

The Search for Hygienic Water in Uromi District: The Colonial Attempt

***Erhagbe, E.O. & *Ehiabhi, O. S.**

Email: eerhagbe@yahoo.com & simonoehiabhi@yahoo.com

*Erhagbe, E.O., is an Associate Professor in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria.

*Ehiabhi, O. S., is a Lecturer I in the Department of History and International Studies, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria

Abstract

Access to hygienic water is becoming difficult by the day, especially in developing economies. The people of Uromi in the Esan or Ishan region of Nigeria find it challenging to access drinkable water even in the 21st century. The problem of water has been an issue in Uromi since the pre-colonial era. Before the imposition of British colonial rule in Nigeria, the Uromi people resulted to digging pits to trap running rain water as their main source of water, which of course was unhygienic. Colonial documents obtained from the National Archives Ibadan, Nigeria were analysed and the findings reveals the spirited efforts made by the colonial regime to provide accessible and hygienic water for the people of Uromi. However, the colonial attempt was not very successful because of the Uromi topography, but that attempt improved the quality of water available to the people.

Introduction

Water is a natural essential commodity that has no substitute and where there is scarcity of it, there are bounds to be crisis of water borne diseases, as every source of water, whether hygienic or not will serve as possible respite. The Uromi situation was pathetic as the people had to develop a system of digging pits to trap and preserve running rain water for use especially in the dry season. However, with the introduction of colonial rule, vigorous attempt were made to provide hygienic water but all efforts ended in disappointment because of the natural topography of Uromi. The core of the

article is to bring to the present the modest efforts made by colonial regime in Nigeria to provide water for the people of Uromi. One of the major limitations of getting water in Uromi is attributable to the geographical location of the town. The colonial authority in some cases spelt Esan as Isan, Ishan or Isa depending on the familiarity of the correspondent. But the right spelling is Esan pronounced as A-SAN. For the sake of our discussion, Ishan and Esan are used interchangeably to emphasize that the words refer to the same people and region.

Geography of Uromi in Ishan

The Ishan region falls within longitude $5^{\circ}30'17''$ ¹ and latitude $5^{\circ}30'$ north and $7^{\circ}30'$ east of Benin City,¹ and the people occupy a land mass covering about 2987.52 square kilometers,² comprising the following communities, though not listed in order of evolution: Amahor, Emu, Egoro, Ekekhenlen, Ekpoma, Ewu, Ewohimi, Ewossa, Ewatto, Ekpon, Ebelle, Ido, Igueben, Irrua, Okhuesan, Ozigholo, Ohordua, Okalo, Oria, Opoji, Ogwa, Orowa, Ogun, Ubiaja, Ugboha Ujiogba, Ugbegun, Ukhun, Urohi, Uromi, and Udo.³ Being in the northern zone of the Nigerian forest region, the border communities to Ishan are Etsako in the North East, Owan in the North West, Orhionmwon, and Ika of the Delta in the South and South East respectively.⁴ The topography of Ishan can be divided into two broad lines: the plateau, and lowlands.⁵ Communities such as Uromi, Ubiaja, Ekpoma, Ugboha, and Irrua are to be found on the Plateau, while Emu, Ohordua, Emohimi and others settle in the lowland.⁶

Ishan communities began as agrarian settlements of four centres before the 15th century, which were Irrua, Ekpoma, Uromi and Ugboha, and by 1900, all the

communities had emerged.⁷ They are commonly referred to as Ishan or Esan because of their common cultural practices as reflected in language, dressing, norms, values, etc. though with some variants. The people speak a variant of the Edo language which, language experts believe began to separate into various strands about 4,500 years ago.⁸ The Ishan language is classified under the Edoid languages of the eastern sub-branch of the Kwa group of Niger-Congo.⁹

Locating Uromi

Okojie divides Ishan into two groups: Ishan A and Ishan B. Accordingly, Ishan A comprises the earliest kingdoms in Ishan resting on the waterless plateau,¹⁰ and Ishan B are those on the lowlands rich in water and luscious vegetation.¹¹ Uromi falls in the Ishan A group and lies between latitude $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north and 7° west of the equator, . . . and longitude 66° and $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of the Greenwich Meridian.¹² Uromi is one of the earliest settlements among the present thirty-one kingdoms in Ishan¹³ and its neighbours are the Kukuruku (Owan) in the north, Irrua in the north-west, Ugboha and Ubiaja in the south, Ugbegun and Igueben on the south-east.¹⁴

The twenty villages that make up Uromi community are located approximately on a landmass of not more than 60 square miles.¹⁵ These villages are Amedokhian, Arue, Awo, Ebhoiyi, Efandion, Egbele, Eguare, Ekhue, Eror, Idumoza, Ivue, Obeidu, Onewa, Oyomon, Ubierumu Ne-uwa, Ubierumu Ne-oke, Ukoni, Unuwazi, Utako and Uwalo.¹⁶ Among the Esan plateau dwellers, Uromi stands topmost on the plateau sitting at about 1000 feet above sea level,¹⁷ with the village of Ivue occupying the highest point

on the Ishan plateau with about 1,490 feet above sea level.¹⁸ Underlying the plateau is the lignite group of rocks consisting of clays, fine grained sands, lignite and carbonaceous clay¹⁹

Pre-colonial Attempt at Generating Water

Being a plateau region, the people of Uromi had great difficulty in accessing drinkable water, which made the inhabitants to undertake a distance of at least six miles to go for water, some to Ubiaja and some northwards.²⁰ It is this challenging water situation that may have informed Okojie's description of the region as 'waterless Esan plateau.' That is not to mean that water does not exist on the plateau, but it is insufficient to meet demands due to the depth of the water bed which makes it difficult to sink deep water well. Before British colonial rule in Esan, the people of Uromi and other communities on the plateau had intelligently responded to the water crisis by constructing what may pass as modern day water reservoirs. These plateau people dug deep ponds *Oghodo*, where they stored dropping and running water from rainfall during the wet season, and dispensed the water for community needs in the dry season.²¹ Tattam who witnessed the utility of the pits commented thus;

The water supply of most of the inhabitants of the plateau is obtained from pits dug in the red earth. These may be up to fifteen yards in width and ten feet deep. They are usually situated on the sides of 'streets' in villages and if rainwater does not drain into them naturally, a small dam is thrown across the street to intercept and divert it. The sides and bottom of the pit are battered in order to render the earth compact and less pervious to water. The inhabitants in time past, observing that these particular pits conserved their water

better than others, may have agreed to use them as reserves. The main objection to the water obtained from pits [is] that the quality of the water is poor owing to its high content of red clay and contamination. Some of the inhabitants declare that they prefer it to clear water.²²

Although, early missionaries in Uromi taught the people some form of generating clean water as Okosun remarks, "Fr. Corbeau taught them to mix the coloured water with the red earth and to stir the mixture vigorously. This was allowed to settle and in a few minutes, all the dirt would settle down to the bottom leaving clean colourless water on top. This was carefully drained out and boiled to render it fit for drinking."²³ This method was so crude that it was incapable of actually purifying water, as water born diseases was rampant among the people. The continuous digging and maintenance of these ponds created the various Benin-like moats *Iyala* in Esan as evident in Uromi. The presence of these moats in Uromi was mistaken by Obata as part of the extension of the Benin moats.²⁴ Rather; the moats were dug by early settlers to serve their water needs as already explained. However, with the establishment of colonial rule attempts were made by the colonial authority to provide clean and hygienic water to serve the needs of the community.

Imposition of Colonial Rule

With the effective occupation of Uromi by the British in 1901, the whole of Ishan had come under the control of colonial rule. Meanwhile, the whole of Nigeria had earlier been administratively divided into Provinces headed by Residents with the former Benin kingdom being one of the Provinces with headquarter in Benin. The

Benin Province was divided into five divisions of Benin; Ishan; Kukuruku; Agbor and Asaba headed by District Officers (DO), while the Ishan Division was further subdivided into five districts of Ubiaja; Uromi; Irrua; Ekpoma and Ewohimi under the supervision of former kings or District Heads with headquarters at Ubiaja. The two pillars of administration introduced by the colonial regime to administer the Nigerian territory were the Native Administration and Native Courts.²⁵ The Native Administration replaced traditional form of government while the Native Court took over traditional judiciary.

Colonial Attempt at Providing Water

Erection of Water Tank in 1916: To ameliorate the water crisis in Uromi, the colonial authority under Mr. Falk, the District Officer (D O), Ishan Division wrote to the Resident to encourage the erection of more water tanks to reserve rain water, especially for traveling and visiting to Europeans.²⁶ The erection of the water tanks was first carried out by the Education Department of the Native Administration in Uromi –Primarily for the school staff and incidentally Europeans staying at or passing through Uromi and who might want drinking water are also supplied– as stated by the Inspector of schools.²⁷ Though citizens of Uromi were not the primary target for the erection, but it marked a mile stone in bringing to the awareness of the people, a possible and more hygienic alternative to water generation and preservation. There was however further attempt to increase the access to water and this led to the development of well sinking.

Sinking of Water Wells

The compelling need for water not only for Europeans but also citizens of Uromi compelled the colonial authority in the Division to embark in the sinking of water wells around Uromi. The services of six professional well diggers were secured from the city of Kano, Nigeria to carry out the exercise in 1928.²⁸ As hard as the diggers tried, the site of water was no where near and that frustration led to the initial abandonment of well sinking in Uromi. In paragraph 20 of his Annual Report for 1929, the D. O Ishan Division, expressed his frustration when he stated,

the wells at Uromi were abandon by order or the Resident when they had been sunk 140 feet without finding water. This was a very disappointing result as I had hoped to find water at about 40 feet and sink numerous wells throughout the Division. The dearth of water is a real hardship for many towns during the dry season but I am at a loss to know how to remedy it. The matter has been referred to the Geological Survey Department by the Resient.²⁹

Indeed, the Resident, Benin Province had written to the Honourable Secretary, Southern Provinces, Enugu in a memorandum dated 27th May,1929 requesting for the assistance of the Geological Department in locating possible water beds because of the hapless search for water and the hardship caused by the situation.³⁰ The Director of the Geological Survey, replied the Resident that one of its staff, Dr. Bain had visited the site of the wells on his way from Asaba to Lokoja and made some observation, but that the Resident should provide answers to the questionnaire sent, as answers provided ðwould give some assistance in estimating the possibility of water being found at reasonable depths at Uromi.ö³¹ And this was forwarded to the D. O Ishan Division by the Resident

in a correspondence dated 26th July, 1929³² and on the 30th of the same month, the Resident demanded to know from the D.O if he had complied with the Director's request.³³ The D O informed the Resident that he had complied and forwarded the request directly to the Director,³⁴ and in turn the Director sent the observation and recommendation of Dr. Bain on the water crisis in the Ishan Division to the Resident, Benin Province through the Secretary Southern Provinces, Enugu.³⁵

Dr. A.D.N Bain, preliminary investigation on how to improve the supply of potable water in the Ishan Division reveals among other observation that the people obtained their water from ponds and that of the four Ishan Communities of Uromi, Irrua, Opoji and Ekpoma visited, Uromi and Irrua were in desperate need of water and that the Uromi situation was pathetic.³⁶ Dr. Bain explained that the difficulty of reaching water after about 140 feet depth was reached was because Uromi is situated on high sandy ground and no definite water course passes through the town³⁷ and therefore recommended that sinking of experimental wells should be undertaken by the water supply section of the Geological Department.³⁸

In line with Dr. Bain's recommendations, the Resident, Benin Province wrote from Ubiaja to the Honourable Secretary, Southern Provinces, Enugu requesting for a more detailed investigation of the area and the likely cost of sinking new wells at Uromi so that the Native Administration in the Division could raise money for the undertaking. The Resident also added that the Medical Officer in charge of the Division had informed him that the most common disease in Uromi were water-borne and therefore

pleaded for an urgent intervention in saving the local inhabitants from the health hazard.³⁹

After about nine months of inaction from the last communication between the Resident, and the Geographical Department, the District Officer, Ishan Division therefore wrote to the Resident, Benin Province informing him of the Division's preparedness to undertake Bain's recommendations and pleaded that experts should be sent to the Division to assess the financial cost of the undertaking.⁴⁰ Pending the arrival of experts from the Geological Department, the Resident therefore mandated the Divisional Engineer, Public Works Department, Benin Division to undertake an investigation of the wells in the Ishan Division and make recommendations.

The Engineer, at the end of its investigation did a preliminary report on the Uromi water supply scheme and sent copies to the D O Ishan Division, which contained among others the financial implication of improving the quality of water supply in the Uromi community estimated to cost about 2,920 pounds for the purchase and installation of pumping plant, pump house and store; rising main, water shop and running cost.⁴¹ The engineer also suggested the erection of over head tanks that could contain about 16,000 gallons of water per day from which water would be sold to the local at one penny per gallon.⁴²

With this new information, the Resident had to write to the Surveyor General, Lagos to send one of his experts to come and ascertain the data presented by the engineer before the arrival of the Geological Surveyor Department.⁴³ The Resident memo was acknowledged but the Surveyor-General did not make any commitment

whether he would send any member of his staff to the Ishan Division as requested by the Resident.⁴⁴ Fortunately, the Director of the Geological Survey wrote to the District Officer, Ishan Division and requested from the D O to furnish him with the size of Uromi population and likely dept of well required.⁴⁵ The D O promptly responded to the above request from the Director of Geology that a well of not more than 200 feet would be required for a population of about 22,000 persons in the communities the well would be sited.⁴⁶

The Director of Geological Survey therefore promised the D O that he would make òan officer available early in November for work in your Division. He will devote himself to a close examination of the subsurface water supply which now seems the only hope of the area.⁴⁷ And in a later communication to the Resident, Benin Province, the Director, Geological Survey of Nigeria informed the Resident that Dr. C.M. Tattam, a geologist would be in the Ishan Division from mid-November 1932 for geological investigation of water supply in the Division.⁴⁸

Tattam's Recommendations

Dr. C.M Tattam took into consideration the observation of Dr. Bain and that influenced the extensive and comprehensive investigation carried out in the whole of Ishan Division. The Investigation involved the use of the electrical resistivity method to prospect for water and discovered that groundwater was heavy in Irrua and thin in Uromi. And as such the chances of getting water in Irrua at about 150 feet deep well was high unlike in Uromi, especially at Ivue. Tattam agreed with Bain that the sandy

nature of the Ishan Plateau made it difficult to reach water, but went further to add that the most challenging factor in getting water in this region was the geological composition of the Ishan plateau. That is, a dipper level in to the earth crust revealed less sand but cementólike clay that made it difficult for groundwater to penetrate to the surface.⁴⁹

Details of Tattamø's investigation therefore determined his recommendations on the available possibilities to improve upon the water scheme in Uromi. He made its recommendations on the basis that the Province would adequately budget for the water scheme as funding the under listed project was germane to the sources of the outcome of the investigation.⁵⁰ Tattam therefore recommended the following;

- a. **Surface Supply:** This would mean to improve on the existing pre-colonial system of generating water through the pit practice by constructing a fitter bed of concrete to reduce the amount of red sand washed along with the running rain water.
- b. **Supply from Spring:** that it would cost the Division between 20,000 to 30,000 pounds to link all the functioning springs in the Division with pipes to be distributed in a network of well laid out piping plan that would require installation of pumping machine in strategic location including the villages of Erro, Idumuoza, Eguarre, Oyomo, Amedokhian to Efandion all in Uromi.
- c. **Groundwater Supplies:** This would take its course from the Irrua swamp and pumped in connection with other sources of groundwater throughout the Division in the same distribution plan as recommendation in B.

- d. **Sinking of wells:** that sinking of wells would be cheaper as it would cost just about 100 pounds to sink one starting from Uromi because the need for water is greatest in Uromi district, but wondered if the people would draw water from wells of 100 feet or more deep. However the sinking of a minimum of 17 wells was recommended to be sited at one in Ekpoma, four at Irrua and 12 in Uromi. The distribution of these wells was influenced by the approximate size of population in the areas that required water most as Ekpoma and Irrua had about 4,000 respectively, while Uromi alone had about 22,000 inhabitants. Wells ranging from 70 to 120 feet deep were beacons to be dug in the following Uromi villages, Ivue 3, Arue 2, Idomuoza 1, Error 1, Utako 1 and Egbelle 4.⁵¹
- e. **Drilling:** Deep drills were also recommended when available that would enable the sinking of boreholes starting from Ivue and from there water would be distributed to other parts of the plateau. In the alternative, suspected heavy water bed could be excavated and concrete walls constructed in the escarpment to hold water and also to prevent collapse.

Finally, Tattam maintained that if funding was slow, the initial scheme could begin with sinking 4 wells in Uromi, 1 in Ekpoma and the possibility of pumping water from the Irrua swamp to serve its environs and that these wells should be sunk at points closer to high groundwater channels.

Implementation of the Recommendations and its Impact on the Community

The reports of Bain and Tattam tilted towards well sinking in their recommendations. Therefore the United African Company (UAC) was commissioned to sink wells in Uromi and Irrua from 1933.⁵² In that same year, water was struck at Irrua, and later in 1938 some amount of water was found in Uromi.⁵³ The efforts of colonial authority to provide water for the people of Ishan Division and Uromi in particular fundamentally transformed the societies technology of generating water.

Impact on the Community

Pa Imoisili of Uromi expressed that his people did not understand the health benefit of the 'new' kind of water, but that they were more fascinated with the mystery of bringing water from the ground different from the kind known to them. In fact, he went further to stress that it took some time and conviction before majority of the people decided to partly domesticate the 'white man's water' while there were those who, out of ignorance and phobia of the depth of the wells refused to have anything done with water from the well and preferred the traditional pit system of generating water.⁵⁴

Dr. Tattam observed that the people of Uromi tended not to be emotional about the sinking of well when compared to the desire to fetch from the pit and concluded with the expectation that perhaps the people would change with time as soon as they come to appreciate the new development.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the death of a school teacher who fell into one of the deep wells in Uromi in 1941 caused some commotion in the community.⁵⁶ Pa Imoisili narrates that the unfortunate incident further hardened the

position of those who were earlier skeptical about the presence of wells and won more converts to the opposition of sinking more wells in the community.⁵⁷

Construction of Concrete Underground Tanks

Given the above situation, the colonial authority reduce on its pace of sinking more wells and instead concentrated in maintaining existing ones which further compounded the water crisis in the community as the existing ones were inadequate. So, between 1942 and 1947, nothing much seemed to have been done to ameliorate the water crisis,⁵⁸ perhaps due to the hangover of the 1941 incident. However, by 1948, the colonial authority began to construct concrete underground tanks to reserve water as a partial remedy to the phobia of well, but the stored water would be sold to the people in order to raise fund to maintain existing sources of water supply. As stated in the 1948 Annual Report for the Division of Uromi, two 5,000 gallon concrete underground tanks have been completed. One of these will fill in the wet season from the Native Court roof. . . and water sold by water tanks.⁵⁹

The sale of water with water tanks provoked a violent protest in the community against the King (Onogie), who was the supervisory District Head for conspiring with the colonial authority to tax the people for fetching water.⁶⁰ It could be reasoned, that the protest should be understood as an indicator that the people had begun to appreciate the convenience of walking short distances to fetch water, therefore taxing meant preventing them from close sources of water.

However, the provision of the underground tanks did not stop the maintenance of the wells in Uromi as they were repaired and cleaned in 1949,⁶¹ and by 1951 new

drills were carried out at Ivue to the dept of 805 feet yet no appreciable water was struck.⁶² Therefore, to further complement the sinking of wells to ameliorate the water crisis, the Sanitary Officer of the Division, Dr. D. Ungar recommended in his sanitary inspection notes that something should be done about it and the Native Administration should be approached to build underground tanks . . .⁶³ In spite of these efforts, the Annual Reports of 1952 and 1953 in the Division did not reflect any improvement in the provision of water supply,⁶⁴ even the efforts of the government of the Western Region of Nigeria to construct pipe-borne water system did not make fundamental appreciable difference.⁶⁵ At the close of colonial rule in Nigeria in 1960, the Uromi people still trekked some distance to get clean water.

Conclusion

It is very unfortunate that since the end of colonial rule in Nigeria, nothing pragmatic has been done for the past fifty years since independence to improve the water situation in Ishan in general and Uromi in particular. Like all intelligent being, the people of Uromi responded to the need to get water by developing the practice of collecting rain water in a well dug out pit. Though the water trapped was unhygienic for decent human consumption, the people had no choice than to make do with what they could improvise at that point in time. Trekking long distances to get water was only meant to complement water derived from the various pits that littered the Uromi communities. However, it suffices to mention that colonial efforts in providing hygienic water for the people of Uromi through the various water scheme adopted provided for

the people the possibility of alternatives to their pre-colonial system of water generation.

References:

1. A. I. Okoduwa, 'Geographical Factors in the Evolution of Esan Polities', in A.I. Okoduwa, (ed.), *Studies in Esan History and Cultures*, Vol. 1 (Benin City: Omo Uwessan Pub. Ltd., 2007), 1.
2. M.O. Omo-Ojugo, *Esan Language Endangered? Implications for the Teaching and Learning of Indigenous Languages in Nigeria*. Inaugural Lecture, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria, 2004, 4.
3. For details, See Osagie, J.I., 'Economic Development in Esan in the Colonial Period.' Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Benin, 2007.
4. Okoduwa, 'Geographical Factors in the Evolution of Esan Polities' 1.
5. Ibid. 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Okoduwa, 'Emergence of Esan States' *EPHA: Ekpoma Journal of Religious Studies*, 4, (2002), 23-25.
8. C. Flight, 'Trees and Traps: Strategies for the Classification of African languages and their Historical significance' *History in Africa*, 8 (1981), 52.
9. Omo-Ojugo, *Esan Language Endangered?* 3-4.
10. C.G. Okojie, *Esan Native Laws and Customs with Ethnographic Studies of the Esan People* (Benin: Ilupeju Press Ltd., 1994), .2.
11. A.P. Ojiefoh, *Uromi Chronicles 1025-2002 History Culture Customary Law* (Nigeria: Aregbeyeguale Pub., 2002), 1.
12. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province* as published by The National Archives of Nigeria, Ibadan, 1982, 240.
13. Okoduwa, 'Emergence of Esan States' 23-25.
14. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province*, 240.
15. Ibid.
16. J.I. Osagie, 'Economic Development in Esan in the Colonial Period,' 1.
17. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province*, 240.
18. C.G. Okojie, *Esan Native Laws and Customs with Ethnographic Studies of the Esan People* (Benin: Ilupeju Press Ltd., 1994), p.2.
19. See the Geography of Ekpoma. Published by the Department of Geography, Bendel State University (now Ambrose Alli university), Edo State, Nigeria, 1983, p. 7.
20. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province*, 240.
21. Okoduwa, 'Geographical Factors in the Evolution of Esan Polities' p. 5.
22. National Archives, Ibadan, Ishan Division No 255, Volume I (NAI ID 255 Vol. 1): Water Scheme., memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, conveying Dr. C.M. investigation and recommendations to the Honourable, Chief Secretary to the Government Lagos dated 7th October, 1933.

23. A.M. Okosun, *Garden of Eden Part I* (Catholicism in Uromi) nd. p.26.
24. E.Z. Obata, "Pattern of Political System in Pre-colonial Nigeria," in J.I. elaiigwu and E.O. Erim, (eds.), *Foundation of Nigerian Federalism Pre-colonial Antecedents* (Nigeria: National Council on Intergovernmental Relations, 1966), p. 319.
25. O. Adewoye, *The Judicial System in Southern Nigeria, 1854-1954* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1977), Chapters 2 and 3.
26. NAI Benin Provincial (BP) 67/1916: Rain Water Tank at Uromi: Correspondence from the DO, Ishan Division, dated 17th November, 1916 to the Resident, Benin Province explaining the purpose and use of the tank.
27. Ibid: Correspondence from the Education Office, Asaba to the Resident Benin Province dated 12th December, 1916.
28. NAI BP 170/1928 Volume A: Ishan Division Annual Report for 1928 sent to the Resident, Benin Province.
29. NAI BP 162/29 D: Annual Report, Ishan Division for 1929 submitted to the Resident, Benin Province.
30. NAI BP 131/1929: Memorandum from the Resident, Benin Province to the Honorable Secretary, Southern Provinces, Enugu, dated 27th May, 1929.
31. Ibid: Memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, to the Resident, Benin Province, dated 18th July, 1929 with the subject "Wells at Uromi."
32. Ibid: The Resident comment was inscribed on the memorandum from the Director.
33. Ibid: Wells at Uromi-Re: memorandum from the Resident, Benin Province, to DO Ishan Division to the Resident, Benin Province, 30th July, 1929.
34. Ibid: Wells at Uromi-Re: memorandum from the DO Ishan Division to the Resident, Benin Province, 2nd September, 1929.
35. Ibid: Memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, to the Secretary, Southern Provinces, Enugu which was copied to the Resident, Benin Province 9th June, 1931.
36. Ibid: Report of Dr. A.D.N Bain on Water Supply in the Southern Provinces.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid: Memorandum from the Resident, Benin Province to the Honourable Secretary, Southern Provinces on the subject Well Digging: Ishan Division, 24th June, 1931.
40. Ibid: memorandum from the District Officer, Ishan Division, Ubiaja to the Resident, Benin Province on the subject, Well-sinking: Ishan Division dated 29th March, 1932.
41. Ibid: Report of the Divisional Engineer, Public Works Department, Benin Division, Benin City to the District Officer, Ishan Division, Ubiaja on the subject "Uromi Water Supply Preliminary Report" dated 30th March, 1932.
42. Ibid.

43. Ibid: Memorandum from the Resident, Benin Province to the Surveyor ó General, Lagos on the subject Well-sinking- Ishan Division dated 18th April, 1932.
44. Ibid: Memorandum from the SurveyoróGeneral, Southern Provinces Lagos to the Resident, Benin Province dated 17th June, 1932.
45. Ibid: Memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, Nigeria to the D O Ishan Division on the subject öWater Supplyö, Ishan Division dated 9th July, 1932.
46. Ibid: Reply from the D O to the Director of the Geological Survey, Nigeria on the same subject Water Supply Ishan Division, dated 27th August, 1932.
47. Ibid: Memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, Nigeria to the Director Officer, Ishan Division, Ubiaja on the same subject Water Supply Ishan Division, 19th September, 1932.
48. Ibid: Memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey of Nigeria to the Resident, Benin Province, on the subject Ishan DivisionóWater Supply dated 27th October, 1932.
49. NAI ID 255 Vol. 1: Water Scheme, memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey, conveying Dr. C.M. investigation and recommendations to the Honourable, Chief Secretary to the Government Lagos, dated 7th October, 1933.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid: Reply from the D O to the Director of the Geological Survey, Nigeria on the same subject Water Supply dated 27th August, 1932.
52. NAI ID 253 Vol. 1: Water Scheme Ishan Division.
53. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province*, p. xviii.
54. Pa. Andrew Imoisili, 60, farmer, Ukoni, Uromi, 12th May, 2008.
55. Ibid: memorandum from the Director of the Geological Survey of Nigeria to the Resident, Benin Province on the subject Ishan Division öWater Supplyö dated 27th October, 1932.
56. NAI ID 727 Annual Report for 1941 by T. B. Bowell Jones, DO.
57. Pa. Andrew Imoisili, 60, farmer, Ukoni, Uromi, 12th May, 2008.
58. See Annual Report of 1942 to 1947 as contained in NAI ID 727 Vol. 1-V11.
59. NAI ID 727 Vol. III Annual Report for 1948 by W.K.D. Macray, DO.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid: Annual Report for 1949 by D.A.G. McCall, DO.
62. NAI ID 727 Annual Report of 1951 by P. Dyson, ADO.
63. NAI ID 335: Sanitation; Matters Affecting; Extract of Inspection for Benin Province by Dr. U. Ungar, 10th August, 1951.
64. NAI ID 727 Annual Report of 1952 by M.M.R Haig, DO and NAI ID 727 Vol. X Annual Report of 1953 by G. F Hams, DO.
65. H.L.M. Butcher, *Intelligence Reports in Ishan Division of Benin Province*, p. xix.

