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## THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL RULERS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA: THE CASES OF OLD CALABAR, LAGOS AND LOKOJA IN NIGERIA

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### Abstract

Nigerian historians and non-historians often write or discuss how and when Great Britain and other European Powers came to Africa and impose colonial rule on the hitherto independent indigenous territories. Emphasis has not been placed on the fact that certain Traditional Rulers actually persuaded the British government to interfere in their internal affairs, extend its protection over them or annex their territories to the British Crown. This omission has created a lacuna in the pre-colonial and colonial history of Nigeria. The purpose of this article is to fill this gap by bringing to the fore the pre-colonial Traditional Rulers whose requests, actions and words persuaded the British to take over their land and sovereignty and impose colonial rule on the people. The research methodology adopted is not just the descriptive analysis method, which is for the study of history; rather this article is a *historiography* wherein the writings and spoken words of the significant historians and Traditional Rulers are interrogated. The relevant sources of information about the beginning of colonial rule in Nigeria were consulted. Sultan Abdu of the Sokoto Caliphate has been shown as an example of Rulers that did not *ab initio* welcome, but resisted the British to the last drop of his blood. The case studies of the Traditional Rulers who invited the British are drawn from the pre-colonial territories of Old Calabar, Lagos and Lokoja. The article reveals that the Rulers of Old Calabar, Lagos and Lokoja played pivotal roles that led to the establishment and consolidation of colonial administration in their respective territories.

**Keywords:** History, Historiography, Colonial Rule, Old Calabar, Lagos, Lokoja, Sokoto, Nigeria.

### Introduction

Nigerian historians and non-historians often analyse how and when Great Britain impose colonial rule on indigenous territories. They hardly place

emphasis on the roles played by certain Traditional Rulers which led to the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in their various territories. Obviously, this omission has created a gap in the pre-colonial and colonial history of Nigeria. This article is a piece of *historiography* seeking to fill the *lacuna* in the history of the beginnings of colonial rule in Nigeria. Arthur Marwick defined *historiography* as "...studying of the writings of significant historians, with an interest in what they said and why they said it, rather than in the what and why of the objective past..."<sup>1</sup> this article will not only study "the writings of significant historians" but also the written letters, verbal requests, actions and words of certain Traditional Rulers concerning initial relations with the British.

It has been written that the European Powers acquired African territories by threat of force or the actual use of force and diplomacy. The diplomatic practices employed would include recognizing the Traditional Rulers, addressing leading local personalities, giving presents and making treaties with them. The European explorers, traders, missionaries and chiefly political officers facilitated the acquisition.<sup>2</sup> It would appear that of all the means, treaty making was mostly employed by the European Powers to acquire territories. The methods of acquisition have been condemned as not being "ethical." According to Arthur Norton Cook, the methods employed by the Europeans in making treaties with Africans were "notorious."<sup>3</sup> He said "the usual method was to send political agents armed with blank treaty forms to various kings, chiefs, and headmen (and that) the provisions of the (treaties) were explained to the ruler by an interpreter before obtaining his "signature"<sup>4</sup>, which was usually a cross(+).<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, the treaties were then declared before a British consul and certified by the interpreter, whose signature appeared on the treaty. The author further said that "the entire proceeding (of treaty making) was quite ridiculous..."<sup>6</sup> especially as the Europeans took "shrewd advantage of the ignorance of the chiefs"<sup>7</sup> and that "the gin bottle played part in their (European) diplomacy"<sup>8</sup> of taking and occupying African land.

The above report conveys some implications: First, African Rulers were tricked by the Europeans. Second, African rulers did not know the real intention of the Europeans. Third, African rulers were lured with presents<sup>9</sup> such as bottles of gin or brandy, snuff, cigarette, mirror, clothes or arms. Four, through these treaties, African Rulers gave away their sovereignty and territories to the European Powers.

The contention of this article is that, while certain African Traditional Rulers vehemently resisted the European incursion into their domains, there were, however, known Rulers who, *ab initio*, welcomed and encouraged the Europeans to their territories without resistance. The latter groups of African Rulers established and maintained personal friendship with the European

traders, explorers, missionaries and administrators. Their personal relationship played pivotal roles in the establishment of colonial rule.

Abdu, the Sultan of Sokoto belonged to the class of African leaders who resisted the British incursion with all his might. In May and June 1902, the Sultan of Sokoto wrote two letters to Sir (later Lord) Frederick Lugard, the British High Commissioner of the Northern Protectorate wherein the Sultan protested against the British intervention in his domain. The Sultan warned Lugard: "I have to inform you that we do not want your administration in the Province of Bautshi and if you have interfered we do not want support of anyone but God. You have your Religion and we have ours".<sup>10</sup> Lugard complained bitterly against Sultan Abdu's two letters. This implied that England was clearly an uninvited ruler in the Sokoto Caliphate. After the Emir of Kantakoro had fled, Lugard asked the Sultan of Sokoto to appoint a new Emir, but the Sultan refused.<sup>11</sup> After Sultan Abdu died in October 1902, Lugard assembled the leading men of Sokoto and directed them to choose a Sultan. Attahiru was selected a new Sultan of Sokoto. Attahiru was from the younger branch of the State, his great-grandfather being Othman Dan Folio. Lugard did not accept this nomination. Another Attahiru, being a representative of the older line of Othman Dan Folio, was selected the new Sultan. Lugard accepted this nomination and formally installed him. The new Sultan was given a gown and turban as a symbol that he held the British Crown as his suzerain. Lugard assured the people that there would be no interference with the Muslim religion. Thus, as the British High Commissioner rightly said, "the Fulani obtained rule by conquest, and now by conquest the right of ruling had passes to the British."<sup>12</sup>

While Sultan Abdu of the Sokoto Caliphate showed an example of how the Traditional Rulers resisted the British penetration into the North, there were examples of some Traditional Rulers in the South who literally begged the British to come and protect and rule them. Examples of such Traditional Rulers were found in Old Calabar, Lagos and Logoja, as the following analysis seeks to show.

### **1. Traditional Rulers and Imposition of Colonial Rule on Old Calabar**

There had been a long period of interactions between the Europeans and the people of Old Calabar before the imposition of colonial rule on the territory. It has been stated that the earliest known and documented European visit to the Efik coast was in 1432<sup>13</sup>. According to Effiong – Fuller, the name Calabar was given by the Portuguese mariners and navigators who visited the area in 1432 and described it as "Cala – Barra" meaning "Calm bar", later modified to Calabar.<sup>14</sup> The Europeans, especially the Portuguese, began to trade with Old Calabar in that year. The Portuguese Mariners and navigators passed through the Efik coastal territory while searching for the sea route to India. The Europeans, especially the Portuguese, began to trade with Old

Calabar in that year. The British joined the international trade in 1668, when an English ship named *Peach Tree* of London sailed to Old Calabar, entered the Cross River, and took a ship-load of slaves.<sup>15</sup> By 1827, a British settlement was established on the island of Fernando Po, near Old Calabar. This was made the base for West African Naval Squadron headed by General (later Sir) Edward Nicolls(1829-1834), charged with the responsibility of abolishing slave trade and slavery.

### **The Kings and the Chiefs of Old Calabar and their Demand for British Protection**

Perhaps, it was due to the long period of informal relations, especially with the British, that the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar requested for deepened and formal politico-economic and social relations. The Kings and the Chiefs of Old Calabar made repeated requests for British protection and annexation. The first request was made in 1847 when a French Steamer arrived to persuade the Efik to accept French Protection<sup>16</sup>. The Efik Kings and Chiefs refused and instead asked that Britain annex Calabar<sup>17</sup>. It was reported that the Chairman of the Liverpool African Association, Thomas B. Horsefall “eagerly pressed” on Lord Palmerton who, as Foreign Secretary heading the foreign Office, to agree to the Efik requests for protection, “but Palmerton adamantly refused to entertain the idea and turned it down”<sup>18</sup>.

The Efik Chiefs did not relent in their effort to seek the British Protection. They resorted to diplomacy: In 1849, the Chiefs gave the British the right to interfere in their local politics by allowing Lieutenant Selwyn to select and crown King Archibong. Immediately after Chief Archibong was crowned by the British, the Efik Chiefs requested for a flag from Queen Victoria in England. The crowning of King Archibong by the British and the requests for the British flag were interpreted as another request for British annexation and protection. However, Lord Palmerton, for the second time rejected the idea. This fact strongly supports Latham’s position that contrary to Dike’s opinion<sup>19</sup>, Palmerton clearly did not have territorial ambitions in the Old Calabar. Palmerton’s major interest was in commerce and protection of the British subjects of the area.

The Kings’ hope was dashed as their request for British protection through symbolic hoisting of British flag was technically thrown out. Having failed, the Kings were, perhaps, mocked by the French who were ready to offer them French protection against the British. Notwithstanding the mockery, King Eyo had in 1847 applied directly to England for British protection. On receiving Eyo’s application, Lord Palmerstone who was then Foreign Office Secretary enquired whether Britain had any treaty with King Eyo. As the answer was in affirmative, Palmerstone satisfactorily concluded that the extant treaty Britain had with Eyo had the legal effect of preventing the French from taking Old Calabar under French protection.<sup>20</sup> The treaties

were the 1841 and 1842 treaties which respectively abolished slave trade and killing of twins and twins' mothers in Old Calabar. Historians are agreed that the year 1841<sup>21</sup> marked the beginning of formal relations between Britain and Old Calabar. It was in that year that "the two countries"<sup>22</sup> signed anti-slavery treaties to stop slavery in the area. Additional Articles were signed in 1842 to give Britain the right to intervene with force if slave trading revived in the Old Calabar territory. Definitely, these were not treaties of protection which the Kings were looking for. If Palmerstone was truly satisfied that the existing Anglo-Old Calabar treaties would keep off the French, why then did the British enter into the 1884 treaty with the Kings and Chiefs and people of Old Calabar? Britain's change of mind could be explained in terms of its apparent fear of France and Germany taking possession of Old Calabar and Cameroons, which were economically and strategically important to the European rival powers in Africa.

Although King Eyo's request appeared to have lacked full support of the British political agents, it was enthusiastically welcomed by the missionaries. According to Nair, "Eyo's request had also met with the support of the missionaries who arrived in the (Calabar) River only three years previous to the French landings, and no doubt availed themselves of the opportunity to request the British government for protection of their mission activities."<sup>23</sup> It appeared both Hope Waddell and Palmerstone had given tacit support or approval to the Kings' request for protection.

Hope's tacit support could be deciphered from his reservations about Eyo's request to hoist British flag. Hope said "I do not think that they meant to make our country to us, but merely to put themselves under our protection."<sup>24</sup> By this statement, Hope was trying to convince the British government to accept the King's request, which in Hope's consideration would not do Britain any economic or political harm. Palmerstone's tacit approval for the King's request could be found in his reference to the existing treaty between Britain and the Kings of Old Calabar as authentic legal instruments that could prevent the French from taking control of Old Calabar. Again, in 1847 Hope Waddell partnered with the missionaries, persuading the Church's Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh to approach the British government with a plea to set up a protectorate in Calabar. In their spirited effort to convince England, Hope Waddell and the missionaries told the government that already "this country (i.e. Old Calabar) is almost equivalent to an English colony."<sup>25</sup>

In March 1848 the British government through Lord Palmerstone brought the Queen's assent for the welfare of the people of Old Calabar rather than granting the Kings' request. John Beecroft who was serving as Governor at Fernando Po accompanied the British warship H. M.S. *Favourite* that came up the Calabar River to deliver the Queen's message. The warship came as a counter force to demonstrate against the French who were making

inroad into the area. On board the *Favourite*, a meeting of the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar was held with the British officials. At that meeting, King Eyo Honesty pledged on behalf of the people of Creek Town to abolish human sacrifice and other inhuman practices in their town “as soon as possible.”<sup>26</sup>

In 1849, the British government made up its mind to appoint a Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra. From all indications, the decision was because of the Kings’ persistent demands. The decision was also informed by the need to protect the increasing British economic interests in the Bights, especially the Old Calabar territories. Besides, by 1849, the Hutt Committee had recommended to the British government discontinuation of the West Africa Squadron while strongly suggesting the use of diplomatic measures. It was the Squadron that was providing security to the British and their property in the region when the legitimate trade began. With the adoption of the Hutt Committee’s recommendation by the government, a security gap was left. To fill this gap the government, appointed John Beecroft as Consul for the Bights in May 1849. The headquarters for the Consulate was established at Fernando Po where Beecroft was already serving as a Governor. Beecroft’s principal responsibility was to protect British citizens and safeguard their commercial interests in the Bights including Old Calabar. The new Consul was instructed to travel from one river to another in a man-of-war to supervise the conduct of trading activities in the area.

The news of appointment of Beecroft as Consulate was undoubtedly well received by the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar. They believed that the appointment was the fulfillment of their requests. However, it was unknown to them that the appointment was mostly in the British economic and political interests. The people did not know that their political authority would be taken away from them. The indigenous rulers hoped that the Consul being the British representative would defend and protect Old Calabar against encroaching French or the Germans. They also envisaged that the Consulate would help maintain the status quo. Beecroft was friendly with the people whom he had interacted with even before he became Consul. The Kings loved him because he promised to offer them slave trade stopping subsidies which consisted of swords, waist belts, long Dane guns, brass rods, and flint muskets.<sup>27</sup> Disappointedly, Beecroft did not pay the Kings the five-year subsidies he promised. Reportedly, the Kings received subsidies for only two years.

Excessive interference in Efik politics by the British political officials was a factor that led to another request by the Efik for protection. In 1872-3 chieftaincy dispute erupted between the Henshaw Town and the Duke Town over the crowing of their own Obong. The Henshaw Town sought the intervention of the British Consul. War broke out between the two towns in September, 1875. The Consul negotiated a settlement. However, the Consul’s

interference in Efik politics was viewed as a threat to the Obong's authority. To assert his authority, King Archibong therefore tried to eject from Calabar the "Mission emancipadoes" and the free African because they claimed to be subject to the Consul alone. They recognized only the authority of the Consul while ignoring the Obong. The Consul insisted that these people should remain in Calabar against the wish of the Obong. By successfully thwarting the intention of the Obong, the image of the Consul was strengthened in the eyes of the local people, who looked upon the Consul as an alternative power and protector. "Consequently, discontented elements in Calabar began to clamour for British protection which would make them subject to the Consul and beyond the power of the Obong and his Chief"<sup>28</sup>. In 1877, James Egbo Bassey sought protection for himself and his people.

Following the death of King Archibong III, there were various disputes about succession. Some people feared that they would be re-enslaved. Because of this fear, they clamoured for British protection. At the same time, the Eyamba threatened to ask for British protection and leave Calabar if Prince Duke remained the king. Expectedly, when Prince Duke's elevation was confirmed in 1882, the Eyamba began to demand British annexation of Calabar. They argued that only annexation could remedy the constant evasions of the 1878 treaty on abolition of murder of twin babies, human sacrifices and abolition of poison ordeal<sup>29</sup>. Arguably, the early Anglo-Efik treaties have been identified as some of the sources of the contemporary tussles for Obongship status among the Efik, the Efut, and the Qua, each group claiming supremacy over the other since 1902.<sup>30</sup>

Two inter-related factors intensified the pressure on the British Government to accept the Efik request for establishment of protection over the Old Calabar. First, the 1878 Treaty on inhuman practices mentioned above. As Latham has noted, "by making the Treaty, the British Government had trapped itself into having to consider annexation"<sup>31</sup>. Accordingly, in 1881, *African Times*<sup>32</sup> suggested that Old Calabar be placed under British protection for the benefit of those being oppressed there.

The second factor was the presence of France in the area. To ward off the French, Consul Hewett strongly advocated that the territory from Benin to Cameroon be annexed, or else the French would step in. Citing the chaos at Calabar due to incessant chieftaincy / succession disputes, attempt at re-enslavement and civil wars, Consul Hewett argued that British protection would be a blessing to both the African and the British. Like their Calabar counterparts, the Kings of Cameroons had sought to place themselves under British rule. Hewett corroborated John Holt's opinion that there would be tremendous loss of trade because the French would impose discriminatory tariffs if the British did not annex the area. The fear that Britain might lose Old Calabar to France was heightened by the re-establishment of the French protectorate at Porto Novo in 1883.



Of the two factors, British commercial interests were the basic consideration for the British intervention in local affairs of Old Calabar. As Hewett's Letter of Instruction stated, the intervention was being undertaken because trade was increasing, making it necessary to protect the lives and property of British traders and to safeguard commerce from ignorance, greed, and weakness of the local Chiefs.

These factors made the Foreign Office come to the conclusion that if Britain did not heed the requests for protection from Old Calabar and Cameroonians Chiefs, they would offer themselves to the French. Taubman Goldie of the National African Company, pressed for action in September 1883, particularly because of the presence of a French gunboat on River Niger. As the French moves seemed imminent, the Chiefs' requests for protection were put to the British Cabinet for consideration. Consul Hewett continued to mount pressure on the British government as more and more requests for British protection were coming from the Old Calabar. Hewett suggested that since British policy had unwittingly led the people in Old Calabar to rely too much on Britain, protection was now the logical outcome<sup>33</sup>.

Following the Chiefs' persistent requests and Consul Hewett's superior argument, the British Government finally gave in. Thus, by 22 December 1883, it decided to strengthen the Consular administration and to make treaties with the Chiefs. The Anglo- Efik Treaties were to the effect that the Chiefs and people of Old Calabar will not cede their territories to other foreign powers<sup>34</sup>. It fell on Hewett to conclude such treaties of protection with the Chiefs, one of the treaties of protection being the 1884 Treaty.

#### **British Treaty With Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar, 1884**

One of the consequences<sup>35</sup> of these requests made by the Efik was the Treaty<sup>36</sup> concluded between Britain and the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar on 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1884, which was recognised by the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. Lack of funds, delay on the part of the British, and resort to bribery on the part of Germany, combined to rob Britain of the opportunity of extending its jurisdiction to Cameroon in spite of the "offers repeatedly made by the native Chiefs in the Cameroon to place their territories under English protection"<sup>37</sup>. On July 14, 1884, Germany occupied Cameroon officially by raising German flag in several towns of the new protectorate. Consul Hewett arrived Cameroon one week later to forestall the Germans there, but only to earn himself the title "Too Late" Hewett<sup>38</sup>. Article 1 of the 1884 Anglo-Old Calabar Treaty provided that "Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, & C, in compliance with the request of the Kings and Chiefs, and people of Old Calabar, hereby undertakes to extend to them, and to the territory under their authority and jurisdiction, Her gracious favour and protection"<sup>39</sup>. Article 11 stated: "The Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar agree



and promise to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or power, except with the knowledge and sanction of Her Britannic Majesty's Government<sup>40</sup>. These provisions set out the duties and obligations which the Kings and Chiefs and Britain had to uphold. On their part, the Kings, Chiefs and people of Old Calabar were forbidden to cede their territories to, or enter into treaties with other foreign powers, namely France and Germany who were British rivals. In return for these and other treaty obligations, Britain on its part, very importantly, undertook to extend "her gracious favour and protection" to the Kings, Chiefs and people of Old Calabar, and to recognize the authority of the Traditional rulers over the territory under their jurisdiction. To all intents and purposes, the 1884 Treaty was a treaty of protection<sup>41</sup>.

Articles 111 and IV of the Treaty made the Consul the central figure in Efik politics by stipulating that he should adjudicate disputes between the Chiefs<sup>42</sup>. The treaty encouraged the Consul to unnecessarily interfere in the internal political affairs of the Old Calabar. The British traders complained to the colonial office that Consul Hewett was undermining King Duke's authority by his interference, to the detriment of the safety of themselves and trade. It has been reported that in 1888, Consul Hewett fell out with Vice Consul Johnson to the extent that he rescinded some official notices which Johnson had issued, and which were viewed as "interfering too vigorously in local affairs"<sup>43</sup>. Old Calabar passed under full British control in April 1891 when Sir Claude MacDonald was appointed Commissioner and Consul-General to head the Oil Rivers Protectorate with headquarters at Calabar. With the magisterial power vested in him, the Consul-General became *de facto* ruler of the various groups in Old Calabar and therefore, a rival of the existing Kings and Chiefs<sup>44</sup>. The Consul-General's authority replaced that of the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar. The Consular authority ordered the Old Calabar Traditional Rulers not to use the title "King" any further. The British said that the title conflicted with a similar title of "King" affixed to monarchs in Europe, including the King of England. Thenceforth, the Traditional Rulers of Old Calabar adopted the title "*Obong*" as an official and traditional title. Thus, it was the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar including Bakassi<sup>45</sup> that unwittingly gave away their territory to Britain through their numerous requests for the British protection<sup>46</sup>.

## 2. Traditional Rulers and imposition of Colonial Rule on Lagos

According to Bosede Sanwo<sup>47</sup>, the earliest European visitor to Eko, the area now known as Lagos, was a Portuguese explorer named Captain Ruy de Sequeira who described or named the Island as "Lagos" in 1472. The Portuguese named Eko "Lagos" after a Port of similar name in their home country coastal town, Lagos De Kuramo. This implies that long before 1472 when the Portuguese explorer visited Lagos, Old Calabar had already been in

existence. The Privy Council historically stated in the *Amodu Tijani*<sup>48</sup> case that about the beginning of the eighteenth Century, the Island of Lagos was held by a Chief called *Olofin*. The *Olofin* parceled out the Island and part of the adjoining mainland among the sixteen subordinate Chiefs called “White Cap” in recognition of their dominion over the portions parceled out of them. The neighbouring Benin Republic successfully invaded Lagos in 1790. The Benin invaders did not occupy Lagos but they left a representative as ruler whose title was “*Eleko*”. As time went on, the successive *Eleko* became the kings of Lagos. For a long time, the *Eleko* acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Benin and paid tributes to him. In 1850, the King of Lagos asserted his independence and refused to pay tribute to the King of Benin. The assertion of independence happened at the time Lagos had become the center of the slave trade, which the British government determined to stop, by all means. By this time, Docemo was the King of Lagos.<sup>49</sup>

Since his assumption of office in 1849 as the Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, John Beecroft, had been undertaking major projects to further British political and economic interests in West Africa. Two of such projects were his mission to Dahomey( now Republic of Benin) and Lagos. On February 12, 1850, Beecroft led a mission to Dahomey to induce the kingdom’s powerful potentates to establish commercial relations with the British government and to abolish slave trade in the area.<sup>50</sup> Beecroft’s political jurisdiction appeared to have extended to Republic of Liberia, which was recently founded. Here, Beecroft carried out the census of the Liberian population in February 1850. He also assessed the extent of the Liberian authority and the state of its agriculture and commerce and reported same to the British government. In the present day Western Nigeria, Beecroft undertook a mission to Abeokuta linking to Lagos through River Ogu. As far as the British authorities were concerned, “the establishment of commercial relations with the interior of Africa through the Yoruba Tribe would materially contribute to the suppression of slave trade” if only Beecroft could navigate the Ogu River free and safe. Free and safe navigation was necessary because according to the Foreign Office, British firms were about to commence “the testing by practical experiment the possibility of procuring a supply of cotton from West coast Africa...” Beecroft was therefore instructed by the Foreign Office to promote the new trade expedition by exerting his influence with the king of Dahomey and other Native Chiefs.<sup>51</sup>

Consul Beecroft concluded that the only thing that could make Lagos to stop slave trade was to embark on a full-scale military invasion because Lagos was surpassing Whydah as the principal slave port in West Africa. The British government did not contemplate any military invasion on Lagos but chose to leave the matter to the naval patrols to handle. By this time, Lagos was facing a protracted kingship dispute between two members of the royal family, namely Akitoye and his new nephew, Kosoko.

### **Beecroft – Akitoye Alliance and Deposition of Kosoko**

It appears that foreign interferences in the internal affairs of Lagos and the need to stop slave trade exacerbated the struggle for the royal throne in Lagos. Akitoye who succeeded to the throne in 1841, was driven out of office by Kosoko in 1845. Kosoko was supported by Brazilian slave traders whose slave business at Whydah was being hampered by British naval action. The Brazilian traders were therefore anxious to develop trade in Lagos. Akitoye enlisted the support of the British missionaries at Abeokuta to where he ran. Unfortunately, the Abeokutans were not strong enough to protect him. He secured the support of the British merchants at Badagry from where he got in touch with Beecroft at Fernando Po.

One account<sup>52</sup> has it that in 1851, Akitoye wrote British Consul John Beecroft who was in charge of the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to depose Kosoko and facilitate his (Akitoye's) reinstatement as king of Lagos. According to the contents of Akitoye's letter to Consul Beecroft, he was 'to enter into a treaty with England to abolish the slave trade of Lagos, and to establish and carry on lawful trade, especially with British merchants.' A part of Akitoye's letter to John Beecroft dated 30 June 1851, read thus:

...I find myself obliged to solicit your assistance, and I am reduced to the necessity of begging your aid against an enemy who has seized my throne and Kingdom. My humble prayer to you Sir, the Representative of the English Government, who, it is well known, is ever ready and desirous to protect the defenceless, to obtain redress for the grievance of the injured, and to check the triumphs of wickedness, is, that you would take Lagos under your protection, that you would plant the English flag there, and that you would re-establish me on my rightful throne at Lagos, and protect me under my flag; and with your help I promise to enter into a treaty with England to abolish the slave trade at Lagos, and to establish and carry on lawful trade, especially with the English merchants. Trusting my petition will meet with a favourable reception, I remain<sup>53</sup>.

The request to the British to reinstate Akintoye and take possession of Lagos also came from Oba Shorunke of Egba and his chiefs. Oba Shorunke of Egba was the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of all Abeokuta and the also second-in-Command to King Akitoye of Lagos. Oba Shorunke wrote:

I humbly and earnestly beseech you, therefore, to interfere in our behalf, to save our lives from the impending storm, and to prevent our being cut off as a nation, which you can easily do by overthrowing Kosoko and his slave-town

Lagos, and reinstating Akintoye on his lawful throne there, and that before Kosoko should be able to carry his designs into execution, i.e. within the next two or three months. If Lagos is destroyed and Akintoye restored, we should have little to fear, as it is the mainspring by which all other parts are put in motion. I would also humbly request that the queen should take possession of this town (i.e. Lagos), and that she should place some person of authority here, which could greatly contribute to our safety and the welfare of this country at large<sup>54</sup>.

Akitoye also sought and secured the support of missionaries in Abeokuta and Badagry who in turn persistently mounted pressures on the British authorities to intervene in the 'Lagos affairs on behalf of Akitoye.' Apart from securing the help of the missionaries, the deposed king also sought the help of Domingo Jose, who was at that time, a highly influential slave-dealer. It was therefore expected that Beecroft yielded to pressures and he moved over to Lagos to broker truce between Kosoko and Akitoye<sup>55</sup>.

Akitoye and Beecroft struck a deal: Akitoye wanted Beecroft to help him recover his kingdom, while Beecroft wanted Akitoye to help him stop slave trade in Lagos. They needed each other's help to achieve their different aims. Realizing the danger in the Beecroft – Akitoye alliance, Kosoko induced Dahomey to attack Abeokuta. He also instigated Badagry to take up arms against Akitoye. Akitoye had promised Beecroft that if he and the British government would help him recover his kingdom of Lagos he would assist the British to stop slave trade in his domain.

At the behest of Beecroft, the British naval force captured Lagos on December 28, 1851. Kosoko and his supporters fled, while Akitoye took back his kingdom. On January 1, 1852, King Akitoye went on board the British ship HMS *Penelope*, and signed a treaty with Commodore Henry Bruce and John Beecroft to do three major things, namely, to abolish the slave trade; to encourage development of legitimate trade; and to protect the missionaries and other British subjects in Lagos.

Akitoye had kept his words about the 1852 Slave Abolition Treaty. Of course, before the Treaty, King Akitoye had already imposed a ban on slave trading in Lagos in 1841, an issue that brought the King in confrontation with Kosoko and the foreign slave merchants. The British, on their part kept their promise to the extent of helping Akitoye get back his throne. Some commentators are saying that the British had breached the 1852 Treaty by seizing Lagos. Recently, Alao Adedayo wrote,

He (Akitoye) begged the British to seize Lagos for him, but the British kept the city for themselves... And it got to a stage when Akitoye was no more comfortable with the precedence he had set, but the deed was sealed, Lagos was taken over, and the children of Akitoye even generations yet to be born then, suffered the rash decision to take back his throne through the guns of strangers. Worst still, Akitoye did not last long, no one knew why he should die so young and shortly after he regained the coveted seat of power. He died in August 1853, feigning for just 20 months.<sup>56</sup>

In 1853, a British Consul was appointed to Lagos to protect the interests of British merchants that were settling there. In that same year 1853, Akitoye handed over power to his son, Docemo who could not command the obedience of his subjects that were still wishing the slave trade to continue. It is interesting to note that after the encounter, the British Government did not punish Kosoko, apart from dethroning him. Rather, the government entered into an agreement with him in 1855 whereby the British recognized Kosoko as the ruler of the territories of Palma and Lekki. In 1861, the British annexed Lagos Island to the British Crown.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from blaming Oba Akitoye for calling for foreign intervention, Adedayo also believed that Akitoye's invitation to the British to fight for him was the starting point of colonialism in Nigeria. According to Adedayo,

But if he had known, he might not have done it: inviting the British to fight his cause was the starting point of colonialism in the land (i.e. Nigeria), and King Akitoye plunged the Niger area into it. It was an abyss, and the nation remained there for another 100 years<sup>58</sup>.

This article finds it difficult to lend credence to Adedayo's conclusion on the starting point of colonialism in Nigeria. As evidentially shown elsewhere<sup>59</sup>, the British activities that led to colonialism did not start in Lagos, but Old Calabar. The British had already developed some kind of informal colonial administration in Old Calabar following the persistent requests made by the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar for the British protection. It has also been shown that it was the abundant economic resources found in Old Calabar territory and the disposition of the people towards the British that made the then reluctant Great Britain to decide to take other parts of Nigeria, including Lagos. In fact, Consul Beecroft moved from Calabar to bombard Lagos in 1851 and subsequently annexed the Island to the Crown in 1861. It is not also true, as Adedayo has stated, that "it was from this day (i.e. the day Lagos was bombarded) that the British government and its Consuls realized it could deal with any native King with its guns, and that

nothing could stop them once they had decided to take a town, a community, and a country.” More of such British bombardments had already been witnessed in the Niger Delta territories, including Old Calabar, Itu, Opobo, Benin, and Bonny, all in the Oil Rivers Protectorate.

### **The 1861 Treaty of Cession of Lagos**

The annexation of Lagos followed the 1861 Treaty of Cession by which King Docemo ceded to the British Crown the Port and Island of Lagos with all the rights, profits, territories and appurtenances thereto belonging. In 1862, the ceded territories were constituted into a separate British Government, with the title “Settlement of Lagos.” In 1870, the Settlement of Lagos became part of Gold Coast. In 1886, Lagos again was made a separate Colony, and finally in 1906, it became part of the Colony of Southern Nigeria. As the Privy Council recalled in *Amodu Tijani v. The Secretary* (supra), the slave trade was to be suppressed, but Docemo was not to be maltreated. He was to have revenue settled on and secured to him. The treaty of cession<sup>60</sup> was made between Norman B. Bedingfield, Commander of Her Majesty’s ship Prometheus, and Senior Officer of the Bights Division, and William McCoskry, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty’s Acting Consul, on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and Docemo, King of Lagos, on the part of himself and Chiefs. Article I of the treaty stipulated that:

In order that the Queen of England may be the better enabled to assist, defend, and protect the inhabitants of Lagos, and to put an end to the Slave Trade in this and the neighbouring countries, and to prevent the destructive wars so frequently undertaken by Dahomey and others for the capture of slaves, I, Docemo, do, with the consent and advice of my Council, give, transfer, and by these presents grant and confirm unto the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors forever, the port and Island of Lagos, with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and as well the profits and revenue as the direct, full, and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said port, island and premises, with all the royalties thereof, freely, fully, entirely and absolutely. I do also covenant and grant that the quiet and peaceable possession thereof shall, with all possible speed be freely and effectually delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, or such person as Her Majesty shall thereunto appoint for her use in the performance of this grant; the inhabitants of the said Island and territories, as the Queen’s subjects, and under her sovereignty, Crown, jurisdiction, and government, being still suffered to live there<sup>61</sup>.

The summary of Article 1 was that King Docemo had agreed to transfer and actually transferred his territories irrevocably to the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors forever. The King was given some undisclosed “presents”, which might not be more than loin-cloth, staff, hat, mirror, snuff, utensils or any other European manufactured goods of no economic value. Article II of the treaty stipulated that “Docemo will be allowed the use of the title of King in its usual African signification, and will be permitted to decide disputes between natives of Lagos with their consent, subject to appeal to British laws.”<sup>62</sup> In Old Calabar, Claude Macdonald after his appointment as the Consul-General of the Oil Rivers Protectorate in 1891 instructed the Traditional Rulers not use the title “King” anymore<sup>63</sup>.

Under Article 111 of the treaty, the stamp of Docemo affixed to the document would be proof that there were no other native claims upon the lands transferred and for this purpose, he would be permitted to use the stamp as hitherto. In consideration of the cession of the port and island and territories of Lagos, Docemo was promised an annual pension from the Queen of Great Britain equal to the net revenue hitherto annually received by him. Thus, by the 1861 treaty, Decemo and his Chiefs –in- Council had given up their land to Great Britain. In addition to land, Great Britain took away the sovereignty of the Traditional Rulers and imposed colonial rule on them and their people.

### **3. Traditional Rulers and imposition of Colonial Rule on Lokoja**

Some Traditional Ruler played a pivotal role in maintaining personal friendship with the British, which said friendship led to the establishment of the Lokoja Consulate. Apart from the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar another good example was King Masaba of Bida. King Masaba’s personal relationship with William Baikie had contributed to the foundation of the Lokoja Consulate. William Baikie was the British explorer and a medical doctor. He led the 1841 expedition, which was officially sponsored by the British Government in conjunction with the Society for the Extinction of the Slave-Trade and Civilisation of Africa. The expedition had “full official powers” to carry out the humanitarian objective of stopping slave trade on the Niger. Another objective of the expedition was to acquire land and open model farms<sup>64</sup>. Accordingly, on 14 September 1841, a piece of land was acquired by treaty at the cost of £45. The land was 16 miles along the Niger and 4 miles deep, just below the confluence of the Niger and Benue. A model farm was set up with Mr. Carr, a Sierra Leonean, as the manager. Baikie, the leader of the ill-fated expedition, had no force at his command. He lived with little money with no supplies and “on native food purchased on credit” for eighteen months.<sup>65</sup> Baikie was assisted by his friend, King Masaba of Bida, who lent him £70 in cowries. Baikie travelled to Kano and received messages as Her Majesty’s representative from the Mohammedan cities. It was during



one of such visits that he received the above quoted message by the Chiefs who promised to abolish the Atlantic slave trade in their domains. Recently, the importance of the model farm has been stressed as a foundation to the rise of Lokoja by a historian who wrote: “[a]lthough the area has been inhabited for thousands of years, the present settlement at Lokoja was established by the British explorer William Baikie at the site of an earlier model farm constructed during the failed expedition of 1841”.<sup>66</sup>

Baikie formulated what he called *Rules of Conduct*<sup>67</sup> to guide himself, his officials and his successors in their day to day dealings with the people. Among the Rules of Conduct, the theory and practice of divide and rule was introduced. Baikie and his successive British administrators did not succeed in dividing the people for a long time. Baikie was driven out. Hostile influence from Yoruba land worked against Baikie and his favour of the slave trade. According to Geary, the slaving ex-King of Lagos, Kosoko, who had been expelled by the British in 1851, and a curiously powerful native woman trader and slave-owner, Madam Tinubu, sent a message to King Masaba of Nupe and Bida to persuade him against Dr. Baikie. As a result, King Masaba, who before now was friendly with Baikie, asked the latter to move from Rabba to the Rivers Niger and Benue Confluence. Accordingly, in November 1859, Baikie moved and settled at Lokoja, on Mount Sterling<sup>68</sup>, which remained for ten years the British trading settlement. European traders joined him in the 30 acres settlement. Baikie also faced hostilities from the trading Chiefs of the Lower Niger. It was alleged that the Chiefs were instigated by European traders who were carrying on business at Brass. These European traders bought palm oil locally from the trading Chiefs. The Chiefs were middlemen and monopolists, who did not wish the actual local producers to trade directly with the European buyers on the Niger Coast.

When in April 1862, Baikie again visited King Masaba of Bida, he was informed by the King that King Sita of Ilorin had pressed him to expel Baikie. Masaba refused to expel but replied that Baikie had done him no harm and always kept faith with him. The King said his people were anxious to get supplies of European goods and that this was his object in giving the concession of land at Lokoja. King Masaba had sent messengers in all directions to tell traders to come with produce to exchange with Europeans goods. However, there was occasional hostility of the natives that would call for naval intervention. During Baikie’s absence from Lokoja, a Sierra Leonean Frederick Buxton Abeja, whom Baikie had left behind, used up all the goods, and sold three boys as slaves, whom Baikie repurchased. Baikie left on board H.M.S. *Investigator* for England, but unfortunately died in November 1864 in Sierra Leone. Before his death, Baikie explained what he had done at Lokoja: he had cleared a considerable tract, built houses, made

roads and established a town. That he had preserved peace and order in the neighbourhood; that he had secured safe land and water communication on all sides; that he had opened highway to Nupe and Bornu; and that he had established a market for the people to buy and sell.<sup>69</sup>

In June 1866, Lokoja was constituted by the Foreign Office as a Consulate. It should be noted that neither Baikie nor his immediate successors (Bouchier, and Melville Maxwell, Valentine Robins and Mr. Fell) were Consuls. They had always signed their dispatches as “In Command of Niger Expedition”. The Consular district was riverain and extended somewhat indefinitely over the lands bordering the Niger and the Benue while the Niger Delta was within the Consulate of the Bight of Biafra, with the exception of the Nun mouth of the Niger that was in the Lokoja Consulate.

The Consul at Lokoja had no judicial or magisterial power over British subjects. Thus, when the Sierra Leone trader came up the Niger and dealt with slaves, the Consul’s only check on them was to warn them that he would not protect them.<sup>70</sup>

After Dr. Baikie’s departure in 1864, the British government station at Lokoja which later became a Consulate, was manned by Lieutenant Bouchier, of the Royal Marines (1864-1865), Nelville Maxwell a naval paymaster, Mr. Valentine Robins, the artist, Mr. Fell, a trader. Maxwell died of dysentery on December 21, 1865. Robins, the artist died at Lokoja in July 1867. Lyons McLeod took over in August 1867, and then Hopkins. It appears this government station at Lokoja was not fortunate like the Consulate in the Bight of Biafra to have able administrators. The Lokoja Consulate was abandoned in 1869.

After Britain had withdrawn from Lokoja, it sent its Diplomatic agent, W. H. Simpson to the former Consulate in 1871. Simpson gave to King Masaba a letter and presents from the British government and stayed two months with him, out of the three months he spent in the former Consulate<sup>71</sup>.

That the traditional rulers cooperated with the British government could be seen in Simpson’s Report on the Anglo-Lokoja relations. According to the British diplomatic agent, he (Simpson): “was indeed much struck by the evident of loyalty and reverence with which he (King Masaba) treated any matter relating to Her Majesty”.<sup>72</sup> The British agent was satisfied that the continued maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government and of commercial intercourse with Her Majesty’s subjects was the principal object of the King’s desires, as it was the mainstay of his policy at home and the foundation upon which his position and his influence amongst his neighbours unquestionably rests.<sup>73</sup> The British agent however pointed out that the King’s great object was obtaining of guns and ammunition from the expeditions and thereby maintaining a military superiority over his neighbours.<sup>74</sup> The British agent described the pre-colonial government as “an autocratic government, based on slavery and supported by terrorism and

sword, (and that) the monarch himself, from his youth upward, wild, turbulent and uneducated, his whole life passed in deeds of violence and war, loving it for its own sake, and regarding any other occupation as beneath a man – (I take this description of him from his own mouth), does not offer a subject which any liberal mind could honestly represent in a favourable light.”<sup>75</sup> The British agent further reported that he was an unwilling witness of many humiliating and painful scenes, the cringing, abject servility of the people by whom the King was surrounded, their gross flattery and their evident and confessed fear to speak the truth to him lest he might be offended; the coming and going, buying and selling troops of half-starved and almost naked slaves, tethered together with ropes like horses at a fair; the cruel extortion and robbery committed by the King’s people or in his name, more especially whenever and whatever trade was attempted”.<sup>76</sup> The principal market towns of the area were half deserted because of the state of insecurity and autocratic government. Trade was almost at a standstill. Villages and indeed the whole districts were “abandoned by the inhabitants who preferred rather to flee from their homes and brave in some neighbouring and friendly bush the King’s wrath and vengeance than be subjected to a further continuance of the pitiless and relentless persecutions and tyranny of his officers and messengers.”<sup>77</sup>

What is still baffling is the fact that in spite the King’s cruelties, slave trade and other human right abuses, the British government did not order a military expedition against King Masaba and his Kingdom as it did in the cases of Benin, Lagos, Old Calabar, Opobo and other territories in Southern Nigeria. Again, in spite of all these, the British did not depose and exile King Masaba as was done to King Ja Ja of Opobo, Governor Nana of Itsekeri, King Ovaremi of Benin, King Kosoko of Lagos<sup>78</sup>, and others. In so far as the British government did not stop King Masaba from carrying out crimes against humanity, it therefore means that the government was directly encouraging the slave trade and slavery, act of terrorism, extortion and armed robbery, violence, human right abuses, blocking of trade and trade monopoly and illegal arms dealings, all of which acts were contrary to the *General Act of the Berlin* (1885) and other international law that were in force at that material time. It was surprising that in spite of King Masaba’s “autocratic government..., further continuance of the pitiless and relentless persecutions and tyranny of his officers and messengers” against the people, the British government continued to maintain friendly relations with him to the extent of giving him presents and naming a steamer after him - *King Masaba*.

While the British government was condoning the excesses of the Northern traditional rulers whose “trade seemed to progress quietly on the Niger”, there was a report that “the lower river Natives from Brass and Ejoie continued to be turbulent”. It was further reported that these two Niger Delta towns had in 1876 attacked two up-river trading steamers, the *Sultan of Sokoto* and the *King Masaba*. This attack was avenged with a punitive naval

expedition carried out by Commordore W. Hewett. Two Chiefs, Sabagregor and Abgeri were punished; one person was killed and 15 others wounded during the punitive expedition.<sup>79</sup>

The RNC conquered and took Bida where King Masaba had ruled up to 1873, when he died. However, the Company government did not leave a garrison at Bida after the conquest. Consequently, in 1900 when the British troops were in Ashanti (Gold Coast now Ghana) the deposed Emir Abdu Beckru, supported by Ibrahim of Kantagoro returned to Bida and raided the slaves down to the banks of the Niger. They also threatened the British at garrison at Wushunshi on the river Kaduna. Ibrahim of Kantagoro loved the slave trade to continue and so he declared that he would “die with a slave in his mouth”<sup>80</sup>. However, the invaders were repulsed and driven back by the British troops when they returned from Ashanti in 1901. Kantagoro was captured but not looted. “Geramachi the destroyer” fled. The Mardun was appointed Emir of Nupe. In his letter of appointment the new Emir was instructed to rule justly and in accordance with the laws of the Protectorate, obey the High Commissioner, and be guided by the advice of the Resident, and that minerals and waste lands should be the property of the Crown. Reportedly, the Emir proved a loyal and successful ruler<sup>81</sup>.

### **Conclusions**

The contention of this article is that some African Traditional Rulers were the ones who first persuaded the British to establish relations with them by demanding for Her Majesty’s Government protection. The Rulers demanded for the British protection against other European Powers, especially France and Germany which had desired to establish with them; but the Rulers refused and rather preferred the British whom they have had a long period of informal relations. The Rulers also needed to ally themselves with the external Power-Great Britain - in order to obtain fire-arms to fight their internal or neighbouring rivals. After the abolition of the Trans- Atlantic slave trade, many African communities were literally divided into two major groups, namely, the group that was willing and ready to comply with the slave trade abolition law and the group that wanted to continue with the obnoxious trade. The British government that championed the slave trade abolition more readily gave support to the African leaders that were willing to stop the slave trade, human sacrifice and killing of twins in their domains. Great Britain accepted the Rulers requests for a number of reasons. First, the British government saw the Rulers’ requests as an opportunity to wade off its European Powers rivals, especially France, Germany and Italy that were interfering with the British interests in Africa. Second, Britain saw the African ex-slave traders as useful instruments to be used to abolish slave trade and introduce and sustain “legitimate” trade and commerce in pre-colonial

Nigeria. Third, Great Britain saw the Rulers' diplomatic initiative as one that would be beneficial to its economic interests. Forth, Great Britain hoped to use the opportunity to introduce and impose colonial rule on the people as it did in America and elsewhere. In order to achieve all the above and many more desires, the British entered into several treaties with the African Rulers, who did not understand the implications of the terms of the agreements. Great Britain tendered the treaties at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5; and with the legal backing offered by the General Act of Berlin 1885, Britain authoritatively claimed Nigerian lands and resources, took away the sovereignty of the Traditional Rulers and imposing colonial rule on the people up to 1960.

**Endnote:**

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3. Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), p.91.
4. Ibid.
5. J.R. Basse, *Impact of International Law and Diplomacy on Pre-Colonial Africa, 1807- 1913: The Nigerian Experience* ( Calabar: University of Calabar Press, 2016), p.381.
6. Cook, *British Enterprise...* p.91.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. The presents had no economic value as they could not be used to produce economic goods.
10. W. M. N. Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule* (London: Frank Cass, 1965), p. 213.
11. Ibid. p.216.
12. Ibid. p. 219.
13. E. O. Efiog – Fuller, *Calabar: the Concept and its Evolution* (Calabar: University of Calabar Press, 1996), p.4.
14. Ibid.
- A. J. Latham, *Old Calabar 1600-1891: The Impact of the International Economy Upon a Traditional Society* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 17.

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17. *Ibid.* p.135.
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23. Hope Waddell, *Evidence Before the Select Committee (1849)*,pp.44-5
24. U. P. *Missionary Record*, 1848, pp.28&56 cited in Nair, *Politics and Society* p.92.
25. cited in Nair, *Politics and Society ...* p.92.
26. CAL PROF 0/1/: *Receive of presents by King Eyo and King Archibong August 21 and August 22, 1851* cited in Nair, *Politics and Society ...* p.94.
27. Latham, *Old Calabar*, p.139.
28. *Ibid.*
29. E. U. Aye, “Efik Kingship” in Okon Edet Uyo et al (eds), *The Efik and Their Neighbours: Historical Perspectives* ( Calabar: Cats publishers and clear Lines Publications Ltd, 2005) p.34-36.
30. Aye, “Efik Kingship”...,pp34-36.
31. *African Times*, (1<sup>st</sup> October, 1881), p.116.
32. Latham, *Old Calabar...* , p.140.
33. The two European powers that Britain feared were France and Germany. In May 1884, it was reported that French movements were noticed on the Niger. The presence of the French and Germany spurred up the British into action of establishing protectorate over the Old Calabar.
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35. *British Treaty With Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar*, 10 September, 1884. See also *Counter-Memorial of Nigeria*, Vol. 1, p.109.
36. Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria...*, p.116.

37. *Ibid.*, p.120.
38. British Treaty With Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar, 10 September, 1884. See also Counter-Memorial of Nigeria, Vol. 1, p.109.
39. British Treaty With King and Chiefs of Old Calabar... Article11.
40. Bassey, *Impact of International Laws...*, pp.421-423.
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42. Latham, *Old Calabar*, p.142-3.
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45. Bassey, *Impact of International Laws...*, pp.421-423.
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47. *Amodu Tijani v. The Secretary, Southern Provinces* (1915-1921) 3NLR 24; 2
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51. Alao Adedayo, "The Story of Nigeria's Amalgamation Vol.1 (1772 – 1852)" *Historical Flashback: the Nigeria Historical Memories* (Vol.3 No. 1, January 15-February 11, 2014), p.21.
52. Letter written by Akitoye to John Beecroft, dated 30 June 1851.
53. Letter by Oba Shorunke and Egba Chiefs to the Queen of England, 20 July, 1851.
54. Alao Adedayo, "The Story of Nigeria's Amalgamation Vol.1 (1772 – 1852)" *Historical Flashback: the Nigeria Historical Memories* (January 15-February 11, 2014 Vol.3 No. 1), p.21.
55. *Ibid.*
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57. Adedayo, "The Story of Nigeria's Amalgamation..." p.21.
58. J. R. Bassey, "Old Calabar and the Beginning of Creation of Nigeria, 1432-1906", *Akwa Ibom State Journal of Arts (AKSUJA)* (Vol.1, January-December, 2014),pp. 165-188.
59. Edward Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty*; see also, Alan Burns, *History of Nigeria*, pp.319,20
60. Article 1, *Treaty with Lagos*, August 6, 1861.
61. Article 11, *Treaty with Lagos*, August 6, 1861
62. Bassey, *Impact of International Laws*, p.327.



63. Ibid, p. 156.
64. Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule, p.159.
65. Brief history of Lokoja, <http://naijasky.com>. Retrieved 22/01/17.
66. Baikie's Rules of Conduct cited in Geary Nigeria Under Colonial Rule ...p. 161.
67. Lokoja is blessed with beautiful Mountains, which have made important historical names. Apart from Mount Sterling where Biakie resided, there was another Mount known as Mount Patti. It was on Mount Patti that Flora Shaw, wife of Lord Lugard, stood in 1900 and named Nigeria.
68. See Brief History of Lokoja, <http://naijasky.com/lokoja/786-history-of-lokoja/6318/>. Retrieved 22/1/17.
69. Ibid., pp.164-6.
70. Ibid., p.168.
71. Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule, p.170.
72. Simpson's Report, 21 November, 1871 cited in Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule... p.170.
73. Ibid.
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80. Ibid., p.215.
81. Ibid.