Commercial Rivalries, Warfare, Politics, Alliances, and Diplomacy in Precolonial Orashi Region.

By

Osaih, Rufus
History and Diplomatic Studies,
University of Port Harcourt, Choba.
+2348038982706. Email: rufydaddy@gmail. Com

Professor John H. Enemugwem
History and Diplomatic Studies,
University of Port Harcourt, Choba.
+2348026840248, +2348068999403.
&
Emma M. Gbenenye.
History and Diplomatic Studies,
University of Port Harcourt, Choba.
+2348036741071

Abstract.

An inquiry into the military history of Orashi region from 1500-1900 AD revealed an intricate network of complex issues that examined the nexus between trade, politics, warfare and diplomacy and the consequences it posed to peaceful economic relations. Both local and international politics, commercial interest is at the peak in every relation and the pursuit of this economic interest culminates to the constructions, and consummation of alliances and the exploitation of diplomacy, politics and warfare became uppermost in order to achieve the above. War occurred when peaceful diplomatic relations failed. The diplomatic and military struggles to gain and maintain control over trade, trade routes and economic resources were the centre-piece of these wars in Orashi region. The use of

diplomacy became the tool used to resolve the festering economic rivalries.

Introduction.

The discovery of palm oil in commercial quantities in Orashi region and the acute competition and the desire to control the palm oil by the Niger Delta city-states necessitated the control over trade, trade routes and economic resources. The diplomatic struggles to establish its own trading sphere and marketing zones led to the signing of treaty of protection to consolidate commercial relations with her trading partners as Kalabari and Nembe kings and chiefs would send regular presents in manila, coweries, clothes, heads of tobacco, and gin to Orashi chiefs and warriors during which pledges were renewed to enable them access peaceful passage to the hinterland markets in Ogba, Ndoni, Egbema, Awara, Ozubulu, Aboh and Oguta through the water ways in Orashi region. This competition for economic supremacy often ensued in wars with attendant atmosphere of mutual distrust and insecurity. The formation of alliances were to increase states' capabilities against perceived enemies, which covered mutual obligations upon the outbreak of any conflict or war. Diplomacy became the structured process of dialogue and negotiation between conflicting parties. The end of all commercial rivalries and full blown war was the intervention of consular authorities, which eventually led to colonizing imperialism.

Theoretical Framework

The research work is based on political economy theory with emphasis on historical materialism. Political economy is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics and history. Political economy theory is propounded by Karl Marx (1818-1883). It is a material science which provides historical explanations to the material conditions of existence and the contradictions that arise from the interactions of social forces within a given mode of production (Ake, 1981:1). Historical materialism, which is a

perspective of the political economy, emphasized that economic factor determined the superstructure of any society. Economic need is man's most fundamental need. In order to meet this need, human beings engaged in production and reproduction of their needs. It is these needs that became the basis of relations between Orashi societies and her neighbours. The numerous resources of Orashi (farm produce, slaves, palm oil and kernel) attracted her neighbours. This inter-group relations with her neighbours resulted to peaceful relations and infrequent wars.

According to Marx, "it is the struggle for the control of limited resources that causes conflict or war in society". In this commercial struggle for survival, instruments of all kinds are employed, which includes violence, economics of power, alliance, diplomacy, politics, and gunboat device.

Commercial Rivalries, Warfare, Politics, Alliances, and Diplomacy in Orashi Region.

In inter-group relations, commercial interest is at the peak of every individual merchant, nation and state. It is characterized by acute, unhealthy and cut-throat competition among entrepreneurs, capitalists and trading states to equal or excel and dominate the other in the pursuit of their conflicting economic and commercial interests (Asuk, 2013:147). The pursuit of economic interests culminated to the construction of alliances, intrigues, diplomatic manoeuvres and warfare. Alliances were constructed to increase states' power against perceived enemies which covers mutual obligations upon the outbreak of hostilities. Alliance formation, though, short-term or long-term depending on the purpose, became a key issue in multi-struggles and competitions for commercial supremacy and influence. Dike (1956:44) noted that alliance formation in the Niger Delta held sway via covenants and solemn leagues, which were strongly cemented by human blood that played more roles than treaty-making. States involved in alliance are very egocentric, dynamic and issue-oriented.

Central to the concept of commercial competition/rivalry and alliance formation, is warfare, the use of force to achieve goals. It is used by

states to further their interests. War occurs when dialogue and diplomacy has gone to the low-ebb and preponderance to violence took centre stage. Diplomacy, an institutionalized management of relations between states and other actors (Gbenenye, 2004:2), becomes the inevitable tool to resolving conflicts. Trade and diplomacy are twin-like as trade follows diplomacy and vice versa. Trade interests and policies are central concern of states and diplomacy is the means and methods through which a state conducts its business with other states or actors. It also take diplomacy to resolve trade associated conflicts and peacefully preventing a clear danger of violent situation or a risk of yielding to rival pressures (Gbenenye, 2004:5). All these was weaved around politics, "the study of who gets what, when and how" or "the authoritative allocation of values". Politics of economic interests in Orashi region by local entrepreneurs and states, could be seen in different lenses, namely: the act of influencing decisions that affect a society, relation of men dominating other men using the instrumentalities of bargaining, alliances, conciliation, brokerage, accommodation of interest, force, violence, and the political institutions of the village democracy and gerontocracy, with the youths executing the decisions of the elders (Osaih, 2007:18). In the case of Orashi region, local potentates, who had acquired wealth, power and influence by hard work through their engagements in the business of slave trade and legitimate commerce enforce some measures of political decisions. When politics cannot go beyond a certain point, “war-a continuation of politics by other means” (Ogonor, 2012:2) took centre-stage to remove the obstacle on the way. "Politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed". Nowadays, politics has become bloodshed. Egine, Ekelewa, Akalisuo of Engenni and Nworisa of Ogbele were the notable new class of men that influenced trade and politics of Orashi in the heydays of legitimate trade, by collecting trade duties from the users of the Sombreiro and Engenni-Orashi rivers respectively. For Nworisa, he mounted his army on the river, an activity that was rampant among the Niger Delta states (Amini-Philips, 1997:97). At the height of those commercial struggles, was

the interregnum which was ushered in by the death of king Karibi in 1864. During the interregnum, birth and wealth became the surest qualifications to wield political power. There was an internal tussle between chief Abbi Amachree (Princewill) of Kalabari and Chief Barboy Alambo, contending for the political space. The case was referred to the goddess of Owame Akaso. According to Jones (1963:147):

> *the goddess of Owame Akaso intervened in the dispute and decreed that whichever chief should force the passage of the Engenni first should succeed to the throne. So did the Long Juju of Arochuku where the matter was referred to it.*

Chief Barboy Alambo with his faction resorted to militant aggression, warfare and intimidation in order to forcefully open the blockade at Okarki. This was what led into total war between the Engenni and the Kalabari which took place at Okarki (Abiobio, 2011:184). Akalisuo, having undergone the fortification processes with his subordinates, and the support of the Nembe, with cannons, gun powder, and other logistics coupled with Engenni weapons prepared the warriors for war. Chief Alambo and his local warlords were crushed and met their waterloo at Okarki in 1864. This heavy defeat against chief Alambo brought Abbe (Prince Will) to the politics of Engenni River. Abbe having seen the heavy defeat of chief Alambo decided not to engage in forceful means rather resorted to diplomatic measures. Conscious of the fact that the ancestral home of Udekama (Degema) is Ututubile in Akinima, Engenni. He consulted Chief Okubo of Udekama (Degema) who assisted him to broker peace that resulted to the opening of the blockade at Okarki and its environs, following three stringent conditionalities:

(i) Resumption of the payment of dues to the Engenni chiefs.

(ii) Payment of a fine of twelve bottles of J.J.W Peters to each of the fifteen communities of Engenni to withdraw their deities from the battle.

(iii) The official hand-over of six male slaves to serve as servants to Akalisuo, the veteran warlord of Engenni (Abibio, 2011:185-186).

Abbe (Prince will) without much ado fulfilled these conditions and the blockade was opened for the Kalabari merchants and Abbe automatically became the legitimate successor of the throne of Kalabari. Jones (1963:147) averred that Abbe was successful, Alambo held back. Akalisuo, the chief warrior, became power drunk to Engenni people and the Niger Delta city-states and this led to the end of his reign through the help of the British (James, 2007:166).

The British could not have achieved the creation of Nigeria except on the platform of naked power, wholesale wars, aggressions and conflicts (Ikime, 1977:39, Tamuno, 1972:60, Banigo, 2006:75). Trade, politics, warfare, alliances and diplomacy, became the nexus for wealth, power and influence. Orashi region was dominated by trading concerns, diplomacy, warfare, politics and other variables were exploited by the merchant princes of the city-states and Orashi warriors to rise to prominence (Personal communication with Abonnema, August 7, 2014).

The lucrative nature of the legitimate trade (palm oil) was what heightened the interests of the Niger Delta city-states and some local capitalists in the mad rush to the hinterland markets and the control of the trade routes along Engenni, Sombreiro and Orashi rivers. They (Engenni chiefs, rulers and the Niger Delta city-states) knew the significant role the oil markets and rivers were going to play to their economy and nations. Economic interest was the most dominant factor in the rivalries. The principal beneficiaries of the legitimate commerce were both the city-states and European supercargoes while the Orashi society was exploited, unfairly excluded and marginalized to the fullest. Most of them played subservient while others resorted to piracy to access foreign wealth (Okorobia, 2013:91).

The Orashi Rivers were the major water ways which provided access to the hinterland. Bonny, Opobo, Kalabari, Okrika, Nembe, etc traders followed these rivers to the Ikwerre, Ekpeye, Abua, Ogba, Engenni,

Igbo,etc. (Orugbani, 2005:1). Traditions indicated that the coastal peoples purchased farm products, such as: yams, coco yams, plantains, cassava, and palm oil from the hinterland which they exchanged for the coastal sea-foods (fish, oysters, lobster, salt and periwinkle) (Nchima, 3/4/2010, Abonnema, 3/3/2013, Gobo, 2007:300, Orugbani, 2005:1). These trade relations had existed many years before the arrival of the Europeans into the soil of Nigeria. The competition among the city-states of the Delta over whom controls the Orashi Rivers and their oil markets ensued rivalries and consequently wars and the climax of these wars was purely in Orashi region with attendant atmosphere of mutual distrust and insecurity. The Niger Delta states began to augment their man-power which warranted the recruitment of new members to increase their fighting force through the purchase of domestic slaves from the Igbo hinterland (Asuk, 2011:3) and other Orashi communities. Slave trade was rudimentary in Orashi society due to the respect Orashi people had on the dignity of human person. Social misfits from Orashi region were sold into slavery (Personal interaction with Che Ibegura, and Nchima, March 4, 2010). In spite of these in-built restraints, the quest for wealth led to the incorporation of few Orashi people in the hideous trade. The Niger Delta City-States, who were big time dealers in slave trade incorporated some Orashi people. The Odual, Engenni,Ekpeye and Ogba chiefs and local capitalists into the slave trade business (Michael, 2015:36). Slave trade increased inter-village and inter-ethnic wars because the quest for the acquisition of slave instigated slave raids. Ogbia communities raided from the north of Odual in order to sustain supply to Nembe-Brass dealers (ibid: 35). Akalisuo and his warriors were militarily and religiously prepared to face any imminent skirmishes, if the Niger Delta states failed to cooperate and comply as usual by way of paying trade dues (trade duties) and homage in valued gifts like manila, cowries, cloth, heads of tobacco, gin etc.,(Abiobio, 2011:183). All these were done to pursue commercial overtures without breach.

The traditional concept of power requires constant accumulation of tangible and intangible resources for survival and security in a multi-polar

world. All traders began to view themselves as enemies silently. Akpan's statement is apt here to justify the above. He said "there is a natural tendency in human beings to strive towards their own security and protection of what they consider to be theirs, it follows that there is a widespread selfishness among men which manifests itself ….in perpetual and restless desire for power" (Akpan, 2003:39). This commercial competition and Akalisuo's economic protectionism coincided with the avowed aim of European imperialism, viz., the Scramble and Partition of Africa in 1884/1885. This led to gross commercial rivalries majorly to woo and/or consolidate commercial relations with her trading partners and in keeping with its traditional payment of dues to local rulers by the New Calabar's kings and chiefs. "New Calabar's kings and chiefs would send regular annual presents to local rulers and peoples of Engenni-Orashi markets during which pledges were renewed and ceremonial gigs were fitted out in a very expensive and colour fashion" (see Asuk, 2013:148). Gifts sent by rulers of one states to another was an expression of courtesy, friendliness or reconciliation. The gifts from Niger Delta rulers that passed the Engenni-Orashi rivers was an expression of the recipient's superior position; solicit support or neutrality against other states and to reduce cessation of hostilities.

Many Niger Delta rulers and entrepreneurs treaded on the path of diplomacy to access free passage of Engenni-Orashi and Sombreiro Rivers. In the heydays of the slave trade, Bonny had undisturbed access in the Abua and on the Sombreiro river but during the palm oil era, the Kalabari traders later had trading sphere in Abua and on the Sombreiro river (Jones, 1963:146). The commercial aggressiveness and expansionism of the New Calabar culminated in series of squabbles and frictions between her and Brass, whose age-long interest over the markets along the Sombreiro and Engenni-Orashi Rivers from 1846 to 1855 was still uppermost. The New Calabar, a geographically contiguous neighbour later arrived and dominated the commercial activities on the Engenni-Orashi Rivers and markets. They like the Nembe acquired land and established trading

settlements opposite the Engenni communities (Abiobio, 2011:182). Some notable entrepreneurs of New Calabar stock were: Victor Akpana and Eferebo Jack at Okarki, Bob-Manuel at Mbiama, and Cycloff Briggs at Akinima (Personal communication with Abiobio, August 7, 2014). All this expansion was at the expense of Nembe (Jones, 1963:146). Due to acute competition over Orashi Rivers and oil markets, Bonny, a previous exploiter to the Engenni-Orashi Rivers and markets, withdrew from Orashi region at the outset of palm oil trade to pitch its commercial attention on the Imo and Otamiri Rivers and markets. This abrupt economic adventure of Bonny, limited the competition for control to Nembe-Brass and New Calabar. The later erected Idu (an Ogba community), on the left bank of the Orashi river as its own sphere of influence while Nembe-Brass settled at Idu on the right bank of Orashi river (Asuk, 2013:153). The Nembe-Brass merchants had become very powerful on the Niger River and dominated the markets from where they bought oil and resold to Bonny merchants. The New Calabar in-secured of this restless adventurous desire for economic sphere and monopoly, beyond Idu-Kreigani axes negotiated with Ogba people and built trading settlement called the Kalabari Beach on the southern end of the Oguta lake flowing directly into the Orashi river in 1880 while its middlemen merchants accessed the western Igbo oil markets. The commercial rivalries burgeoned over Idu and Oguta, as well as Okarki between Nembe-Brass and New Calabar, which created violent conflicts that led to the suspension of trade that brought in Consul John Beecroft in 1854 at the request of European trading community to intervene to "settle a long-standing dispute of most serious detriment to the genuine interest of trade". The essence of consuls sent from imperial state was to maintain peace, stability, security, and to ensure the loyalty of the colonies to the metropolis (Osaih, 2007:18, 2009:1). According to Ikime (1968:14), the consul's primary function was to protect the lives and property of British traders in the Niger Delta. The hostilities were temporarily settled by Beecroft (Jones, 1963:147). The era of consular authority in the internal affairs of the people was the immediate prelude that watered the ground

for the establishment of British rule in the Niger Delta. These rivalries continued unabated that culminated to a full-blown war as New Calabar fought against the traditional alliance of Nembe-Brass, Bonny, Okrika (the climax of this war was on Sombreiro River) and in 1864, Nembe-Engenni (Okarki, the high ground of the war) fought against New Calabar (ibid:147). In intra and inter-community warfare, there were anti-war passions on both sides due to inter-village marriages, common ancestry, common use of streams and rivers, non-aggression pacts, shared religious beliefs, several inter-group connections and closeness to blood relations. Traditional wars weren't intended to annihilate the opponent or win total victory but was dictated by low level of force and weapons just to inflict minor injuries for deterrence (Alagoa, 2004:73).. It is also for environmental replenishment and ecological balance (Ejituwu and Okoroafor, 2009:6). Trade routes, shrines and grooves, unarmed civilian population (aged, women, children, disabled, priests, strangers etc.), economic trees, streams and rivers, and farmlands were spared during wars (Dawood and Aghelino, 2012:42, Personal communication with Isabu, August 7, 2013). The only exemption to this immunity and war conventions was when any of these civilian populations was discovered to be the major architect and perpetrators of what led to the war. They can also be captured for ransom.

These continuous rivalries were exacerbated by the hardening of the oil trade. The vagaries and the uncertainties of the European markets caused the fluctuation of oil price. The white traders had their eyes on the European markets and tended to offer prices as would assure them what they considered a reasonable or outrageous profit from their investment, but to the Niger Delta traders, uncertainty of market was completely out of sight and this made them to hold up palm produce in the hope, thereby, forcing up the price (Ikime, 1968:20). This outlandish price hike led to complex diplomatic gimmicks as state sought to exclude its rivals from buying oil in markets which was traditionally theirs or "wished to make its own and at the same to extend its trading empires" at the detriment of their trading rivals and to restrict them and people trading with them from

passing through its territory. While the ensuring commercial rivalries heightened, the effects of the world economic crunch became more grievous which brought the prices of palm oil to the lowest ebb in the 1860s. This downturn gravely affected the Nembe-Brass at their port, largely as a result of European merchants' mutual cooperation to keep prices down. Due to this economic doldrums that brought misfortune to the Brass traders, they collectively resisted this attempt and the European traders reacted by imposing trade embargo from June to October 1864 to cow the Brass to submission (Asuk, 2013:154). As Brass felt the pinch of the embargo, they desperately decided to checkmate the competition of the New Calabar over Orashi markets as its age-long marketing zone. This intensified their rivalries that culminated into wars that eventually ruined the New Calabar trade (Dike, 1956:187).

In no doubt, these incessant inter-communal conflicts revolved around claims and counterclaims to exclusive rights over palm oil markets in Orashi region. New Calabar with its aggressive economic mentality claimed a sustained monopoly over all the markets on the Sombreiro, Engenni-Orashi Rivers, Oguta and Ikwerre hinterland markets, while Bonny on its own made exclusive claims over the markets along the Engenni-Orashi Rivers and Nembe-Brass claimed all the markets on the Orashi River and the lower Niger. Okorobia (1999:289) threw light on the war-likeness of the Eastern Delta people while Pacheco Pereira who visited the area, observed the people were "rarely at peace". This made them carried daggers and spears for self-defense because that in one canoe was not sure whether or not those in the other canoe(s) were friends or foes. Responding to this survival and instinct for fear, everyone made quick and great effort for self-defense. Herein, is the explanation for trade in arms and ammunitions which was one of the most profitable venture in the nineteenth century. This state of insecurity and rivalries brought in the consul David Hopkins to mediate and resolve these complex claims and counter-claims and protracted un-reconciled wrangling by awarding the

control of different hinterland markets to the disputing trading states via treaty of peace.

It is a truism that the economic rivalries made life precarious in the Orashi region. This unhealthy competition over the oil markets brought financial prosperity and fortune to the Orashi traders. It also littered the Orashi region with deadly firearms and made colonization possible in Orashi society.

The commercial rivalries of the Niger Delta city-states over the Orashi Rivers and markets followed the submission of a military historian that trade and war fed upon each other in self-sustaining and reinforcing manner (Smith, 1977:30). Dike (1956:207) opined that war and trade in the Niger Delta alternated in season. For us, trade, warfare, politics, diplomacy and alliance formation are inextricably related and linked together.

Conclusion

Economic need is man's most fundamental need. It is these needs that became the basis of relations between Orashi societies and her neighbours. The numerous resources of Orashi (farm produce, slaves, palm oil and kernel) attracted her neighbours. This inter-group relations with her neighbours resulted to diplomatic peace and political intrigues. It is the struggle for the control of limited resources that caused commercial rivalries and these conflicts of interests was resolved by the use of diplomacy, which led to the invitation of the British into the affairs of Orashi people.

References

1. Personal communication with Chief Isabu Z. E., 84 years, at Erema, August 7, 2013.
2. Personal communication with Abiobio, 50 years, Lecturer, Federal College of Education, Omoku, Ahoada, August 7, 2014.
3. Personal communication with Nchima, 76 years, Farmer, Obiedi, April 3, 2010.

4. Personal communication with Elenwa Abonnema, 74 years, Retired Civil Servant, Erema, March 3, 2013.
5. Personal interaction with Che Ibegura, Environmentalist, Abururu, March 4, 2013.

Abiobio, P. H., (2011) " A Cultural History of the people of Engenni in the Niger Delta from Settlement to 1970" M.A. thesis, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Port Harcourt.

Ake, C. (1981) *The Political Economy of Africa*. London: Longman

Akpan, O. E., (2003) "Nigeria's Diplomatic Initiatives in Africa: 1960-1979". Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Port Harcourt.

Alagoa, E. J. (2004) *The Uses of Hindsight as Foresight: Reflections on Niger Delta and Nigerian History*. Port Harcourt. Onyoma Research Publications.

Amini-Philips, I. C. A., (1997) "Trade, State Formation and British Imperialism in the Upper Sombreiro C. 1830-1900" M. A. thesis, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Port Harcourt.

Asiegbu, J.U.J. (1984) *Nigeria and its British Invaders, 1851-1920*. New York: Nok Publishers

Asuk, C. (2013) "The Rise and Fall of the Niger Delta: Economic and Political Development AD 1500-2007". Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Port Harcourt.

Banigo, Y. (2006) "The State, Transnational Corporations And Indigenous Peoples: The Case of the Ijo Speaking Peoples". Unpublished PhD dissertation, university of Port Harcourt.

Dawood, O. E. and Aghalino, S. O. (2012) "Conflict and Concord: A Study of Pre-Colonial Peace Building Proess in Esan Land". International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies. Vol. 1, No.1 pp. 36-51.

Dike, K.O. (1956) *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ejituwu, N. C. and Okoroafor, S. (2009) *The House of Skulls: A Symbol of Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-colonial Niger Delta and Igbo Hinterland*. Port Harcourt: M & J Grand Orbit Communication Ltd.

Gbenenye, E.M., (2004) *An Introduction to Diplomacy and European History 19th and 20th Century*. Nigeria: Spring Field Publishers.

Gobo, P. A. (2007) "Inter-group Relations in the Niger Delta: A Case Study of Okrika and her Neighbours". In Derefaka, A. A and Okorobia, A. M (2007) (eds) *The Future of the Niger Delta: The Research for a Relevant Narrative*. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.

Ikime, O. (1977) *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*. London: Heinemann.

Ikime, O., (1968) *Merchant Prince of the Niger Delta.* London: Heinemann Print.

Ikime, O., (2006) *History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian*. Ibadan: Heinemann Education/Books (Nig.) Plc.

Isichei, E. (1976). *A History of the Igbo People*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

James, O. B., (2007) "Tradition and Change: The Egene (Engenni) Experience", in Tasie, G. (Ed). Aspect of Niger Delta Indigenous Religions: Essays in Honour of Professor Robin Horton. University of Port Harcourt - Pp. 162 – 166.

Jones, G. I. (1963) *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers*. London: Oxford University Press.

Michael, T. B. (2016) "Odual and Her Neighbours: A Study of Inter-Group Relations in the Niger Delta from Pre-colonial Times to 2010". Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Port Harcourt.

Ogonor, M., (2012). "War, Politics and Diplomacy": A Better Understanding of Clausewitz Theory of War'. In Nigerian Army Journal. Vol. 1 No. 1 pp. 1-19.

Okorobia, A. M. (1999) "A History of the Underdevelopment of the Eastern Niger Delta: 1500 – 1993". Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

Orugbani, C., (2005) *Nigeria Since the 19th Century*. Port Harcourt: Paragraphics.

Osaih, R. (2009) "Analyze the Origins of Settler Economics in Colonial African and Demonstrate Its Impact on Development in African". Being a Seminar paper submitted to the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies in HDS 514.1 Advance African Economic History.

Osaih,R. (2007) "A Brief History of Erema": Unpublished B. A. Project. Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Port Harcourt.

Smith, R. (1977) *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-colonial West Africa*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Sam, C. O., (1979). "The Origins, Migrations and Inter-group Relations of the Ogba, Ekpeye and Ikwerre Peoples of the Rivers State". B. A. project, Department of History, University of Ibadan.

Tamuno, T. N., (1972) *The Evolution of the Nigerian State. The Southern Phase,1898-1914.* London: Longman