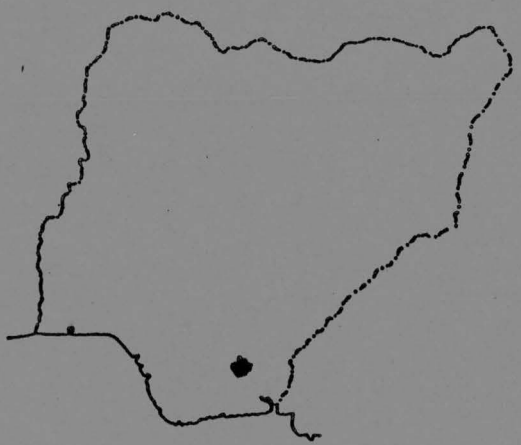
ANNUAL REPORTS OF BENDE DIVISION, SOUTH EASTERN NIGERIA, 1905 – 1912

with a commentary



G.I. Jones

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by

G.I. JONES

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CONTENTS

Part I : COMMENTARY

Part II : DOCUMENTS

INTRODUCTION

This is a short history of a typical inland district of the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria in the early days of colonial rule. It is based on a number of annual reports and handing over notes between the years 1907 and 1913 and supported by two contemporary maps. They cover a period of peaceful consolidation following the Arochuku expedition of 1901-2 which had brought most of the Biafran hinterland under Protectorate control. The gradual completion of this process can be seen if we compare the two maps. The first, based on material collected prior to 1905, gives a mass of detail as far north as Owerri, Bende and Afikpo with a blank space beyond crossed only by a trace leading to a non-existent lake and with similar inaccuracies along its southern margin.[1] The objective of the Bende/Onitsha hinterland expedition of 1906 had been to open up this area but its activities were expended only on its south western corner and the area further north had to await the Niger Cross River expedition of 1908-9. By 1910 however, as can be seen from that map, we have the names and correct locations of all the towns and major villages in this large area and their distribution between the older districts of Bende and Afikpo and the newly established ones of Okigwi and Udi. The only empty spaces left were along the boundary between the two Protectorates. Within each district the multitude of little independent local communities were brought together into the larger executive and judicial units called Native Courts under a system of local government later known as Direct Rule. At the same time the footpaths connecting these courts and other administrative and commercial centres were cleared and converted into "roads" along which government officers and ordinary folk could move in relative safety.

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1. The trace and towns along it properly belong to the Awgulu and Isuofia areas of the Awka district 30 miles further west, while towns like Abiriba and Item along the northern boundary of the Bende district were translated northward into the Afikpo district.

One travelled snail-like, taking one's household with one, sleeping in sheds ("Government Rest Houses") built at strategic points along the way. District Commissioners and their Assistants then, as later, spent most of their time "touring" in this manner, visiting the towns and villages in their district, explaining the Native Court system to them and in the first few years of their administration plotting their position on the maps which were incorporated into the more comprehensive publications compiled by Stanford. Thereafter their major preoccupations, as can be seen from these reports, involved the supervision of the Native Courts and the maintenance of the "roads" and of any potentially navigable rivers in their district. Communication with other districts and with Provincial Headquarters at Calabar was by telegraph or by a mail runner on a bicycle. There was no electricity and no cold storage except at the major Nigerian ports. Europeans and any Africans who wished to emulate their way of life had to light their houses with carbide or oil lamps and to rely mainly on tinned food. These tins had to be specially imported and were usually brought out to the country by the officer on his return from leave, and in sufficient quantities to last for the whole of his tour. Such provisions were made up into 60 lb. cases and transferred to "chop boxes" which could be padlocked against any pilferage while in storage.

This early period was brought to an end by the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 and by the outbreak of the First World War in the same year, which roughly coincided with the advent of the railway and the motorcar.

The period which succeeded it between the two World Wars, which was when I was in the Administrative Service, was one of transition. Prices in the local markets had become geared to those of the outside world, which moved from boom to slump conditions. Whitehall and therefore the Nigerian Government were ruled by pre-Keynesian economic theory, budgets had to be balanced and subsidies from the home Government were taboo. Direct taxation had been

introduced and compulsory labour for the construction of roads and buildings abolished. The new local government system was referred to as "Indirect Rule" or "Native Administration". Districts had now become Divisions and we were now called District Officers and our superiors were Residents; but the local people still called us D.C.s and their Native Courts still remained the principal instrument of local government. Communication was by telegraph and we still spent most of our time on tour, but we now travelled in motor-cars and our servants and household effects followed or preceded us in 30 cwt. lorries. Paraffin burning frigidaires had made their appearance, . . we could buy most of our "tinned chop" from the local "factories" and we were no longer expected to mess together when back in our stations.

I found the reports and notes when I took over the division in 1935, hidden away in the back of a cupboard in my office, a forlorn little bundle still tied together with obsolete red, or rather pink, tape. They were the only reports of this date I have encountered, for those which should have been in other district offices had long since disappeared, "eaten by white ants" was the usual explanation. So I made copies of them, as I felt they were of some historical value, and this was fortunate for when I returned to the region in 1965 they had gone, "transferred to the Regional Archives, Enugu" was the new explanation; but the staff of this Department were unable to trace them for me and I doubt if they or other similar records survived the ravages of the Biafran War. The report for 1909 and various appendices and statistics were missing but apart from this they were complete, though riddled with clerical and typing errors and misreadings of the D.C.'s drafts. For they were the duplicate copies and no-one had bothered to add the corrections which would have been made to the original copy by the D.C. when he vetted it before signing and dispatching it to the P.C.'s office. I have reproduced them here as I found them, only adding, in the case of a few of the more obvious errors, suggested amendments in brackets. In style they were brief and to the point

and their contents were organised under a limited number of headings which followed a pattern that survived with little change to later periods. They began with Head I "Attitude of the Natives", re-named "Political", followed by Head II "Judicial" and they ended with Head X "Miscellaneous". The intervening headings and their order were more varied: Head IX "Expeditions" disappeared, to be replaced by "Agriculture" and "Forestry"; Head IV "Roads and Creeks" became Head IX in 1911 and in 1912 split into Head VIII "Public Works and Roads" and Head IX "Waterways". But in 1913 interest in Waterways had ceased and Head IX now became "Miscellaneous". The names of twelve D.C.s appeared with remarkable frequency under Head VIII "Changes of Staff" and in the schedules which replaced it in 1912 and 1913. The posting of officers however remained a problem which P.C.s and their successors were never able to solve, and changes of staff were just as frequent in my day when the tour of duty had been increased from 12 to 18 months. By this time the names of most of the earlier D.C.s and A.D.C.s had been forgotten. One, Crawford Cockburn, under his nickname of "Rustybuckle" found its way into club folklore as a legendary trickster to whom all practical jokes at the expense of superior officers were attributed; one, Frank Hives, achieved temporary notoriety as the author of a best seller, Juju and Justice in Nigeria; one, J.C. Cotton, gave his name to a "Hellfire" sauce; and one, Farmer Cotgrave, was only remembered as the D.C. who was murdered by a mad policeman.

CHAPTER 1: THE BACKGROUND

Ethnography

The area between the Imo and the Cross Rivers which comprised the administrative district of Bende was a marginal one where tropical rain forest was giving way to guinea savannah and where in the distant past Isuama Ibo, expanding across the Imo River, had met and fused with Northern Ibibio and other Cross River peoples who had previously drifted into the area from that river. Traditions pointed to Ibeku, in the present Umuahia area, and to Ngwa Uku further south in the Oloko native court area as the original places of settlement and referred to the crossing in a myth which told of people migrating eastwards who came to a large river. The water in the river was low and some of them made haste to ford it. The rest halted to roast and eat their yams. By the time they had finished the water had risen and was too deep for them to cross. So the ones who had already crossed it called themselves the Ngwa (the Ibo for quick) and those who had remained on the western side the Ohuhu (an abbreviation for "eaters of roast yams"). The Ngwa tribe claimed this name as exclusively theirs, insisting that the Ibo of the Ibeku centre had crossed later and were therefore Ohuhu; to the Ibeku the only Ohuhu on the eastern side of the river were the Okaiuka and Umuhu, two sub tribes that lay between them and the Imo and which had been the last to move across.

From Ibeku some groups had moved across the broken country drained by the Imyang (Enyong) and its tributaries to the high ground between it and the Cross River. Here they had absorbed unnamed Cross River elements to become the Cross River group of Ibo. The tribes known as Ohaffia and Abiriba, with the Abam who had remained in the valley between them and Bende station, were included in the Bende district to form the Ebem Native Court Area; the Ada (Ẽdda) group of tribes to their north were placed in

the Afikpo district while those to the south, the Ihe, Ututu and Arochuku, were in the Arochuku district.

Other Ibo had expanded eastward from the Ibekwu centre following the southern margin of the Inyang valley, absorbing the Northern Ibibio settlements they found in their path. This northern group of Ibibio claimed that they had originally lived in the Arochuku area, where some of them still remain as the small tribes of Makor and Okwankasim. The rest moved westward on both sides of the Inyang River, those on the northern side settling along a ridge that carried part of the track that led from Arochuku to Bende and being known as Itu Mbuzo (to distinguish them from the Itu on the Cross River). Those on the southern side became concentrated in the area called Bende Ofufa after its principal village. From here they had spread north, west and south to establish villages subsequently absorbed by the Ibo expansion. One of these whose founders came from Bende Ofufa became the small Ibo speaking tribe of Bende, where the district headquarters were established.

Most of the Ibo speaking tribes south of the Inyang River, together with the three Northern Ngwa subtribes of Ngwa Uku, Nsulu, and Ntigha and the Ibibio speaking Bende Ofufa group, were combined together under the Oloko native court. This court initially included the tribes of Olokoro, Ubakala, Ibekwu and Ohuhu (Okaiuka and Umuhu) but a court was soon established for them at Umuahia (Omohia) village of the Olokoro tribe. When in 1914 the eastern railway was built through the Bende district this name of Umuahia was wrongly given to its station in the Ibekwu area and to the township that grew up around it, which subsequently became the headquarters of the Bende division and of the Umuahia province.

Expansion from the Ngwa Uku centre was equally massive but mainly southward into uninhabited forest until it reached the Ndokki and Asa tribes bordering the lower Imo. On their eastern side the Ngwa had absorbed

the Mbooko villages of the Northern Ibibio and established a fighting frontier with the Northern Otoro tribe of the Western or Anang Ibibio that had expanded northward from the Abak area till it reached the Arriam (Erriam) and Usaka (Osuku) villages of the Oloko area.

Other Isuama Ibo groups had moved across the Imo River above the Ibeku to settle in the hilly country to the east of Okigwi as the Isu-ikwu-ato (Isu of the three (ato) clans (ikwu)), the Isu of these reports, and they had expanded southward towards Ibekwu as the large towns of Nkpa and Uzuakoli. Other smaller Ibo groups had moved beyond them along the high ground north of the Igu valley towards Abiriba, where they became the tribes of Alayi and Item. Some of the Alayi moved down into the savannah plain to the north as the towns of Ugwu Eke and Ezi Uku, referred to in the 1908 report. The Item had split. Part moved down into the northern plain, part moved south across the Igu to settle between Uzuakoli and Bende as the Ozu Item tribe. All these tribes in the north eastern part of the district seem to have been originally attached to Bende Native Court. Later in the 1920s they were given a court of their own at Akoli Ufu Alayi.

In the 1930s, when tribal cohesion was beginning to revive, the administration distinguished seventeen tribes of varying sizes which it referred to as clans. This was after the district, now referred to as a division, had been reduced by the alteration of divisional boundaries in response to these tribal sentiments. The Isu-ikwu-ato tribe, which till then had been divided between the Okigwi and the Bende divisions, regrouped itself. Most of the tribe was included in the Okigwi and only the Umuimenyi section (e.g. Akolinta and the towns of Nkpa and Uzuakoli) remained in the Bende. Similarly in the Oloko native court area the three Ngwa subtribes joined the rest of their tribe and became part of the Aba division, while the Bende Ofufa villages became part of the Ibibio speaking division of Ikot Ekpene as the Nkalu clan and at long last were given a court of their own.

When the Protectorate was established tribal solidarity was at a low ebb and defined in barely remembered myths, and by conventions similar to those found in other segmentary and chiefless societies, which were said to regulate fighting within and between their primary segments, the large villages or groups of smaller villages referred to in the reports as "towns". In the Bende district homicide within a town was tabu, the killer was given the alternative of hanging himself or going into exile. Fighting between its component villages or wards was restricted to the use of sticks, stones, bird arrows or other non lethal weapons. In warfare between towns which considered themselves related (i.e. were of the same tribe) the bodies of the dead had to be left intact for their relatives to collect and bury. In warfare between unrelated towns the victor could take the head of his enemy as a trophy and could remove as much as he could of the body for sale as meat in the local markets.

This was the situation that prevailed in most of the Eastern Province. Each town, and there were over two hundred in the Bende district alone, considered itself an autonomous, politically independent unit, on its guard against its neighbours and ready to resist by force of arms any attempts to encroach upon its territory. Fighting between such communities however tended to be indecisive, since the contestants were normally of relatively equal size and strength. If they were not there was no point in fighting, the weaker town finding it more profitable to become absorbed by the stronger and become one of its segments or to become similarly attached to one of its neighbours. In any case no community was wealthy enough to maintain a state of active warfare for long. For although each town might consider itself autonomous it was economically dependent on trade with its neighbours and with the world beyond. Fighting was no longer with spears but with guns; guns needed powder and both had to be bought. This dependence on trade meant that the whole region was held together by a wider and looser political system based on a network of markets and interconnecting

trade routes and on conventions which enforced free trade and free access to markets with sanctions that were economic rather than political and far more effective for that reason. The avoidance or boycott of their markets was a sure means of forcing two warring towns to come to terms with each other or at least to abandon open hostilities.

Access to markets might be free but few people dared to travel any distance. Once outside his own territory a man became a stranger lacking any protecting clansmen and liable to be ambushed and sold away as a slave or be killed to provide a head trophy for a would-be warrior. Only those communities which had built up a system of safe conduct along their route could risk travelling far, and in the Bende area these were the Item and Abiriba tribes, some Ohaffia and Abam towns, and above all the Arochuku tribe of the adjacent division. These Aro people in the course of the two preceding centuries had come to dominate the trade of the Biafran hinterland, much as the Umunri tribe of Northern Ibo had monopolised the trade of that part of the country. Unlike other Cross River tribes who had only succeeded in trading in one particular direction from their home base, each Aro village traded in its own particular direction so that collectively they covered almost the whole area between the Lower Niger and Benue and the delta margin. With the advent of the overseas slave trade these contacts enabled them to buy slaves from the whole of the Niger-Cross River hinterland and to bring them by routes which converged upon Bende market, whence they could be distributed to the "up river" markets on the delta margin, where they were sold to traders from the coastal states that traded direct with the overseas slavers. Depending on the prices offered at these Biafran ports, slaves could be routed westward across the Imo and then down through the Etche country and across the Otamini River to Isoba and other Kalabari markets on the New Calabar River, or southward through Oloko and the southern Ngwa to the Bonny markets on the Lower Imo, or eastward through Arochuku and across the Cross River

to the Efik markets at Uwet on the Old Calabar River. By the 19th century there were Aro settlements in Bende, in these terminal markets and along the routes leading to them, to the Umunri trading area and to the Niger (at Oguta). Most were small but some, like Aro Ndizorgu in the Upper Imo valley, had become far larger than the home community through the absorption of slaves from the adjacent Umunri area. All were able to exercise a great deal of influence upon the people in their respective localities, particularly in the dissemination of news and information.

Early History

The Aro like the coastal states were opposed to any European penetration of the hinterland, being well aware that this would destroy their monopoly of its more lucrative trade, namely palm oil in bulk and European imports in the case of the coastal states, guns and gunpowder and other valuable imports in the case of the Aro. They also enjoyed the monopoly of the internal slave trade (which the government was determined to abolish) and the exploitation of their judicial oracle and tutelary deity Chuku Ibinokpabi, known to Europeans as the "Long Juju". To the Oil Rivers traders, whether African or European, the Aros were the people who controlled the hinterland and government officers and other Europeans wanting to penetrate it could be excused for believing that, as with Benin in the Western Delta or Ashanti on the Gold Coast, the Aro formed a military state which would have to be subdued before the protectorate could be extended inland.

But the Arochuku tribe was an organisation of traders; it had no use for a military establishment or for the other institutions of a centralised state. The raiders of whom they made use or more commonly hired out to other communities to use were young men anxious to prove their fighting qualities. They were recruited from the neighbouring Cross River Ibo

tribes, the Ada, the Ohaffia and the Abam, and their name spread terror throughout the Ibibio and most of the Northern and Southern Ibo country.* Most of these raids were, as far as the Aros were concerned, business transactions in which an Aro entrepreneur was paid to provide a raid. (His work involved recruiting the raiding force and guiding it to and from the place where the action was to take place.)

By 1901 the protectorate government, which till then had only managed to move along the principal waterways, felt strong enough to move overland and by force if that was necessary. It had already established a station at Akwete at the navigable limit of the Imo River and a post further inland in southern Ngwa. An Abam raid on the neighbouring village of Obegu provided the justification for an expedition to subjugate the Aro power that had organised it and that was believed to control the Ibo and Ibibio heartland. The raid was described as "a most deplorable massacre of some 400 men, women and children" in a despatch which continued "The Aros had long threatened to attack the tribes friendly to the government and though the people of Obegu had been warned to keep careful watch they were caught napping by a conglomerate force of the various sections of the Aro tribe together with other Ibos unfriendly to them and the town was destroyed with the slaughter above mentioned". Actually, as the subsequent trial of the ringleaders disclosed, none of the nineteen Arochuku villages had anything to do with it. The action took place in a frontier area where the Ngwa tribe was expanding against the Asa tribe and where older and newly established villages were striving to define their territories and their tribal allegiances. The villages of Akanu (now Ngwa) and Ogwe (now Asa) and Ehia (= Ihie Ngwa) contracted with an Aro, Wosu Torti, who was settled in the

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* Probably because of their different method of fighting. Most Ibo and Ibibio fought on their boundaries, using their guns and keeping at a distance from their enemies. In the Cross River area they attacked villages and having used their guns, closed with their enemy using their short two edged machets.

Olokoro area of the Bende district to bring a force of Abams to help them in their fight against the large Asa village of Obegu. The raiders were recruited from the town of Idima Abam just north of Bende and Wosu's brother Okoro guided them there and back. The Obegu casualties were probably not as great as reported. When I discussed the raid with some of the Idima elders who had taken part in it, they said that they had captured and brought back with them to Idima many of the Obegu men and women and settled them in Idima, for they wanted to increase its population which had been reduced by a dysentry epidemic. The military patrol that later visited Idima asked these Obegu people if they wanted to remain in Idima, but they all preferred to return to Obegu and its elders decided to join the Ngwa tribe because the other Asa villages had not supported them in the fighting against Akanu and Ihie. However all this was brought out later.

To avenge the massacre a military expedition was mounted against the Arochuku tribe. Two military columns set out respectively from Akwete and Oguta; they met at Owerri and marched together on to Bende, where they were joined by a third column which had come from Umuana on the Cross River. They had met with no organised large scale opposition to their movements, only attempted ambushes and attacks from some but by no means all of the towns on their respective routes. By December they were ready to advance on Arochuku. A fourth column operating from Itu attacked it on the 14th December, only to find that it consisted of nineteen dispersed and unfortified villages. Its menfolk fought as best they could to defend their homes but their guns were no match for the rifles, the two Maxims and the two field guns of the 26 officers and 1729 African rank and file of the Southern Nigeria Regiment. All was over by the 25th December. As with the other Ibo and Ibibio towns that tried to oppose them, their numbers and fire power were far too weak to make any impression on a military column, and they were quite unable to combine into larger units. Each town or small tribe had to make its own separate decision as to whether it

would cooperate with or resist the protectorate forces, and many found it hard if not impossible to make the same decision as their neighbours who, as often as not, were their more immediate enemies. For instance the column from Unwana when passing through the Ada Ohaffia borderland found the men of Ngusu Ada and Okagwe Ohaffia in entrenched positions. . They were facing not the column but each other and they asked the soldiers to continue on their way so that they could get on with their own war.*

Since Arochuku was not the capital of a military state its subjugation did not bring about a collapse of resistance to the "opening up" of the country. Before this could be completed it was necessary for the government to deal with each community separately and to demonstrate its invincibility in every part of the region. The expeditionary force split up again into separate columns which marched through the areas previously defined as being under Aro control. By the end of January 1902 they had returned to their bases and these areas were thereafter administered as the districts of Owerri, Aba, Bende, Afikpo, Arochuku, Ikot Ekpene, Abak and Uyo. The losses whether reckoned in human or financial terms were negligible on both sides except in the case of guns. Casualties for warriors expert in jungle warfare were slight; the colonial forces never even attempted to estimate them, listing only their own. Towns and villages, once convinced that the protectorate forces were invincible, hastened to prevent any destruction of their homes by making their peace with them and this was normally conditional on the surrender of their guns. Those recorded in the High Commissioner's telegram of 1902 amounted to 6,000.

The southern part of the Eastern Province had been brought under control but there remained the area to the north of Owerri and Bende districts and to the east of the central province's districts of Onitsha and Awka. In 1905 a two pronged expedition was mounted with military colums moving

* Communication from Chief Eke Kalu of Ohaffia, who was serving as a guide for the column.

from Onitsha and Bende and coming together in the southern part of this area. The Bende column left Bende and followed the trade route leading to Okigwi and Awka until it reached Nkpa and then turned west and crossed the Imo to join with the column that had come from Awka at Onicha Dim Neze, the senior town of the Ugboma tribe of Isuama Ibo. Apart from the subcolumn referred to in Hives's report (Enclosure I) the expedition was engaged in pacifying this densely populated country on the west side of the Imo and in particular the Ahiara tribe, which had just murdered the D.M.O. Owerri district. (According to local legend Dr. Stewart, the D.M.O., made the mistake of being separated from his loads and their carriers. In bicycling to rejoin them he lost his way and rode into an Ahiara ambush.) This was followed by the establishment of a military post at Umuduru which in 1908 was removed north across the Imo to Okigwi, which became the headquarters of a new district in 1908. The subcolumn that remained in the Bende district patrolled the area on the eastern side of the Imo occupied by the Ohuhu tribe. It was not in any sense a political unit, nor were its component subtribes of Umuokpara, Umuhu and Okaiuka. Each of their townsor large villages had to make its own decision whether to support or oppose the patrol. Most of them seem to have been undecided. There were no serious military engagements, merely a display of superior military power on the part of the patrol. What was impressive was the speed with which these local communities made their peace with the government forces once they were convinced of the futility of resistance. There is an Ibo proverb best translated as "If you can't beat them join them" and the advantages that might accrue to a rival group that had the protectorate government on its side made delay inadvisable.*

There was no further military activity in Berde district. The detachment of the Southern Nigeria Regiment which had been quartered there after

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* Note the role of the "friendly Omopara chief" in the case of the town of Amugugu and its juju in Hives's report. (Document No. 1)

the Arochuku expedition was removed presumably to Okigwi, which became the base for a series of patrols against the tribes further north; these continued until 1914. The Bende district remained undisturbed, its annual reports stating with monotonous regularity that the attitude of the Natives "is satisfactory" (1907), "generally most friendly" (1908), "friendly" (1910) and thereafter cease to refer to it.

CHAPTER 2: THE ADMINISTRATION

The years 1902 to 1904 saw the establishment of the Bende and the adjacent districts and the development of a uniform pattern of local government for the whole of the protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The country was divided into three provinces, Western, Central and Eastern, each in the charge of a Provincial Commissioner, and these into districts in the charge of District Commissioners. On the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 these three provinces were broken down into nine new ones, the Central province becoming the provinces of Warri, Benin and Onitsha, and the Eastern those of Calabar, Ogoja and Owerri. The districts remained unaltered except along the former Northern and Southern boundary. Bende was grouped with the Degama, Ahoada, Aba, Owerri and Okigwi districts to form the Owerri province and looked to Port Harcourt for its provincial headquarters. The Arochuku district and the Ibibio districts continued to have Calabar as their provincial headquarters and with the Calabar district became the Calabar province, while Afikpo and the districts further north and east became parts of the Ogoja province.

At the same time the official nomenclature was changed, "districts" became "divisions" and the term district was reserved for part of a division. "Provincial Commissioners" became "Residents" and were graded into 1st and 2nd class, District Commissioners became 1st and 2nd class District Officers and Assistant District Commissioners, Assistant District Officers or, if they were temporarily in charge of a division, Acting District Officers. A district in the populous areas of the Eastern Province averaged about 1,000 square miles and contained between 100,000 and 200,000 people. The 1917 handbook gives the following figures for Bende and the neighbouring divisions:

Divisions	Total Population	Area (sq. miles)
Aba	157,641	827
Bende	349,997	1,045
Afikpo	181,512	1,159
Arochuku	18,088	421
Owerri	399,984	1,085
Okigwi	123,594	919
Ikot Ekpene	198,787	455

(The population figures should not be taken too seriously, they were based on estimates. No attempt to make an accurate census was made until 1927 and then only for adult males. Okigwi figures are too low and should be closer to those of the Owerri district.)

Contact with the two to three hundred towns in a district was established by bringing them together into large units which were held together by their use of a common court and by recognising in each town a "chief" who was held responsible for the maintenance of order in his town and who, when he had received official recognition, was given a hat (a pillbox smoking cap type), a brass headed staff and a warrant signed by the Governor which entitled him to sit on the Native Court Bench to prosecute offenders before it. A district normally contained from four to five of these Native Courts and a fluctuating number of "Warrant Chiefs". Bende district began with three courts, increased to four in 1908 and later to five. Communication between the D.C. and any town in his district was by means of a runner, normally a court messenger on a bicycle to the C.N.C. (Clerk of the Native Court) and from him by the same or another messenger to the Warrant Chief.

The entire burden of running a district rested on its D.C. In addition to his administrative and judicial duties he was responsible for the implementation of all the changing policy decisions made by the central government which affected his district and for the provision of any information

about it that might be required by the central government or the Colonial Office. He had to provide for the needs of officers of his own or of other government departments who might have to visit his district and he had to supervise any subordinate officials of these departments who might be posted to his district and to perform for them any duties normally carried out by their superior officers (e.g. the issue of permits or the signing of their returns). There was only one department with which he was not involved, namely the Medical. Each district had a District Medical Officer whose duties were primarily concerned with preserving the health of its government staff and thereafter with the health of the district. The D.C. and his A.D.C. normally spent most of each month travelling to different parts of his district, returning to the station at the end of the month to deal with the many returns required by the P.C. and the various other departments. Any mail or other business that might need attention while he was out of the station was sent on to him by the District Clerk, again using a court messenger as a runner. When in the station his main responsibility, apart from his district office and court, was the Local Treasury, the District Prison and the Post Office.

The Treasury Department had its headquarters and government treasury at Lagos: it had three provincial treasuries, one for each province and a large number of local treasuries, one for each district. Its staff of Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers was barely sufficient to man the headquarters office, the central treasury and the three provincial ones. Local treasuries were in the charge of their respective D.C.s. The Local Treasurer had to handle all government money, keeping it in his safe or strong room; he had to prepare all the payment and receipt vouchers supporting the cash which he paid out or received and he had to prepare each month a copy of his cash book to be sent for checking to the Assistant Treasurer at provincial headquarters. The D.C. was not a tax collector for at this period there was no direct taxation, only import and export duties. This meant

that payments from the Local Treasury always exceeded its receipts and that the D.C. had to arrange for constant remittances of cash ("specie") from the Provincial Treasury. Government regulations for the transport of specie were elaborate and laborious. The money, mainly in shillings and lesser denominations, had to be carried in special zinc coated steel containers ("specie boxes") of a size and weight which when filled did not exceed 60 pounds, the maximum load for a carrier. Each box was transfixed by a flat steel bar pierced for a padlock at one end which prevented the box being opened until the lock had been removed and the bar withdrawn. The padlock also attached it to a steel chain which joined all the boxes together. Their carriers had to have a police escort and when being transported over water the specie boxes had to have wooden floats tied to them by ropes of a specified length. Most of the payments from the Local Treasury were for the salaries and wages of the African staff, for the travelling allowances of the European officers and for the transport of government property and of the loads of its officers and officials. Carrier transport was a big item. A carrier was paid sixpence for a standard day's journey and more for longer distances. Government officers were entitled when they travelled to the free transport at government expense of from twenty to twenty-four loads and, as we have seen, D.C.s and A.D.C.s spent a large part of their time travelling. Allocations for other items of expenditure were small, carefully scrutinised by the Audit Department and their control jealously guarded by the P.C. and issued as R.I.E.s usually in March, just before the end of the financial year, when there was little time left to spend them.

The district prison was a unique and surprisingly efficient institution on which the station and its European and African staff became increasingly dependant. Its labour maintained the station paths and open spaces, keeping the latter under grass and preventing them from returning to jungle, and was available for any other manual employment that the D.C. or the P.C.

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* European officers had theirs paid into their bank accounts at Calabar.

might consider necessary (e.g. in the case of the Bende prison, a new water supply, road making, tree planting, gardening, brick making). It made and maintained its prison "yard" - the barbed wire enclosure which encircled it. It built and maintained the "temporary buildings" inside it; it fetched and stored its water, collected its firewood and disposed of its waste products. These last three services were gradually extended to all government staff in the station. (Beginning in the case of Bende prison with the last one in 1908 (vide Report for 1908, Head V, paragraph 5).)

Every district had such a prison, containing from 100 to 200 male and a few female prisoners and staffed by twelve to fifteen warders ("gang-drivers") and a wardress for the female prisoners, who were housed in a separate enclosure within the "yard". The convicts were organised for work into gangs, each in charge of a warder (e.g. a water gang, wood gang, latrine gang, grass cutting gang, golf course gang etc.). The female convicts and the wardress formed the kitchen gang which fed the prison and in default of females was recruited from the male prisoners.

There was a Department of Prisons in Lagos responsible for running the four convict (long term) prisons and the various district prisons (one for each district) in the Protectorate. During the colonial period its officers were too few to do more than staff its Lagos headquarters and the convict prisons at the headquarters of the three provinces. The headquarters office compiled an annual report from the statistics supplied to it from its various prisons and was concerned with the issue and condemnation of prison uniforms and stores. The uniform for prisoners consisted of a white cotton cap, blouse and shorts for the men and of a similar cotton gown for the women. The stores included blankets, "bed-boards" for sleeping on, cooking pans, matchets (cutlasses) and a very large number of galvanised buckets for carrying and storing water and, as they deteriorated, for use as latrine pails. Apart from very occasional visits of

inspection by the Director or Assistant Director of Prisons the district prison was under the control of the D.C. and the D.M.O. The latter looked after the prisoners' health, the former was responsible for its supervision and organisation and for the statistics required by the Director of Prisons' office. These included a notional figure for prison earnings for the year based on an estimate of sixpence per prisoner per working day.

From their beginning these district prisons ran themselves with a minimum of trouble. Morale was good, long term prisoners were transferred to the convict prisons at provincial headquarters. There was no stigma attached locally to being imprisoned and the relations between warders and their prisoners were normally easy and relaxed. By the 1920s any difficulties over feeding contracts had disappeared, while superior drugs and medical knowledge had improved their health and most prisoners were probably fitter and certainly better fed than they had been in their homes. (They were fed more frequently, 3 meals a day in place of the 2 to 1½ meals that were normal in the villages, and there was more protein in their diets. Regular hours and meals certainly seem to have increased their weight, which was almost always greater when they were weighed before their discharge.)

Each district headquarters also contained a small detachment of the Southern Nigeria Police Force headed by a non commissioned officer (sergeant or corporal). It was part of a larger body quartered and trained in the Police barracks at provincial headquarters. In default of a police officer the D.C. was in charge. Police were used mainly for escort duty, for the serving of summons from the D.C.'s court and for the arrest of criminals. The police were a para military force equipped with rifles which until the 1920s they invariably carried when serving summonses or executing arrests, not so much for their protection as for proof that they were bona fide policemen and not rogues masquerading in discarded police uniforms.

Communications with the P.C. and the outside world was through the Post and Telegraphs office. The telegraph clerk was also the postmaster and with the telegraph linesmen and mail runners formed a separate unit nominally under the supervision of the D.C., but left very much to their own devices and to the control mainly at long distance of the officers from the P. and T. Department. Mail runners had bicycles and in the case of the Bende district carried the mail from Bende to Itu, whence it continued by launch to Calabar to connect with the mail steamers which sailed from there to Liverpool three times a month, normally taking fourteen days. After 1908 Bende, like most other districts, was in telegraphic communication with Calabar and with its surrounding districts. The annual report for 1912 gives the number of telegrams handled. (Sent 600 official, 316 private, received 603 official and 280 private.) Unfortunately no corresponding figures were given for letters, but to judge from the figures for revenue, considerable use was being made of the Post Office then as in later years for the remittance of money by way of postal orders in registered letters. There was no delivery of telegrams or letters, official ones were collected by the D.C.'s and D.M.O.'s office messengers, private ones by the addressees or their relatives. They were informed mainly through the market network.*

The primary duty of the D.C. was of course to maintain law and order and the combination of his executive and judicial powers enabled him to do this speedily and effectively. In the event of a serious breach of the peace e.g. fighting between two towns over land, he had as o/c police to put an end to the fighting and arrest the offenders. As o/c prisons he

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* The postmaster would only have to call out to any women passing his office on their way to a market in the neighbourhood and tell them to inform any women from the addressee's town or area who had come to that market that there was a letter for him. The message, which would be an interesting item for local gossip, would be carried home by any woman from that town or if none had attended it, by women of that area for circulation in a local market patronised by that town. The addressee would get the message either that night if he was lucky, or within a few days.

had to detain them while awaiting trial and after their conviction. As a Commissioner of the Supreme Court he had to try them in his District Court or, if the matter was serious enough, conduct a P.I. and transfer them to the next assizes of the judge's divisional court. If less serious he could refer them to the Native Council (the name for a major native court) where he could if he so wished sit as president of its bench of magistrates. Such major outbreaks however were infrequent and most of the lesser disturbances were dealt with by the chiefs and elders of the towns concerned or found their way into the Native Courts, the supervision of which took up an increasingly large part of the D.C.'s and A.D.C.'s time.

Associated with this function was another time consuming duty not foreseen or provided for in government ordinances and regulations, namely the hearing of complaints both in the station and when on tour. There were no instructions about it, but all D.C.s considered that anyone who wished to speak to the D.C. should be free to do so, and the people of the Eastern Province were not slow to avail themselves of this concession (as can be seen in the 1912 report, Head 1, paragraph 9). Hearing of complaints came to be valued as much by the administration as by the people themselves. Most of them were trivial, producing the answer "If you cannot settle this matter at home you are free to take action in your Native Court". Many however were not.

Another major preoccupation in this early period was the construction and maintenance of the roads and waterways in the district and of all government buildings and other property. In the case of the Bende district this work, which is discussed in a later chapter, amounted to the virtually impossible task of trying to convert the five approaches to Bende station into bicycle roads and the removal and rebuilding of the entire station on an adjacent site.

To assist him in these multifarious duties the D.C. Bende had an A.D.C. (who, in later years at least, usually found himself saddled with the supervision of the prison and with the Local Treasureship) and the African staff shown in the Hon. the P.C. Bedwell's inspection notes. For the maintenance of the station he had 11-12 station labourers and the 100 or more prisoners in the district prison. For the maintenance of his "roads" and for the construction of buildings for use as rest houses, courts, offices and staff houses the D.C. was empowered to call upon the chiefs in his district to turn out their people for such work. The Roads and Creeks Ordinance (No. 15 of 1903), for example, provided penalties for a chief who disobeyed the D.C.'s order and for those people who might disobey the order of their chief. It also enabled the Governor (a power delegated to his P.C.s and D.C.s) "to make such payment as he may think fit to a chief" for such work. The convention that became accepted was that this compulsory labour should be provided free if the road or building was in the chief's own Native Court area as it was primarily for the benefit and use of the people of that area. If the work was outside the area or involved prolonged or heavy labour like the construction of cuttings or embankments, they should receive payment.

In districts as overpopulated as those of the Eastern province such compulsory labour was no hardship. It was work which had been traditionally performed by communal labour of this sort and it became systematised through the Native Courts. The work was shared out equally in the customary fashion between the Warrant Chiefs of the various towns, who took it in turn to provide it, with the C.N.C. keeping a roster and notifying each W.C. when it was his turn. If any of his people refused to obey his order he prosecuted them in the Native Court. If he himself failed to produce his people when he should have done he was prosecuted in the court himself. There does not seem to have been any need, at least in the Bende district, to order any chief to mobilise his people when the work was to be paid for, the

difficulty was to find the money. Government R.I.E.s were sparse and not easily obtained. But here again the Native Courts provided the solution. From their inception their popularity had ensured that their revenue invariably exceeded their expenditure. This surplus was under the control of the D.C. and constituted a small but by no means negligible on-going reserve, a widow's cruse which could be and was used to meet almost any financial contingency.

This then was the system of local government usually known as Direct Rule to distinguish it from the one which succeeded it, which was known as Indirect Rule or Native Administration and which was eventually established in 1927/8 when direct taxation was introduced and compulsory labour and Warrant Chiefs were abolished. Much criticism has been directed against it,* but it had two great merits. In the first place it was both speedy and efficient. Most of the decisions were made by the same person, who was on the spot. Secondly, and following on from this, it was remarkably cheap.

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* Mainly by historians, who derived their conclusions from the relevant government documents without realising that their latent function was to validate the new system and justify the abolition of the old.

CHAPTER 3: JUDICIAL. THE DISTRICT AND NATIVE COURTS

One of the major problems facing the decentralised segmentary societies of Eastern Nigeria was the settlement of disputes. Until the advent of the British there was no outside secular authority which could be called upon to intervene and which had the power to enforce its decisions.* In the pre-colonial period the British Consul found himself called upon to settle disputes and end wars within and between the trading states of the Bight of Biafra and having to establish "courts of equity", in which the merchants temporarily residing on a trading river and the local chiefs sat together to enforce the regulations governing their trade and to settle disputes between them. The Protectorate Government had in its turn to meet this need for adjudication and it provided two judicial systems for this purpose. These were the Supreme Court, which administered the laws of the Protectorate which were based on British law, and the Native Courts, in which native law and custom operated (insofar as it did not conflict with British ideas of equity and justice) as well as such Protectorate laws as they were empowered to administer. An important difference between the two systems was that lawyers could only appear in the Supreme Court, which meant that the parties in a Native Court case were spared the very considerable costs they might incur once they became involved in litigation in the divisional and higher courts.

The D.C. was involved in both. He was ex officio a Commissioner of the Supreme Court, as was also the A.D.C., and the jurisdiction of his District Court extended to the whole of his district. He was also President of any Native Court in his district. In his District Court he sat

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* There was of course the ritual authority of the Long Juju of Aro Chuku, but its decisions (the apparent killing and actual selling away into slavery of the loser and the forfeiture of all his property) was rather too drastic and very expensive.

alone unless he wished to have the assistance of assessors, and his powers were limited to a fine of not more than £50 or six months imprisonment in criminal cases and in civil cases where the value of the property did not exceed £50. If and when he sat in a Native Court it was as president of a bench of local justices. Section 7 of the Native Courts Ordinance (No. 7 of 1906) designated the members of a Native Court as the P.C., the D.C, the A.D.C. and "such other persons as the Governor may appoint". It also designated two grades of Native Court; the superior it called a Native Court or Council, the subordinate a Minor Native Court. The former had powers not exceeding a fine of £100 or imprisonment not exceeding two years with or without a flogging of not more than fifteen lashes in criminal cases and in civil cases where the property did not exceed £200. Minor courts had powers not exceeding £50 or six months imprisonment in criminal and not exceeding £25 in civil cases.

There was an elaborate system of appeals prescribed for both systems. In the case of the District Court the appeal went from it to the judge of the divisional court of which there were three, one for each province, and from the divisional court to the Full Court sitting in Lagos and from there to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Westminster.* Monthly returns of all criminal cases tried in the District Court had also to be sent to the Chief Justice and in criminal cases these operated as an appeal in the case of all convicted persons. A similar elaborate system of appeals was prescribed for the Native Courts, from the Minor Court to the Native Council, from the Native Council to the D.C.'s District Court or if beyond its powers directly to the Divisional Court , while monthly returns

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* These Divisional Courts should not be confused with the Provincial Courts of the Northern Protectorate, which were extended to the Southern when the two were amalgamated in 1914. Under Ordinance No. 7 of 1914 the full powers of a judge of the Supreme Court were vested ex officio in the Resident (P.C.) of a province and his court was known as a Provincial Court.

of all Native Court criminal cases where the sentence exceeded £15 or two months imprisonment had to be sent to the Chief Justice and these operated similarly as an appeal on behalf of every convicted person.

The Native Courts Ordinance had envisaged a bench of magistrates under the presidency of the D.C. or A.D.C. But by 1906 it was clear that the volume of cases and the number of Native Courts needed to deal with them meant that many of these courts would be without the D.C. for much or all of their sessions, so provision was made for his absence.* It also provided that the Governor should prescribe the number of members required to form a quorum and the composition of such quorums.

More important however were the provisions which empowered the P.C., the D.C. or A.D.C. to intervene in a Native Court case at any stage of its proceedings, order a retrial, annul or amend its decisions, try it himself in his district court or transfer it to the divisional court. (Section 43) Similarly it enabled a defendant in any criminal or civil case to apply to the D.C. to look into his case. (Section 45) The intention of the ordinance as evinced in its system of appeals may well have been to bring Native Court justice into line with that of the Supreme Court by placing both the district and the native courts ultimately under the direction of the judges of the Judicial Department. But that was not the way in which it was developed. The D.C. withdrew entirely from sitting as a magistrate in a Native court leaving the local leaders, the Warrant Chiefs ("such other people as the Governor may appoint") to administer the local customary law and he intervened only to see that it was applied fairly and did not conflict with any government edict. For example before a prisoner convicted in a Native Court could be admitted to the district prison, his case as

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* "In the absence of the D.C. the A.D.C. may act as president, in the absence of the A.D.C. the D.C. may appoint any member of the Native Court to be vice president, in the absence of this vice president the senior member present at such session shall act for him." (Section 9)

recorded in the court judgement book which was brought by the prisoner's escort had to be seen by the D.C. or A.D.C.; and instead of using the appeal system provided under Section 40 of the ordinance the D.C. preferred to make use of Sections 43 and 45, which enabled him to intervene whenever he considered it necessary. Such "reviews" as they came to be called became an alternative system of appeal which avoided the Supreme Court entirely and went exclusively to administrative officers.* By the 1930s in the more litigious districts (divisions) a Native Court was visited about once a month by the D.C. (D.O.) or A.D.C., who spent from one to two days hearing these reviews.

It soon became accepted that each town in a Native Court area should be represented by a Chief who had received a warrant signed by the Governor (or his deputy) entitling him to sit in his Native Court. The size and composition of the bench was specified in the warrant establishing the court and "sitting fees" were paid to those who sat on it. As we have seen, the Warrant Chiefs were also held responsible for mobilising their people for compulsory labour and other executive functions and they shared out these executive duties and judicial rewards (sitting on the bench) between them, the C.N.C. keeping the roster at his court and informing each chief when it was his turn. Criminal cases were free if ordered by the court, otherwise like civil ones a fee of five shillings had to be paid by the prosecutor/plaintiff, which was recoverable as costs if he was successful. The cases were recorded in full in the court judgement books in English, for any Nigerian who could read and write was fluent in that language, indeed the difficulty lay in finding a clerk who could speak or understand the local dialects of Ibo or Ibibio and most Native Courts had to have court interpreters.

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* A dissatisfied litigant could for a small fee list his case for the D.C.'s (or A.D.C.'s) review on his next visit to that court. If the litigant objected to the D.C.'s review he could by way of petition apply to the P.C. (later Resident) for his review and if he wished to carry the case further he could petition the Governor (after 1914 the Chief Commissioner, Southern Provinces).

The procedure was the same as in British courts but it also incorporated local usages. For example a witness gave evidence on oath, swearing on a Bible if he professed to be a Christian, or more normally on the court juju, a fetish specially prepared for the court when it was first established. But this was a mere formality since it was universally accepted that both had "lost their power". But if the court wished to test a witness's veracity it could challenge him to invoke a juju locally believed to be able to kill anyone who was lying. If he maintained that he was a Christian and was therefore barred from worshipping idols he could be asked to invoke the Bible, which was held to have the same power if it was opened and had salt sprinkled on one of its pages for the witness to lick off. Sitting fees were also not the only remuneration received by the bench, for each litigant had "briefed" one of the sitting members so that he could argue his case for him when the bench retired to consult on their verdict and had paid him in advance for these services. D.C.s, when their attention was drawn to such payments, at first thought they were bribes but soon learned to turn a blind eye to them. Litigants who lost their cases had these payments refunded to them on the principle that one should not have to pay for what one does not get; the money paid by the winners was pooled and shared out equally between the members of the bench. The court sat for two to three weeks each month and the bench was changed each month so as to give each Warrant Chief an equal chance to sit on it.

Native Courts were popular from the time of their introduction and for a number of substantial reasons. In that overpopulated part of Nigeria there were bound to be plenty of disputes. Those between members of the same village were no problem, the village elders were obliged to enforce a settlement as they endangered the solidarity of the group. Where the parties came from different villages or towns, attempts to settle them were liable to develop into feuds between the two communities. Even when the councils of elders from both groups could be prevailed upon to adjudicate

they had first to be paid and they had no means of enforcing their decision. Compared to such unwieldy and expensive assemblages a Native Court trial was speedy, cheap and effective, and being closely supervised by the D.C. and A.D.C., who were only too ready to listen to charges of malpractices on the part of the C.N.C. and the sitting chiefs, their judgements were reasonably fair and unbiassed or if they were not it was simple enough to get the D.C. to review and rectify them. Thus as soon as a sufficient number of courts had been established they dealt with the great majority of civil cases and with most of the lesser criminal ones in the district, leaving to the district and divisional courts the trial of more serious crimes some of which, like slave dealing, certain types of homicide or accusations of witchcraft, were not offences under local native law.

In 1907 Bende district had three Native Courts, namely the Council or Court of Bende, which served the Bende and adjacent tribes and was also a superior Native Court for the division, Oloko, a minor Native Court located at Oloko town which served the populous south western part of the division, and Ebem, another minor court located at Ebem in the Chaffia tribal centre which served the north eastern part of the district. These were soon increased to four with the creation of another minor court at Omchia (Umuahia), a village of the Olokoro tribe. This took over the northern half of the original Oloko native court area. After 1914 another court was established at Alayi for the north western part of the district. There is no record of the Bende court, though defined as a council, ever having functioned as such. These courts were quickly popular as measured by their revenue or by the number of their civil cases which reached a peak of 4,162 in 1911 and remained at over 3,000 for the rest of this period. The smaller number of cases heard in the Ebem court was not due to the inefficiency and other shortcomings of its clerks as some of these reports suggest, but to these Cross River Ibo tribes being less litigious than those further south. A survey in the 1930s and again in 1954/5 showed that involvement in litigation

as measured by the number of civil cases heard each year when set against the population of the court area and the district was greatest in the Aba and Ikot Ekpene divisions, and declined through Bende and Afikpo till it reached the Abakaliki district, where it was the lowest.

There were however two difficulties which had to be resolved before the Native Courts were fully adjusted to local needs. These were the recruitment of efficient and trustworthy C.N.C.s and the appointment of Warrant Chiefs. Both, but particularly the first of these, are referred to in the reports. The trouble with inefficient and corrupt clerks had begun to improve once the C.N.C.s and Warrant Chiefs had learnt what they could and could not get away with, but it did not disappear until it was possible to recruit as clerks men who were natives of their Native Court areas and who were therefore known to, related to and therefore responsible to its people. As long as a C.N.C. was a "foreigner" he was bound to be under pressure to use his position for the benefit of himself and his own people.

The method of appointing Warrant Chiefs was both cumbersome and time consuming.* Warrants again which were kept in temporary buildings were always getting lost or eaten by white ants and could never be found when their return for cancellation was called for (e.g. before a warrant for a chief's successor could be issued). Much more serious however was the difficulty of distributing these warrants fairly between the various towns in a Native Court area before any adequate survey of its social structure had been made. In those Ibo areas where towns were large and clearly defined there was no problem. Each town could receive a warrant for its

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* By the time the D.C. had ascertained who the town wished to have as their W.C. and had submitted his own supporting recommendations in quadruplicate through the P.C. to the Governor and had after the usual delays in the Governor's secretariat received his warrant of appointment the chief in question might very well be dead (for seniority went by age in most Bende towns).

chief and there were not too many W.C.s on the court roster. Towns with a single dominant leader put him forward for a warrant; those towns without one put forward the head of their senior ranking village. Towns with two or more rival leaders found themselves without a W.C. until they had decided between them and they could not afford to be without one for long. But in most Ibibio and Southern Ibo areas there were too many small towns which were really enlarged villages competing for too few warrants.* For P.C.s and Governors were of the opinion that a court should not have more than a reasonable number of W.C.s on its roster and a reasonable number to them was between twenty and thirty. Thus many small towns found themselves without a Warrant Chief and, to make matters worse, being placed under the Warrant Chief of a neighbouring and therefore rival community. There were also large communities remote from the centre where the court was placed who found themselves without a Warrant Chief, while those towns in whose territory the court had been sited had managed to secure several. Bende town, I think, at one time had no less than five, Oloko two or three. These grievances built up during the 1920s into an agitation against existing Warrant Chiefs, particularly in the more litigious areas where court business was an important source of income and where there were a large number of small towns without a Warrant Chief. In Bende district the agitation was strongest in the Oloko and Umuahia areas, those in the north (i.e. Ebem and when it was established, Alayi) were not troubled by these inequalities.

When the Native Administration system of local government was introduced in 1927/9 the appointment of chiefs under government warrant was abolished and the election of the "Court Members" who replaced them was left entirely in the hands of the local communities, who were free to have as many of them as they wanted; the number of Native Courts was increased,

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* Vide paragraph 18 of the P.C.'s 1911 inspection notes.

again in accordance with their wishes. Oloko Native Court was replaced by seven Native Courts (one each for the Ibere, Oboro and Isuorgu tribes, one for the Bende Ofufa villages, which being Ibibio speaking was transferred to the Ikot Ekpene division under the collective name of Nkalu, and one each for the three Ngwa subtribes that were transferred to join the rest of the tribe in Aba division). Umuahia Native Court became the four courts of Olokoro, Ibeku, Ubakala and Ohuhu; Alayi Native Court became the four courts of Umuimenyi (which included Uzuakoli), Ozuitem, Igbere and Item. Ebem Native Court became the courts of Abiriba, Abam and Ohaffia and Bende Native Court the courts of Ozuitem, Bende and Itu Mbuzo. The powers of all these courts, including the new Bende court, were the same as those of the former minor courts. These were all tribal courts in that they comprised the towns or villages of a single tribe.. Their leaders had no difficulty in sharing out court membership between themselves; the court bench consisted as before of from five to seven members and the C.N.C. kept a roster of the towns entitled to be represented on it and told them when it was their turn to sit. There was no further trouble about court membership, the courts continued to be popular and dealt with almost all of the petty criminal and civil cases in their areas as long as they continued under the close supervision of the District Officers, reaching 3,300 criminal and 5,000 civil cases in 1954/5 in the Bende division (which was much smaller in size than the original district). When however in the 1960s this supervision was withdrawn by the regional government and the appointment of court members came under the aegis of political parties, people preferred to avoid them and found other ways of settling their disputes.

CHAPTER 4: TRADE AND COMMERCE

It is easy enough with the benefit of hindsight to laugh at most of the remarks made under this heading. Little was then known about the production and marketing of palm oil and kernels and even less about its cultivation, particularly by government officers; and they were not, as in most other parts of Africa, having to advise and encourage a simple minded conservative peasantry, but a people who for centuries had been trading with the outside world, first in slaves and increasingly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in palm oil. Their methods of warfare may have been simple and undeveloped but their knowledge of the economics of the market place was far greater than that of their D.C.s, whose background and training had had little to do with commerce. Most of them to judge by their titles had been British army officers.

It was fashionable to regard the local Nigerian monetary systems as primitive. Consuls and traders had even referred to them as a form of barter. Actually, and particularly in the Oil Rivers and their hinterland, they formed a sophisticated system of exchange in which the operators were manipulating any number of different currencies, European as well as native, and were expecting to make some profit out of each transaction. In the Bende area three different native currencies overlapped, namely the cowries of the Lower Niger area, the manillas of the Bonny and Kalabari trade and the brass rods of the Cross River/Calabar trade.

The government had now added another currency but without much success until the order was made that Native Court fees and fines could only be paid in that medium. Until this was done in 1912 there was little that it could buy which could not be obtained more cheaply in a native currency. Its principal users were government officials and their servants who, having been paid in pounds, shillings and pence, were using the authority

of their position to make the petty traders in the markets accept it and as often as not at well above its market value. Its use was handicapped after 1914 by the European war, which brought with it in Nigeria a critical shortage of official currency and a resurgence of the demand for manillas and brass rods. It was not until the 1920s that the coinage of the West African Currency Board was universally accepted and then only its shillings and lower coinage; nobody wanted £1 notes.

The chronic inflation of the cowries currency seems to have driven it out of the Bende markets by the time these reports were written, as no reference is made to it. Very soon the increasing demand for brass on the part of Ibo and other brass smiths had inflated the value of the rods and accelerated their disappearance, leaving only the manillas to worry the government financial experts. Manillas continued to be traded and used, mainly for ritual purposes, until they were eventually bought up after the Second World War by the Federal Government.

The word development did not enter the colonial vocabulary until the later 1930s, at least in Nigeria. But it had from the beginning, under a number of different names, been one of the avowed aims of British colonial policy. The suppression of the "obnoxious trade" (in slaves) and its replacement by "legitimate trade" had been one of the reasons given for the Arochuku expedition and the occupation of the hinterland. Legitimate trade as far as the Southern Nigerian Protectorate was concerned meant a trade in the produce of any tropical crop that grew or that could be induced to grow there and which was in demand on the world market. There was no money available for research. An agricultural department on the British India model was a thing of the future and it was not until 1926 that a research station was provided for the Eastern provinces.* In these early days the

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* It was sited at Umudike in the Umuahia area of the Bende division.

Government's efforts were limited to the establishment of a botanical garden at Calabar, by attempts at "station gardens" in the various districts and the distribution of para rubber, cocoa and various citrus seedlings for planting in headquarters stations and in rest house and Native Court compounds. European methods of cultivation soon exhausted the soils of the station gardens. What remained of the Bende one had disappeared by the time the station was closed in 1914/5. Para rubber was found to grow as well in Eastern Nigeria as it did in Malaysia, and in the 1930s there were numerous trees in the Owerri province and an expatriate rubber plantation in the Calabar division, but by then over-production of rubber in Indonesia and the fall in the world price of rubber had convinced the Government that no further encouragement should be given to its cultivation. Cocoa was a success in parts of Western Nigeria but not in the East, where most of the soils were too poor for it. A few small plantations of it were however made by Arochuku farmers living in Isinkpu and other small settlements in the Bende tribal territory but nowhere else. Orange and lime trees found a wider distribution, particularly in the Umuahia area, but not in any quantity. There remained the oil palm, which grew wild or semi wild in most of the Eastern province particularly in the more heavily populated areas. Palm oil and kernels had become the main export of the Bight of Biafra during the nineteenth century and the export duties which the Government levied on them provided a large part of its revenue. Yet it was obvious, particularly in the Bende district, that much of this fruit was never harvested but left to rot where it fell despite all the exhortations of the administration to process and sell it. The stock explanation given by the D.C.s was the congenital laziness of the natives. The actual reason was that it didn't pay them to do so.

Bende district lay on the northern margin of the oil palm belt and was not served by any navigable rivers. The distribution of palm trees was uneven, with the bulk of them concentrated in the populous south west,

the areas served by the Oloko and Omohia (Umuahia) courts. Elsewhere they only grew around the villages on the light soiled ridges and avoided the elephant grass savannahs of the valleys of the Inyang and its tributaries. The Omohia (Umuahia) area was adjacent to the Imo but this river was not navigable for large canoes above Akwete in the far south of the Aba district. The low prices offered by the Bonny and Opobo "middlemen" referred to in the earlier reports were a reflection not of their avarice but of the cost of freighting Omohia oil down the river in small canoes which had to be carried over its numerous obstructions. This difficulty was resolved in 1909 when the Marine Department blew up these snags and cleared the river for large canoes as far as Udo "beach". The Inyang River was too insignificant to warrant its attention. Attempts were made by the D.C.s and an Oloko entrepreneur to clear the river as far as Ntalakwu for the evacuation of some of the oil from the Oloko court area and an increased amount of oil was certainly getting down this waterway to Itu and the Cross River, but by 1915 the D.C.s' efforts to develop this outlet for Oloko oil were abruptly changed by the construction of the eastern railway, which reached Umuahia in 1914, and by the expansion of bicycle and motor transport which followed after 1918. Commercial firms moved inland along the railway, setting up their factories and "beaches" (oil bulking centres) at its principal stations. Oil from the Oloko area now went to Mbosi station, that from the Omohia (Umuahia) area to the new township established at Umuahia station (which took its name from the original Omohia (Umuahia) village further south). So did a far greater volume of oil from the districts on the western side of the Imo, which was now crossed by a permanent road bridge a few miles above Udo. The prices paid for oil at the factories along the railway were higher than those paid by the middlemen operating from the Imo River, for the commercial firms were endeavouring to rationalise the evacuation of oil and trying to bring it via the railway to a bulk oil plant at the new port of Port Harcourt

instead of down the Imo to their factories at Opobo. This slight increase in oil prices and these improved facilities for its transport resulted in a considerable increase in the volume of oil produced in the Bende and adjacent districts but the price was never high enough for the full capacity of the region to be realised. Between the two world wars commercial firms preferred to buy the superior grades of oil from Indonesia and kept their Nigerian prices artificially low. After the Second World War the regional and succeeding governments took over the marketing of oil and other export produce through marketing boards which bought from the producers at prices which were well below those which they received for it on the world market.

But in any case the Bende and most other Ibo and Ibibio communities were not interested in agriculture and in the cultivation of export crops. Attempts by the colonial government and its successors to stimulate their development have always fallen on stony ground, for what the people wanted was to diversify their economy and to get away from agriculture. They knew far better than their agricultural advisers that in a region whose soils were as poor and populations as dense as in the Eastern region there was no money to be made out of agriculture. They also knew that if one wanted to accumulate any capital it was necessary to find employment away from home and from the claims of needy relatives.

This pattern of travelling to ply one's trade away from home had been in existence for centuries but it had remained the closed preserve of a few enterprising and fortunate Ibo communities of blacksmiths, ritual specialists and traders from amongst the Nri-Awka and Isuama Ibo on the western side and from amongst the Cross River Ibo on the eastern. It was these communities only that had been able to establish a protective relationship with the towns and villages that lay along the routes which they travelled who could move with any degree of safety. Most of these trading communities, which included the Item, Abiriba and some Ohaffia towns of

the Bende district could only travel in a particular direction from their home town. The Awka and Nri towns of the Northern Ibo and the Arochuku tribe of the Cross River Ibo however were able to travel more extensively and they had established a dominant position in the trade on both sides of the Lower Niger in the case of the Awka and Nri, and in the rest of the Niger Cross River hinterland in the case of the Arochuku. Once the overseas slave trade had developed the latter, through its contacts with the coastal trading states of Bonny, Kalabari and Calabar and with the Nri-Awka area, had by the ninteenth century achieved a monopoly of the more lucrative trade of the Biafran hinterland.

The extension of Protectorate rule to this hinterland and the clearing and maintenance of its "roads" was now making it increasingly safe for travel, while the steadily expanding needs of the government and commercial agencies offered for the first time paid employment both for the unskilled and for those who had been able to acquire the skills that were now in demand and particularly literacy, the ability to read and write English.

At first it was those who already knew how to move about the country or who had been educated in the mission schools in Bonny and Calabar who were able to exploit the situation, not excluding as we can see from these reports the more criminally inclined. But this was only a passing phase. By 1918 the Government had completed the railway system and there were motor roads that fed and radiated out from it. The Northern and Southern Protectorates had become a single Nigeria and it was possible to travel with little difficulty to all the main centres of employment in this, by African colonial standards, vast territory. Most of the towns in Bende and the adjacent districts who had not been able to do so previously were now sending out their young men to travel to find work in the Enugu coalfields, in the tin mines of Jos, in Kano the metropolis of the Hausa north and in Lagos, the capital and commercial centre of the new colony and

protectorate. Migrating first to casual or unskilled labour many of these men, as soon as they had accumulated the capital, set up their own trading businesses selling the local products of the south in the northern markets and vice versa.*

At the same time the long established Cross River trading communities had diversified and extended their range to other parts of Nigeria as well as to markets nearer home. The Abiriba to the Umuahia complex of markets, the Item to Aba market further down the line, where they came to control the garment-making section of that market. Both kept up their original contacts with Itu and the Cross River. On the other hand the Bonny, Opobo and Efik middlemen from the Oil Rivers states were unable to adjust to the changing conditions of trade and disappeared from the Bende and other hinterland markets. The Arochuku were better able to survive. They had never been engaged to any great extent in the relatively unrewarding trade of buying and selling palm oil. Their trading organisation, which alone covered the whole region, enabled them to continue many of their multifarious entrepreneurial activities though some of these like the internal slave trade and the invocation of the Long Juju of Arochuku had to go underground, being prescribed by the Government. Those Aro who were engaged in other more legitimate trades were able to hold their own against the powerful Ibo communities like Newi, Mbieri and Abiriba that were now expanding their trading organisations, but the privileged position which they still enjoyed when these reports were written had largely disappeared by the end of this period.

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* By the 1930s there was a modest but steady trade in palm oil, oranges, snails, roofing mats and other forest products going to the north and in northern products like onions and dried fish from the local rivers and Lake Chad coming to the markets of the south. Umuahia market, for example, retailed three kinds of dried fish, okporoko, which was Norwegian dried cod, smoke-dried fish from the Eastern Delta which had come up from Port Harcourt, and northern dried fish that had been railed from Kano.

It was not only Ibos who were taking advantage of these new developments. Hausa cattle dealers found in Southern Nigeria a new and expanding outlet for their beasts, and Umuahia became the distribution centre for the Eastern Provinces. The cattle were railed from Zaria or brought on the hoof from the Cameroons to brokers who sold them singly or in small lots to Ibo butchers, who took them away for slaughter in other parts of the region.

By 1930 Umuahia had become the commercial and communication centre of the district, where most of its oil was bulked and railed to Port Harcourt and where most imports from overseas were retailed. It was also the staging post for migrants passing by rail to Port Harcourt or to Northern Nigeria and by road to Onitsha and the Niger or to Itu and the Cross River.

Umuakoli, which had originally replaced Bende as a market and communications centre, declined. The railway passed through it and it had its own station and embryo township and initially a few factories, but it lacked any motor road except the one linking it to Umuahia and Ovim. Its market however continued as part of a complex which linked it to Uburu and other trade centres in the savannah country between the Middle Cross River and the Benue, where people still travelled on foot. It was not a produce market and its trade was more wholesale than retail. The goods exchanged were costly or light in weight and suitable for porterage over long distances, for example dried red pepper from the Idoma country, cotton piece goods and similar overseas imports from the south.

By 1940 a very large proportion of the younger men of the district (now division) were travelling to outside employment. It was generally accepted that if one stayed at home one supported oneself by producing and retailing palm oil, but that if one wanted to make money one had to find it abroad. By now these migrants were present in such numbers in most centres of employment that they were able to combine to form separate

associations for each town or small tribe. These so-called ethnic or town unions of the Ibo became one of the most interesting and successful examples of community development in Africa. Beginning as societies for mutual aid and support in the places of their employment, they soon expanded into extremely efficient agencies which planned and provided most of the money for the development of their home towns. Development in this case meant the provision of education, health clinics, improved water supplies and other amenities. They were not interested in agricultural development. That remained the concern of the colonial Government and of its successors.

CHAPTER 5: ROADS AND CREEKS

A creek in Oil Rivers parlance was a navigable waterway and the term was used indiscriminately for rivers or for their connecting channels in the delta. A road was a footpath which when the government had taken it over had been made suitable for pedestrian and where possible bicycle traffic and from which the jungle had been cleared for a distance of fifty feet on each side.

The populous parts of the hinterland were covered by a vast network of these interconnecting footpaths as can be seen on the 1910 map, even though it only shows the more important ones. Most merely led from villages and their component compounds to their town or market centres and these were normally cleared by the people who had to use them. Other less conspicuous, for it was nobody's business to maintain them, were through routes leading to more important markets and centres of trade which linked the Niger with the Cross River and the northern plains with the delta margin. The Protectorate Government as it moved inland followed these routes, establishing the headquarters of its new districts (e.g. Aba, Owerri, Ikot Ekpene and Bende) at some of their major intersections, and it made their D.C.s responsible for seeing that the local people kept them cleared. Thus in most districts there were four or five of these "roads" and a number of "minor roads" which the D.C. kept clear and tried to make suitable for bicycles by easing out gradients, making "temporary bridges" over streams and minor rivers and providing canoe ferries over the larger ones. A "temporary bridge" was made out of the trunks of smaller trees, some being used as uprights and others being laid across them and covered with brushwood and earth. As soon as the wood became dry it was eaten by termites. As the century advanced these temporary bridges were gradually replaced with timber ones and in due course with steel and concrete structures when the road was made suitable for motor traffic.

In the coastal and delta area movement was perforce by water. It was slow but it was well suited for the transport of heavy and bulky stores and other commodities, and the most important of these was the palm oil which gave its name to this part of the coast and to the original protectorate. The oil was bulked in great barrels ("puncheons") and carried in large barge-like canoes, each capable of taking three of these. A "navigable waterway" had to be wide and deep enough to carry these "three puncheon canoes". Until the advent of the railway and the motor lorry there was no way of carrying things overland except on the heads of porters ("carriers") and made up into sixty pound loads. Oil did not lend itself to this form of transport, its price was too low and there were no suitable containers.

Thus the navigable rivers formed the main routes for the penetration of the hinterland and for the evacuation of its products and these were the Niger in the case of the Central Province and the Northern Protectorate and the Cross River for the Eastern Province, while the primary objective of the Protectorate Government in this early period was to extend any other smaller but potentially navigable rivers like the Imo and the Kwa Ibo further inland. This work, referred to as "snag busting", was one of the main duties of the Marine Department and involved dynamiting and clearing away the great trees that had fallen across them.

An officer posted inland travelled from the coast as far as he could by water in a launch or "steel canoe", which was a flat bottomed vessel poled or paddled by six to ten "canoe boys", and thereafter on foot or with a bicycle if he possessed one. It was a slow and costly business, for he took with him his servants (a cook, a steward and their respective assistant "small boys") and his kitchen and camp equipment and other possessions made up into loads for twenty or more carriers. Bende division was unfortunate both in its creeks and its roads. Its only navigable river, the Imo,

formed its western boundary with the Owerri district, while the greater part of the district was drained eastward to the Cross River by the Inyang and its tributaries, none of which were navigable. They came together at Ogu Itu in the extreme south eastern corner of the division, to become the Enyong creek, and it was only below this point that it was navigable. To reach Bende Hives for example travelled by launch from Calabar to Itu, where he spent the night on the launch. The next day he was paddled up the Enyong Creek in a steel canoe to Esuk Itu, the "beach" for Arochuku station, and then walked the five miles to the station, spending the night with the D.C. The next day he walked along the Bende road to Ogu Itu rest house, where he spent the night, and on the following day walked the rest of the distance to Bende station.* He was fortunate in its being the dry season, when if he had used his bicycle he could have completed the twenty-four miles from Arochuku to Bende in a single day. In the rainy season a large part of the road became a quagmire which could only be negotiated on foot.

Government stores came by water as far as Ikpe "beach" below Ogu Itu, where there was a "shed" and a transport clerk responsible for their custody until arrangements had been made with Ogu Itu and other Itu Mbuzo villages to manhandle them to Bende. The annual reports had much to say about the D.C.'s efforts to keep this part of the river navigable; they were also, like the 1910 map, very confusing in the names which they gave to the various sections of the river and its tributaries. In later maps (e.g. the Government Survey map of 1935) this river, which the Ibo call Inyang and the Ibibio Enyong, was distinguished as the Enyong creek as far as its junction with its northern tributary the Uduma, thereafter it became the Inyang. The 1910 map called the Inyang section of the river the Ngyan and it called the Uduma the Enyong River. The early reports referred to the Inyang as the Inin River, the later ones called it the Ngyan and they also

* Vide Hives JuJu and Justice, Chapter I.

called the Uduma the Enyong River. They distinguished the river below Ikpe beach and down as far as the Makor area as the Ikpe creek or the Ikpe/Makor creek. Below this it became the Enyong creek. The D.C.'s efforts were directed to keeping the Ikpe Makor section of the river navigable and to clearing the river above Ikpe beach and as far as Ntalakwu (called Ibalaka on the 1910 map) presumably for smaller canoes.

When it came to roads the D.C. Bende was equally unlucky. In the surrounding districts and extending as far as the Oloko and Umuahia areas of the Bende district the terrain was level and the sandy soil absorbed all the rainfall without difficulty, while remaining cohesive enough in the brief dry season to carry thirty hundredweight lorries. There was also little difficulty in realigning old or making new roads when it was necessary to avoid ravines, rivers or similar obstacles. But in the greater part of the Bende district, which was drained by the Inyang and its tributaries, it was virtually impossible until the advent of machinery and money. For these rivers had eroded the country into a series of broad valleys of heavy clay that became swamps in the rainy season, interspersed with narrow, steepsided and easily eroded sandy ridges.

There were five trails shown as roads on the 1910 map which converged upon Bende from the surrounding higher ground, and they all took the most direct line regardless of the terrain. Try as they might, the D.C.s with their limited resources were unable to convert them even into bicycle tracks except for short distances nor could they find any alternative realignments. One road which carried the telegraph line to Afikpo in the north east led from Bende eastward across several miles of clay and swamp to reach the ridges carrying the northern Abam villages of Ameke and Ozu (shown as Azu on the map) before crossing another stream and climbing up to the Ohaffia high ground, where at Ebem it joined the road coming from Arochuku and continued directly north through Ngusu Edda to Afikpo. In 1908 the town of

Abiriba seems to have persuaded the D.C. to make an alternative route from Ozu Abam through their town to Ngusu. A second road, which carried the telegraph line to Ikot Ekpene, led due south from Bende crossing the Inyang at Okporoenyi and continuing till it reached Amuru (Amoro on the 1910 map) where it forked, one branch which carried the telegraph line going south east to Arriam (Erriam) and thence to Ikot Ekpene, the other going directly south to Oloko and thence through the Ngwa country to Aba. By 1913 the D.C. was hoping to convert this Bende/Okporoenyi road into a motor road but there were "two or three hills which are too steep for a motor car".

A third road led westward to Owerri, going from Bende to Umuhunta (Omohunter on the 1910 map) and thence to Umuahia Olokoro (Omohia on the 1910 map) to the Umunwanwa/Udo crossing of the Imo River and on through the Ahiara country to Owerri. Little is said about this road except clearing the Umunwanwa section and providing a canoe ferry over the Imo.

A fourth road led from Bende north westward to Uzuakoli and on through Umobialla to Okigwi, whence it continued to Awka and Onitsha on the Niger. This had been one of the important slave and internal trade routes connecting Bende market with the northern Ibo country. Quite as important, though not converted by the government into a road, was another route not shown on the 1910 map that led north from Uzuakoli through Ugwu eke Alayi (Ugueke on the 1910 map) and Akeze to Uburu, the great market of the Nkanu/Ohozara plain whence one route led to Nsukka and thence to the Niger at Idah, another due north to the Idoma country and the Benue, and a third to the east and north east to the North Eastern Ibo area. The six razor-back ridges on the section between Bende and Uzuakoli ensured that it remained an arduous scramble. "Surveys" and "traces" were repeatedly called for but never materialised.

But until 1912 the D.C. was not particularly interested in converting footpaths on his western boundary into roads. His main concern was with his communications with the Cross River and a great deal of time, labour and, by the standards of that period, money was spent on the road from Bende to Arochuku trying to reduce the gradients on its hills and to build causeways across its swamps. There were two of these, one in the valley of the Idonyi (Idey on the 1910 map) River, which separated the Bende high ground from the ridge which carried most of the northern villages of the Itu Mbuzo tribe, the second in the valley of the Uduma, which separated it from the high ground of the Makɔr tribe in the Arochuku division. At the same time the D.C. was clearing a minor road which left the Bende Arochuku road at Ndiwo village and ran south to the Inyang at Ntalakwu and which continued on to Arriam and Bende Ofufa and thence to Ikot Ekpene. The 1910 report refers to a temporary bridge over the Inyang here and to a "trading station" built there by an Oloko chief who was sending oil down the river to Itu.

The arrival of the eastern railway along the western boundary of the district in 1914 put an end to all this road construction and waterway clearance. The Bende district, now known as a division, was reoriented in this direction. Its Calabar and Cross River connections were discarded and Bende became one of the divisions of the new province of Owerri, whose provincial headquarters were at Port Harcourt, the coastal port and terminus of the eastern railway. Umuahia became the new communication centre of the division with motor roads which kept to the high ground which encircled the broken central area. Bende was left in isolation, joined to Umuahia by a new motor road with only one unduly steep gradient. Should the D.C. (now D.O.) ever have had occasion to visit Arochuku by car in 1940 he had to drive from Bende to Umuahia, then north to Uzuakoli, then eastward along the northern high ground past Alayi, Item and Abiriba to Ebem,

where he turned south along the old 1910 road to Arochuku. If he was prepared to walk along the direct route he would have to follow a track that had reverted to its original uncleared state, the only signs of all the work that had been put into it between 1907 and 1911 being a few iron-stone culverts up-ended in one of the swamps.

CHAPTER 6: EDUCATION

The spread of education is one of the success stories in the history of Ibo and Ibibio development. It began with the missions and remained predominantly in their hands throughout the colonial period. The government's efforts were limited in the initial stage to establishing a few primary schools and then after the 1914/18 war to providing an inspection system and a limited number of secondary schools (one for the Eastern Provinces at Umuahia (Bende Division, and one, less the two highest forms, at Owerri). These missions were the "Big Five" as they came to be called (namely the Church of Scotland Mission, the Church Missionary Society, its southern branch the Niger Delta Pastorate, the Methodist Mission and the undenominational Qua Ibo mission) and the Roman Catholic Mission. The C.S.M. were first on the scene, establishing a mission station and school in Calabar in 1846/7. The C.M.S. followed ten years later at Onitsha in 1856 and their branch, the Niger Delta Pastorate, became established at Bonny in the Eastern Delta in 1864. The other missions followed during and after the establishment of the Oil Rivers Protectorate, the Roman Catholics to settle at Onitsha in 1885 and at Calabar in 1903, the Qua (or Kwa) Ibo on the river of that name in 1887 at Ibeno, the Methodists, then known as the Primitive Methodists, at Calabar and Akwayafe in 1893. Other lesser missions followed, but the educational lead obtained by the mission schools at Calabar, Onitsha and Bonny meant that it was their former pupils that were able to obtain almost all the superior clerical and technical posts that were open to Nigerians. Interest in Bonny faded with the removal of government and commercial headquarters to Port Harcourt, but Calabar and Onitsha developed into the two educational centres of Eastern Nigeria, a position which they continued to hold throughout the colonial period.

The local chiefs and traders at Calabar and Bonny, hoping to maintain their monopoly of trade with the hinterland, were not prepared to allow any

Europeans to move inland and the missions had to wait until the Protectorate Government had forced an entry and brought the area under their control. The C.S.M. had been able to move as far as Okoyong, just north of Creek Town (Calabar), but no further until after the Arochuku expedition. At first sight Bende, the former Aro slave market and communication centre, seemed a very suitable place for a mission and the C.S.M. under the leadership of Mary Slessor hoped to forestall the Roman Catholic mission who were said to be thinking of settling there. But her friend Dr. Adams, the D.M.O. Bende, dissuaded her by pointing out that it was not as suitable as people had thought.. Its population was estimated at barely 2-4,000, it was not likely to become a trading centre and transport overland to it would be difficult. He also said that Bishop Johnson of the C.M.S. (or N.D.P.) was already in Bende "prospecting". So she settled instead at Itu at the mouth of the Enyong, with a school at Amasu on the Arochuku side of the creek. (Mary Slessor pp. 196/7) This was in 1903. The same N.D.P. missionaries visited Arochuku. The very limited resources of these missions, both in personnel and funds, prevented any large scale or rapid expansion inland and the "Big Five", whose doctrinal differences were not very great, soon accepted an unwritten agreement not to compete against each other and for this reason to restrict their expansion to particular areas. Thus the M.M. moved from Akwayafe in the Calabar delta to Oron on the western side of the Cross River and then extended northward through the Uyo district to establish one of their main centres at Ikot Ekpene. The Qua Ibo remained confined to the southern Ibibio district, while the N.D.P. moved northward from Bonny along the Imo and its tributary the Otamini to Ebu in the vicinity of Owerri in 1906.

From the outset the establishment of a mission station had meant the provision of a school. The government was equally concerned with education. It assisted the C.S.M. with a teacher training establishment at Calabar; it set up its own government institution at Bonny in 1900 and 1905 and it

opened government primary schools at most of its more accessible district stations, Bonny in 1900, Arochuku in 1903, Opobo and Uwet in 1905, Eket and Owerri in 1906. Several years were to elapse before Bende district was reache and by that time mission schools were already being opened there. The Bende 1907 report states baldly under the heading "Schools" "None in the district". The 1908 report repeats this, adding that two pupils had been sent to Bonny College and their school fees of £12.9.8d had been paid out of native court funds. One died but the other, Dyonisius, was reported to be a "sharp lad and doing well." The 1909 report is missing but it was presumably in that year that a government school was opened, not at Bende but at Oloko. The 1910 report refers to it and its poor attendance, for by that time better supervised mission schools were beginning to make their appearance. The "annual subscription" was £50, of which the Oloko Native Court funds contributed £30 and "the chief" £20. The "chief" was probably one of the Oloke warrant chiefs who collected the money from his people. The headmaster's name but not his salary was given, that of his successor was supplied in the H.P.C.'s inspection notes of 1911: but the annual report for that year tells us that the school was closed in August because of poor attendance, adding that there was a good mission school at Oloko, a small one at Ndoru and one at Bende. Actually there were more schools for Hives's 1911 handing over notes refer to five missions with black "teachers or preachers" established at Oloko, Ebem, Ozuitem, Ozuakoli and Iyila. It was much the same in the adjacent districts; the phenomenal expansion of mission churches and schools had begun. By 1912 there were at least six schools. The M.M. had one at Bende and another at Arriam (Erriam); the N.D.P. had schools at Arriam (Erriam) and probably at Ozuitem and Uzuakoli unless these had been temporarily closed; they appear again in the 1913 figures. The N.D.P. had schools at Oloko and Omosu (Umuosu Nsulu) and the C.S.M. at Ebem and Abiriba. By 1913 there were fifteen. The M.M. had taken over the central part of the district extending diagonally northward

from Arriam to Uzuakoli, where in due course it established a teacher training college and boys secondary school with a secondary girls school a few miles further up the railway at Ovim. The N.D.P. had taken over the Oloko and Umuahia areas, while the C.S.M. were left with the Cross River Ibo towns on the north eastern edge of the district.

This relatively sudden expansion had little to do with any evangelising drive on the part of the missions or with a sudden mass conversion to Christianity on the part of the people. The drive certainly came from the people but from both pagan and would-be Christian elements. To them a church and its school could be said to provide the key to the power of the European, the power which had already enabled Efik, Bonny, Sierra Leoneans and other educated Africans to exploit or, as they put it, to "oppress" them. Even more obviously if the young men of a village were educated, that is, could speak or write English they could obtain the same superior employment as these more favoured Africans.

The procedure was very simple. The town or village sent a deputation to the minister at the mission headquarters asking him to send and open a church and school in their town and undertaking to provide the school buildings and the teacher/catechist's pay. As soon as he was satisfied on these points he provided a teacher, who became a "preacher" on Sundays, while the people put up a school building for him which he used as his church on Sundays, and found the money for his salary, usually by way of school fees. But once the movement got under way there was an immediate shortage of teachers, for it took time to recruit and train them and many of them, once they had completed their contracted period of service to the mission, left for more remunerative government or commercial employment. The 1914/18 war also provided additional difficulties and it was not until the 1920s that the movement reached its peak and not till the 1930s that the shortage of teachers had been overcome. There were by then other smaller

missions in the field and a number of educated African entrepreneurs who were very ready to try and fill the gap, but the smaller missions normally had not the means or the facilities for training teachers and most of the entrepreneurs lacked any training as teachers; both found the schools which they had been prevailed upon to establish closed by the government education officer as being below standard. The government had already withdrawn from providing for primary education and it was left to the "Big Five" and the Roman Catholic mission to expand their secondary and training schools to meet the demand, while the government devoted its own limited resources to the establishment of a few secondary schools and of a system of inspection and registration of all schools in its territory. By the 1930s a remarkably efficient arrangement had been evolved, in which the villages and towns built and maintained their own schools and found the money for the teacher's salary; the missions staffed and supervised them and the government inspected them and maintained their standards. By the end of the 1930s almost every Ibo or Ibibio village or town of any size had its school. Some had two or three, and the intense competitive rivalry that characterised these segmentary communities meant that no village with any self respect could afford to be without one.

The rapid expansion added to this and introduced a new element - religious rivalry. A village unable to secure a teacher from one mission could always approach another which might be prepared to help them. In the Eastern Province however the choice was limited to one between Protestant and Catholic. For the five Protestant missions had agreed to keep to their own areas and not to compete against each other. The Roman Catholic mission saw no reason why it should adhere to such conventions. Ecumenism between Protestant and Catholic was in any case very much a thing of the future. The Protestants as first comers into the country tended to look upon the Catholics as interlopers. They settled to begin with at Onitsha and Calabar, and when they moved into the interior they established

stations at Ikot Ekpene, where the Methodists had settled, and at Owerri near the N.D.P. In the 1920s their resources had been greatly increased as had their priests, who were now recruited from the Irish province of their order. Those villages which had been unsuccessful in acquiring a school or an additional school were now satisfied but considerable friction developed between Protestant and Catholic communities, particularly in the Owerri province, which found an outlet in litigation mainly in the Native Courts, in the boycott of markets and in similar actions. But there was also a massive increase in the number of schools. The Bende district (division) escaped most of the troubles, the Roman Catholic mission was not strongly represented in it. It had a few primary schools and one of them in Ozuitem, which by then was a Methodist stronghold, provoked some litigation but that was all. The district was also fortunate in regard to secondary education, for it possessed two secondary schools and training colleges, namely the Methodist college at Uzuakoli and the Government college at Umudike in the Umuahia area, while its C.S.M. schools had easy access down the Cross River to similar colleges in Calabar.

CHAPTER 7: STATION AND STAFF

Bende, like most other district stations, consisted of a forest clearing which had been roughly levelled and stumped and converted into a large open space, which was only prevented from reverting to jungle by constant cutlassing of the grass and brushwood. Within this area were the houses of the European and African staff, the prison compound (yard), warders', police and station labourers' lines, a hospital and dispensary, a district and other offices and courts. The European quarters were sited at some distance from the other buildings, the idea being that the more they were isolated the less likely they were to attract malaria carrying mosquitos. In course of time, the space around these superior quarters and any adjacent open ground was converted into a golf course. Tennis courts were made for the African and European staff and a rest house for government officers, who in those days were almost all European. Bende station also contained a detachment of the Southern Nigerian Regiment which was located in a separate cantonment, but this was transferred in 1908 to Umuduru and thence to Okigwi, when that station was established.

There were two categories of buildings, "permanent" and "temporary". A "temporary building" was defined as one "of local construction", that is it was built by the local people out of local materials. Its walls were of dried mud, which was either solid or had been plastered on to a stick framework. The roof was made from raffia palm fronds. Their stems when stripped of their leaves were called bamboos and formed poles which were tied together with cord ("tie tie") made from the fibrous stem of this tree to form two openwork frames. These when tied together provided the roof and carried the tile-like roofing mats made out of the leaves. Unfortunately the walls provided highways for termites; the mats as soon as they became dry were eaten by other insects and with the roof frames needed constant renewal. A "permanent building" in the 1920s was one with a timber framed

and corrugated iron roof, a cement floor, and concrete foundations carrying walls made out of cement blocks. But in this early period cement blocks had not been heard of and walls were of locally made bricks. These were preceded by prefabricated bungalows which the Protectorate Government had imported for its officers. They were made of timber and corrugated iron and were raised off the ground on cast iron pillars. The basic unit could be made up into two small rooms encircled by a broad verandah, and two or more of these units could be combined to form larger structures. There was no kitchen or servants' rooms; these were expected to be erected in the compound at some distance from the house out of local materials. Heads of departments and other officers of equivalent rank were entitled to a separate house of their own, other officers were expected to live following the Army fashion, each in his own quarters but combined together for feeding and recreation into a Mess. The quarters and the Mess were furnished and servants were provided for the Mess. After the Arochuku expedition districts were established in the hinterland and each district was provided in 1904 with one of these bungalows. It was an expensive outlay which was not repeated.

The Bende bungalow of 1904 was erected by a P.W.D. foreman (European) and several African carpenters (from the Gold Coast or Sierra Leone). It contained separate rooms for three officers (D.C., D.M.O. and A.D.C.) and a larger room for the Mess. It was furnished and three servants looked after the Mess. The only other permanent building in the station was the treasury strong room which, with a water tank, was installed by the P.W.D. in 1906/7. Thereafter it was left as in other districts to the D.C., who was expected to do what he could to convert the temporary buildings in his station into permanent ones, using any funds that could be spared for it and any materials that could be purchased from the local factories. Most of the money went on replacing mat roofs with corrugated iron sheets on a timber framework and until the end of this period when pit sawyers had

begun to operate in the district*; even the timber had to be bought from the factories at Itu on the Cross River and brought in via the Enyong and Ikpe creeks. Walls continued to be made of mud, as for example in the case of the new telegraph office, which was also the post office. (See report for 1911) The government hoped to replace these with bricks. Brickfields had been established in 1900 at Etetim, an island in the Cross River which was to supply the needs of Calabar township and in due course simple brick presses and moulds were issued to the districts and brickmaking was added to the list of prison duties. It survived until 1929 in the Ogoja prison but was found impractical elsewhere. Quantities of wood were needed to fire the bricks and there was a dearth of skilled bricklayers.

The site chosen for the station was soon found to be too congested and it was decided to remove it to one further east on a broader part of the Bende ridge. A pencil copy of the approved plan has survived with the handing over notes designed, judging from the names given to its more prominent features, for local consumption. It is shown as page 62. The transfer was a leisurely one, as the D.C. received no additional staff and little financial assistance. It was nearing completion when the station was closed in 1914, not to be reopened until 1922. During the transfer from the old to the new site people remained in their old quarters until their new ones were ready for occupation. All that is except the European staff, for their bungalow was demolished at once in order to be re-erected on the new site. By the end of 1910 it had been re-erected but as two separate houses, one for the D.M.O. and the other for the A.D.C. The reports do not tell us where the D.C. was housed but a house was eventually built for him in 1911 out of material which he had prudently bought in 1909 from the factories at Itu and paid for out of Native Court funds. The furniture of the original bungalow seems to have been distributed between the three quarters, the D.C.'s being saddled with that of the Mess

* The licences issued by the forest guard and signed by the D.C. were probably for this work.

except for the five wicker chairs and cushions which were appropriated by the D.M.O. (Vide attachment to 1911 handing over notes.) It is not clear whether the system of messing together came to an end at this time or somewhat later. It was never suited to "bush" conditions where officers spent most of their time on tour and because of this had to provide themselves with the staff, furniture and food which they needed on their travels. The construction of separate houses for the D.C., D.M.O. and A.D.C. would seem to be a move in that direction. The "rest house for paying guest" shown on the plan was built but the "mess and billiard room" was not. Billiard tables in any case never got further than the Regimental Mess and the European Club at Calabar. "Paying guest" was a gibe at the new regulation that travelling officers occupying a government rest house should pay a fee (which in my day was a shilling a night). Previously any officer visiting a station was quartered on the Mess. The regulation did not apply to the numerous other rest houses in the district. The 1910 report boasted that there were 56 of these, a more sober estimate was probably the 30 given in the handing over notes of the same year.

When I was posted to the district in the 1930s most of these buildings had disappeared or had been rebuilt in another part of the station. The hospital and the medical buildings had been transferred with the D.M.O. to Umuahia, so had the police, and there were no longer any station labourers; their work was done by the prisoners. The complex of offices, courts and stores labelled "Sieser's Kamp" on the plan had disappeared and the site was occuped by two very large mat roofed houses for the D.O. and A.D.O. The permanent buildings erected in 1910 for the A.D.C. and the D.M.O. survived, isolated in the middle of the golf course; the one had become the district office, the other the government rest house. Officers had found them much too hot and small to live in and had preferred to build larger and cooler quarters elsewhere and to maintain them with prison labour.

Staff

The European staff of most Southern Nigerian districts was limited to a D.C., an A.D.C. and a D.M.O. The duties of the first two officers have been described in a previous chapter. The D.M.O. was primarily concerned with the health of the government staff and then with the health of the district. To do this he was provided with a hospital, a dispensary and an office. He had under him a dispenser who could be left in charge of these when he was on tour and, in Bende at least, he had a "messenger". There were at this date no nurses except in the larger hospitals at Lagos and Calabar, but in those days and later patients were fed and cared for by their relatives, who came, lived and cooked for them in the hospital compound. There were also small additional houses serving as a prison and as an isolation hospital. If a European officer became sick he was nursed in his quarters or invalided to the European hospital at Calabar, the D.M.O. travelling with him. If he failed to respond to treatment in the European hospital he was shipped home on the next mail boat. Regulations prescribed that while government staff were treated free, other persons admitted to hospital should pay hospital fees if they could afford it but D.M.O.s, to avoid accounting difficulties, invariably classified them all as paupers.

Until 1908 the station also contained officers (European) and men (African) of the Southern Nigerian Regiment but the reports do not give either their numbers or their names. They lived in a cantonment and separated from the rest of the station. The administrative and medical officers were, as we have seen, quartered together. There were no department or other officers posted to the district and apart from brief tours of inspection by senior officers of various departments or of P.W.D. foremen temporarily posted there to supervise the erection or rebuilding of the government bungalow, the D.C., D.M.O. and A.D.C. were left on their own, disturbed only by the influx of the Governor and staff en route to open the new district

of Okigwi and an abrasive visit by the Hon. the Provincial Commissioner Bedwell in 1911. But they were not left there very long. The full tour was one of twelve months but only a single officer (Crawford) completed one; the others were lucky if they remained in Bende for over five months. But though they were perpetually changing they kept returning there, particularly the D.C.s and Acting D.C.s.*

The staff list attached to the 1917 Nigeria Handbook shows that most of these officers were still in the service and it gives their salary scales. By that date they had become Officers instead of Commissioners except for the P.C.s, who were now Residents. The P.C. Bedwell had acquired a C.M.G. and had attained the eminence of a Resident 1st Class (salary scale £800-25-1,000 + £160 duty pay). Cockburn had disappeared, presumably on retirement. Hives was now a District Officer 1st Class (s.s. £500-20-600 + £100 duty pay). Most of the others (e.g. Palmer, Ingles, Burroughs, Cotgrave and Rising) were D.O.s 2nd Class (s.s. £400-20-500 + £80 duty pay). Thompson was still an A.D.O. (s.s. £300-15-400 and no duty pay), Cotton was a police magistrate 1st Grade (s.s. the same as D.O.s 1st Class). The other junior officers were not mentioned; they had presumably been released for war service. The two foremen mentioned in the reports, Rosario and Brown, were now P.W.D. assistant engineers 3nd Grade (s.s. £300-15-400).

We are fortunate in having a list of the African staff and their salaries

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* Thus Hives was there in 1906 and for part of the time acted as D.C. He was back again in 1907, when he handed over to Cockburn. Details are missing for 1908 and 9 but Cockburn was D.C. at the beginning of 1910, handing over to Ingles in June when he went on leave. Ingles handed over to Cotgrave, who was there for a short time before handing over to Cockburn probably in December. Cockburn however was invalided in February 1911 and was relieved by Rising, who handed over to Cotgrave in March. He was relieved by Hives in May, who remained there till Cockburn returned to take over in July 1911. Cockburn was there until January 1912, when he went on leave. Cotton, who took over from him, remained until May when he went on leave. Cotgrave came from Okigwi to take over from him and remained there till June when Crawford arrived and he (Cotgrave) returned to Okigwi. Crawford had been an A.D.C. in Bende in 1907 and he remained as Acting D.C. in Bende until June 1913, when he handed over to Burroughs, who handed over to Rising in November of the same year.

attached to the P.C.'s inspection notes of 6th December 1911. He must have copied it from the office records for it was already out of date because according to the 1911 annual report Interpreter Morikwe had been imprisoned for theft in November of that year. Their names shown in it and elsewhere in the reports bring out their very diverse origins. Some, like Archibong, Hogan, Orok, Cobham and Ekanem were Efiks, some like Pepple and Jumbo were from Bonny, some were Yoruba e.g. Lawani and Adegun, some were from the Gold Coast, e.g. Addoe, Quashi Arnhim. Those with English surnames were probably Sierra Leone repatriates (the descendants of slaves rescued by the Navy and dumped at Free Town, Sierra Leone, who had elected to return to their homeland and had been settled in Lagos and Calabar during the previous century). Those with English Christian names were probably Ibo.

All the superior posts were held by people who came from elsewhere and some of their occupations were confined to men from particular groups. Thus carpenters were either from Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast, policemen were either Yoruba or Ibo. We can also assume that the unnamed gang drivers, station labourers and Native Court messengers were also Ibo and that only the last two had been recruited locally.

There was nothing unusual in this diversity. It was much the same in most other inland districts and with such a polyglot staff it was not surprising that the language in which they had to communicate was English, for this was not only the medium for all higher education but also in its pidgin English form the language of the market place. It was also the language used for all official records, including those of Native Court cases. For the same reason there were no less than six interpreters, three attached to the district office and travelling with the D.C. and A.D.C. and three or where necessary four for the four Native Courts. The absence in the list of an interpreter for Oloko Native Court was probably due to the C.N.C. Oloko, to judge from his name, being an Ibo and therefore able to speak

one of the languages used in his court.

The senior ranking African official was the district clerk and, in the medical establishment, the dispenser. Like the D.C. the district clerk's duties were multifarious. He had to prepare, type and register all the correspondence and returns for which the D.C. was responsible. For example, in the case of the Local Treasury he had to prepare all the payment and receipt vouchers that passed through it and the monthly transcript of the cash book that had to be sent to the Assistant Treasurer at Calabar. There were also the quarterly and annual reports for the P.C. and for the Forestry, Agriculture, Prisons, Police and other government departments. He was also the registrar for the D.C.'s and the A.D.C.'s court, preparing the returns of all cases heard by them; he had to type out the copies of coroner's inquests and the depositions taken in all cases transferred to the Assizes and he had to compile the statistics for the monthly returns of the C.N.C.s of the four Native Courts for transmission to the P.C. with the quarterly and annual reports and, where the sentences involved imprisonment, to the Judge of the Divisional Court. He had only an office messenger to help him until 1913, when he had an assistant clerk and he had to teach himself to type. For no provision was made by the government either at this period or later for any training of its clerical staff. They had to teach themselves. One of the results of this was that the D.C. could never rely on the accuracy of anything that went out of his office unless he had systematically checked it for all possible clerical errors.*

Unlike the district clerk the dispenser had received some professional medical training, but like the district clerk he had also to run the D.M.O.'s office, deal with his correspondence and returns and when the D.M.O. was on tour, with anyone referred to the dispensary or the hospital for treatment.

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* Hence the inaccuracies in these reports which, being duplicate copies, had not received the same attention.

The interpreters for the Native Courts disappeared rapidly as soon as the C.N.C.s were locally recruited, while men of higher educational qualifications were employed as district interpreters and took over most of the district clerk's judicial work. Their salaries were raised to the same level and their status attained near parity with the district clerk and the dispenser.

The status of the clerks of the Native Courts on the other hand declined as their numbers increased. The four clerks in 1911 were paid £4 a month or over. The Bende N.A. estimates for 1937 provided for sixteen clerks each at a salary of £1.5.0 a month. But these were locally recruited and their low pay could be offset against the advantages of living in one's home area. It was the same with the court messengers. In 1911 there were fourteen and their pay ranged from £1.5.0 to £1 a month. In 1937 there were sixty-six and they received fifteen shillings each a month.

The services of the eleven station labourers were terminated when the station was closed and none were recruited thereafter, while the employment of the transport clerk at Ikpe and of the canoe boys ended as soon as the district was no longer dependent on water transport. The number and the wages of the canoe boys were not given in the P.C.'s list. They seem to have been casually recruited as and when they were needed. The 1910 report (Head 4, item 12) refers to ten being employed in that year and paid fifteen shillings each with £1 for the headman. Unlike the station labourers and court messengers and other unskilled employees they were not local Ibo or Ibibio, for neither of these were water folk. They probably came from the Agwaguna or other Middle Cross River tribes that controlled the traffic on this part of the river.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

BENDE DIVISION. OWERRI PROVINCE.

III. Historical

In 1905-6 the Bende Onitsha Hinterland Expedition operated in the District. Very little information in connection with the operations has been preserved in the Bende office but the following report by Mr. F. Hives then Acting District Commissioner was found pasted in an old intelligence book and is considered of sufficient interest to be quoted in full.

"Having received instructions from the O.C. - B.O.H. Expedition to accompany the Column as Political Officer for such time as the Column was operating in the Bende District, I beg to report as follows:-

The Column left Bende on the 24th November 05 and proceeded N.W. to Nkpa. This large town had never been visited before, and had a very bad name, for seizing people and slave dealing, and also preventing people from going to Ozuakoli market. Only slight resistance was offered when the Column passed through, but offered a lot of resistance when some of the troops returned, since then the chiefs and people have come in and given up 109 cap guns, and have also made good roads, and built a rest house on Eme River.

The Column passed through the towns of Omobiala, Noyah and Amalum, before reaching main camp at Onicha, these three towns did not offer any resistance and gave up their guns, and have made good roads:-

I was then attached to Sub Column No.3 under Capt C.V. Fox and the following are the largest towns visited and dealt with viz.

Ihuma a fair sized town on Imo River about 1 hour's march from Omo-Wan-Wan. This town offered slight resistance, and the people caught a messenger who was carrying a letter, and cut the sinews of his hand, and sent him back refusing to let him proceed.

Okai-Agu a very large thickly populated town which had a very bad name, and was a place of refuge for a large number of runaway Bonny and

Opobo men, none of the friendly towns were allowed to trade there. This town offered a considerable resistance when the troops entered it, and it was a considerable time before the chiefs would come in, and I consider it very doubtful that they have given up all their guns, as they state they have considering the small number of guns given up viz 24 compared with the size of the town. The people have come in, and have started to make roads.

Ama-Ogugu a large town on the Iku River, the people of which offered a certain amount of resistance, although they seemed to be divided amongst themselves what attitude to take. I had received information of there being a big ju-ju in this town called Unyam which was older than the Aro Chuku ju-ju and considered by some to be the bigger, natives from Bonny, Opobo, Aro Chuku and Oka had visited it and human sacrifices were held there.

We were shown the ju-ju place by a friendly chief named Wbani of Omo Opara, who had visited the ju-ju three years ago. The ju-ju place was situated on the Iku River and although the paraphernalia, and skulls (of which there must have been a great number, judging from the number of baskets in which they are hung up) had been removed, it was evident from fresh marks that the ju-ju place had lately been used, and the sacrificial stone still remained. Upon receiving orders from the O.C. the juju place was completely destroyed and one of the two ju-ju priest captured, the other one I regret to say is still at large.

The people have come since, and given up guns, Omo-Okalla - This is about the largest of the towns dealt with, the compounds being very large, one viz Omo-Agu-Ngorli being over a mile in circumstance and very compact, the people offered a certain amount of resistance but have now come in and given up guns, and promise submission to the Government.

Ugu - a town joining Nkpa on the south with four large compounds, one of which viz Awa offered a serious opposition, the place being strongly

fortified with stockades, and all the roads leading into the towns had holes, about 1 ft deep with sharp bamboo spikes in the bottom of them. In the market place there was a war ju-ju and hundreds of short poisoned arrows, the points of which were being boiled over a slow fire. A number of guns were captured here, and from the amount of resistance offered it is extremely lucky that the Column did not have any casualities. It was some time before these people would surrender, but eventually they came in and gave up their guns.

The town[s] of Omo-Ngashi, Omo-Karbia, Ude, (Ekenga) and Omo-Hu, all offered slight resistance, but have now come in, and given up their guns.

All the towns mentioned are in what is known as the Oho-Oho country, which extends W. a few miles of Ozuakoli to the Imo River. The country is well watered the largest creek[s] being the Eme, Mfre, Iku and Obia, which all flow into the Imo River.

The towns are all large, and thickly populated the largest market places being in Okaiago. The chiefs of the towns mentioned have given up their guns, and state that they wish to be submissive to the Government.

In my opinion this part of the country is quite fit to be now handed over to the District Commissioner providing it is taken in hand and visited immediately.

I am of opinion, from the information which I have received from friendly natives, that the chief cause of trouble in these towns is caused by runaway Bonny and Opobo men who levy blackmail, and incite the natives to depridations which they would not think of doing of their own account. The man who seems to be doing the most mischief is a man named Obona of Opobo, who has already served terms imprisonment for blackmailing and has for some time been holding a court of his own, and has a number of men in police uniforms ? to help him (four of these have been captured and now

await trial at Bende) every effort has been made to capture this man, but so far I regret to say without result.

(Sgd) F. Hives Ag. D.C.

Bende. 29/1/06

In 1907 Mr. F. Hives and Mr. E. B. Dawson completed very excellent map of the District on a scale of 2 miles to 1 inch.

COMMENTS

The area in which this sub-column operated was occupied by the large tribe known to its neighbours and to the government as Ohuhu and to itself as Igbo. It consisted of the three unrelated sub-tribes of Umuokpara (Omopara), Okaiuka (Okaiagu) and Umuhu (Omohu). They were not in any sense political units and each of the towns and villages of which they were composed acted independently and made its own decisions. Hives sometimes used sub tribal and sometimes village names when referring to them. The Umuhu settlements were divided by the Ene River, those north of it being known as Ofeme (beyond the Ene). Amogugu was the only Umuhu town mentioned by him south of this river. Ude and Ekenga were Ofeme towns and the name Omohu which follows them probably covers the other Ofeme villages. Ugu was an Nkpa offshoot occupying the same area. Omo-Okalla, Omo-Agunorli, Omo-Ngashi and Omo-Karbia were Okaiuka villages. Omowanwan and Ihuma (Ehume) were Umuokpara towns and the "friendly chief named Mbani of Omopara" must have come from one of the other towns of this sub-tribe.

There were a number of jujus in the Ibo country that were believed to act as "judicial oracles"; the litigant invoked the spirit to prove the truth of falseness of his claim by killing him if he was lying. In most of them a time limit was set and if he survived this period he won his case. If he or a close relative died within it he lost it and he and his property were forfeited to the spirit. Its priests shared out the property between themselves and his skull was taken to decorate its shrine. In exceptional cases, for example the Agbala juju of Awka and the Long Juju of Arochuku, the spirit was believed to kill the perjurer instantly. It was already known however that in the case of the Long Juju the victim was not killed but hidden and sold away in another part of the country when his relatives had left Arochuku. I very much doubt if the Amogugu juju was associated with any "human sacrifices". Hives's reference to baskets of skulls which had been removed before his arrival suggests that it was a judicial oracle of the normal kind similar to one with which I was involved in a town further down the Imo in Aba division in 1940. Here the shrine of the juju was surrounded by over 50 skulls, the more recent being arranged in baskets and placed on benches beside it. Hives, to judge from his later publications, was obsessed with ideas about human sacrifices but these were not an Ibo custom except in some mortuary rituals and in these the victim's body, complete with its head, was buried with the deceased. If an Ibo community wished to make a human sacrifice to its

juju it made a living one, namely the Osu juju slaves of the northern and southern Ibo. In the nineteen thirties the Amogugu juju still functioned as the tutelary deity of this town but its judicial powers had disappeared and been forgotten.

None of the rivers named in the report were creeks in the official meaning of the word nor for that matter was the Imo River itself in these its upper reaches.

"Blackmailing" refers to the practice of passing oneself off as a government agent or policeman and extorting money from people by threatening otherwise to arrest and charge them before the D.C. or the P.C.

ANNUAL REPORT ON BENDE DISTRICT.
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1910.

Head I. Political.

(1). The attitude of the natives is friendly; and political Officer has been able to visit almost all the towns in the District (with exception of a few near the Imo River, to the west between Amaogugu and Omobialla, and to the N.E. between Alayai and Akunemi[1] with only an escort of 3 police.

(2). In June the town of Abiriba was paid £50 indemnity ordered from Ngussi Edda[2] on account of murder of 6 men from Abiriba in 1907; the consequence of which caused war between the 2 towns and the closing of markets and roads for some years. The dispute is now settled and markets and roads opened.

(3). All the towns are now amenable, more or less to orders of courts, and bring in their cases either to District court or one of the native courts. If the clerks and chiefs of the native courts could be better controlled, and checked by Europeans and they ran straight, the confidence of natives would be quite gained and all cases would be brought to court instead of to fetish men or out chiefs[3] for unjust settlement.

(4). Almost all the large towns have one chief holding a native court warrant, some have 2 or 3 chiefs as holders.
There are 158 chiefs who hold warrants to sit in native courts.[4]

(5). On all main roads all towns shew great willingness to help clear and make roads as long as any payment is made; and there is no difficulty in obtaining carriers so long as sufficient notice is given to the chiefs.

(6). The cash difficulty however is the most serious trouble in District; it is almost impossible for police, gang drivers, and native staff to get articles in the market at price given to rods, or native currency the natives now claim rods are value 6d to 9d cash instead of Government value 3d. If the staff, or anyone want to buy say a chicken they can do so for 2 rods but when they produce cash the sender raises price to 2/-or even 2/6 or refused altogether to sell.

In great many cases they refuse to take cash at all. unless a European is present. due to chiefs.

The educated Calabar, Sierra Leone etc. Natives traders, clerks etc. greatly encourage the local bush natives to fight[5] of cash; as they (the educated natives) make a very large percentage and profit by meeting local natives coming in with rods to court to take summonses etc or to pay fine; they then give them cash 5/- to pay into court, and take the 20 rods the poor bush man has scraped together; then these aliens take the 20 rods for which they have paid 5/- = 4 rods for 1/- as laid down and sell the rods in other markets at 6d and 9d each; even 1/- each. In the case of manillas at Oloko and Omohia the rate for payment for summonses etc is 4 manillas = to 3d or 16 for one shilling. people in the know get local natives to pay 16 manillas here for 1/- then send the manillas to Opobo and Azumini markets where they sell them 9 and 10 for 1/-.

Head 1.a Political.

(7) The towns of Item and Alaiyi are more friendly and are bringing cash into Bende court and also answer summonses, but it adviseable to send 2 police in most cases, to serve summonses and in case of a chief or popular man it would be advizeable to hold over summons till a European could visit the town.

(8) Ntiga in the western portion of District decline to come to Omohia court,

but will accept summons from Bende. they have been for some years clamouring for a native court of their own and say they could produce plenty of cases.

Head 1.B Expedition.

(9) The Bende Offufu people have peatly [greatly?] improved. There has been no fighting or any expedition in the district during the year. There is still consideration amount of slave trading carried on at Ozuakoli; it is difficult to capture original offenders as they do not reside at Ozuakoli but only appear on market days, and as soon as a slave is bought he is transferred from one man to another, till in the end no less than 7 or 8 persons would have all to be traced captured and convicted. The great difficulty is to get witnesses beside the man sold, to obtain a conviction.

Head 2.A. District Court.

(1). There have been criminal cases,

(a) and civil cases tried during the year.

(b) 1. of criminal cases have been convicted by D.C.
2. " " " " been sent to assizes
3. " " " " have been acquitted
4. " " " " " dismissed for want of evidence or none appearance if prosecution.

(c) The revenue from District ( ) has been

Native (B) Courts.

(1). The Native Courts have not done as well as they should have done, but still they are progressing.

(2). The confidence of the natives however in the court, when cases are heard without a European present have been very greatly shaken and retarded by the malpractices of some chiefs and some of the clerks.

(3). Ebem court has been particularly hundicufft [handicapped] by having had 2 clerks in succession convicted of ilthreating the natives; and of unscrufulous method of working the authority of that court for their own aggrandizement.

(4). This court is on a very difficult and bad road which in raining season is almost impossible; hence District Commr. or Assistant District Commissioner can not visit it as often as other courts. The chiefs have consequently done much as they like.

(5) A new Court house has been built at Ebem, and old rest house greatly improved and repaired in lst part of year.

Head 2.A District & B. Native Court[6]

(6) Oloko Court still has the largest number of cases and Ebem the last [least?]

(7) The total number of cases appearing in court are as follows:[7]

	Criminal cases		Civil cases		
Bende	148	"	1476	"	
Oloko	342	"	1563	"	
Omohia	177	"	872	"	
Ebem	109	"	251	"	
	4162		776 ?	"	Total
			(4162)		

For further information see appendix D.I. 2 and 3.

Total cases disposed in all courts during 1910 amount to 4938.

An increase on 1909 of criminal and civil.

(8) Mr. Shaw of Omohia is very energetic.

(9) The balance credit for each court at end of year was:

	£	S	D
Bende			
Oloko			
Omohia			
Ebem			
An increase on last year 1909 of			

(10). A considerable amount of money has been paid out of Court funds for road work and also clearing the Ikpe creek, by which it is hoped to tap the western portion of district for oil and kernels to send to Calabar via Itu. when the creek is a little more cleared above Ikpe to Ntalaku fairly large canoes will be able to trade to 6 or 7 miles of Oloko, and instead of to reach European factories as at present taking 4 to 5 days they will be able reach Itu factories in 3 or 3½ days.[8]

Head 3. Trade.

(1). Trade has greatly increased during the year 1910, the natives are finding benefit from improvement in most of the roads, distance between important centres having thus been in most cases greatly reduced and a number of very steep hills avoided.

(2). Owing to increase of law and order people are now more venturesome and visit markets which a few years ago they dare not, for fear of having their goods stolen and themselves sold as slaves.

(3). Ozuakoli, Abiriba, Omegu and Ogu Itu continue to be the largest markets and to attract largest attendance.

(4). More European manufactured goods and luxuries are being sold in markets by local traders, and in some cases many things can be bought cheaper in Ozuakoli markets than even at the factories at Itu, not with standing cost of transport.

(5). Chief articles of barter however are food stuffs and lamps and oil.[9]

(6). The cash currency however is working into favour very slowly indeed, and the natives continue to decline to take it in open market or else double and treble price they ask if rods or manillas are produced.

Head 4. Roads & Creeks.

(1). There is a statement to effect that there is nothing that can properly [be given?] even the name of a roads in this district, however several goods bush paths have had an immense amount of work and

labour expended on them in the 1st 6 months of the year.

(2). and last 3 weeks.[10] Chiefly on the (1) Bende-Afikpo road (2) Erriam road.

(3). Had the improvement started or marked out during 1st 6 months of the year been continued and completed both the Afikpo and Arochuku roads would now have been almost quite as good and it would have been possible to bicycle more than 3/4 of the way on eastern road.[11]

(4). The opening left on the causeway about 2½ miles along Afikpo road for which corrugated iron drain pipes were obtained were not put down before rains and consequence was the road was almost impossible [impassable?].

(5). During the month of December however an immense amount of work has been done improving the Bende Arochuku road, for 3 miles and (2) Bende Afikpo road for 1st 3 miles the bad hill between 5 to 6 miles; the 12 and 13 miles have been made safe.

(6) More work has been done on this road in 10 days than in 5 months before.

(7) The road almost completed between Ogu Itu to Ikpe landing before June 1910; but since untouched, has during the last week of December been cleared, widened; two bad hills avoided and distance shortened by 3/4 of miles. It is practicable for a bicycle during the dry season for over 3½ of the 4½ miles.

(8) In the early part of the year too; a better line of road to avoid swamp and one hill between Inyang River and town of Ikpe was cut, stumped 4 partly made.[12]

(9) During the month of July to October one mile on the Bende and Afikpo road is reported to have been made along telegraph and and a 50 foot [trace?]cleared through the forest from Afikpo to boundary toward Abiriba.

Hd. 4 b Creek.

(10) The Abiribi have worked excellently.[13]

A lot of clearance has been done on the Ikpe creek, Ihim or Nyang River, Markor creek and Enyong River to . Steel canoe can now go from Ikpe-Ogu Itu landing to Itu in one day, if it starts early. It takes 2 to 5 days return during dry season but much longer in rains as current is then so rapid and depths of water does not allow pulling [poling?].[14]

During last few month the stores for new site have been brought up this route.

The saving in carriers expenses is enormous. There still however remain 30 to 40 ways [trees?] that require blowing up; and one very narrow portion just above town of Ikorada that requires to be widened and carriers [barriers?] cut off. A good rest house has been built at Ikorada on a hill well above high water, and the rest house at the Ikpi-Oguitu crossing on Ihhym or Nyang improved and a boys house built. There is now a transport clerk Mr Briggs stopping at this place to check stores and forward to Bende, he is not a very williant [brilliant?] man.

(6) During the month of Mr Ag. D.C. Ingles came down from Ntalaku in a large wood canoe, taking days, as a lot of large fallen trees and snags had to cleared.

The river from Ntalaku to Ikpe is very winding and requires a great deal of clearing to be done to render it of any real service, but fairly large native canoes can now get up and down.

(7) Chief Okata of Oloko has done a great deal of work on this part of river and deserves credit. he promises to bring down lot of oil and kernels next season.

Head 4 A. Road & B. Creeks.

(8) The river above Ikpe has not been surveying so distance can only be very roughly judged to be about 14 miles, the river is extremely winding and tortuous. There are no towns on immediate neighbourhood, either bank crossing to quite 1 mile swamp either side the right bank is higher than left generally.

(9) A good bridge was built at crossing Ntalaku - Bende Offufu in June; and road cleared through to Erriam.

(10) During dry season this road is better for person going Bende Ikot Ekpene less hilly and considerably shorter but in rains the swamp after crossing at Ntalaku is very bad.[15]

(11) There is a good Rest House at Ntalaku one mile from river and Chief Okata has established a trading station about 800 yards from river and built several huts.

(12) Ten canoe boys were employed for transport work and clearing all last year and paid 15/- per month each and head man £1 - from native court funds.

(13) About £20 pounds also was spent on clearing work during the year.

Head 5 Prison.

(1) A site for new prison has been selected on high ground at the back of the new present Hospital, about 500 yards from D.C. house.

(2) The Chiefs of Bende have promised to clear the bush, stump and level thr gound for £20.

(3) The site is almost ready now and chiefs have received part payment.

(4) The enclosure will be 100 yards square sufficient - accomodation will be available for 200 prisoners.

(5) The health of prison has not been good during the year. There has been several outbreaks of dysentry; one of scurvey, and a lot of pneumonia. During the last 6 weeks of year however the health of prisoners has greatly improved and is now good.

(6) The admission to Hospital have been 71, the food has been indifferent and the D.M.O. has recommend the contract with the present contractor, Mr. Macauley should terminate at the end of 1910 and recommend he be not granted the tender again in future.[16]

(7) During the last [first?] 6 months prisoners were chiefly employed on road work. During the last 6 they have been employed on removal the old station to new site and erection of European bungalow Estimate value prison labour is £602.6.3.

(8) Cost rations £461.1.7.

(9) Total of admission and releases during 1910 were

(10) Total committed during year 309 male and 19 female.

(11) Daily average in prison 100.56.

(12) Total Deaths 27.

(13) " Escapes 3; recaptured.

Head 6. Schools.

(1) There is a Government School at Oloko with about 42 boys enrolled but usual attendance is less than 25.

(2) Okon Edem is a schoolmaster at salary of £ Per An., he is not particularly smart man.

(3) Each boy receive . one singlet and one cloth each paid for from Oloko court funds.

(4) Annual subscription by chief is £50 payable in advance £30 of which paid by Oloko court funds and £20 by chief vide Bende D.P.Mo. 827/22/10/10.

(5) Two scholars are being sent from Bende to Bonny Government School and subscriptions paid by Bende native Council each quarter.

(6) A new school house and quarters for boys was erected at cost £35 R.I.E. 1909. It was started in December 1909 but not properly completed till after June 1910.

(7) The Schoolmasters quarters have also been repaired and improved.

(8) A School garden has been started.

Head 7 Native Staffs.

(1) List of Bende N.S. see attached list appendix A.

(2) I regret none of staffs can be reported very favourably.

(3) The District Clerk Mr. W. Esselfie is very slow and does not know his work well. He has failed to pass his promotion examine [examination] and his increment has been stopped.

(4) Mr. Ekeke and Mr Jaja the Interpreters are the best, but Mr. Jaja is still far from efficient, he however is learning to typewrite and do clerical work and writes a very fair hand. Mr Ekeke cannot write.

(5) The carpenter Quashi Arnhim who had been on station for over 3 years was at last year removed and one Dickson and replaced him in May. Dickson is a fair carpenter but very slow worker.

(6) One of Interpreters Mr. Hamilton was imprisoned in October on severe charge, Mr. Scott the 4th Interpreter is very slack.

(7) Prison warder Hamilton was removed end of June and one Amoso took his place - Amoso was imprisoned for about and one Onoye is now warder and being useless man and quite incompetent for his job.

(8) 3 extra Gang Drivers are being paid from native court funds and ten from prison vote.

(9) The Gang Drivers now do guard over prison and police furnish treasury guard.

(10) Both police and Gang drivers required to be augmented to compete with increasing work.

(11) The new clerk Ebem Mr Archibong appointed October is doing fairly well.

Head 8 Public Works.

(1) The bungalow on old site were started to be removed about August 1910 and two separate quarters one for A.D.C. and one D.M.O. have already been completed.

Unfortunately they have not been erected on original plan and are built

in esch , the splendid new is practically lost, each bungalow footing almost into the next, and D.M.O. bungalow placed right on center of main both road leading to Afikpo, the road will now have to be diverted. It is also built on partly marked up ground has already sink on, on side over 3 inches. It would have been on solid ground it built further forward according to my original plan.[17]

Head 8 Political [Public] works

There has been very great difficulty re transport of material owing to want of water transport. There are still a lot of large planks and timber at Isu Itu. The steel canoe has been ordered to be returned to Calabar doubt if wood canoe will be large enough to carry such large timber.

Head 9 Forest and Agriculture.

(1) During early part year a very great deal of planting transplanting rubber, orange lime, and cocoa trees, was done about station and over 2000 shade tree seeds, and lot lime and pawpaw trees have been planted along main roads at rest houses at Ebem, Oloko, Omohia, Erriam, Abiriba, Ogu Itu, Ndewo, Isiugu and Ndogi.

(2) The rubber (para) trees at Ndewo and Bende are doing very well there are about 110 rubber and 22 cocoa trees planted at Ndewo, 180 to 200 rubber and 50 cocoa about Bende town at old site, and 45 (para) rubber trees and 48 cocoa trees, and 50 elastics on new site.

(3) Some of the (para) rubber trees at old cemetry are over 13 foot in height.

(4) A very excellent garden has been laid out in terraces on new site, it is a good soil, and plenty water obtainable within 800.

(5) Some cocoa seeds have been given to Schoolmaster at Oloko to plant at Oloko in the school garden.

(6) One of station labourers Monday by name was sent for a fortnight in station to Calabar curator early in 1909 to learn garden work, he is not a success however.[18]

Head 10 Miscellaneous

Passing officials.

(1) The following have visited Bende, or passed through during the year.[19]

(b) Changing of staff.

(2) Mr. A.D.C. Palmer was relieved by A.D.C. Smith on 7.2.10 on transfer. Major W.A.C. Cockburn proceeded on leave in June and was relieved by Mr. Ag D.C. Ingles,on 14/6/10. Mr. Brown foreman of works arrived Bende 13th June 1910 to remove bungalow to new site and do P.W.D. works. Dr. Suffern D.M.O. proceeds on leave 7th March 1910 and was relieved by Dr. Wilson; Dr. Wilson was transferred to Ikot Ekpene 9th June 1910. Warder Hamilton was relieved by Amos Amosi on 30th June 1910. Carpenter Quasi Arnhim was transferred to Calabar and relieved by Dickson who arrived 1.2.10.

(C) Telegraphs.

Telegraph line from Bende to Afikpo was completed ; a lot of clearing has been done on the line near Abiriba during July to October and, last 3 weeks December a great improvement has been affected on telegraph road for 1st 3 miles from Bende, the 5 and 6 miles the 11 to 13 miles large cuttings several embankment having been made and several posts obstructing roads removed to the side. £35 has been expended on this work.

(D) New Site.

New site is excellent. About whole area was cleared of grass and bush and partly stumped and a circular road made right round before July 1910 since then however owing to labour all being required erecting new bungalow most of ground became again over grown.

(2) Since beginning of December however the roads and paths almost [about?] station have all been cleared again and are opened and large tract thoroughly stumped and partly levelled. The Police have now a good parade ground. The native Hospital police lines, boys houses, labourers

houses, Dispensers house, 2 clerks quarters [as] well all erected before July 1910, no new native houses have since been built. Lines for court messengers and gang drivers and native court clerk house and office which were all marked out before July however have not been finished and sites are now over grown. A new site was selected by Honourable Provincial Commissioner for prison on last visit and chiefs promised £20 to clear it. It is now almost fit to to start building on.

Head 10. Miscellaneous.

(c)

(1) Two new rest houses were built early in year at Erriam, close to telegraph and on main road Oloko Ikot Ekpene.

(2) At Amaeke Abam 4½ miles along Bende Afikpo road and one partly finished at Ndebo about 9 miles from Bende on Afikpo road on very excellent site high ground above the town of Ndebo. There are now or should be 56 Rest Houses in Bende District. The Honourable Provincial Commissioner ruled on his last visit care takers should be appointed to the main rest houses at 10/- a month and Chiefs at Ogu Itu, Ndewo, Omohia receive £2 per month for upkeep. The rest house at Ndewo has been repaired and new quarters for boys erected. The Ogu Itu Rest House is excellent and trees and shrubs planted 2 years ago doing well, 3 lime trees now bear fruit, there are also lot of good pine apples.

Head 10 Miscellaneous.

(E) Rest House. The Rest House at Ogu Itu - Markor swamp has partly been cleared and thoroughly repaired and compound enlarged trees cut hills and site for carriers huts marked out. This rest house will be most useful in rains.[20]

(f) Social.

(1) The natives of Bende District are fairly civilized for 12 miles round Bende with exception of towns between Ndewo and Erriam partly Ibibio - they are still very bush.

(2) Fetishism and cannibalism is still very prevalent, especially to west and south. Further North and to east they do not appear to practice cannibalism so much.

(3) Taking life through out is thought very little of, for very little debt, or given people are killed.[21]

(4) Slavery still practicable round Ezuakoli, Omohia and Ebem.

(5) Bende town people and Abiriba are traders this [the rest?] agricultural

(6) Abiriba and Ngodis are also good blacksmiths, and metal workers but whether Aros or local men I am not sure.[22]

(7) Akannu - Alayi - Ntiga tribes still warlike.[23]

(8) Marriage laws vary greatly dealt [between?] different tribes or areas.

(9) Cost of dowry[24] for a wife averages however from £8 to £15, latter is higher price.

Sgd. W. O. I. Corbham,[25] Major

D.C. Bende 6/1/11.

NOTES AND COMMENTS (1910 Report)

1. I cannot trace Akunemi; I think it is a typing error or misspelling of one of the Alayi or Item villages. Amaogugu is shown on the map as Amaguga. Umuobialla is an Isu-Ikwu-Ato town a few miles east of the town of Nonya.

2. Ngussi Edda (Ngusu Ada) is the senior town of the Ada tribe and in the Afikpo district. Part of its territory bounds with that of Abiriba.

3. An "out chief" was a chief without a warrant. It was a criminal offence for criminal cases to be heard by any person or tribunal except the District or the Native Court and only chiefs with a government warrant could sit on the bench of a native court. See also Note 7 on Annual Report for 1912.

4. 158 warrant chiefs may seem a large number but this meant that well over half of the towns in the Bende district were without one.

5. "Fight" should I think be followed by "shy of". "Cash" was the new government money. Five shillings was the cost of a summons and continued to be so until after the Second World War.

6. This heading is out of place and should have been deleted.

7. The totals for criminal and for civil cases have been transposed. The typist has queried the total for the civil and given the correct total below in brackets. All the figures for the succeeding items have been omitted like those for the District Court.

8. It was not the time but the cost of transport overland that was critical.

9. There was no barter in Nigerian markets. Goods were bought and sold in the normal manner.

10. "Last three weeks" should form the concluding words of the previous paragraph.

11. The same complaint was made in the 1911 report. The gist of it was that the D.C. had been ordered to stop work on these roads until the P.W.D. engineers had inspected them and decided how they should be improved. The order was received in June at the beginning of the rainy season and by the time the P.C. had countermanded the order any work that had already been done had been largely destroyed by the rains.

12. Ikpe is probably Ikpe Ikot Nkun. The 1910 map shows the Bende-Ikot Ekpene district boundary as the Inyang River at this point, which would place all the Ikpe towns and villages in the Ikot Ekpene district but this rather suggests that the D.C. Bende still considered it as being in his district.

13. Abiriba town is on the headwaters of the Igu River which is passable in its lower reaches for light canoes. But I think the work contributed by this town was further down on the Enyong around and below Makor Beach. The Abiriba were great traders who were established in the markets of the Itu (Enyong) tribe, particularly the important market of Okopedi.

14. Apart from the "Enyong River" which was the official name at this period for the Uduma River, all these names apply to the same river which was called successively the Enyong Creek from its junction with the Cross River as far as Isu (Esuk) Itu , then the Makor Creek from Isu Itu to Makor beach, then the Ikpe creek from Makor beach to Ikpe beach and thereafter Ihim or Inyang. Steel or other large canoes could be poled up it in the dry season but had to be paddled in the rainy. I cannot trace Ikorada (Ikot Ada). Ikot is the Ibibio word for bush and can be used for a settlement of any size from a few houses to a large town.

15. This was "road (d)" referred to in the 1908 report and in Note 12 of its commentary.

16. Macauley was a woman (vide Head 5c of the 1910 Handing Over notes), as were all the prison food contractors.

17. This mutilated paragraph should read "are built in echelon. The splendid view is practically lost, each bungalow looking almost into

the next and the D.M.O.'s bungalow placed right in the centre of the main bush road leading to Afikpo. The road will now have to be diverted. It is also built on partly made up ground and has been already sinking, on one side over 3 inches."

18. "Calabar curator" was the curator of the Botanical Garden, Calabar.

19. The names of these visitors have been omitted.

20. I think this should read "The rest house at Ogu Itu - Makor Swamp has been partly cleaned and thoroughly repaired and the compound has been enlarged, trees planted, outhouses and site for carriers huts marked out."

21. I think this means that people could be killed even for a debt.

22. The Item tribe should join Abiriba as traders. Both people as well as some Ohaffia and Abam towns (like Ndoji) were blacksmiths.

23. Akanu town of Ohaffia was at war with Umuchiakoma town when the Protectorate was established, hence their being placed respectively in the Bende and Arochuku districts.

24. Dowry was the local term for bride wealth.

25. The signature should read W.A.C. Cockburn.

Bende District - Notes of Inspection on by H.P.C.
(Mr. H. Bedwell) dated 6th December, 1911.

I arrived at Bende from Okigwi on 5th December. The whole road is bad but the portion from Ozuakoli is extremely so. This appears to be realised too well by the District Officers as the town of Ozuakoli has had very little attention in the last twelve months. It was not until my arrival there was anything done in spite of the Policeman sent out to have the Rest House put in proper order. The latter is an apology for one and all the out-houses are broken down.

Held a meeting with the Ozuakoli in the evening and discussed the building of a proper Rest House. They said they were quite ready to build one if the D.C. would show them what is required. This should be done at an early date.

2. Major Cockburn informs me that the road has not been repaired since the wet season but portions of it looked to me as if a path had never been made. I should like the Major's suggestions as to an alternative route to this place. It is of considerable importance I think to have a good connection with it, on account of the very suspicious nature of the Ozuakoli market.

3. Bende Native Courts have roughly £800 on credit. I should like Major Cockburn to send me a road programme for the dry season. The Okigwi road must be put in order to Omobiala boundary.

4. A ruling book will be started. I have explained the nature of it and will issue further instructions.

5. A fair cash book of each Native Court should be kept at District Headquarters. This has also been explained.

7. I do not like the site suggested for a European Cemetary, I have arranged with Major Cockburn to extend the area of the Station. A site should be selected by the M.O. and D.C. on its southern boundary.[1] The site chosen for the new prison is an excellent one, but the prison should have

been transferred long ago (vide para. 12 of Mr. Fosbery's notes in October 1910). I must say that I expected to find all quarters from the old site transferred by now, this must be pushed on by Major Cockburn's successor.

8. Money is required under Item 52 Hd. 8 - Conveyance of Specie - at this station. There is no ink which is the case in other districts. I should like to know the reason of this from my office.

10. A new Departmental vote Expenditure Book is required to be opened for 1912. Only the headings should be put in this for each R.1E. as received and in order in which they are received. This book is not intended to be a copy of the Estimates for the year.

£40 has just been received for General Carriers, this has already been expended and I have wired Calabar to send a further £20.

11. A column must be made in the Intelligence Book in which the heading 'visited' and the date of every visit paid to the town initialled by the Officer paying it must be entered.

12. I visited the prison with Major Cockburn. There were 111 prisoners, 100 of whom were convicted, 10 unconvicted and one female prisoner unconvicted.

13. There was one complaint as to the food not being sufficient. I find that no fish or meat is supplied by the contractor. The contract is for 3d. per diem per prisoner and it must be a very paying contract under these conditions. I think that an extra fish ration should be given to the end of the year and bought from Native Court funds. The new contract as from the 1st January must include fish throughout the year. Major Cockburn informs me that it will have to be at 4d. per prisoner for the first six months and 3d. for the other. Dr. Macdonald states that they have done very well without fish or meat and that he has not asked for the latter which moreover is very difficult to get in this district.[2]

14. There should be no stick of any kind left in the cells. Latrine pans should only be put there at night and taken out in the morning, though in

one cell I found a stick quite large enough for the prisoners to knock down a wall or do any other damage they might wish.

16. I spent 1½ hours over the District Water Supply in this Station with Major Cockburn. The one I went first to is known as 'B'; the water is said to be unfit for Europeans to drink. It will at any rate furnish a most excellent washing place for the Native Staff and also, further down again for the prisoners and will give a large supply of drinking water to the natives. The present open drains should be covered with sand and a sand filter bed made where the water issues. In the same way at Water No. 1 a reservoir should be made with an outlet having a tap which can be locked. A little cement and brickwork is all that is required for both these systems. A bricklayer should be sent to this Station also a brick press. I understand that there has been some discussion about the latter. Whatever the result of this another one should be sent up as soon as possible as this and other works are waiting for it.

17. I found that the telegraph clerk was 7d. wrong in stamps which he has refunded. He has no safe and not even a cash box to put his money or stamps in. The D.C. will please see that both stamps and money are taken into the Treasury Safe every night and delivered back to him the next morning until such time as I can send up a safe. A small safe must be sent up as early as possible in January next. The office also requires a clock.

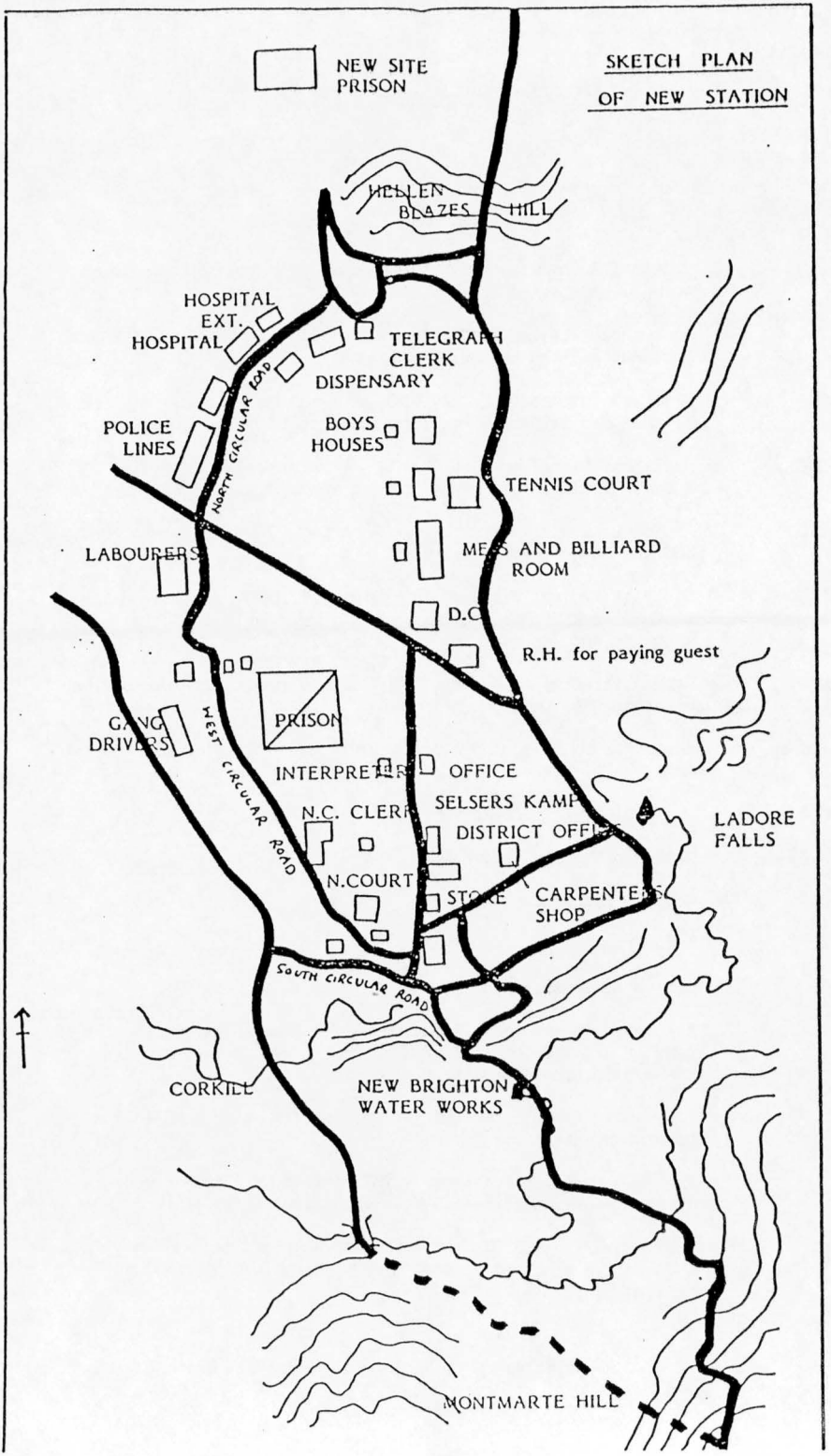
18. Held a meeting of nearly 2 hours with 79 Chiefs from 30 towns. The principle of granting warrants for each town of importance was explained to them. They seemed to think they all ought to have one.

19. A complaint was made against Alayi Town which requires enquiry by the District Commissioner. I promised the Bende Chiefs that the old site would be returned to them in exchange for the new station site extended as proposed and arranged with Major Cockburn. I further stated that ground in addition for a prison farm was required and that payment would be down for the use of it. The ground to revert to the Chiefs when not so required.

20. The rubber plants on the old site are to be preserved and looked after.

List of Native Staff - Bende 1911.

	Name	Rank	Date of appt.	Salary Per Month £ s. d.	Remarks
1.	William Esilfie	Dist. Clk.	1.12. 3.	6 8 4	
2.	M.J. Scott	Interpreter	9.12. 9.	2 - -	
3.	Morinkwe	"	1. 7.11.	2 - -	3 mths. probation from 1.7.11.
4.	John Martin	"	1. 7.11.	2 - -	" " "
5.					
6.	Dickson	Dist. Carpenter	-	4 - -	
7.	F.A. Lampson	Dispenser	1. 1. 4.	6 6 8	
8.	M. Pepple	Office Boy	18. 7. 4.	- 15 -	
9.	Abun Kit	House Boy		1 - -	
10.	Beauty	" "		1 - -	
11.	George	" "		1 - -	
12.	Obena	Hosp. Messenger		1 - -	
13.	L.J. Reed	Prison Warder		4 5 -	
14.	Miss L. Ekanem	" Matron		2 - -	
15-24.	10 Gangdrivers Police	at		1 10 -	each.
227.	Sam Wiss	Corporal		2 19 5	
310.	Lawain Amnbiuja	"		2 19 5	
155.	Uku	1st C/C.		2 9 1	
129.	Usim Okodi	2nd "		2 1 4	
321.	Onyeama Inheodi	" "		2 1 4	
62.	Obara Okodi (and 8 others)	3rd "		1 10 -	
	Total Police 14.				
1.	R.A. Addoe	School Master Oloko		5 16 8	
	11 Labours £1. 5. -. and rest 19/6.				
	George Archibong	C.N.C. Bende	4.11. 9.	4 - -	
	L.J. Shaw	" Orohia	10. 5..7.	5. 10 -	
	A. Ojiogu	" Oloko		4 - -	
	Iruobam Jumbo	" Ebem		4 - -	
	L. Djong	Clerk (Ikpi)		2 - -	
	L. Adegun	Tel. Clerk		3 - -	
	Jonathan	Lineman		2 - -	
	Alabi	"		1 15 -	
	Gari	Ass. Lineman		1 - -	
	Bujianu	Mail runner		1 2 6	
	Unabuo	" "		1 2 6	
	Henry	N.C. Intp. Bende		2 - -	
	Wachuku	" " Orobia		2 - -	
	Jonah	" " Ebem		1 10 -	
		N.C. Messengers.			
	(14. 1.5. 1.2.6., 1.2.6., rest £1.)				
		Canoe Boys			
	[nothing recorded.]				


NEW SITE PRISON
SKETCH PLAN OF NEW STATION
HELLEN BLAZES HILL
HOSPITAL EXT.
HOSPITAL
TELEGRAPH CLERK
DISPENSARY
POLICE LINES
NORTH CIRCULAR ROAD
BOYS HOUSES
TENNIS COURT
LABOURERS
MESS AND BILLIARD ROOM
D.C.
R.H. for paying guest
PRISON
GANG DRIVERS
WEST CIRCULAR ROAD
INTERPRETER
OFFICE
SELSERS KAMP
N.C. CLERK
DISTRICT OFFICE
LADORE FALLS
N.COURT
STORE
CARPENTERS SHOP
SOUTH CIRCULAR ROAD
CORKILL
NEW BRIGHTON WATER WORKS
MONTMARTE HILL

GLOSSARY AND GAZETTEER

ABBREVIATIONS

Government

P.C.	Provincial Commissioner. An officer in charge of a province, formally addressed as
H.P.C.	Honourable Provincial Commissioner. Title later changed to Resident and the Honourable dropped.
D.C.	District Commissioner. An officer in charge of a district or of this seniority. Title later changed to District Officer.
A.D.C.	Assistant District Commissioner. A junior officer subordinate to a D.C. Title later changed to Assistant District Officer.
Ag. D.C.	Acting District Commissioner. An A.D.C. when acting as a D.C. and in charge of a district.
D.M.O.	District Medical Officer. A medical officer who was a qualified medical doctor who was in charge of the health of a district and its officers and officials.
D.D.S.	Deputy Director of Surveys. The second ranking officer of the Department of Surveys.
I. of P.	Inspector of Prisons. A senior officer of the Prisons Department.
P.W.D.	The Public Works Department.
S.N.R.	Southern Nigeria Regiment.
C.S.M.	Company Sergeant Major.
M.P.	A memorandum.
N.A.	Native Administration.
R.I.E.	A requisition to incur expenditure. A document signed by the P.C. or a senior officer of other government departments authorising the expenditure of government money.
T.D.R.	A treasury deposit receipt. A receipt for money paid into a government treasury.
P.I.	Preliminary Investigation. A judicial enquiry into a murder or other serious crime and the depositions taken at it.
N.S.	Native Staff. Subordinate staff who were African and who, when Native acquired a derogatory meaning, were defined as African Staff.

Missions

C.M.S.	The Church Missionary Society. (Anglican)
N.D.P.	The Niger Delta Pastorate. A branch of the C.M.S.
C.S.M.	The Church of Scotland Mission.
M.M.	The Methodist Mission, originally P.M.M., Primitive Methodist Mission.
R.C.M.	The Roman Catholic Mission.

The Kwa (or Qua) Ibo mission was never referred to by its initial letters.

LOCAL ENGLISH USAGE

beach	Originally the riverside site where the agencies of overseas trading firms which were located on hulks moored in the river kept their casks while these were being filled with palm oil. When these agencies moved inland, a beach was that part of the factory compound set aside for the African middlewomen who traded with the firm to bulk their oil in the drums provided by the firm.
boy	A servant (who was always male).
bush	In pidgin English a translation of ohia, the Ibo word for wild unfarmed land and its inhabitants (anu ohia), the opposite to cultivated land, domestic animals and reasonable civilized people, and as such a term of abuse. In government slang it referred to the hinterland and its officers as opposed to the Protectorate headquarters and especially the secretariat and its officers.
cap gun	A muzzle loading musket in which the flint and steel sparking mechanism had been replaced by a hammer and a gunpowder cap.
cockshy	A temporary survey beacon.
chop	Food, and when used as a verb, to eat.
dash	A present given to anyone who had performed a service for one.
dowry	Bride price. Wealth given by the family of the groom to the bride's family which established a valid contract of marriage.
district	A subdivision of a province, later known as a division.
factory	A trading establishment of an expatriate firm.
flog	To hit or strike a person.
gang driver	A prison warder below the grade of 1st class.
hotel	A place where one could get a meal but not any sleeping accommodation.
juju	Supernatural power or any person or thing believed to possess it.

palaver — A discussion and, by extension, a dispute.

tie-tie — Locally made cord or rope.

town — A politically coherent group of villages which in some cases could be called a small tribe (e.g. Bende), in others a sub-division of a tribe (e.g. Uzuakoli).

GAZETTEER

The spelling of Eastern Nigerian names is very variable. Early administrators who had no written material to guide them recorded what they thought they heard. They preferred the vowel o to the contemporary u (Omo for Umu) and had difficulty with many of the endings (e.g. the Ibibio -mong). There was also the hazard of typing errors (e.g. Isingu for Isiugu). One can only guess at some of the place names and admit complete defeat for a few others. I have listed below in the first column the names as they occur in the reports and notes, in the second the name given to the same place in the map of 1910, in the third column the name as it appears in later documents (e.g. the 1953 census) while the fourth gives its tribal or other affiliations. The bracket encloses the name of its Native Court area where this can be deduced; "District" applies to position before 1914, "Division" to thereafter. Omo (Umu) is an Ibo prefix meaning children or descendants.

Aba (Aba)	Aba	Aba	A Southern Ngwa village and H.Q. of the district of this name.
Afikpo (Afikpo)	Afikpo	Afikpo	A Cross River Ibo tribe and H.Q. of the district of this name
Abama (Oloko)	Abama	Abama	A village of N. Otoro tribe, Anang Ibibio, transferred to Ikot Ekpene district.
Abayi (Oloko)	Abayi	Abayi	A village of the Ngwa Uku sub tribe of Ngwa tribe, now in Aba division.
Abiriba (Ebem)	Abiriba	Abiriba	A tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Akanu (Ebem)	Akano	Akanu	A town of Ohaffia tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Akwang Akwango	-	Akwangu	The senior village Item tribe, Isu/Item Ibo.
Akwete	Akwete	Akwete	A town of the Ndokki tribe of S. Ibo on the Lower Imo River.
Akunemi			Not traced.
Alacha (Oloko)	-	Abiakpo Alacha	A village of the Abiakpo section N. Otoro tribe, Anang Ibibio. Transferred to Ikot Ekpene district
Alai Alayi Aliyi	-	Alayi	The Alayi tribe of Isu/Item Ibo.

Amachi (Oloko)	Amachi	Amachi	A town of the Nsulu subtribe Ngwa tribe now in Aba division.
Amaititi (Omohia)	-	Amaetiti	The common name of the villages of Umuezike and Umuda Ofeme of the Umuhu subtribe Ohuhu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Amalum	-	-	Not traced.
Amango	-	? Amaogbu	A village of the Abam tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Amaogugu (Omohia)	Amaguga	Amogugu	A town of Umuhu subtribe Ohuhu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ameke	-	Ameke	1. Second ranking village of Item tribe Isu/Item Ibo.
"	Amaeke:	Ameke	2. A town of Abam tribe. Cross River Ibo.
Amibo (Omohia)	Amibo	Amibo	A town of the Ubakala tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Amors (Oloko) Amorro	Amoro	Amuru	A town of the Ibere tribe of Ngwa Ibo.
Anewa	-	-	Not traced.
Atcha	Atcha	Atcha	A town of Isu ikwu ato tribe of Isu Item/Ibo in Okigwe District.
Azu Abam	Azu Abam	Ozu Abam	A town of the Abam tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Azuakoli Ezuakoli	Ozuakoli	Uzuakoli	A town of Umuimenyi section of Isu ikwu ato tribe Isu/Item Ibo.
Azumini	Azumini	Azumini	A town of Ndokki tribe of Ibo on Aba River.
Arochuku	Aro chuku	Arochuku	A tribe of Cross River Ibo and H.Q. of the district of the same name.
Aro	Aro	Aro	Abbreviation for the above.
Bende	Bende	Bende	A tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo and H.Q. of the district of the same name.
Bende Ofufa (Oloko)	Bende Offufa	Mbente	A town of the Nkalu tribe of N. Ibibio now in Ikot Ekpene division.
Benin	Benin	Benin	The city and state. Also the H.Q. of the district of the same name in the Central Province.
Bibiankere (Oloko)	-	? Ibiokene	A village of the Nkalu tribe N. Ibibio now in the Ikot Ekpene division.
Bonny	Bonny	Bonny	An Eastern Ijo state and Oil Rivers port.

Calabar	Calabar	Calabar	Principal town of the Efik tribe, originally known as Old Calabar to distinguish it from New Calabar, who are now known as the Kalabari tribe and state of the Eastern Ijo. The port of the same name and the H.Q. of the Eastern Province.
Dinkere	-		Not traced.
Ebem (Ebem)	Ebem	Ebem	A town of the Ohaffia tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Ekenga (Omohia)	-	Ikenga	A town of the Umuhu subtribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ekitola	-	Etiti Ulo	A village of the Bende tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ekperi Erriam (Oloko)	Ekperi	Ekperi	A town which with Arriam and Usaka formed a subtribe of Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Eme	Eme	Eme	An eastern tributary of the Imo R.
Enyon Enyong Creek	Enyong Creek	Enyong Creek	A river called by the Ibibio Enyong and by the Ibo Inyang. Creek defined its navigable section.
Enyong River	Enyong River	Uduma river	A northern tributary of the above.
Erriam (Oloko)	Erriam	Arriam	A town which with Usaka and Ekperi formed a subtribe of Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ezuku	Ezuko	Eze uku	A town of the Alayi tribe of Isu/ Item Ibo.
Ekpi Ikorigun	Ikpe Ikot Nkun	Ikpe Ikot Nkun	A town of the Ikpe tribe of E. Ibibio in the Ikot Ekpene district.
Ibeku (Omohia)	Ibeku	Ibeku	A tribe of the Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ibere (Oloko)	-	Ibere	A tribe of the Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Iberre	Iberre	Ibere	A tribe of the Isu/Item Ibo.
Ibilunta (Oloko)	Ibelenta	Iberenta	A town of the Ibere tribe of Ohuhu/ Ngwa Ibo.
Ibong (Oloko)	-	Ibong	A village group of Northern Otoro tribe Anang Ibibio transferred to Ikot Ekpene district.
Ibono (Oloko)	Imono	Ibono	A village of Nkalu tribe N. Ibibio now in Ikot Ekpene division.
Igu River	Igu	Igu	A northern tributary of Inyang River
Ihe (Oloko)	-	Ihie	A town of Ngwa Uku subtribe Ngwa tribe now in Aba division.

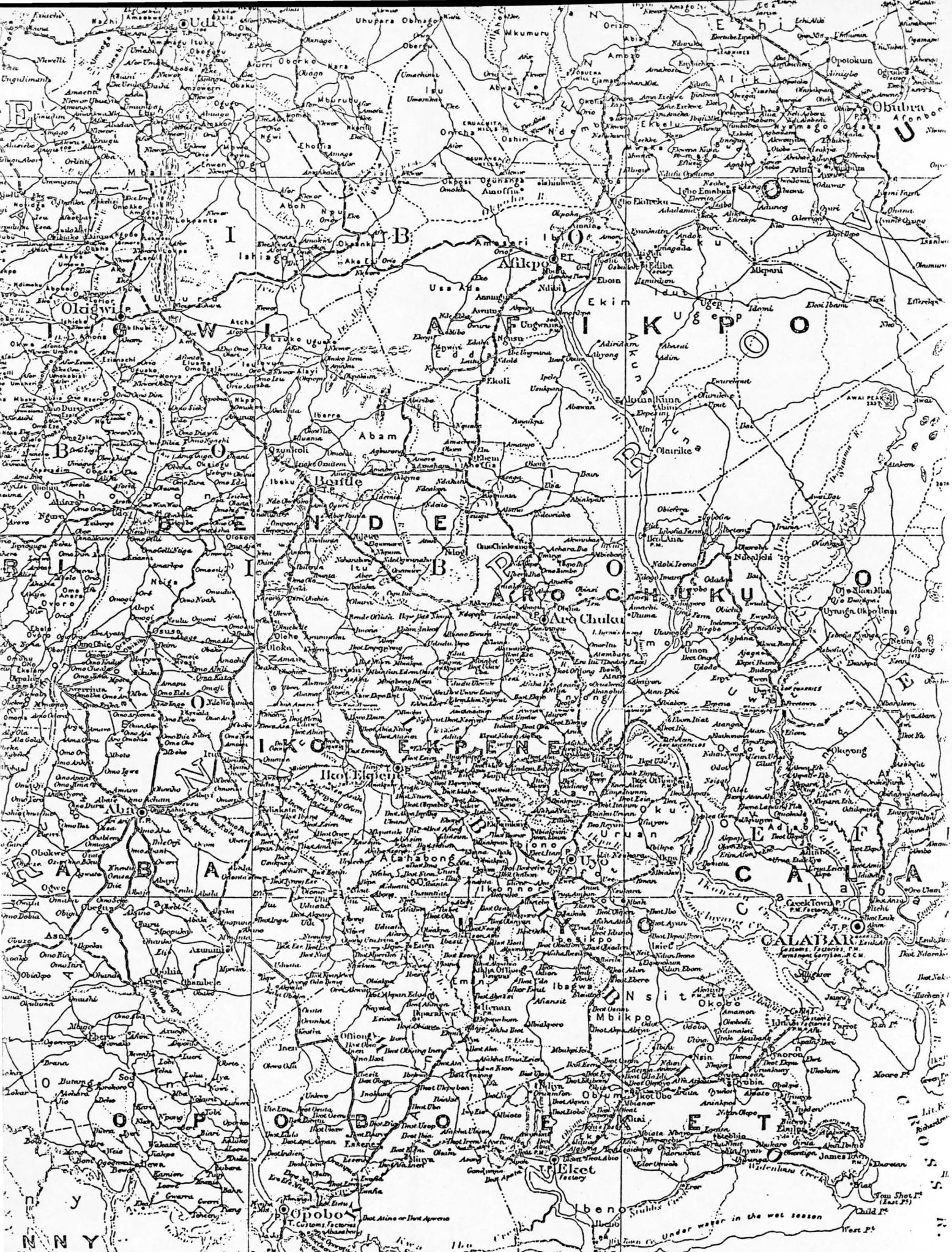
Ihim River Ihym River	Ngyan	Inyang	The name of the Enyong River above Ikpe beach.
Idui River	Idey	Ideyi	A northern tributary of the Inyang River.
Ikpe Ikpi	-	Ikpe	1. The Ikpe tribe of E. Ibibio in Ikot Ekpene district. 2. Ikpe (or Ikpi) beach at navigable limit of Inyang/Enyong River in Bende district. 3. Ikpe Creek or Ikpe/Makor Creek, the Inyang/Enyong River above Esuk Itu beach up to Ikpe beach.
Ikot Otu (Oloko)	-	Ikot Otu	Town of N. Otoro tribe Anang Ibibio transferred to Ikot Ekpene district.
Iku stream	Iku	Iku or Oboho	An eastern tributary of Imo River.
Imo River	Imo	Imo	A large river leading to the port of Opobo.
Imona (Oloko)	Imono	Imono	A village of Nkalu tribe of Northern Ibibio now in Ikot Ekpene division.
Ikot Ada	-		Not traced.
Ikot Ekpene	Ikot Ekpene	Ikot Ekpene	A town of N. Otoro tribe of Anang Ibibio and the H.Q. of the district of this name.
Isingu (Ebem)	Isiugu	Isiugu	A village of Ohaffia tribe of Cross River Ibo.
Isingu (Omohia)	Isingu	Isingu	A town of Umuhu subtribe of Ohuhu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Iso	-	Isu ikwu ato	A tribe of Isu/Item Ibo divided between Okigwe and Bende districts.
Isi Itu Isu Itu	Esu Itu	Esuk Itu	The beach (Esuk) on Enyong Creek where traffic from Itu on the Cross River disembarked for Arochuku station.
Item	-	Item	A tribe of Isu/Item Ibo.
Itu	Itu	Itu (Enyong)	Small N. Ibibio tribe at junction of Enyong with the Cross River and transit station for traffic from Calabar going to Ikot Ekpene, Arochuku and Bende districts.
Itu	Itu	Itu (Mbuzo)	A small N. Ibibio tribe on route from Arochuku to Bende distinguished from Itu (Enyong) by addition of Mbuzo.

Iyila (Oloko)	Iyila	Iyila	A village of Ibere tribe Ohuhu/ Ngwa Ibo.
Kwa Ibo River	Kwa Ibo	Kwa Ibo	Principal river of the Ibibio hinterland and slave traders' name for Anang Ibibio.
Makor	-	Mako or Idere	A N. Ibibio tribe in Arochuku district.
Makor swamp	-		Low ground between Igu and Uduma rivers where they join the Enyong/ Inyang River.
Mfre stream	Uferu	Nfro	An eastern tributary of Imo River.
Mpurume (Bende)	Ompone	Ukpom	An Aro village in Bende tribal territory on road to Oloko.
Ndebi (Ebem)	-	Ndiebe	A village of Abam tribe Cross River Ibo.
Ndenkere (Bende)	-	? Ndiokereke	An Aro village in Bende territory.
Ndero (Oloko) Ndoro	Ndioru	Ndioru	A town of Ibere tribe Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ndewo (Bende)	Ndewe	Ndiwo (in Ibo) or Mbuyat (in Ibibio)	A town of Itu Mbuzo tribe of N. Ibibio.
Ndogi (Ebem)	Ndogi	Ndioji	A town of the Abam tribe Cross River Ibo.
Nenu (Oloko)	-	Nenu	A town of Mboko Umuanunu subtribe of Ngwa tribe now in Aba division.
Ngussi	Ngusu	Ngusu	Parent town of Ada (Edda) tribe of Cross River Ibo in Afikpo district.
Nkpa	Nkpa	Nkpa	A town of Umuimenyi section of Isu ikwu ato tribe.
Nonya Noyah	Nonya	Nonya	A town of Isu-ikwu-ato tribe Isu/ Item Ibo in Okigwe division.
Npuru (Ebem)	-	Nkporo	A tribe of Ada group of Cross River Ibo.
Ntalaka (Bende) Ntalakwu	Ibalaka	Ntalakwu	An Ibo speaking town incorporated into the Itu Mbuzo tribe of N. Ibibio.
Nteron	-		Not traced.
Ntigha (Oloko)	Ntigha	Ntigha	A subtribe of the Ngwa tribe now in Aba division.

Okwe (Oloko)	Okwe	Okwe	A town of Oboro tribe of Omuhu/ Ngwa Ibo.
Oloko	Oloko	Oloko	A town of Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/ Ngwa Ibo and site of Native Court of this name.
Onanomor	Onanaor	Onanamong	A town of Itu Mbuzo tribe N. Ibibio.
Omegu (Oloko)	-	? Umugo	A town of the Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Omoagu (Omohia)	-	Umuagu	A town of the Umuhu subtribe Ohuhu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Omoawa (Omohia)	-	Umuawa	A subdivision of Okaiuka subtribe of the Ohuhu tribe Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Omoagungorli (Omohia)	-	Umuagungo-lori	A village of Umegwu town of Okaiuka subtribe Ohuhu tribe.
Omobialla	-	Umuobiala	A town of the Isu-ikwu-ato tribe of Isu/Item Ibo.
Omodiawa (Omohia)	Omodiawa	Umudiawa	A village of the Umuhu subtribe of the Ohuhu tribe.
Omoesseama (Oloko)	Eziama	Eziama	A town of the Ntigha sub tribe of the Ngwa tribe.
Omogi (Oloko)	Omogi	Amoji	A town of Ngwa Uku subtribe Ngwa tribe.
Omohia (Omohia)	Omohia	Umuahia	A town of the Olokoro tribe Ohuhu/ Ngwa Ibo and site of Native Court of this name.
Omohu (Omohia)	- Omohu	Umuhu Umuhu	1. A subtribe of the Ohuhu tribe. 2. A tribe of the Isu/Item Ibo.
Omohunta (Omohia) Omohunter	Omohunter	Umuhu nta	A village of Ndume town Ibeku tribe Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Omo isieke (Omohia)	Isieke	Isieke	A town of the Ibeku tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Omokarbia (Omohia)	-	Umukabia	A village of Okaiuka subtribe Ohuhu tribe.
Omokata (Oloko)		Umukata	1. A village of Okaiuka subtribe of the Ohuhu tribe.
	Omokata	-	2. A town of the Mbosi subtribe. Ngwa tribe.
Omongaghi (Omohia)	Omongashi	Umungashi	A village of Umuhu subtribe Ohuhu tribe.

Omowanwan (Omohia)	Omowanwan	Umunwanwan	A town of the Umuokpara subtribe Ohuhu tribe.
Omookalla (Omohia)	-	Umuokoroala	A village of Umuegwu town Okaiuka subtribe Ohuhu tribe.
Omopara (Omohia)	Omopara	Umuokpara	A subtribe of Ohuhu tribe.
Omosu (Oloko)	Omosu	Umuosu	A town of Nsulu subtribe Ngwa tribe
Omougo (Oloko)	-	Umugo	A tribe of the Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa.
Omozike (Omohia)	Omosieke	Umuezike	An Ofeme village of Umuhu subtribe Ohuhu tribe.
Onicha Onitsha	Onicha	Onicha	Senior town of Ugboma tribe Isuama Ibo, in Okigwi district.
Onitsha	Onitsha	Onitsha	N. Ibo town on the Lower Niger, and H.Q. of the district of the same name in the Central Province.
Opobo	Opobo	Opobo	E. Ijo state and port on the Lower Imo. HQ of the district of the same name.
Osa (Omohia)	Osa	Osa	A town of the Ibeku tribe Ohuhu/ Ngwa Ibo.
Osaka (Oloko)	Osaka	Usaka Umu ofo	A village of Usaka group of Arriam/Usaka subtribe of Isuorgu tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ossuku (Oloko)	Asaka	Usaka Uku	The senior village of the Usaka group of the above subtribe.
Ososu (Oloko)	Ososa	Ososu	A town of the Ngwa Uku subtribe of the Ngwa tribe.
Ovom Ovum	Ovum	Ovim	A town of the Isu ikwu ato tribe of the Isu/Item Ibo.
Owerri	Owerri	Owerri	A town of the Oratta tribe of S. Ibo and the H.Q. of the district of this name.
Owerri Nta	Owerri Nta	Owerri Nta	A town of the Southern Ngwa tribe. in Aba district.
Owewanwan (Omohia)	See Omowanwan		
Ozuakoli Azuakoli Ezuakoli	Ozuakoli	Uzuakoli	A town of the Umuimenyi section of the Isu-ikwu-ato tribe.
Ozuitem	Ozuitem	Ozu Item	A tribe originally part of the Item tribe. Isu/Item Ibo.
Sapele	Sapele	Sapele	An Urhobo Edo town. Warri district. Central Province.

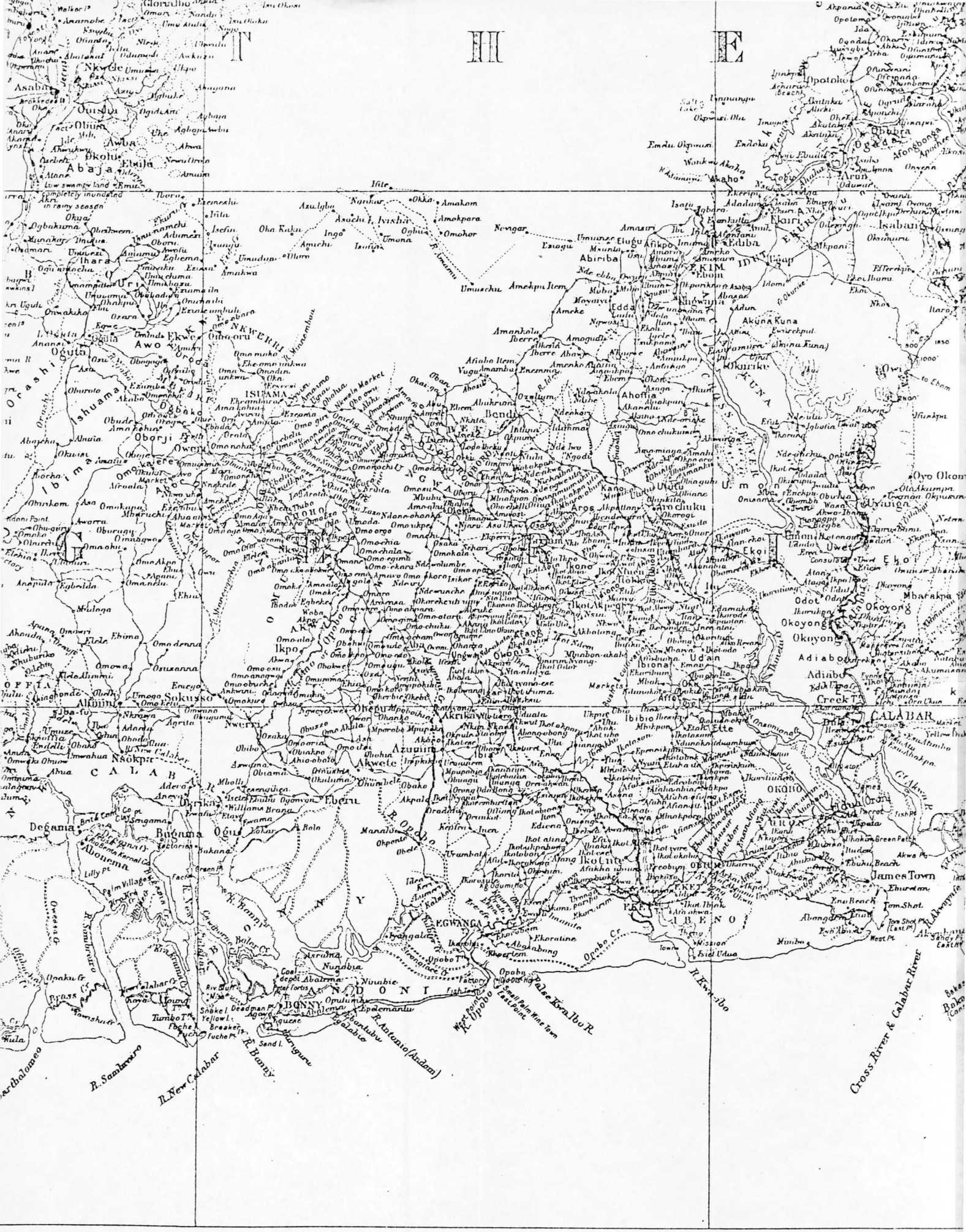
Ude (Omohia)	Ude	Ude	A town in Ofeme group of Umuhu subtribe of Ohuhu tribe.
Ududi [a misspelling of Udi?]	Udi	Udi	A town of Abaja tribe of Northern Ibo and H.Q. of district of this name in the Central Province.
Ugueke	Ugueke	Ugwueke	A town of the Alayi tribe of Isu/Item Ibo.
		Umuahia	1. Umuahia (Omohia) town of Olokoro tribe. 2. Umuahia (Omohia) Native Court. 3. Umuahia railway station and township in the area of the Ibeku tribe Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.
Ugu Ugunkpa	-	Ugwu	An offshoot of Nkpa town Umuimenyi group Isu-ikwu-ato tribe Isu/Item Ibo.
Umudike	-	Umudike	A town of the Oboro tribe of Ohuhu/Ngwa Ibo.



Map II : The Central and Eastern Provinces of Southern Nigeria.
1910

Compiled under the authority of his Excellency Sir Walter Egerton KCMG, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, by Captain W.H. Beverley, Intelligence Officer, Southern Nigeria.
Drawn and engraved at Stanford's Geographical Establishment

Scale 1 : 500 000 reduced to 1 : 750 000



Map I : Lagos and Southern Nigeria (part of)

Compiled in the Topographical Section:
General Staff, 1905

Scale 1 : 1 000 000