

Inland Waterways Administration in Nigeria before 1900: A Review of Nautical Occupational Intergroup Relations

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Abstract

This paper is an assessment of the gradual rise of the British owned Royal Niger Company (RNC) to power in the Niger-Benue confluence area and the schemes it devised in outwitting other European trading companies on the River Niger in the 19th century. Historical approaches were adopted as methodology for this paper. These included primary and secondary sources from archives and libraries. Relevant materials were carefully studied and analyzed using historical methods. The paper agrees that the discovery of the mouth of the Niger by Richard and John Landers in 1830, and the realization of the navigability of the river from the Gulf of Guinea to the interior galvanised Britain into scrambling for the ownership and control of the Niger-Benue confluence area. The paper unravels that the Eurocentric claims that Africans on the banks of the Niger knew little about the river than fishing on it before the arrival of the Europeans is no longer tenable. In the course of their exploration, the Lander Brothers came into contact with the lieutenants of the Attah Igala in the confluence area. The explorers acknowledged them as “the war chiefs of the river.” The Attah Igala had chiefs on the river that were collecting duties and tolls on his behalf. It took the amalgamation of British companies in the area to be able to earn monopoly against other European companies. A charter signed with the RNC for it to deploy force to be able to take absolute control of the area from the local chiefs.

Keywords: Niger-Benue confluence; Gulf of Guinea; Lander Brothers; Attah Igala; Royal Niger Company.

1. Introduction

The “discovery” of the mouth of the Niger by the Lander Brothers in 1830, and the realization of the navigability of the Niger from Baro to the Gulf of Guinea galvanised Britain into scrambling for the ownership of the “Niger Territories”. For the British, the Niger was a highway to the interior where it could trade in African goods and propagate Christianity. The European presence on the Niger changed the history of the lower Niger area and inland

waterways administration in Nigeria. Transport on the Niger became easier as steam boats began to replace traditional Kakanda, Igala and Igbo canoes on the river from the 1870s. The amalgamation of British companies into the Royal Niger Company (RNC) in 1886, and the making of Lokoja as the headquarters of its constabulary, modernized Lokoja and changed it into a confluence of trade and ideas. In addition, the making of Asaba as the headquarters of RNC made the Niger between the two towns the highway for trade, exploitation and manipulations by the multinational company. Convergence on Lokoja, the confluence of Rivers Niger and Benue was made easy for traders from far and near via the waterways. This geographical location of Lokoja in the confluence area was the reason it was made the headquarters of the inland waterways' administrations in the colonial period. This paper shall therefore, give an explicit definition of the inland waterways; provide background information about the local politics on the Niger, the responses of local chiefs to the RNC, and the administration of the Niger by the Company before 1900.

2. The Nigerian Inland Waterways

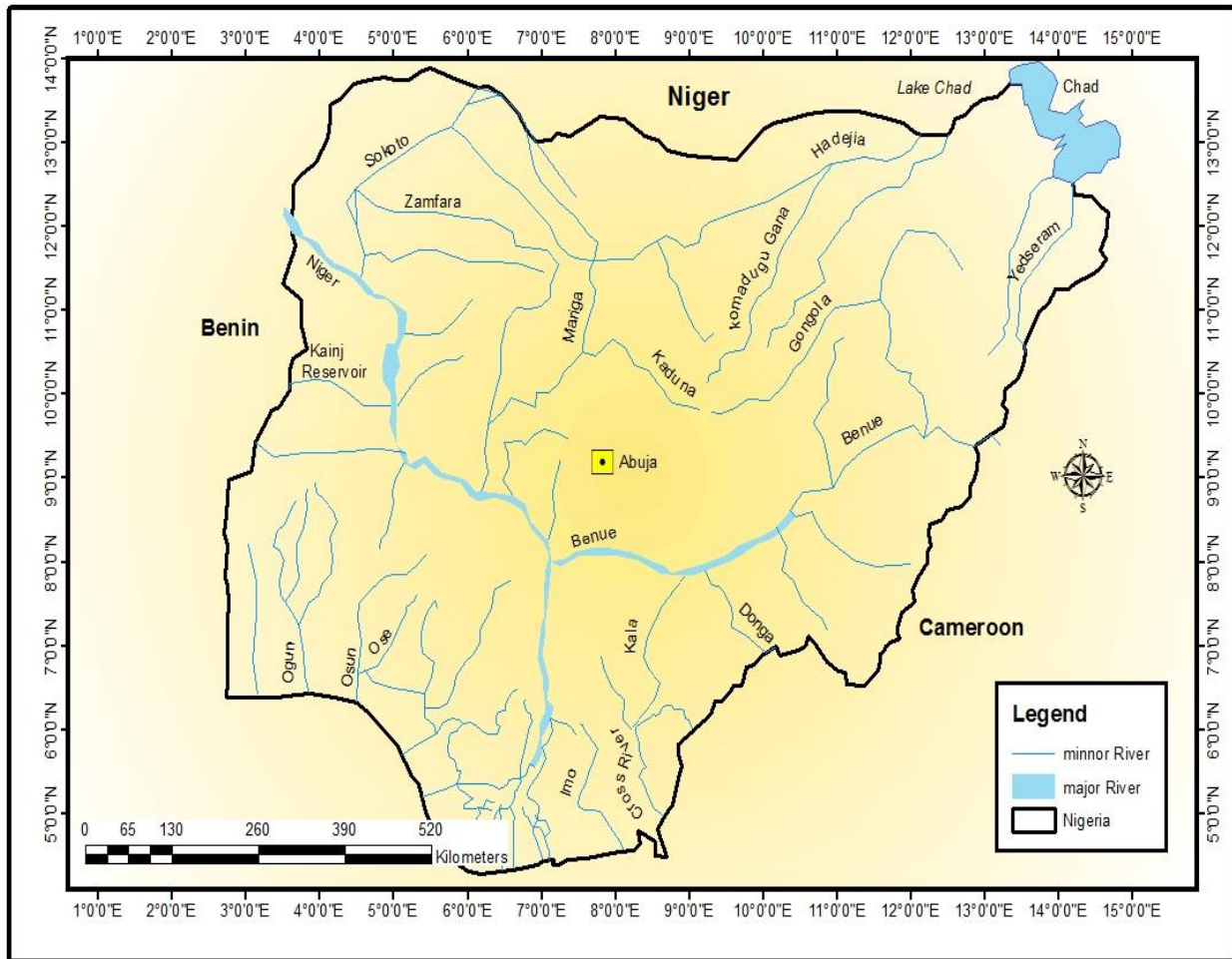
The Nigerian Inland Waterways consist of the rivers, lakes, coastal creeks and lagoons. The coastal waterways run from Badagry in the extreme west to Calabar in the Southeast, with rivers, including the lakes crisscrossing twenty-eight states of the Nigerian federation.ⁱ Long before the arrival of Europeans, according to Gavin and Oyemakinde, Nigeria was better endowed than practically any part of Africa except Zaire or Guinea with natural means of communication. There was a mass of navigable waterways in the Niger Delta leading to the Imo River. The Qua Ibo and Cross River formed two other systems to the east. Lagoons stretched from the delta to Nigeria's western boundary and various rivers such as the Ogun were navigable over a good part of their courses at least during the wet season.ⁱⁱ Then, there was the great Niger-Benue system trisecting the whole region with substantial tributaries such as the Rima, the Kaduna, the Gongola, and the Anambra as subsidiary axes of commerce. In the north east the Yobe and the Yesderam provided further routes.ⁱⁱⁱ

The Federal Government confirms that Nigeria's 3,000km waterways from the Nigeria/Niger and Nigeria/Cameroon borders to the Atlantic Ocean are navigable. According to the Federal Ministry of Transport, the four principal branches of inland waterways system in Nigeria include: the Niger River downstream from Lokoja; the Niger River upstream from Lokoja; the Benue River and tributaries, and the rivers, creeks and lagoons that constitute the intracoastal waterway. Nigeria is blessed with a river configuration very suitable for north-south movement of people and goods.^{iv}

The Nigerian Inland Waterways and their navigable routes as defined and identified by the Federal Government are (Figure 1):

- The River Niger which flows from the Niger/Nigerian border, splitting into Forcados and River Nun, and forming a delta into the Gulf of Guinea.
- The River Benue as it flows from the Nigerian/Cameroon border into the Niger at Lokoja.
- The Cross River as it flows through Benue, Enugu, Abia and Cross River States to the Gulf of Guinea.
- Rivers Kaduna, Sokoto and Gerinya, which are tributaries of Upper Niger River.
- River Anambra, a tributary of the River Niger which flows into it at Onitsha.
- Rivers Gongola, Taraba, Donga and Katsina-Ala which flow into the River Benue as its tributaries.
- Rivers Ogun, Oba, Oni and Osse in the Southwestern part of Nigeria, each with its own catchment area, flow into the Gulf of Guinea.
- Rivers Orashi (discharging into Sambreiro River), Imo and Qua-Iboe in the East, flow into the Gulf of Guinea.
- The Intra-coastal route from Badagry — Lagos — Port Harcourt — Calabar.
- Coastal route from Badagry — Lagos — Lagos Lagoon — Lekki Lagoon — Atijere Creek with offspring creeks leading to Okitipupa and Igbokoda or Omu Creek onto Gbekebo, Arogbo, Ofunama, crossing the Benin River onto Escravos to Warri a more coastal route can be accessed through Mahin Lake, Apostle Canal, Benin River through Escravos to Warri.^v
- The waterways from Warri along Forcados River, through Frukama, Siama, Bomadi, Patani, to the Bifurcation of Forcados onto River Nun, passing through Agbere, Kaiama, Yenagoa onto Ekole Creek, Brass River, Nembe Flats, eastern Niger crossing St. Nicholas, Santa Barbara, San Batholomeo, Sambreiro, New Calabar and Bonny Rivers to Port Harcourt.
- The waterways from Port Harcourt to Calabar through Amadi Creek, Bonny River, Opobo Channel, crossing Andoni River, Andoni Flats, Tullifer Creek to Imo River passing Ikot Abassi/Opobo towns, Shooter Creek, Kwa-Iboe Creek, crossing Kwa-Iboe River to Stubbs Creek, Uaidenem Creek to Cross River to Oron/Calabar.
- Intra-deltaic route connecting the delta towns and villages through Forcados River, Bomadi Creeks, Ramos River, Dodo River, Pennington River, Middletown River, Koluama River, Fish Town River, Ikebiri, Sangana River, Nun River and Brass River.
- Creeks: Igbedi/Sagbama/Ogobiri/Osiama in the Central Delta, Ekole, Nembe, Odiorna, Agamam Tora, Bille, Krakrama/Bugum, Kolo, Taylor, Crawthorne and Hughes Channel.
- Lakes: Mahin, Oguta and Osiam Ehomu.
- Lake Chad — the part within Nigerian territory.^{vi}

Figure 1: Map of the Nigerian Navigable Rivers



their exploration of the river since Mungo Park in 1795 could have ordinarily downplayed the management role the locals had played on the waterways before the European presence. A cursory examination of the explorers' accounts could mean that the locals had little importance attached to the majestic river before Europeans arrival. The claimed "discovery" of the mouth of the Niger in 1830 by the Lander Brothers, as documented in British archives was the basis used by Eurocentric historians to assert that Africans on the banks of the Niger from the confluence area to the Bifurcation of the Forcados and River Nun knew little about the river than fishing on it. This position is not true; the locals understood the importance of the river beyond fishing and had exerted their authority over it long before the arrival of the explorers. Ajayi and Alagoa claim that even the Lander Brothers and later explorers acknowledged the power of the *Attah* over the Niger by recognising the presence of his river Chiefs like Abokko and Agaidoko. The two scholars explain further that "the Lander Brothers coming down the river in 1830 met Abokko first and referred to him as the *Superintendent of the Board of Trade in this river*. Later explorers coming up from the delta came under the control of Agaidoko and called him the *war chief of the river*".^{vii} The Niger as it were, was actually under the control and management of the locals before and after their (Europeans) arrival. The areas of the lower Niger that were not controlled by any organised traditional administration were Asaba, Onitsha and Aboh, because of the fragmentary nature of the people and the absence of centralised government in those areas in the period.^{viii} But up north, the *Attah* of Igala and the EtsuNupe of Bida who were the supreme rulers of their people had in succession managed and controlled affairs on the Niger around the confluence area before the end of the 19th century.

Before the mid-1850s when the *Attah* lost his power over the confluence area to the EtsuNupe of Bida, the *Attah* was the strongest ruler on the Niger as it flows from Lokoja through Idah to Aboh. The British attempt to acquire land to establish model farm on the bank of the Niger around the confluence of Rivers Niger and Benue was opposed by the locals. As reported by Abdulkadir, Suleiman and Ukwuede, it took the intervention of the *Attah* Igala for William Balfour Baikie and his co-travellers to have their way. Part of what is Lokoja today was conceded to the British by the *Attah* of Igala for 700,000 cowries.^{ix} This concession was however contended by Panaki on grounds that the *Attah* had no control over the confluence area and could not have sold what he did not possess.^x Information available at the colonial museum in Lokoja confirms that the land was sold by the *Attah* to the British.

The British, however, could not settle in the confluence until the 1850s when pure quinine which was earlier extracted from the bark of South America trees of the genera *Cinchona* in 1820 became generally available and accepted as therapy for the epidemic of malaria which had turned the lower Niger area to the Whiteman's graveyard.^{xi} From this period the Europeans found a home in the confluence area, lived peacefully with the locals, and began to explore the importance of the Niger for their trading and missionary activities.

The Europeans presence in the confluence area did not end the control of the Niger by the locals. Ade Obayemi examines that Igalaprestige was so extensive that up to the middle of the 19th century, the Kakanda as well as the Kupa around Eggan on the right bank of the Niger above the confluence were still paying some tributes to the *Attah*Igala. The oral traditions referring to the foundation of Onitsha, Asaba and Agbor are linked to Igala accounts while the Osomari Igbo, on the left bank of the Niger south of Onitsha, attributed the origin of their town to the Igala in the 18th century.^{xii}

Kakanda traditions as claimed by A. A. Idrees agree that the Igala Kingdom controlled areas beyond Ajaokuta and the confluence area up to the second half of the 19th century. Idrees however, argued that the control over the Kakanda could be a later development.^{xiii} What is comprehensible in available sources is that *Attah*Igala had control over the Niger from Baro and Muye areas to Aboh in the Lower Niger.^{xiv} The *Attah*Igala as his power lasted over the confluence area had claimed “ownership of the Niger as it flows from the east to the west.”^{xv}

The *Attah* Igala had his kingdom divided into several administrative units under the controlling influence of some clans. The Niger as it flowed from the Niger-Benue confluence to Idah was administered and controlled on behalf of the *Attah* by the *Ame**h-Abokko*, *Omogbaje* and *Agaidoko* clans.^{xvi} These chiefs collected taxes, tolls and customs on the river for the state. Equally, the state enjoyed good will and support of other confluence peoples such as the Egbira and Kakanda who perhaps gave their support to the Igala Kingdom at this period because of their kinship relations. Also the strategic location of the Igala Kingdom which rose to power several centuries back with a kingship gave her an opportunity to exert control over her neighbours.^{xvii}

However, the *Attah* Igala whose tentacles of political control were beginning to decline in the second half of the 19th century due to internal insubordination and jihadists’ incursion was further weakened when *Masaba*, the *Etsu*Nupecame to power in 1859. The *Attah* Igala was so weakened that he lost his area of control to the *Etsu*Nupe without military conquest. The *Etsu* Nupe became the supreme power on the Niger around the confluence area. There was no opposition even from the Europeans at the time of settlement expansion in the confluence area.^{xviii} In 1860, the development of infrastructures and the establishment of a consulate by Baikie attracted migrants and European companies to the confluence area. These companies were only into competition among themselves and bothered less about bringing the Niger under their hegemony. The *Etsu* Nupe, however, encouraged by his military campaigns against neighbouring areas continued to expand his area of control by bringing the Bassa-nges who lived around the confluence and Lokoja, under his control. The struggle for power over the Niger between the *Attah*Igala and *Etsu*Nupe was due to the importance attached to the river by the locals. The increase in population on the banks of the Lower Niger from the 1860s was due to British imperial activities in the confluence area, Aboh, Asaba and Onitsha.

The migrant communities like the Hausa, Igala, Kakanda, Kyadya, Bassa-nge, Bassa-Komo, Nupe, Gbagyi and foreigners like the Sierra Leoneans came with different trades and crafts. The settlers of Lokoja, Idah, Aboh, Asaba and Onitsha were farmers, traders, fishermen, iron workers, butchers, hunters, weavers and canoe builders.^{xix}

The Niger River was the determining factor of the economic activities of the people of riparian communities. Suleiman states that trade in kolanut was the major preoccupation of many of the Hausa people in Lokoja; and other trades like leatherwork, native embroidered clothes, and trade in grain were dependent on the kolanut trade. Other people that joined the trade on the Lower Niger were encouraged to do so due to easy transport and communication that the river provided. It was the Niger that attracted the Europeans to establish trade post in Lokoja for the exploitation of the peoples around the Lower Niger. The competitions that ensued the trade on the Niger as a result of the river trading routes later determined the economic activities of the people. Abdulkadir has noted that Lokoja was the collection entre for cotton, leather, seismic seed, palm-oil and palm-kernel from Igala and Ebira areas. Though the Niger area was predominantly an agriculturally driven economy, European trade activities on the Niger determined what they produced. Some of the export commodities that were produced were the ones enumerated above. The river as the major means of transport in the pre-colonial period was used by the companies to convey the commodities to the Europeans home countries.^{xx} The Nupe and the Igala whose iron work was partly for warfare and agriculture began to devote their trade in iron to the production of farm implements due to high demands for them by farmers who produced export commodities. Aside that, they produced fishing hooks for fishermen in Lokoja. The industry is prominent among the Igala, Ebira, Yoruba and Bassa-Komo people. The Lower Niger area, particularly Lokoja, has a long tradition of a very active domestic fishing industry and with the Rivers Niger and Benue making a confluence at Lokoja, the city became a natural attraction for some fish farmers who travelled many hundreds of miles during the dry seasons from Kano and Sokoto to Lokoja where they fish for a few months until the rains begin.^{xxi} The fishing time lag as discussed by Abdulkadir^{xxii} was part of the control measures used by the state before the British took over the Lower Niger area. Besides its importance to fishermen and those who were partly dependent upon fish for food, the fishing industry provided employment for people in the Lower Niger area. The river as a waterway for transport, as well as a source of fish and water for irrigation was the reason markets in Lokoja, Itobe, Idah, Aboh, Asaba and Onitsha were established on its banks.^{xxiii}

By 1867, the *Etsu* Nupe, put the importance of the Niger in terms of trade, transport and agriculture into consideration and began to incorporate the Niger areas that were hitherto under the suzerainty of the *Attah* into the Bida Emirate. By 1870, his power was so enormous that when the population of Lokoja reached the level that required a chief that would run the affairs of the whole settlement, the people recognized the power of the *Etsu* Nupe and

requested him to appoint a chief for them.^{xxiv} Bida through the *Etsu* Nupe and his successors was able to exert authority on the Niger River until the arrival of Goldie in the confluence area in 1877.

3. The Niger under Company Rule

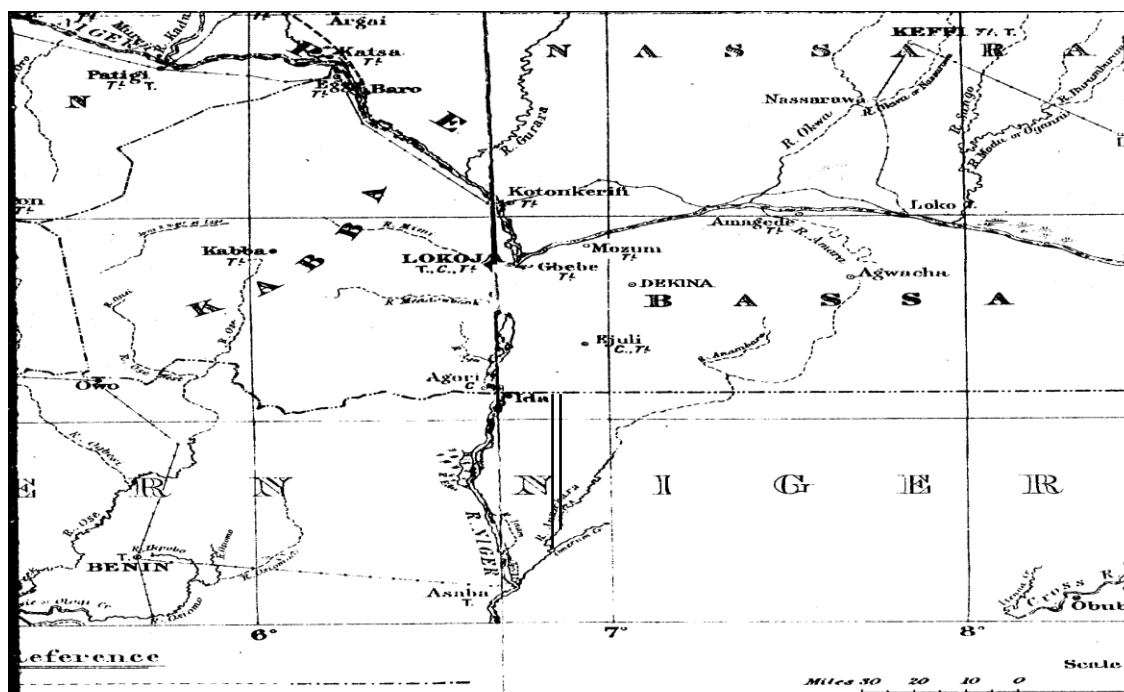
The arrival of George Taubman Dashwood Goldie on the Niger however, began to imperceptibly change the history of European activities on the river. Goldie in 1879 amalgamated the competing companies and hit the ground running for outright monopoly of trade and transport on the majestic river. By 1886 Goldie's National African Company (NAC) was granted a royal charter after he had kept all elements of competition by other European and even British companies at bay. As a result of this charter, the NAC was renamed the Royal Niger Company (RNC). The charter, amongst other things, gave RNC the power to exert political control on the people and environment and even forcible interference with local affairs.^{xxv} The free trade policy practised by Britain in the period did not give room for monopoly, but the charter which had given RNC the power of coercion encouraged the company to monopolize trade and transport on the Niger. The Charter came with the formation of a constabulary force, a standing army that later defended the company's business interests on the Niger and brought opposing interests to forceful submission. Britain was banking on the international recognition it got at the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 as the protector of the Niger Territories to accord the RNC the power to administer the area on her behalf. The approval Britain got at the conference came in the form of an Act. Excerpt of it reads inter alia:

Whereas the General Act of Berlin, 1885, otherwise known as the Niger Navigation Act, declared the navigation of the waterways of the basin of the Niger to be free for the merchant ships of all nations equally, whether with cargo or ballasts, for the transportation of goods and passengers, and that any rules which might be established by the Riverine Powers for the safety and control of navigation shall be done in a way to facilitate, as far as possible, the circulation of merchant ships, and further provides that the Riverine Powers may make any rules of navigation whatever which shall not be contrary to the spirit of their respective engagements under the Niger Navigation Act.^{xxvi}

The RNC capitalized on the leeway in the Berlin Act and the power reposed on her in the Niger Navigation Regulation by the Government of Britain to monopolize activities on the Basin. It is contained in the Regulations that: 1. That portion of the basin of the Niger known as the Niger Territories, which are under the Protectorate of Great Britain, the RNC is the Riverine Government, acting under the powers conferred on it by the Royal Charter from Her

Majesty, dated 10th July, 1886. 2. And whereas by the Declaratory Regulation of the Company, made on 16th December 1887, it was declared for greater security, that the provision of the said Niger Navigation Act was formally incorporated in the Regulation of the Niger Territories.^{xxvii} Since then, rules and regulations guiding navigation on the Niger River were solely enacted and executed by the RNC.

Figure 2: Map of the Niger Territories and the Waterways as Drawn by the British Officials in 1905.



Source: Annual Reports on Marine, Transport and Communication, 1905-1906 No. 516

However, before the charter, the atmosphere on the Niger was serene and there was no wariness between Europeans and the locals. The local chiefs and the European companies were partners in trade and patted one another on the back as mutual interests lasted. Though there were pockets of skirmishes between the Igala and the Europeans due to the monopolistic tendency of the latter. The consequences were the killing of William Fell of the NAC by the Abokko's (*Attahlgala*, chief on the Niger) poisonous arrow in 1874, and the attacks on the company's trading station at Idah in 1879 and 1882. The British retaliated by subjecting Idah to intermittent naval bombardment as from 1882 until it brought the headquarters of the Igala Kingdom under control in 1896.^{xxviii} On a general note, local rulers

were comfortable and assumed the position of protectors of the European traders in their areas and believed the Europeans were peaceful and answerable to them. They could therefore not be compelled to trade with only one company. For instance, the Emir of Nupe in 1882 had written permission, giving the French and the English equal rights to trade freely in his territory. In similar circumstances, the Emir of Loko on the Benue entered into trade treaty with Metei, a French agent in the same year. Also, the Emir of Jibu granted a concession for a trading post to be established at Ibi. Likewise the chief of Opanda, signed a treaty with the NAC in May 1884.^{xxix}

However, from 1886, the influence of the RNC on the Niger and its activities gradually undermined the authorities of the Nupe and Igala states.^{xxx} The RNC relegated these states to the background as the power to collect customs duties, tolls and taxations which they hitherto enjoyed on the Niger was inhibited by the company whose imperialistic inclination was absolute and intolerable. Kingdoms and emirates that opposed the RNC activities on the Niger and its confluence areas were cut to humble sizes by the company. The RNC continued the process of the economic exploitation of the riverine people in the most thoroughgoing fashion that it became the sole power that monopolized activities on the Niger.^{xxxi}

The RNC valued the Niger so dearly that in asserting its power and ensuring continuous control over the waterway, it used its power of coercion to bombard kingdoms and emirates in the Niger Territories at the slightest provocation. In 1896 it bombarded Idah and humiliated the *AttahIgala*, and in 1897 it was the turn of Ilorin and Bida to face the terror of the RNC constabulary force.^{xxxii} Until 1899 when the royal charter was withdrawn by the British government for it to take direct control of the Niger Territories, the company was the invincible power on the Niger.

4. Conclusion

The Nigerian Inland Waterways and their navigable routes are defined and highlighted; and the analysis in this paper establishes that the argument that the people in the lower Niger area had no knowledge of the river before the arrival of the Europeans is not altogether tenable. The river was controlled and administered centrally by the local Kings. The only exception in the period was in Onitsha and Asaba where there was no state control. The people had no paramount rulers as it was in the case of the Igala people. In the confluence area, there was serial control of the Niger by the Igala and Nupe paramount rulers before the 1890s. The presence of power over the Niger by the locals was exemplified in the fact that the British had to obtain a concession over a land around the confluence area from the *AttahIgala* in 1841 for them to establish a model farm. Similarly, the *EtsuNupe* who took over control of the confluence area from the *AttahIgala* in the second half of the 1850s

had to be consulted by the people for a chief to be appointed to govern Lokoja in 1870. Also, for the British to take total control of the Lower Niger, they had to present bogus treaties of protection they claimed to have entered into with the chiefs of the area to garner international recognition at the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885. Even at that, the people held on to their territories firmly to the extent that the constabulary forces of the RNC had to be used to bring them to partial submission as from the 1890s before the British government decided to take total control of the northern protectorate in 1900 by withdrawing the Royal Charter it accorded Goldie in 1886.

Endnotes

ⁱSee M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd. P.19; S. Mohammed (2011) *History of the Emirate of Bida to 1899 AD*, Zaria: ABU Press Ltd.; M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd.; A.D. Ali (2012) *Trade and Transport in the Lower Niger, 1930-2011*, Lagos: Adenuga Concepts.

ⁱⁱR.J. Gavin & W. Oyemakinde (1980) "Economic Development in Nigeria Since 1800" in O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig.) Plc. P.486

ⁱⁱⁱR.J. Gavin & W. Oyemakinde (1980) "Economic Development in Nigeria Since 1800" in O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig.) Plc. P.486

^{iv}Federal Ministry of Transport (2010) *National Transport Survey and Projection*, Abuja: Geo-Trans Associates Ltd. Pp.241-242

^vFederal Ministry of Transport (2010) *National Transport Survey and Projection*, Abuja: Geo-Trans Associates Ltd. Pp.241-242

^{vi}Federal Ministry of Transport (2010) *National Transport Survey and Projection*, Abuja: Geo-Trans Associates Ltd. Pp.241-242

^{vii}J.F.A. Ajayi & E.J. Alagoa (1980) "Nigeria before 1800: Aspects of Economic Developments and Inter-Group Relations" in O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig.) Plc.p.230.

^{viii}See A.E. Afigbo (1972) *The Warrant Chiefs*, London: Longman.

^{ix}See M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd. P.19; S. Mohammed (2011) *History of the Emirate of Bida to 1899 AD*, Zaria: ABU Press Ltd. P.49. Correspondences as regard the concessionary agreement are found at the Colonial Museum in Lokoja.

^xC.N. Panaki (2011) "The Changing Status of Lokoja" in Z.O. Apata and Y. Akinwumi (eds.) *The Groundwork of Niger-Benue History*, Ibadan: Cresthill Publishers Ltd. P. 305

^{xi}*Encyclopedia Americana* (2006) International Edition, Volume 23, Danbury, Connecticut: Scholastic Library Publishing, Inc. p. 101

^{xii}A. Obayemi (1980) “States and People of the Niger-Benue Confluence Area” in O. Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Ltd. P.156

^{xiii}A.A. Idrees (2011) “The Aganchu of Kakanda: The Origin and Development of a Riverine Dynasty” in Z.O. Apata and Y. Akinwumi (eds) *The Groundwork of Niger-Benue Confluence History*, Ibadan: Cresthill Publishers Ltd. p.108

^{xiv}S. Mohammed (2011) *History of the Emirate of Bida to 1899 AD*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press. P.22

^{xv}See M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd.

^{xvi}See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria. 1 896-1939*, Zaria: AhrnaduBello University Press Ltd.

^{xvii}See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: AhrnaduBello University Press Ltd.

^{xviii}See M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd. P.19; S. Mohammed (2011) *History of the Emirate of Bida to 1899 AD*, Zaria: ABU Press Ltd. P.49.

^{xix}See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: AhmaduBello University Press Ltd, and M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd. P.19; S. Mohammed (2011) *History of the Emirate of Bida to 1899 AD*, Zaria: ABU Press Ltd.

^{xx}See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: AhmaduBello University Press Ltd.

^{xxi}Edah Bernard, C. I. Ayo-Olalusi, M.O. Ezekiel (2011) “The Abundance and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Kpata Fish Market in Lokoja, Kogi State, Nigeria” in *Journal of Natural Sciences Research* 2 Vol. 1, No. ISSN 2224-3 186. P.15.

^{xxii} See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: AhmaduBello University Press Ltd.

^{xxiii}Edah Bernard, C. I. Ayo-Olalusi, MO. Ezekiel (2011) “The Abundance and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Kpata Fish Market in Lokoja, Kogi State, Nigeria” in *Journal of Natural Sciences Research* 2 Vol. 1, No. ISSN 2224-3 186.P.15.

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^{xxv}E.J. Alagoa (1980) “The Eastern Niger Delta and the Hinterland in the 19th Century” in O. Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Ltd.p258.

^{xxvi}NAK.SNP7, File No. 798/1901, Niger Papers Relating to Navigation and Transit Regulations for the Niger, p.2.

^{xxvii}NAK. SNP7, File No. 798/1901, Niger Papers Relating to Navigation and Transit Regulations for the Niger, p.3

^{xxviii}See M.S. Abdulkadir (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd and M.D. Suleiman (2001) *The Hausa in Lokoja, 1860-1966: A Study of the Evolution of a Migrant Community in the Niger-Benue Confluence*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd. P.19;

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