⁵⁹ Although the production of alcohol was a popular culture in most traditional societies, it became more visible with coming of the Europeans. During the pre-colonial era, alcohol played important role in recreational activities. This is evident in the fact that dances were always held in an open space in the compound of a chief or other prominent men and invariably associated with heavy drinking.⁶⁰ Hence, alcohols served as a vehicle to meet new people, seal important business deals or build trust between acquaintances.⁶¹ The colonial presence, especially the development of urban areas coupled with the introduction of railway lines which encouraged migration from the rural areas to cities, raised serious question on alcohol and the public sphere. It is in response to this development that Obot et al notes that:

Instead of providing a solace from the harsh realities of rural life, cities and towns often provide increased opportunity for the initiation of alcohol and drug use and transition of heavy alcohol consumption and drug involvement. For example, in the past few years, there have been extensive effort by alcohol producers especially beer makers to attract young people to the consumption of their beverages.⁶²

In any case, the urban areas, notably Port Harcourt, Calabar, Umuahia, Owerri, and Enugu, all in Eastern Nigeria, became a litmus test ground for the new alcohol culture.

The establishment of beer parlours did encourage many women in alcohol trade. Unfortunately, according to Mbonu, most of the women who sold alcohol during this period, also sold their body. He gave an instance with women from a town in Ogoja province known as Akwunakwuna. Mbonu added that these women, as beer parlour managers exhibited attitudes of easy virtue to sex while they still sell liquor and, till date, the Igbo word of prostitutes Akwunakwuna is an imitation of the women from the area mentioned above insisted the informant.⁶³ Nevertheless, beer parlour can accommodate dirty language as well as sexual harassment from customers to the seller and the more quite and co-operative the seller is the more customers that will patronise the business.. The idea of promoting alcoholicism through drinking bars is a product of not only Europeanisation but of great antiquity too. Historically, it has been traced to the medieval Europe. According to Babor

Perhaps no other institution was more responsible for the spread of drinking customs and habits than the tavern. Taverns had been important social institutions at least since the time of ancient Greeks, and their re emergence in the cities and towns of Europe began with the availability of alcoholic beverages. Taverns and cabarets became the centers of social and intellectual life of European medieval cities. They were places where one could enjoy the company of old friends, make new friends, and/or be by oneself. Celebrated in song and poetry, these establishments became places where heavy drinking and intoxication were tolerated and, at times, encouraged.⁶⁴

In his study of palm-wine drinking joints in Bamenda town in colonial Cameroun, Awason wrote that:

The palm wine leisure joints were generally considered wayward milieus in the night because of the presence of men and a handful of lay sellers who mixed drinking with the usage of obscene language. The near-decent women sellers would retort to men's obscene utterances in sexy innuendos while the shameless ones would call the spade the spade, or penis the penis, to the pleasure and laughter of the men. The more embarrassing a woman was with her usage of sexy language, the more notorious she became and the more customers she would attract, who would come for a tease.⁶⁵

In a similar development, Akyeampong has attributed the causes of women's involvement in alcohol retailing in colonial Africa to the pattern of capitalist economy created by colonial presence. Drawing references from Ghana, he insists:

Colonial economics were very male oriented and women were supposed to remain in rural areas but the depression of the 1930's dampened rural and urban economies and increased the movement of men and women between village and town in search of economic opportunities. Some urban women short of cash took the retailing of akpetshie (local gin) although outlawed by the colonial government which opposed single women discovering niches in the urban economy.⁶⁶

The drinking bar serves as a veritable space for all manner of erotic discussions among the youths.⁶⁷ The entertainment industry is another haven for alcohol consumption in south eastern Nigeria. By the start of 20th century, Yoruba music had incorporated brass instruments, written notation, Islamic percussion and new Brazilian techniques, resulting in the Lagos-born palm wine style. The term palm-wine is also used to describe related genres in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ghana. However, palm wine originally referred to a diverse set of styles played with string instruments. Remarkably as far as the 1950's, the Ghanaian E.T Mensah, one of the most popular highlife performer of the 1950s, toured Igbo-land frequently, drawing huge crowds of devoted fans.⁶⁸ It is possible

that Mensah's tour would have exacerbated more interest in popular culture and leisure the intercourse between alcohol and highlife music in Ghana has been recorded by Akyeampong who used *akpeteshie bars* as a place of excellent highlife music.⁶⁹ Orji recalls that Gold Coast (now Ghana) music had a tremendous influence in the development of Owerri music. Furthermore, he notes that Gold Coast music reached Owerri through Gold Coastians, who with Efik, Sierra leoneans and people from the West Indies were the pioneer public servants in Owerri.⁷⁰ Hence, at the outset of the Nigerian civil war, Igbo musicians were forced out of Lagos and returned to their homeland. The result was that highlife ceased to be a major part of mainstream Nigerian music and was thought of as being something purely associated with the Igbo. The popularity of highlife music slowly dwindled among the Igbo, with galaxies of star such as Stephen Osita Osadebe, Oriental Brothers, Peacocks, Oliver de Coque.

Alcohol and Sexual Risk Behaviours

One of the results of excessive alcohol consumption is sexually transmitted diseases. Olisah *et al*, in their study at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Zaria, discover that:

As HIV continues to spread rapidly in Nigeria and most of Africa, addressing alcohol use in HIV infected person holds potential to decrease the difficulty of maintaining protective behaviours once they have been adopted. In addition, continued present, the most effective way to slow the spread of HIV/AIDS is through changing the sexual risk behaviours that transmit HIV from individual to individual. Drinking significantly increase the risk of these behaviours in complex ways.⁷¹

In any case, excessive alcohol could be responsible for non-compliance to the use of contraceptive as a measure to curtail the spreads of venereal diseases and even

HIV/AIDS. It is in response to this claim that Pitso insists that alcohol is related to un safe sex practices, accidents, violence and loss of productivity; it lowers inhibitions, and increases the likelihood of men fumbling over condom application, having sex without condoms and having multiple sexual partners.⁷² Pitso adds that alcohol stimulates sexual desires and this usually culminates in both men and women when drunk to seek the immediacy of sexual gratification with whoever happens to be available.⁷³ Thus, Bogren *et al* insist that enhancement of one's feeling of sexual attractiveness might be an important reason why people drink alcohol. Thus, social drinking to many people has positive consequences related to the expression of sexual feelings. The author further notes that those working with the prevention of alcohol problems, this knowledge highlights the need to address people's expectations that drinking will enhance their sexual experience.⁷⁴

In his study, Buddy observes that alcohol use may accelerate HIV disease progression as chronic alcohol use leads to problems that are more common in immune deficiency states such as tuberculosis and pneumonia. According to him, HIV-infected patients with a history of alcohol problems, who are receiving highly active antiretroviral therapy (HAART), and are currently drinking, have greater HIV progression than those who do not drink. In any case, "Heavy alcohol consumption is known to limit a person's ability to adhere to HIV treatment", she said, "and no adherence is known to lead to more rapid disease progression. Further, alcohol is known to exacerbate common comorbid conditions among those with HIV infection, such as *hepatitis C* or chronic *hepatitis B*"⁷⁵

Furthermore, Buddy justified his claims with the finding of scholars who examined 349 (276 or 79 percent males, 73 or 21 percent females) HIV-infected individuals with a history of alcohol consumption, and then quantified as none, moderate, or at risk. In addition, two markers of HIV disease progression were assessed: CD4 cell

counts, and HIV ribonucleic acid (RNA) level. The study shows that among HIV-infected patients with a history of alcohol problems and who were treated with HAART, those who consumed moderate or at risk amounts of alcohol had higher HIV- RNA levels and lower CD4 cell counts, compared with those who did not drink. It was also revealed that heavy alcohol consumption may also lead to increased rates of serious toxicity from antiretroviral therapy.⁷⁶

It is important to note that alcohol consumption affects decision making in sexual related issues. Hence, the level of intoxication determines the greater demand for sex. However, in order to understand the impact of alcohol and sexual decision-making, we need to look at what happens during our thought process when we drink because alcohol affects judgment and lowers inhibitions. Whether we are talking about physical or emotional risks, the key to achieving intimacy and a healthy sexual identity is not to let alcohol impair our sexual decision-making.⁷⁷

Onwukwe *et al*, in their empirical research, assert that despite popularly held beliefs, that the association between alcohol use and risky sexual behaviors are at best spurious. Furthermore, the authors note that even alcohol's acute causal effects on sexual behavior are more variable than they are commonly assumed to be. Drinking can promote, inhibit, or have no effect on behaviour, depending on the interplay of factors governing behaviour in a particular situation and the content of individually held beliefs about the effect of alcohol. This means that alcohol leads to risky sexual behaviour for people who have the expectation that alcohol will enhance sexual intercourse but not for people who do not have such expectations.⁷⁸ This may not be correct. This is because why many people drink alcohol not to have sex, they may not be resistant or have control to its effect after all.

The intrerconnectedness between alcohol and HIV has elicited alot of scholarly inquiry in recent times.This is evident in the number of international conferences themes in that have addressed the subject.⁷⁹ Alcohol is not the actual cause of HIV but has contributed immensely in the spread of the dreadful disease. Indeed Waheed *et al* observe that alcohol ranks among leading common excuses for practicising unprotected sex. Therefore, if people by any reason ignore the practice of having sex or proctected sex, and such population is sexually active, it is expected that such people are at high risk of contacting sexually transmitted infections (STI's) or sexually transmitted disease(STD's) as the case may be.⁸⁰Indeed it is evident that people with alcohol related problems are more likely to contract HIV infection because they tend to engage in behaviours that place them at risk.⁸¹The fact is that youths are aware of the danger of unprotected sex but still patronises casual sex workers or indulges in sexual risk behaviours under the influence of alcohol.⁸² Recent study maintains a position that in as much as alcohol impairs sexual performance particularly in men, it can also led to chronic and acute alcohol consumption, which can inhibit testosterone production in male.⁸³

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the interplay between alcohol, politics and decision- making. It has also revealed that drinking places in several historical epochs served as centre for relevant political discourses. The relevance of alcohol, gender and class was also mentioned. The increase in women drinking habits is not commensurate with the men's excessive alcoholism.The drinking habits of every gender had restrictions in the pre-colonial setting which has not been sustained since European contact with the people.

Also discussed is the intersection between alcohol and religion. The Nigerian populace is characterized by about 90 per cent Christains and Moslems.There are other beliefs constituting the remaining 10 percent.Ironically, each of these denominations

profess alcohol as anti Christ and anti-Mohammedian. Yet alcohol is widely consumed and distributed, thus making us to ask who drink, distribute or sell alcohol? The study delves into associating alcohol with rituals, as well as exposes the hypocrisy of alcohol consumption. The relationship between alcohol, drunk driving and crime was mentioned but was not discussed in details as a result of limitations emanating from improper documentation from the police, Road Safety Corps and other relevant agencies such as the high courts of competent jurisdiction. Notwithstanding alcohol played significant role in herbal medicine as well as the acceptance of orthodox medicine that its moderate consumption is not harmful. Nevertheless, the fact that alcohol serves as a catalyst to several diseases, including HIV/ AIDS, was also discussed.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

In this study, it is established that it was in the 1960s that the interest in the historical study of alcohol and drugs emerged in literature. However, it was in the 1970s that rigorous academic study of the subject began. The focus on the literature in the 1970s and 1980s, was the capturing of the nature of drug use among youths and students. Some studies in this trend focused on specific regions and other efforts focused on the incidence of mental health in Nigeria. Nevertheless, alcohol consumption was confined to private spaces in the southern part of the country. Most also offered alcohol as a gesture of hospitality and most of these alcoholic symbols have been discussed in this study.

Interest in studies relating to alcohol would seem to have waned in the 1980s. However, renewed interests developed in the 1990s, and the decade witnessed a re-visitation of the previous studies within time and space, and the examinations of the contours of drug use, trend and impact. A major reason for this resurgence in scholarly interest in alcohol studies is the direct interventionist policy of the Nigeria state in the 1980s with the drug law and decree of 1984, which introduced a punitive death penalty clause, that attracted the attention, of domestic, and international human right activists. In addition, the United Nations drug control program that emerged in the early 1990s provided a launching pad for increased academic and political interests. Hence by the 1990s scholars began to evaluate and re examine the trends and impact of drug alcohol use. Obot's *Drinking Behaviour and Attitudes in Nigeria: A General Population Survey in the Middle Belt*, outlines some of the major constraints of alcohol policy implementation to include the following: political instability, lack of public awareness, resistance of interest groups such as Nigeria Brewers Association and other challenges of

revenue generation such as the economic development.¹ The author suggests further of alcohol based policy by instituting the following actions:

1. ban advertisement of alcohol on television,radio and children oriented media;
2. educate primary and secondary school students and other teenagers on the effects of alcohol;
3. carry out spot-checks of drunken driving and consistently punish offenders;
4. encourage all beer makers to use smaller bottles together with the large ones and also can reduce alcohol contents of their beverages; and
5. support research on the epidemiology,prevention and treatment of alcohol abuse and alcoholism.²

The social history as well as economic implication of alcohol consumption have not attracted much scholarly attention of an area study shows. However, one of the vexing issues addressed by this study is on the cultural significance of pre colonial drinking. We drew reference among the Igbo and established that palm wine the most paramount drink of the people, is not just an ordinary drink as its various uses ranges from pouring libation, as a fluid at every cultural and traditional occasion, but mostly used in preparation of local herbs as well as serve as an antidote against poisoning.³

Hence, this study maintains a position that palm wine was the only means of alcohol consumption in the pre-colonial time. As shown in this study, palm wine is collected from tapping the pulp of the palm tree when they are fully mature. We also established that palm wine drinking is healthy, capable of providing calories and vitamins as well as containing various fermentable sugars such as fructose, sucrose, glucose, maltose and raffinose.⁴ Thus, as noted by Omigbodon and Babalola, palm wine is given to children probably because of its nutritional value and the general belief that it has negligible intoxicating content. Also identified in their study is that palm-wine is juicy

and delicious. Apart from its use in wedding, funeral ceremonies and other activities, it has a very low alcohol content of about 4%.⁵ Nevertheless, the emphasis we try to lay is that palm-wine was, and it is still being used in Igbo social life and ritual activities until the arrival of Europeans on the Atlantic coast. Unfortunately, many of the palm wine markets visited in many areas of the southeastern Nigeria do not reflect healthy environments for trade. Most regrettable is the dirt found around the jars and containers be it rubber or ceramic cannot be said to be a very good conductor of healthy living. Hence, elsewhere, Simeon Heap observes that:

The health effects of drinking palmwine depended not only on the alcohol it possessed but also on the amount of unsavoury ingredients it contained. Palm wine left for more than a few days turned sour as the fermentation process becomes a putrefactive one, after turning all the sugars (sucrose and glucose) to alcohol and encouraging the production of acetic acid, a base for vinegar. Straining palmwine removed most of the flies and vegetable matter, but often this was not done, leaving sediment in calabashes. The water added to palmwine was often impure. Consequently, water-borne diseases may well have been transmitted through drinking watered-down contaminated beverages.⁶

The negative effect of alcohol in Nigeria, beginning from the nineteenth century, has been a question of politicking and protection of interests. On this note, Ayandele reveals that:

The leaders of anti-liquor crusade, it must be emphasized, were moral and spiritual zealots who wanted to see Nigeria a total state. They were often guided by fancies and not by facts. All the evils under the sun were ascribed to the liquor traffic-military expeditions, depopulation, infantile mortality, brevity of life among Africans and Europeans, crimes and assumed laziness of Nigerians. They went to the ridiculous extent of claiming that the Europeans

“fire water’ was causing mental and physical degeneracy among people while drunkenness had infected babes and school children. But the administrators, while accepting that ideally liquor was best prohibited, had their vital interest, revenue, to defend.⁷

The place of alcohol in health history has been too challenging for historians to scrutinise objectively. This challenge in Ayandele’s view would make a historian unwary if facts are not verified appropriately.⁸ The inflow of alcohol into the Eastern Nigeria is as old as the slave trade and not even an affair of the nineteenth century.⁹ Gin importation was not in the orbit of Britain alone but came in various brands manufactured in Germany and Holland. Bersselaar recalls that:

Schnapps gin has long been among the most well known “foreign” consumer goods in west Africa. Gin was imported from Germany and the Netherlands in vast quantities between circa 1800 and 1914. Following World War 1, importation from Germany came to a halt, while Imports of Dutch schnapps, albeit at a much lower level.¹⁰

Indeed, the anti-liquor movement had Britain in the frontline, yet the British Government lacked the political will to implement its total prohibition. This is because in 1906 and 1908, alone 55.15 and 49.8 per cent respectively of the generated revenue in Nigeria came from liquor importation which was considered a salutary moral and social measures in ensuring railway and road buildings, maintenance of law and order and suppression of absurd superstitions.¹¹

The Portuguese voyages to the Niger Delta introduced gin into the region. Gin later became enshrined in the ritual life of the people. Hence, the coming of the Western spirits marked the beginning of the change in status of alcohol from a cultural artifact to a major commercial product. By exchanging African raw materials and slaves with whiskey and gin in an infamous barter system, the stage set for the large commercialisation of

alcohol.¹² In any case, the people of south eastern Nigeria as revealed in this study was not exposed to excessive alcoholism until the coming of the Europeans. We cited relevant authorities to back this claim that heavy alcohol was imported into the region in exchange of goods and services. Isichei is one of such scholars who maintain this view. According to her:

By the end of the nineteenth century, imports were overwhelmingly dominated by alcohol. In Nembe-Brass, gin accounted for 90 percent of all imports. In 1896 – 7, the Niger coast protectorate has an income of €151, 244 from import duties; €116, 320 of this was on trade spirits. In 1899, Liquor accounted for 90 percent of its customs revenue. Most of it was manufactured in Scheidam Holland by the firm of Wilhelm Haskamp and Co. A label from one of their schnapp bottles shows the exchange-ivory and palm products in return for gin.¹³

Apart from exchange of palm products and ivory for gin, we made mention of slave trade as a facilitating factor that promoted the sale of European gins. Also mentioned was the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade, which facilitated gin as an acceptable commodity in African rituals. This development, to a large extent, displaced the position of palm-wine in libation and other aspects of African rituals. Nevertheless; other available evidence also suggests that imported liquor did not replace local alcoholic beverages. Furthermore, Isichei observes that while early European travelers documented the consumption of palm-wine, they did not mention the ritual use of imported liquor spread along the coast among a large part different African communities, with otherwise differing ritual and world views.¹⁴ In his voyage of the Niger, Balkie accounts that palm-wine is the drink of all Igbo towns and its use extends as far as Idda. He recalls he drank palm-wine in Asaba, and he compared its sweetness to honey just as he made mention of the ritual significance of palmwine with example drawn from Abo where *dju –dju (juju)-*

oracle was appeased with palmwine and a kola nut, requesting it to be good and propitious towards them.¹⁵

However, beginning from 18th and 19th centuries, gin became an integral recipe in the traditional humane living of the people of south eastern Nigeria. Ofonagoro recalls that the manufacture of liquor for the West African trade was concentrated in a handful of Schiedam firms. Hasekamps shipped 890,746 cases (about 1,781,492 gallons) of trade gin to West Africa in 1913. The Van Hoytema firm supplied another 754,000 cases about (1,508,000 gallons) while the Netherlands distilleries sent 429,158 gallons in the same year to the African and Eastern trading corporations of Liverpool for southern Nigeria market.¹⁶

In this study, it has been established that alcohol consumption promotes aggressiveness. Understanding the nature of these associations is essential to breaking the cycle of alcohol misuse and violence. Alcohol weakens brain mechanisms that normally restrain impulsive behaviours, including inappropriate aggression. By impairing information processing, alcohol can also lead to person to misjudge social cues, thereby overreacting to a perceived threat. Alcohol-related expectancies promote male aggressiveness combined with the widespread perception of intoxicated women as sexually receptive and less able to defend themselves. In addition, a person who intends to engage in a violent act may drink to bolster his or her courage or in hopes of evading punishment or censure. The motive of drinking to avoid censure is encouraged by the popular view of intoxication as a “time-out”, during which one is not subject to the same rules of conduct as when sober.¹⁷ As it stands, many scholars, academics medical experts, government and non-governmental groups have advocate measures to curtail excessive drinking habits yet there is a continuous rise in the habit probably due to intensified advertising. Hence in the Valencia declaration 2002, it reveals that alcohol marketing

presents a one side view of alcohol use, masking its contribution to morbidity and social harm. Its effects, social norms about drinking contribute to an environment hostile to public health measures and messengers.¹⁸ In a consensus statement, Royal College of Psychiatrists in 1987, advocated that education is needed to make clear the relationship between drinking and harm; the personal responsibilities for choices about drinking; the need for community support for national alcohol policies; and increased government commitment in improving educational awareness of the harmful effect of alcohol consumption. Also mentioned by the group is that alcohol manufacturers should be required to label clearly their beverages with their strength and alcoholic content.¹⁹

It is important to note that the present study has not dismissed the relevance of alcohol in its entirety. Hence, we pointed out that alcohol can serve as a vehicle of social integration. Thus, many social events, such as child naming and house warming ceremonies, in celebrating the purchase of a new house or car, in marriage and even promotions and business meetings. Furthermore, this study reveals that alcohol can serve as a lubricant for social intercourse during which it provides the much needed atmosphere for the exchange of ideas, information, discussion of politics of the day and all sorts of stories varying from fighting, dancing, sexual experiences and family problems to films, football and economy. In essence borrowing the word of Mamman, alcohol appears to serve as a cultural cafeteria.²⁰

In this study, we have been able to establish that beginning from 1970's there was proliferation of over 30 breweries. However, a combination of factors, the most significant of which was a significant slide in economic fortunes, led to the closure of many of these breweries by the middle of the 1980's. The regional brands owned by state governments and individuals were particularly hard hit. About three firms in every four of these firms disappeared from the scene by 1996. Less than 15 breweries survived and

have been operating since then. Though the volume of beer product in the country showed some increase between 1984 and 1994, as the level of production was well below installed capacity.²¹ The government's lack of political will to initiate effective alcohol policy is also factor that militates against the effort to curb excessive alcoholism. As Ikuesan observes:

At present in Nigeria there is no legislation the age limit for purchase of alcohol, hours of sales and standards for the operation of liquor parlours. There are also nocontrol policies over alcohol Production (especially the traditional brews), and there is no regulation of licenses for sale of alcohol. In terms of treatment, no definite service policy exists. Nigeria has no definite alcohol policy.²²

Since the era of legitimate trade till present, the volume of alcohol and income generated from it has been discussed in this study. Hence, we can concur with the view that government exists, in part, to cope with the weakness of their citizen and subsist, to come extent, on the basis of those same weaknesses. Alcoholic beverages have long played a critical role on both side of the equation. Over-indulgence in drink is a factor in crime, injury, and illness. It is also a potentially lucrative source of tax revenue. From a public perspective, alcohol has two faces; viewed from one side, it is a villain giving rise to social problems and consequently the need for public expenditure.²³

Findings

People of southeastern Nigeria in the pre-colonial time consumed alcohol, palm wine brand. Palm-wine was derived from two sources, the raffia- palm and the oil palm, which were tapped for the sap. While the Igbo preferred the wine from the oil- palm, the Ibibio preferred the wine from the raffia- palm. By the nineteenth century, the Ibibio had tabooed the tapping oil palm for wine due to the economic importance of the oil palm trees in the era of legitimate trade. Palm wine was used for entertainment at different occasions such as marriages, burial

ceremonies, festivals, meetings and diplomatic negotiations. It was also used for entertaining visitors, propitiating of the gods during sacrifices, pouring of libations, for medicinal purposes and general drinking leisure. Hence, drinking had a functional purpose: and pleasure and sociability. While drinking was seen as a part of merriment, sociability and pleasure, it was also recognised as tension -filled moments in which one could lose his composure, say things he might later regret, as he could be imprisoned thereafter. Hence, drinking was controlled and drunkenness was rare. Apart from palm wine, a local beer made from guinea corn known as *brukutu* was also widely consumed in Ogoja and Nsukka areas. This was generally associated with Northern influence in the area.

From about the fifteenth century, spirituous liquors were introduced into southeastern Nigeria by European traders who traded at the coast. It was used to pay *comey* – a sort of gratification to the chiefs and was given in exchange for goods such as slaves and palm oil. Initially, spirituous liquor was consumed only by the rich: the chiefs, the merchants and their followers. By the nineteenth century, spirituous liquor had achieved the status of currency and a mark of wealth. In addition, due to the intensification of the legitimate trade, many more people had access to spirituous liquor especially as a form of gin imported from Holland and Germany. The availability of other forms of alcohol other than palm-wine led to the emergence of new forms of drinking practices which violently challenged the powers of the elders over alcohol consumption, deconstructing the assumption of elder men's power over alcohol control, usage and well being.

The prevalence of consumption of spirituous liquor in southern Nigeria led to vehement protests by missionaries, who were able to make European public opinion to see the unlimited exportation of alcohol to Africa as immoral and scandalous. This resulted in the Brussels Conference of 1890 at the end of which the Brussels Pact was signed. Following this development, signatory nations agreed not to export spirituous liquor to territories to which

liquor had hitherto not been introduced. There was, however, no limitation of exportation to areas, which had been exposed to European spirituous liquor for centuries. This led to the intensification of importation of alcohol into southern Nigeria. In the same vein, there was intensification of consumption making imported gin a part of the culture. Palm wine came to be seen as a lesser drink and gin and other spirituous liquor became integrated into the culture of the people replacing palm wine in libation, propitiation, marriages, burial ceremonies, diplomatic negotiation, traditional medicine among others. Though palm wine continued to be served in all events, and maintained a niche in traditional events, its potency as alcohol was not be compared to gin.

By 1900, spirituous liquor had become the most important source of income to the colonial government providing about 90% of its annual income. Earlier, was integrated into the traditional society as a sign of affluence and men of influence displayed their wealth partly by displaying expensive bottles of gin in their reception rooms such as *obi* and *afe* or in their sitting rooms. Ability to consume these expensive imported drinks and use them in rituals, strengthened the influence of the “big men” and elders. Some notable chiefs such as Idike in Abakaliki used it to show affluence, wealth and power by displaying empty bottles of expensive drinks in front of their compounds. They also used it as the drink for the gods, the chiefs and other big men for diplomacy to solicit favours or show appreciation.

Due to high import duties, spirituous liquors became very expensive leading to the importation of cheap spirits and adulteration. It also encouraged local distillation of gin from palm wine. The control of alcohol consumption became a shared concern of the elders and the colonial government. While elders tried to control access to alcohol so as to control the young men, the colonial government tried to control the production of local gin to stop the competition it posed to imported gin all without success. By the end of the colonial rule, the buying and selling of imported spirituous liquor and the production and sale of locale gin had

become a major field of entrepreneurship in south eastern Nigeria. Apart from the Brussels Pact, there were various other colonial policies on alcohol .Such included: The Liquor Ordinance of 1917, and The Native Ordinance 1945, all of which tried to control alcohol consumption, by imposing licences and fines. Hence the colonial government benefited immensely from its alcohol policies through import duties, licences and fines.

The colonial era provided its own dynamics, which enhanced the integration of alcohol into the fabric of the south eastern Nigerian society. The rise of the elite class, the rise of urban centres such as Enugu, Port Harcourt, Aba, Umuahia and Calabar, the rise of the urban working and artisan class, the return of soldiers after the Second World War, new forms of entertainment, new ways of celebrations, uncontrolled availability of alcohol, availability of money and the need to earn a living fostered the growth in alcohol use. Imported spirituous liquors became important in modern and traditional entertainment, festivals, and propitiations and gift-giving thus displacing the palmwine. Functional and non-functional consumption became widespread. At the same time brewing and consumption of local gin intensified despite colonial regulations in the rural areas and palm-wine remained the drink of the poor.

Import substitution policies of the colonial government after the Second World War led to the establishment of the Nigerian Breweries Limited, which brewed and introduced the first Nigerian made beer into the market in 1949, with the “Star” brand. With the employment of aggressive advertisement through radio, television and billboards, *Star Beer* became associated with modernity, the elite, progress, enjoyment and success, as consumers were called upon to “enjoy the brighter life.” Perhaps, the success of *Star Beer* was at the root of the establishment of various breweries in southeastern Nigeria in the post colonial era making the beer industry one of highest income earning economic sector in the Nigerian economy. Although the beer industry experienced its ups and downs during the SAP era, it provided

employment to a large number of Nigerians as workers in brewing and ancillary industries, distributors and sub-distributors, operators of bars, and other legal and illegal outlets.

The post-colonial era also had its own dynamics, which impacted on alcohol consumption and entrepreneurship. Particularly, the Nigerian Civil War, fought mostly on south eastern Nigerian soil, encouraged the intensification of alcohol consumption and entrepreneurship. Soldiers' requirements for alcohol led to the increase in traditional distillation and sale, specially as the area was blockaded and had no access to imported liquor. The war also contributed to breaking down traditional controls on alcohol drinking. Young men who had fought the war now thought they had rights to the good things of life as they visited and alcohol was regarded as one of these good things. The need to survive after the war led to the proliferation of consumption outlets in the form of bars, *kioks*, eating and drinking restaurants, and *bukas*, provided avenues for all and sundry including the youths, to engage in alcohol consumption in ways, which would not have been possible in pre-colonial societies and, indeed, in pre-civil war societies.

During the war, many southeastern Nigerian women were enticed into drinking by soldiers. With new drinking outlets which were out of the cultural purview, and the easy access to money, the rise of urban centres and relaxation spots, women were integrated into the culture of alcohol consumption from which they were hitherto barred, sometimes, as consumers and at other times as sellers. By the end of the study period, women could freely consume any brand of alcohol they desired and could access.

Another post- colonial development, which encouraged alcohol consumption and alcohol- based entrepreneurship, was the desire for industrial based development, which made the beer industry a favoured industry. As more and more hectolitres of beer was produced, alcohol consumption became more widespread. This was accentuated by the oil boom in the 1970s, which put money into many hands encouraging alcohol consumption.

Success was celebrated with alcohol. The proliferation of feasts, parties and celebrations provided avenues for the sale of alcohol which permeated even the rural areas that are well dotted with drinking spots, and opportunities. Youth unemployment made the selling of alcohol in various forms viable economic endeavours and fostered alcohol consumption. The selling of alcohol in every conceivable outlet and in little quantities, some in sachets, fostered easy accessibility by the masses including under aged youths.

Generally, alcohol played an important role in shaping power and power relations especially between gender and class. Although chiefs and “big men” controlled drinking in pre-colonial and early colonial eras, by late colonial period and post colonial period, the accessibility of alcohol to all and sundry challenged the authority of elders in the drinking culture. This freedom to consume alcohol impacted generally on the health of the people due to the development of excessive drinking both in urban and rural areas. Accessibility to alcohol was a major cause of road mishaps during the period. Finally, the study has uncovered the paradox between the economic power of alcohol and its power of destruction through social vices and health implications.

Contributions to Knowledge

The study has made the following contributions to existing knowledge:

1. The study demonstrates that the peoples of south eastern Nigeria in pre-colonial time were generally moderate alcohol consumers who relied mainly on palm and raffia wine. Other types of alcoholic drinks such as gin were introduced after their contact with the Europeans. They began to be consumed in addition to palm and raffia wine in social activities. This study, has, therefore contributed to the understanding of aspects of the culture of the people under study. Furthermore, this study demonstrates that the introduction of gin as an alcoholic beverage altered aspects of cultural

practices in south eastern Nigeria. The reality was that some social activities where palm- wine was regarded adequate before the introduction of gin were considered to be incomplete without gin in later years. A case point is the appeasement of gods such as *Igwekala of Umunneoha*, *Ibini Ukpabi of Arochukwu*, *Agballa in Awka*. However, the study has establishes that the people of south eastern Nigeria relished the import gin when they became available. In addition, local gin began to be produced in south eastern Nigeria only after the imported brands were known to the people. Indeed, archival sources indicate that attempts to manufacture local gin began after the prices of imported ones became prohibitive and ideas about the technology of gin production were provided by American returnees, led by one James Iso, in the late 1920's.²⁴ The study, therefore , illuminates our understanding of alcohol and its production in south -eastern Nigeria;

2. The study demonstrates that colonial alcohol ordinances of 1917 and 1945 were designed to encourage imported brands into the country. The study establishes that the colonial government made efforts to curb the local production of gin in order to pave way for imported brands. A careful consideration of the developments during the period reveals that, contrary to the claim that the decision was based on attempts to forestall the health hazards posed by the local gin, economic interest of the colonial government was of paramount consideration. The colonial authorities earned huge resources from taxes and duties on imported gins;
- 3.. The work provides justification to ascertain that alcohol advertising by the pioneer beer manufacturing company in southeastern Nigeria and, indeed, Nigeria at large, has increasingly targeted the youths. Emphasis has been on success, modernity, and brighter life and alcohol manufacturers have sponsored youth events such as quiz

competition, debates, music/dance shows and sports. This has created the need for regulation so as to protect minors from developing interest in alcohol and prevent the creation of a generation of drunks; and

4. The work provides historical evidence to establish that alcohol contributed to the social and economic development of south- eastern Nigeria in many respects, in the period covered by this study. The Government has, for instance, realised enormous revenue from taxes levied on alcohol since the colonial period. In addition, the brewery and distilleries sector of the economy has provided jobs for an appreciable number of Nigerians over the years. Unfortunately, on the other hand, there have been many social vices associated with alcohol in addition to health problems, which have negatively affected social development. This study, therefore, reveals that there is still a lot to be done by government to deal with negative impact of alcohol on the society.

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Name	Status/age	Place of interview	Date of interview
Aniegbuna, A.	Business man, 49 years	Ihiala House, plot 28 odofin Estate park, Ijesha B/Stop Lagos	30 August 2009
Anyanwu, B.	Farmer, 75 years	Awomama, Imo State	10 September 2009
Bridget, A.	Gin Distiller, 60 years	Trugbene, Bayelsa State	17 December 2012
Ebulue, B.	Business man, 53 years	Ihiala House, plot 28 Odofin Estate Park, Ijesha B/Stop Lagos	30 August 2009
Cookey, S.	Gin Distillers, 52 years	Patani, Delta State	15 December 2012
Ekeh, N.	Human Resource Manager, Consolidated Breweries, 45 years	Awomama, Imo State	26 June 2009
Eze, J.	Palmwine seller, 50 years	Uburu, Imo State	5 January 2013
Ikenga, E.	Retired Civil Servant, 79 years	Egbuoma, Imo State	14 July 2008
Iwuzor, V.E	Elder Umuezeawala clan Ihiala, 90 years	Umuohachom Ihiala, Anambra State	10 september 2009
Madu, J.	Principal 67 years	Umueze, Ihiala Anambra State	17 July 2009
Mbonu, N	Clergy, 64 years	Owerri, Imo State	27 August 2007
Nnoyerem, O.	Palmwine Tapper and Seller, 42 years	Nnepi, Anambra State	5 January 2013
Nkwocha, N	Clinical Psychiatrist, 53 years	Federal Medical Centre Owerri, Imo state	20 June 2010
Okerefor, L.M	Former Member House of Rep, 70 years	Umuohie Ngor Okpala, Imo State	16 May 2008
Okonkwo, B.	Palmwine Tapper and Seller, 46 years	Akata, Imo State	3 January 2013
Okorie, B.M.	Chief and Retired Principal, 94 years	Bethel House Oguta, Imo State	20 December 2007
Ossai, E.	Gin Seller, 35 years	Umuigbo Oguta, Imo State	13 December, 2012
Ossai, O.	Gin Seller, 82 years	Oguta, Imo State	5 December, 2012
Uzoukwu, L.	Businessman, 62 years	27 Jasper street Ikate, Surulere, Lagos	22 Ocotber, 2009
Uozie, A.	Chemist, 34 years	16 Omodunmi Ikate, Surulere, Lagos State	14 October 2009.

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Appendix 1

Illicit distillation return for the half year ended 31st December, 1938

Stations	No. of persons involved	No. of persons prosecuted	No. of persons convicted	No. of persons acquitted	Remarks
P. Harcourt	12	6	5	1	6 persons are awaiting trail
A B A	28	28	26	2	
DEGEMA	25	14	13	1	11 persons awaiting trail.
AHOADA	1	1	1	-	
OWERRI	-	-	-	-	
OKIGWI	-	-	-	-	
UMUAHIA	2	-	-	-	
BENDE	-	-	-	-	
Total	68	49	45	4	19 persons awaiting trial by Court

Source: NAE(hereafter National Archive Enugu Rivprof 2/1/17)

Appendix 11

Illicit distillation return for the half year ended 30 June, 1939

Stations	No. of persons involved	No. of persons prosecuted	No. of persons convicted	No. of persons acquitted	Remarks
A B A	39	39	23	16	
AHOADA	8	8	7	1	
BENDE	2	-	-	-	2 persons awaiting trial.
DEGEMA	10	7	6	1	
OKIGWI	-	-	-	-	
ORLU	-	-	-	-	
OWERRI	-	-	-	-	
P. HARCOURT	9	6	5	1	3 Persons awaiting trial
UMUAHIA	10	8	8	-	10 persons awaiting trial
Total	78	68	49	19	10 persons are awaiting trial by Court

Source: NAE(hereafter National Archive Enugu Rivprof 2/1/17)

DIOCESE OF THE NIGER.

C. M. S TRAINING COLLEGE,
AWKA,
S. NIGERIA
29th. January 1944

The Resident,
Owerri Province,

The Eastern Regional Committee of the Christian Council of Nigeria.

Sir,

At the recent meeting of the above committee, representing the Church of Scotland, the Methodist mission, the Qua Iboe Mission, the Church Missionary Society and the Niger Delta Pastorate, I was instructed to forward to the following resolution which was passed:-

“The E. R. c. views with alarm the rapid increase of the “Drink Traffic in Nigeria. The distillation of illicit gin is more “widespread then ever, and in cosmopolitan towns the numerous drinking “bars are a menace to the physical and moral well being of the people. “We are aware that some control has been attempted, but the control “at present operating is not nearly adequate enough. Illicit gin can “be procured almost at any time in the villages and towns, and the “drinking bars in townships are evading the regulations as to clean-“liness and the drinks permitted. We strongly urge that stricter “control be exercised relating to the distillation of gin, and that “bars be permitted to open only at stipulated hours, as in England, “and that they be made to conform to the regulations regarding the “drinks supplied”.

We recognized the special part our churches have in educating our members and in creating a public opinion on this problem, and we went on to discuss how we could do our work more effectively. We felt, however, that we should also draw your attention to our experience of the trouble that is being caused.

Sir, I have the honour to be,

Our obedient servant,

Secretary,

Eastern Regional Committee

Appendix 1V

General 16.

No. 336/Vol. 9/874

26th January, 1937

From The Acting Senior Commissioner of Police, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt.	To The Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt.
G.P., Lagos. 1058/36	

MEMORANDUM.

Illicit Distillation of Spirits

With reference to your letter No. c. 68/11/313 of the 20th January, 1937, I have to report that the position as regards the illicit distillation or spirits and the consumption of spirits illicitly distilled in the Owerri province has not altered materially during the last six months. From investigations made and information gathered it would appear that there was a general appreciable decrease in this illicit trade, when compared with the previous four or five years, except in the Degema Division and the creek areas of the Ahoada and Aba Divisions.

2. The reason for the unsatisfactory position in the creek areas is chiefly because the improved trade conditions have not effected the prosperity of the inhabitants to very great extent as they depend chiefly on fishing for their livelihood and they still cannot afford to pay for a better class of spirit. Also in these areas offences against the ordinance are difficult to detect and therefore as the fear of detection and punishment is small the trade has continued without much diminution. It is probable too that many consumers of the spirit have gradually acquired a taste for the locally distilled spirit and now prefer it to imported gin.

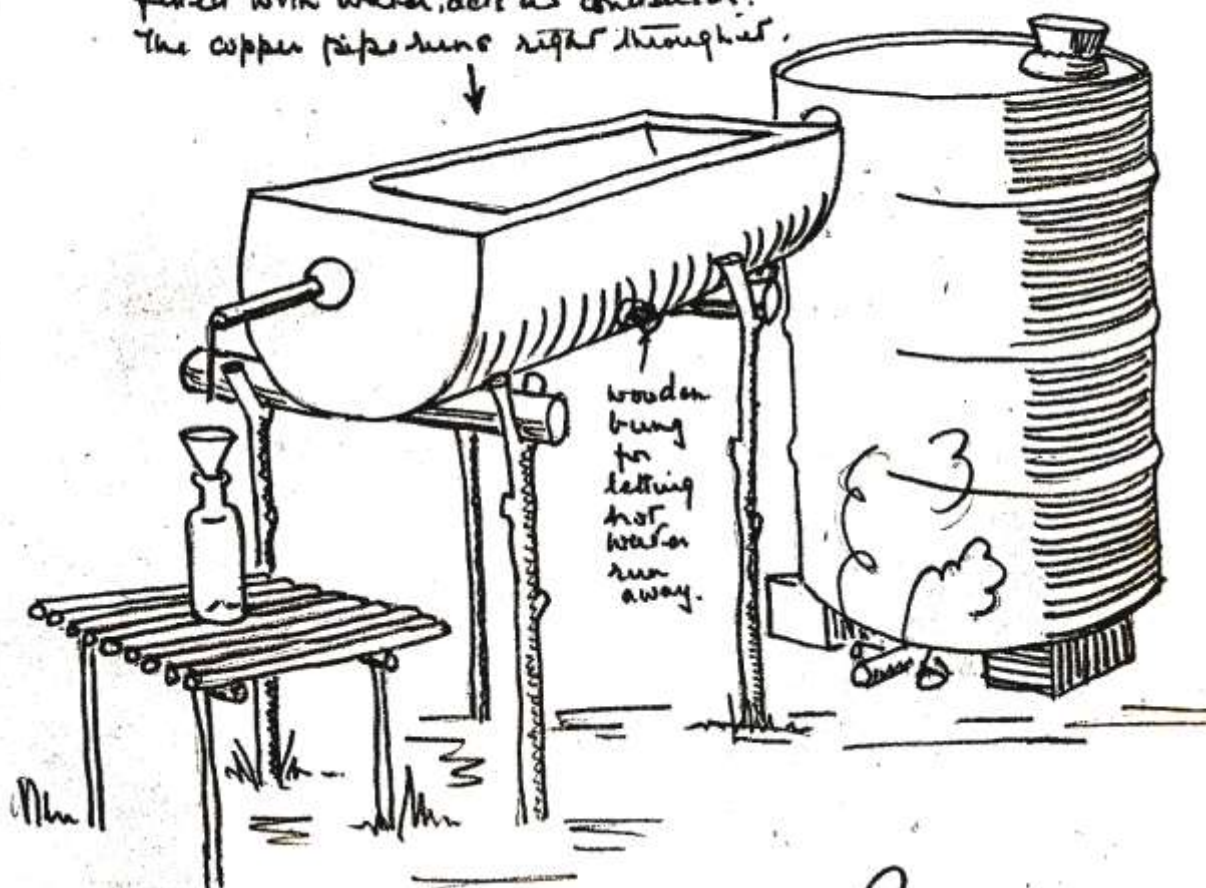
3. During the year 146 persons were charged before the Courts for offences against the ordinance as against 79 during 1935: the greater number of prosecutions being accounted for by increased police activity in the detection of these cases and is no real indication as to the amount of spirit distilled and consumed. The results of the prosecutions during 1936 are as follows:

Number of persons prosecuted	-	146
Number of persons convicted	-	116
Number of persons acquitted	-	30

Acting Senior Commissioner of Police,

Appendix v

Wooden trough hollowed out and filled with water, acts as condenser.
The copper pipe runs right through it.



Source: NAE(hereafter National Archive Enugu Rivprof 2/1/17)

Appendix vi

Degema Division Warri Province

Return of convictions for illicit Distillation during period list January, 1936 to 31st December, 1935

Months	Total No. of persons	Total No. of Males	Total No. of Females	Convicted	Discharged	remarks
January, 1936	3	2	1	1	2	
February, 1936	-	-	-	-	-	
March, 1936	3	2	1	3	-	
April, 1936	2	-	2	2	-	
May, 1936	4	4	-	4	-	
June, 1936	3	1	2	3	-	
July, 1936	-	-	-	-	-	
August, 1936	2	2	-	2	-	
September, 1936	11	5	6	9	2	
October, 1936	3	3	-	3	-	
November, 1936	2	1	1	2	-	
December, 1936	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	33	20	13	29	4	

Degema Division Warri Province

Return of convictions for illicit Distillation during period 1st January, 1937 to 30th June, 1937 December, 1935

Months	Total No. of persons	Total No. of Males	Total No. of Females	Convicted	Discharged	Remarks
January, 1937	-	-	-	-	-	
February, 1937	1	1	-	1	-	
March, 1937	1	1	-	1	-	
April, 1937	3	3	-	1	2	
May, 1937	5	4	1	4	1	
June, 1937	-	-	-	-	-	
July, 1936	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	10	9	1	7	3	

Appendix vii
OWERRI PROVINCE

ILLICIT DISTILLATION OF SPIRITS
RETURN THE HALF YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE 1937

Stations	Number of cases reported	Number of persons involved	Number of persons prosecuted	Number of Persons convicted	Number of persons acquitted	Remarks
Port Harcourt	4	4	3	1	2	1 persons awaiting trials
Aba	4	4	4	4	-	
Anoada	5	11	9	1	8	2 persons awaiting trial.
Bande	2	2	-	-	-	2 persons awaiting trial
Degema	13	18	9	7	2	9 persons awaiting trial
Okigwi	1	1	-	-	-	1 persons awaiting trial
Owerri	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	29	40	25	13	12	

Appendix viii

OWERRI PROVINCE

NIGERIA

DEGEMA DIVISION

Return of convictions for illicit Distillation during period 1st July, 1937 to 31st December, 1937

Months	Total No. of persons	Total No. of Males	Total No. of Females	Convicted	Discharged	Remarks
July, 1937	11	7	4	4	7	
August, 1937	17	12	5	9	8	
September, 1937	1	1	-	-	1	
October, 1937	9	8	1	7	2	
November, 1937	4	4	-	4	-	
December, 1937	10	7	3	5	5	
Total	52	39	13	29	23	

WARRI PROVINCE

NIGERIA

DEGEDA DIVISION

Return of convictions for illicit Distillation during period 1st January, 1938 to 30th June 1938

Months	Total No. of persons	Total No. of Males	Total No. of Females	Convicted	Discharged	Remarks
January, 1938	2	2	-	2	-	
February, 1938	-	-	-	-	-	
March, 1938	5	4	1	3	2	
April, 1938	1	1	-	1	-	
May, 1937	9	3	6	1	8	
June, 1937	17	14	3	15	2	
Total	34	24	10	22	12	

NIGERIA

**REGULATIONS
MADE UNDER
THE NATIVE LIQUOR (TOWNSHIP & CERTAIN AREAS)
ORDINANCE 1945
(No. 4 of 1945)**

NO. OF 1945

In exercise of the powers conferred upon the Governor in Council by section 3 of the Native Liquor (Townships and certain Areas) ordinance, 1945, the following regulations are hereby made:-

- Short title and application.
- No. of 1945.
- Appointment of Licensing Authorities
- Licence for sale of Liquor
- Types of Licences.
1. These Regulations may be cited as the Native Liquor (Sales) Regulations, 1946 and shall come into operation on the 1st day of January, 1946 and shall apply to all townships set out in the Native Liquor (Application to Certain Areas) Order in Council, 1945 and to such other areas to which the ordinance may from time to time be applied as from the dates of such application.
 2. The Governor may, by notice in the Gazette appoint any person or body of persons to be the licensing authority for the purpose of these Regulations for the areas specified in such notice.

Provided that in every township the local authority shall be deemed to be the licensing authority.
 3. No person shall sell native liquor without a licence issued in accordance with these regulations or otherwise than on or from the premises specified in such licence.
 4. (1) Licences of the several descriptions following authorising the sale of native liquor subject to the provisions of these regulations may be issued by the Licensing authority:-
 - (a) "Native Liquor on Licence" as in Form A in the Schedule authorizing the Sale of native Liquor for consumption on the licensed premises.
 - (b) "Native Liquor Off licence" as in Form B in the Schedule authorising the sale of native liquor to be consumed off the licensed premises.
 - (c) "Occasional native liquor" as in Form C in the schedule authorizing the sale of native liquor on a special occasion

on such days, during such hours and at such place (not being a place otherwise licensed under these regulations) as the licensing authority may approve.

(2) An “Occasional native liquor licence” shall only be granted to the holder of a Licence to sell native liquor and shall not be granted for any period exceeding three days. The licensing authority shall notify the senior police officer in the areas of the issue of the licence and the particulars thereof.

House of
sales.

5. Except in the case of an occasional native liquor Licence every licence issued under these regulations shall permit the sale of native liquor as follows:-

(a) On Christmas Day, Good Friday or Sunday, between the hours of 12.30pm and 2pm and 5pm and 8pm and

(b) On any other day between 6am and 10.30pm

Provided that on application being made to him the Magistrate may, after hearing the applicant and the senior police officer in the area, extend the hours during which native liquor may be sold on licensed premises on any special occasion.

Licences to
export on 31st
December

6. (1) Every licence other than an occasional Licence shall expire on the 31st December in the year in which it is issued.

(2) The fees set out in the schedule hereto shall be payable for licences.

(3) When any licence other than an occasional native liquor licence is issued on or after the 1st July in any year, one – half of the above – mentioned licence fees shall be payable.

7. (1) Applications for licences shall be made to the licensing authority as in forms D and E in the Schedule as the case may be.

(2) Applications for the renewal shall be made as in form F in the schedule and shall be submitted to the licencing authority not later than the 15th December in any year. Applications submitted after that date will not be considered without payment of the later fee specified in the schedule.

8. (1) The licensing authority shall not issue a licence or approve the transfer of a licence as hereinafter provided until he has satisfied himself as to the fitness of the applicant to hold the

licence and as to the suitability of the premises both as regards structure and locality.

(2) The licensing authority may in his discretion restrict the number of licences either generally or of any particular class to be issued in respect of his area or any part thereof.

9. (1) Any person residing in the district or place wherein a licence or renewal is applied for may lodge with the licensing authority shall before issuing or refusing to issue any such licence or renewal hold an inquiry and hear both the applicant and objector.

Power of
Licensing
Authority to
impose
conditions
etc.

10. The licensing authority may, in his discretion, but subject to the provisions of these regulations:

- (a) Impose and endorse on licences any special condition or restriction which he may consider necessary or advisable;
- (b) Revoke any licence, if he shall consider that such revocation is necessary or advisable.

Provided that except when the licence is revoked by reason of the licence holder having been convicted of an offence under these regulations, or under any other law, a refund of a proportional part of the fee paid for the licence in respect of each complete month of the unexpired period of its currency shall be made.

Appeals.

11. Any person to whom a licence shall have been refused or whose licence shall have been revoke may appeal to the Governor whose decision shall be final.

Transfer of
Licences

12. (1) Applications for the transfer of a licence from one person to another or from one address to another may be approved by the licensing authority and all such applications shall be made in writing to be licensing authority.

(2) On the approval of any such transfer by the licensing authority the fee specified in the schedule shall be payable and the licence shall be altered accordingly by the licensing authority.

Board to be
affixed on
licensed
premises

13. (1) Every holder of a licence, other than a temporary licence, and authorizing the sale of native liquor shall suspend or affix and maintain over the entrance to the licensed premises a board of not less dimensions than two feet long by eight inches high on which is displayed in legible characters in England the

name of the licenses and the class of licence of which he is then holder.

(2) No person who is not licensed shall display any board or notice of any kind on his premises purporting that he is licensed, and no licensed person shall display on his premises any board or notice of any kind purporting that he is licensed in any other way than that in which he is duly licensed.

Offences

14. Any licensed person who:-

- (a) Permits drunkenness or any riotous or quarrelsome conduct to take place upon his premises;
- (b) Sells native liquor to any person already in a state of intoxication or by any means encourages or excites any person to drink native liquor;
- (c) Sells native liquor to any child under fourteen years of age;
- (d) Sells or supplies native liquor to any soldier, police officer or railway servant in uniform and on duty or knowingly harbours or suffers to remain on his premises any such soldier, police officer or railway servant, unless, in the case of a police officer, for the purpose of keeping or restoring order or in the execution of his duty;
- (e) Permits his premises to be used as a brothel or the habitual resort or place of meeting of prostitutes, or allows any such person to remain on his licensed premises longer than is necessary for the consumption of any native liquor purchased by her;
- (f) Keeps his premises open for the sale of native liquor during any time when he is not authorized by his licence to sell native liquor or allows native liquor to be consumed on such premises during any such time;

Disorderly person on licensed premises.

- (g) Permits any person to consume native liquor on his premises when he does not hold a native liquor "on" licence or sells native liquor for consumption off his premises when he does not hold a native liquor "off"
- (h) Permits gaming or any unlawful game to be played on the licensed premises;
- (i) Sells native liquor for any valuable consideration other than a cash payment in current coin;
- (j) Refuses to produce his licence when demanded by an administrative or police officer;
- (k) Adds to native liquor any other alcoholic liquor with a view to increasing the alcoholic content of the former.

Drinking on premises during prohibited hours

Shall be liable to a fine of fifty pounds or to imprisonment for six months.

Power of authorized persons.

15. Any licensed person or his agent or servant shall refuse to admit to and shall turn out of his licensed premises, by force if necessary, any person who is drunken, violent, quarrelsome or disorderly, or any person whose presence on his premises would subject him to a penalty under these regulations and any such person who on being required by such licensed person or his agent or servant or by a police officer to quit such premises refuses or fails to do so shall be liable to a demand of such licensed person, agent or servant, to expel or assist in expelling such person from such premises and may use such force as may be required for the purpose.

16. Any person who -

- (a) Not being the occupier or a servant or member of the family of the occupier consumes native liquor on licensed premises during the hours when the sale of native liquor is prohibited;
- (b) Being found on licensed premises during the hours during which the sale of native liquor is

prohibited refuses his name and address when demanded by a police officer;

- (c) Knowingly purchases native liquor from a person who is not duly licensed to sell the same

Shall be liable to a fine of ten pounds

- 17. Any administrative officer or police officer may-
 - (a) Enter any licensed premises at any time for then purpose of detecting or preventing any breach of the provisions of these regulations;
 - (b) At any time demand the production of a licence
 - (c) Having reasonable grounds for believing that native liquor is being sold by any unlicensed person, enter and inspect any premises occupied by such person; and
 - (d) Seize and detain any native liquor, together with the receptacles containing the same found either on premises occupied by, or in the possession or under the control of any unlicensed person whom he has reasonable grounds for suspecting of having sold native liquor;

Provided the every such seizure and detention shall be forthwith reported to a court having jurisdiction in the area in which such seizure is made.

Forfeiture of Native Liquor

18. A court may order the forfeiture of any native liquor and of the receptacles containing the same, which may be found under the control of any unlicensed person who is convicted of selling native liquor.

Transactions in the nature of sale.

19. In any proceeding relating to any offence under this ordinance, it shall not be necessary to show that any money actually passed if the court hearing the case be satisfied that a transaction in the nature of a sale actually took place.

Responsibility for acts of servants and agents.

20. If any person being the manager for, or the servant of, or authorized to act for, a licence – holder shall do any act or thing or be guilty of any omission which if done or omitted by the licence – holder would constitute an offence by the licence –

Endorsement of Licence.

holder both such person and the licence – holder shall be liable to the penalties prescribed by these regulations of such offence, whether such act, thing or omission was done or made with or without the knowledge or consent of the licence – holder.

21. (1) Every conviction under these regulations of a licence – holder shall be endorsed on his licence by the court and the licence – holder shall produce his licence to the court for such purpose.

(2) Whenever a licence – holder shall be convicted of such an offence, his licence shall be liable to forfeiture on the order of the court.

(3) Every applicant for the renewal of a licence shall if required by the licensing authority produce, the licence for inspection.

(4) In the case of a renewal of a licence, all convictions endorsed on such licence in respect of offences during the two years preceding such renewal shall be transferred to the renewed lice.

(5) Any person who:-

(a) shall neglect to produce his licence as required by the preceding sub-regulations; or

(b) without proper authority obliterates or alters any such endorsement as aforesaid,

Shall be liable to a fine of ten pounds.

General
Penalty.

22. Any person who shall offend against or fail to comply with the provisions of these regulations or any conditions endorsed on a licence shall be guilty of an offence and where no special penalty is provided therefore he shall be liable to a fine of twenty pounds or imprisonment for three months.

Made by the Governor in Council this day of 1945.

CLERK TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

REGULATIONS
MADE UNDER
THE LIQUOR ORDINANCE,1917

Under and by virtue of section 64 of the Liquor Ordinance, 1917, the following regulations have been made by the Governor in Council:

1. These Regulations may be cited as the Brewery Regulations, 1919.
2. A license to manufacture beer shall be in the form set out in the schedule hereto, or to the like effect, and shall be known as a Brewer's licence.
3. The fee for a licence shall be ₦20 for every year or part thereof.
4. A licence shall be valid only up to the 31st day of December in the year in which it is issued, but may be renewed from year to year subject to the provisions of these Regulations.
5. Application for licence or for the renewal thereof shall be made to the Collector of Customs in such form and setting out such particulars as he may require.
6. Before granting or renewing a licence the Governor may require security to be given, in such form and amount as he may prescribe, for the due payment of excise duties. The Governor may at any time require fresh security shall be given accordingly. In default the Governor may cancel the licence.
7. A licence may not be transferred without the consent of the Governor, who may require the transferee to give security in such form and amount as he may prescribe.
8. A licence may be cancelled by the Governor if the licensce shall commit any breach of these Regulations.
9. Every licence shall contain a description of the brewery in respect of which it is issued, and no alteration or extension of the premises so described shall be made during the currency of the licence without the permission in writing of the governor.
10. No licence shall:

- (a) Manufacture beer at any other place than the brewery in respect of which his licence is issued.
 - (b) Sell any wine or spirits at his brewery or at any place within 50 yards thereof.
11. Every licence shall pay to the collector of customs excise duties on all beer manufactured by him at the following rates:
- If the original gravity does not exceed 30⁰ then per gallon
- 2d.
- If the original gravity does not exceed 30 but does not exceed 25⁰, then per gallon 2¹/₂d.
- If original gravity does not exceed 25⁰ but does not exceed 40⁰, then per gallon 3d.
- If original gravity does not exceed 40⁰, then per gallon 4¹/₂d.
- Provided that the Governor may remit such duties or any part thereof in respect of beer which in his opinion is manufactured for experimental purposes, or in respect of beer which is wasted or accidentally lost before leaving the brewery.
12. A licence shall not manufacture beer containing more than 6% of alcohol or 10¹/₂% of the proff. spirit without the express permission in writing of the Governor.
13. The manufacture of beer by licences and the removal of beer from a brewery shall for the protection of the revenue be subjected to the supervision of the collector of customs or such other officer as may be appointed by the Governor for that purpose, hereinafter called the prescribed officer.
14. Every licence shall keep proper books and accounts and shall produce them to the prescribed officer on demand and verify them to the satisfaction of the prescribed officer.
15. Every licensee shall keep proper books and accounts and shall produce them to the prescribed officer on demand and verify them to the satisfaction of the prescribed officer.

16. Every licence shall the prescribe officer shall have complete access to every part of any brewery at all times, and may examine, take account of and note all beer and materials in the brewery, and may examine and take copies of, or extracts from, all books of the brewery or kept in connection therewith.
17. Beer shall not be removed from a brewery except in the receptacles specified in the this Regulation, and the dutiable contents of such receptacles shall be deemed to be as follows, viz:-

Hogsheads	...	...	...	50 gallons
Barrels	...	...	...	33 gallons
Half – hogsheads	...	...	...	25 gallons
Kilderkins	...	...	...	17 gallons
Bottles	...	...	...	1 quart (reputed or Imperial).
Small bottles	...	...	...	1 pint (reputed or Imperial).

Provided that reputed contents when more than the actual contents shall be taken to be dutiable contents.

18. (1) Before any beer is removed from a brewery, and before the duty is paid the licensee shall mark on every receptacle:-
- (a) Its contents:
 - (b) The name of the licensee and the place where the beer was manufactured:
 - (c) The specified gravity of the beer:
 - (d) A distinctive number:
- (2) The prescribed marks shall be made as follows:-

Hogsheads	}	On each head and on the side
Barrels		
Half – hogsheads		
Kilderkins		

Bottles
Small bottle

} On labels affixed to the side and
also over the cork or stopper.

- (3) When bottles are packed in cases the number and together with bottles shall be marked on the outside of the case, together with the name of the licensee, the place where the beer was manufactured and the specified gravity of the beer.
- (4) If any prescribed mark is incorrect in any material particular the license shall be deemed to have committed a breach of the conditions of his licence.
19. The duty payable on any beer shall be paid by the licensee before the beer is removed from the brewery. Provided that a licensee may, under permit from the prescribed officer; transfer beer from his brewery to a delivery store used by him in connection with his brewery, and approved by the prescribed officer. Duty shall be paid on such beer so transferred before it is removed from the delivery store, and such delivery store shall be deemed to be part of the brewery. No licensee shall have more than one such delivery store.
20. No beer shall be removed from a brewery except between the hours of 6.p.m.
21. Before removing any beer from a brewery the licensee shall furnish to the prescribed officer a statement containing such particulars and in such form as such officer may required relating to the description, quantity, quality and origin of the beer. Such statement shall be verified in such manner as the prescribed officer shall require.
22. A licensee may without first paying excise duty, remove beer from his brewery to any Customs bonded warehouse or other place prescribed by the Collector of Customs, subject to giving such security by bond or otherwise and to the performance of such conditions as the Collector may require. Such beer may be

exported without payment of excise duty but shall not be removed otherwise than for export without payment of excise duty.

Appendix xi

THE SCHEDULE
THE LIQUOR ORDINANCE, 1917
Brewer's Licence

Licence is hereby granted to
of
to manufacture beer pursuant to the Liquor Ordinance, 1917 and the Regulations made there under, in the brewery situate at and comprising an area [description of premises].

This licence will expire on the 31st December, 19, and is not transferable without the consent of the Governor.

Dated this _____ day of _____ 19

Governor

MADE in Council this 20th day of February, 1919

H. de B. BEWLEY
Clerk of the Executive Council

A. G. BOYLE,
Acting Governor

Appendix xii
REGULATIONS
MADE UNDER
THE LIQUOR ORDINANCE

Under and by virtue of section 64 of the Liquor Ordinance, 1917, the following Regulations have been made by the Governor in Council:

1. Regulations No. 2 of 1917 are hereby amended as follows:-

(1) By deleting Regulation 8 and substituting therefore the following regulation:-

“8. Any person desiring a permit for the introduction of liquor into a prohibited area shall fill in and forward in duplicate an application in the form N in the First Schedule for the approval of the officer to who such application is addressed.

The application shall be addressed:-

- (a) If the applicant is resident at Kaduna, to the secretary of the Northern Provinces.
- (b) If the applicant is resident elsewhere in a prohibited area, to the Resident of the Province into which it is desired to introduce such liquor
- (c) In other cases, to the secretary of the Southern provinces.

If the grant of the permit required is approved the officer to whom the application is addressed shall sign the same at the foot and return one copy to the applicant and file the other copy in hi office.

A permit shall be valid for such period only from the date on which it is approved as may be entered thereon by the officer issuing the permit.

(2) By deleting the word “Secretary” in the last in the last line of Regulation 9 (2) and by substituting the words “Officer by whom it was issued”.

(3) By deleting the wards' “Secretary of Northern (Southern) Provinces” in the heading to Form N in the First Schedule.

(4) By deleting- the Note relating to Stamps from Forms A and B in the First Schedule to the Regulations and substituting therefore in each case the words “Fee—five shillings”

(5) By adding- to the Second Schedule the following:-

Fee charged on application for licences and renewals of licences.

			s.	d
For each application ...	...	...	5	0

(Note – This fees is to be collected in stamps).

2. Regulations No. 55 of 1927 are hereby amended as follows:-

(1) By deleting the expression “prohibited native” in Regulation 1 (i) (b) and substituting therefore the expression “native”.

(2) By deleting- the expression “prohibited natives” in. Regulation 1 (ii) (a) and substituting therefore the expression “native”.

MADE in Council this 8th day of November, 1920,

G. O. NUGENT,
Clerk of the Executive Council

HUGH CLIFFORD
Governor